THE UNIVERSITY
of EDINBURGH

Who sets the conservation agenda?

David Tooby

Atmospheric and Environmental Sciences (PhD)

The University of Edinburgh

2024

Signed declaration.

1. I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.
2. I confirm that this thesis presented for the degree of Atmospheric and Environmental Sciences (PhD) has
   i) been composed entirely by myself
   ii) been solely the result of my own work
   iii) not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.
3. I declare that this thesis was composed by myself, that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or processional qualification except as specified.

23/02/2023   David Tooby

43   **Table of Contents**

104

105

Lay Summary

Global conservation is organised through events such as conferences, congresses, and conferences of parties (COPs). These events provide a platform for nation states, non-governmental organisations, and other interested parties to debate and contribute to what is globally accepted as conservation. Previous work has explored the front-end of such events – the presentations, discussions and general format – finding widespread influences shaping global conservation. However, to date the decision making at these events has remained behind closed doors.

In this thesis, we investigate processes at work behind globally relevant conservation decisions. To provide a window into this complex process we use International Union for Conservation of Nature's (IUCN) motions process as a case study. By investigating the different ideas brought by the diverse actors within IUCN's Membership, the different tactics used in debates, the different issues these actors vote for or against, and overall participation, we build a comprehensive picture of the interests that shape IUCN's decisions and, by extension, global conservation.

We found that a broad range of interests and values shape global conservation. We also found that a key divide over the extent to which IUCN can make demands of nation states permeates the motions process, causing frequent conflicts. Our final finding was that a commitment to consensus – a democratic principle that requires complete agreement of all parties before a decision is made – is stifling clear and open debate on conceptual issues.

Our results highlight a core issue in global conservation governance – whether non-state actors should have the same role in decision making as nation states – and bring into question whether consensus is the best model for deliberation. We hope future work can build on our findings and approach, investigating other events and gaining a more thorough understanding of the issues we highlight.

134 **Abstract**

135 The global conservation agenda is constituted and organised through international
136 conferences, congresses, and other fora. These events are key to the construction of
137 established definitions, goals and practices of conservation, and serve as spaces for
138 open debate and contestation of values and interests. Past work has explored such
139 events through direct participation in their public aspects. However, to date there has
140 been little empirical investigation of the decision making that occurs behind the
141 scenes, and how the complex network of actors interacts to shape global
142 conservation. In this thesis we set out four empirical investigations into the shaping
143 of the global conservation agenda using International Union for Conservation of
144 Nature's (IUCN) motions process, a unique cross-sector deliberative policy process,
145 as a case study. We investigated how the content raised by organisations has
146 changed over time and is linked to key characteristics such as sector, size, region
147 and preferred language. We then examined motion debates to uncover the
148 discourses mobilised in shaping policy, and what strategies are utilised to generate
149 change. The voting records of participating actors were analysed to uncover the key
150 conceptual divides within IUCN's Membership, as well as how position on these
151 issues is related to key characteristics. Finally, participation in the motions process
152 was investigated, identifying the type of actors that most influence IUCN's motions
153 process. We found markedly different interests and ideas shaping global
154 conservation policy, and a key divide over the legitimacy of IUCN's motions process
155 making demands of nation states. We found that an overarching commitment to
156 consensus in resolving disputes within the motions process seems to create a barrier
157 to properly addressing key conceptual divides within the Membership. Our results
158 prove the worth of investigating the less visible components of global conservation
159 fora and set out a mixed methods approach to incorporating conceptually distinct
160 results.

161

Acknowledgements

186   **1. Introduction: Who sets the conservation agenda?**

187   **Problem statement**

188   The biodiversity crisis has continued and intensified since the millennium, with
189   pervasive impacts on every corner of the biosphere (Marquet et al., 2019) and one
190   million of Earth's species now threatened with extinction (Díaz et al., 2019). Over 80%
191   of the ecological processes underpinning the ecosystem services upon which
192   humanity relies are being altered by climate change (Scheffers et al., 2016), and
193   despite extensive efforts towards environmental protection we are witnessing between
194   1000 and 10,000 times the background rate of extinction (de Vos et al., 2015). These
195   challenges span traditional borders (e.g. international wildlife trade, carbon emissions)
196   (Game et al., 2014), involve a complex nexus of public, private and non-profit
197   organisations (Corson et al., 2019; Lemos & Agrawal, 2006), and are the sites of
198   conflicting interests with a significant degree of political contestation (e.g. land use,
199   privatisation of commons) (Bluwstein, 2018; Brockington & Igoe, 2006; Igoe &
200   Brockington, 2002; Massé & Lunstrum, 2016; Paudel et al., 2020). To effectively
201   manage this, large scale cooperation and coordination of efforts is required to
202   establish a shared agenda that both encompasses the complexity of the issues faced
203   and recognises the inherent conflicts involved between stakeholders (Burch et al.,
204   2019; Montana, 2017; Obermeister, 2017; Rose, 2018).

205   Global conservation governance refers to the transboundary coordination of
206   conservation internationally, what Swyngedouw (2005) refers to as 'governance-
207   beyond-the-state'. This multilateral process is driven by networks of public and
208   private organisations (Corson et al., 2019; Death, 2010) meeting at conferences,
209   congresses, conferences of parties (COPs), and other 'field configuring events' to
210   shape global conservation to suit their interests and agendas (MacDonald, 2010).
211   Past work has explored the public-facing dynamics of these spaces (Corson et al.,
212   2014, 2019; Corson & MacDonald, 2012; K. I. MacDonald & Corson, 2012), shifting
213   trends in published academia (Anderson et al., 2021), and the values and positions
214   of conservation practitioners (Fisher et al., 2020; Holmes et al., 2017; Sandbrook et
215   al., 2013, 2019). However, the differing priorities and interests of decision makers,
216   varying capacities for participation, and the behind-the-scenes negotiation of policy
217   and conflicts have, to date, remained largely unexplored. Using the IUCN WCC as a

218   case study, this PhD investigates how the conservation agenda is formed within

219   global environmental forums and how the interests of the groups that constitute them

220   are negotiated and represented. It does so through the following questions:

221   1. What ideas are brought to environmental forums? Has this changed over

222   time?

223   2. Do different groups bring different ideas?

224   3. Are actors split on key issues? What are the key dividing factors?

225   4. How do actors debate issues? What discourses are mobilised?

226   5. How does the structure of debates shape the output?

227   6. How does participation and access vary across different characteristics?

228   **Part 1: The forming of global conservation governance**

229   *Early conservation cooperation*

230   From the beginning of international collaboration in the late 19th century through the

231   first half of the 20th century, global conservation governance operated through

232   informal meetings of ecologists and other specialists at international fora and, later,

233   through state-centred deliberation at such fora (Holdgate, 1999). The earliest formal

234   multilateral collaboration on conservation resulted from the 1885 First Conference for

235   the Protection of Bird's attempt to classify bird species into categories based on their

236   utility: useful, wild and injurious (Holdgate, 1999, p9). The resulting 1902

237   International Convention for the Preservation of Useful Birds was signed by 12

238   European countries (with Great Britain notably absent), leading to the 1912 Migratory

239   Birds Treaty signed by the USA, Britain, Mexico and Japan (Holdgate, 1999, p9) and

240   the 1922 establishment of the International Council for Bird Preservation (ICBP, now

241   BirdLife International). The ICBP didn't meet until 1928 – and even then only 17

242   countries attended – yet it remained the only globally-operating conservation

243   organisation until 1948 with the founding of the International Union for the Protection

244   of Nature (now IUCN). This founding was achieved after significant effort on the part

245   of ecologists and figures with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

246   Organization (UNESCO) as part of post-war restructuring. IUCN's formation was

247   preceded by the relative failure of the International Congress for the Protection of

248   Nature (ICOP), aimed at being a collaborative meeting of European organisations,

249 which was ultimately unable to establish international collaboration (K. MacDonald,
250 2003, p6). The goal of IUCN was to serve as an international body that could
251 coordinate conservation action between countries, collect and provide technical
252 products such as information on endangered species, and to serve as a forum for
253 different countries to agree on environmental policy. IUCN was founded by the
254 signing of a formal Act by 18 of the 23 governments, 107 of the 126 national
255 institutions and 7 of the 8 international organisations present. A preamble drafted by
256 US representatives passed with the Act, creating a working definition of 'nature
257 protection' which may be argued to be the first example of the output of a field-
258 configuring event in global conservation governance:

259   'the preservation of the entire world biotic community or Man's natural
260   environment, which includes the Earth's renewable natural resources of which it
261   is composed and on which rests the foundation of human civilization'
262   (Holdgate, 1999, p33 [63])

263 This statement remained unchanged through 1977 and 1996 revisions to IUCN
264 statutes (Holdgate, 1999, p33). In addition, the purpose of IUCN was set out in the
265 first two articles of the Act. Article 1 stated that the Union should 'encourage and
266 facilitate cooperation between Governments and national and international
267 organizations concerned with, and persons interested in, the "Protection of Nature"'.
268 Article 2 set out that it would 'promote and recommend national and international
269 action', 'collect, analyze, interpret and disseminate information about "the protection
270 of nature"', and 'distribute to Governments and national and international
271 organizations documents, legislative texts, scientific studies and other information'
272 (Holdgate, 1999, p33). In these early days IUCN was dominated by the (at the time)
273 radical notion of the intrinsic importance of nature and driven mainly by the
274 international scientific community (K. I. MacDonald, 2003). In terms of methods, the
275 conservation measures they coordinated often developed on the emerging model of
276 national parks from North America and the 'long-standing tradition of hunting
277 preserves in Britain' (K. MacDonald, 2003, p6). Many of the methods now common
278 in conservation evolved directly from the market expansion of game shooting within
279 European colonial exploitation (Adams, 2004; Bluwstein, 2018; Domínguez &

280   Luoma, 2020; Grove, 1995, 2002; Igoe & Brockington, 2002; Prendergast & Adams,
281   2003).

282   *Expanding organisations & the shift to polycentricity*

283   The rise in environmental awareness from the social movements of the 1960s
284   created an expansion of environmental ministries within governments. This
285   culminated in the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment
286   which set out the framework for the United Nations Environment Programme
287   (UNEP), the UN's environmental arm, and ultimately led to the establishment of the
288   Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), the Ramsar
289   Convention on Wetlands of International Importance, and the World Heritage
290   Convention. This expanded network of international organisations strengthened the
291   legitimacy of existing bodies such as IUCN, and reduced their sole reliance on
292   governments for financial assistance (K. I. MacDonald, 2003).

293   From the early 1950s environmental NGOs were established at a high rate,
294   occupying a growing proportion of the international NGO sector through to the 1990s
295   (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Since the 1980s, global governance more generally has
296   shifted from a predominant role of state-to-state negotiation to a more fragmented
297   process (Biermann, 2009), often involving a greater role of NGOs, corporations and
298   other private actors in deliberation and decision making (W. F. Fisher, 1997; Heins,
299   2008; Partelow et al., 2020; Polletta et al., 1999). The transition from state-led
300   regulation to more polycentric governance was arguably most pronounced in
301   environmental politics, with decisions commonly influenced by a diversity of actors,
302   both state and non-state, often with starkly different motivations, positions, funding,
303   and influence (Arsel & Büscher, 2012; Himley, 2008; Igoe & Brockington, 2007;
304   Lemos & Agrawal, 2006; McCarthy & Prudham, 2004). This was accompanied by a
305   shift from global conservation governance being driven by the scientific community to
306   a reliance on external finance and technical support from NGOs, often taking place
307   through collaborative projects (C. MacDonald, 2008; K. I. MacDonald, 2003). Now,
308   policy creation takes place in what has been referred to as an 'institutional void' (M.
309   Hajer, 2003), a fragmented governance architecture of global decision making where
310   there are no generally accepted rules for policy creation, decisions have

311   consequences crossing traditional polities, and there are far more actors influencing

312   decision making and accepted knowledge (Biermann, 2009; M. Hajer, 2003).

313   The World Conservation Strategy (1980) was a major turning point in this trend

314   within global conservation governance. Developed largely by IUCN, the World

315   Conservation Strategy introduced numerous terms such as sustainability (notably

316   sustainable development) and genetic diversity (K. I. MacDonald, 2003). K.

317   MacDonald (2003) goes on to describe the inclusion of sustainability as particularly

318   attractive to a wide range of organisations that benefitted from a framing of 'eco-

319   development', who subsequently provided extensive funding for the document

320   (p9). This was further solidified by the 1992 Rio Earth Summit (also known as the

321   United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), or Earth

322   Summit) which set out the structure of global environmental governance for the

323   years to come, leading to the Rio Conventions such as the United Nations

324   Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the United Nations

325   Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) and the Convention on Biological

326   Diversity (CBD), all of which feature a prominent role of environmental NGOs in their

327   proceedings (Partelow et al., 2020).

328   While decisions are still, for the most part, taken by states, non-state actors

329   increasingly participate in negotiations. This matches with the wider paradigm shift of

330   neoliberalism, what Corson et al. (2019) refer to as 'a political and economic reform

331   agenda', placing an increased momentum towards 'stakeholder participation' (p2-3).

332   Corson et al. (2019) go on to describe how the shift from legally binding international

333   agreements to mechanisms of voluntary compliance have required global institutions

334   to pivot to maintaining their importance and influence through the creation of

335   'narratives, metrics, and non-binding commitments', within which they include the

336   Aichi Biodiversity Targets and the Sustainable Development Goals (Biermann &

337   Pattberg, 2012; Norichika & Biermann, 2017). Such agreements, they argue,

338   establish new knowledge regimes (Campbell, Hagerman, et al., 2014) and make

339   space for new actors and thus new paradigms within the governance process, for

340   example that of natural capital (Swyngedouw, 2005). Alongside the emerging role of

341   non-governmental actors in environmental policy creation in both local and

342   international forums (Allan & Hadden, 2017; Larsen, 2018; Thaler et al., 2019), they

343   also have a role in shaping public discourse on the environment and people's

344   perception of these issues globally (Brulle, 1996; Buscher & Fletcher, 2020; Cooper,

345   1996). Corson et al. (2015) frame conferences as 'critical terrain on which struggles

346   over hegemonic discourses are fought and critical sites for the manufacture of civil

347   society's consent'. This framing draws on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony as

348   the mechanism through which consent is manufactured (Gramsci, 2010) and situates

349   these events as the site where the powerful narratives organising conservation are

350   both created and challenged. Past studies on the views of environmental NGOs in

351   particular have found that the ideology and political activities of such organisations

352   have significant influences over political action (Dalton et al., 2003), and while many

353   have had roles in opposing unsustainable and damaging corporate activities

354   (Daubanes & Rochet, 2018; Polletta et al., 1999), many of the most influential

355   conservation NGOs and 'think-tanks' driving global environmental policy also have

356   deep financial ties to the corporate world and interests likely to benefit from

357   deregulation (Anyango-van Zwieten et al., 2019; Griffith & Knoeber, 1986; Sullivan,

358   2013; L. M. Taylor, 2020). Field-configuring events and institutions have become the

359   grounds for competing interest groups to both promote economistic approaches to

360   conservation (Fletcher, 2014; K. I. MacDonald & Corson, 2012) and critique them

361   (Corson et al., 2015, 2019).

362   **Part 2: Current knowledge on environmental forums**

363   *Field configuring events and collaborative event ethnography*

364   Studies have explored the integration of new ideas into global conservation

365   governance, for example the growing influence and access of corporations and the

366   financial sector in conservation (Holmes, 2012; Holmes & Cavanagh, 2016), how

367   these market-centred ideas have been mainstreamed within global conservation

368   (Corson et al., 2019; Sullivan, 2013), and even outlining how international fora have

369   become the main route for this mainstreaming (K. I. MacDonald & Corson, 2012).

370   However, to date, most explorations of field configuring events in global conservation

371   governance have focused on the participatory elements in the wider events that take

372   place parallel to the decision making forums, mainly through collaborative event

373   ethnography and neatly summarised by Corson et al., 2019).

374   An early example of the application of this methodology to global conservation
375   governance at IUCN's 2008 World Conservation Congress demonstrated a
376   significant number of events held in the forum and even decisions voted on by the
377   state and non-state Membership in the Members' Assembly largely aimed at
378   influencing the upcoming 2010 Conference of Parties (COP) of the UN's Convention
379   on Biological Diversity, a state-centred decision making forum (Campbell & Brosius,
380   2010). Indeed, they describe most of the events held at the WCC's forum as having
381   little to do with the Resolutions and Recommendations being voted on by IUCN's
382   Membership in the Members' Assembly.

383   The second collaborative event ethnography explored CBD's COP10 in 2010, finding
384   extensive conflict over financing of conservation, especially between global regions,
385   with 'developing countries' protesting language centred on market-based
386   mechanisms and a prominence of narratives of finance gaps, market-based
387   conservation and targets as justifications for new conservation enclosures
388   (Campbell, Hagerman, et al., 2014). Overall, they found that, contrasting the focus of
389   IUCN's WCC on influencing CBD, the CBD COP 10 measured its success relative to
390   the UN's Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), with extensive
391   focus on linking biodiversity to climate change. Again contrasting with the 2008
392   WCC, Campbell et al. (2014) found that the side events at CBD's COP 10 were
393   aimed at directly influencing or mirroring formal CBD decisions, drawing on previous
394   decisions such as the Aichi Biodiversity Targets.

395   A later collaborative event ethnography explored the Rio + 20 conference on the
396   theme of 'Green Economy' in 2012, finding dynamic and changing assemblages of
397   actors that formed and shaped the proposed document through both formal and
398   informal debates before the main conference began (Corson et al., 2015). Further,
399   they found that, while interest groups didn't always achieve their stated goals, their
400   attempts furthered the institutionalisation of their narratives and logics and thus
401   facilitated adoption at future events (Gray, 2018).

402   The next ethnography covered the 2014 World Parks Congress (Corson et al.,
403   2019), finding an extensive role of nonbinding international documents in
404   coordinating global conservation governance and that the narratives circulating at
405   global environmental fora both reflect and influence conservation practice at specific,

406   local sites (see Gruby et al., 2016, 2017). The results of this ethnography also detail

407   further alignment of private sector, government and NGO actors on natural capital,

408   biodiversity offsets and extractivism at the 2014 WPC.

409   The latest collaborative event ethnography covered IUCN's 2016 WCC, again

410   demonstrating the importance of non-binding documents in coordinating global

411   conservation, the consolidation of natural capital within global conservation, and

412   finding actors such as IUCN's Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social

413   Policy (CEESP) as shifting the discursive terrain to include rights-based approaches

414   and the rights of Indigenous Peoples (Corson et al., 2019).

415   Across all of these studies a key finding was that such events serve as sites for

416   'orchestration and performance', establishing what is and isn't accepted within the

417   global conservation agenda. Corson et al. (2019), in their summary of these

418   investigations, describe global conservation governance as 'as processual, dynamic,

419   and contingent, constituted through constantly shifting assemblages of state and

420   nonstate actors, devices and narratives that collectively configure fields of

421   governance' (p63).

422   **Part 3: IUCN as a case study for exploring the forming of the global**

423   **conservation agenda**

424   *Unique features of IUCN*

425   IUCN describes itself as a democratic union aiming to 'conserve nature and

426   accelerate the transition to sustainable development' (https://www.iucn.org/about).

427   Every four years it hosts the World Conservation Congress (WCC) consisting of a

428   forum – where informal events are held to inform and debate pressing issues in

429   conservation – and the Members' Assembly, where Resolutions and

430   Recommendations are debated and voted on. Unlike strictly intergovernmental fora,

431   defined by sole inclusion of national governments in formal deliberation and

432   decision-making (Partelow et al., 2020), IUCN's Membership includes non-

433   governmental organisations and Indigenous Peoples' Organisations (IPOs) with

434   similar rights to propose, debate and vote on Resolutions and Recommendations in

435   the motions process. These motions are created, shaped, and ultimately accepted or

436   rejected at the WCC every four years, and are the means by which Members can

437   influence other Members and non-Members or direct the policy and priorities of

438   IUCN as a whole. The intention is for the motions process to serve as a deliberative

439   democratic process, allowing Members to amplify issues important to them and

440   codify their values within IUCN policy. This puts civil society on a relatively equal

441   platform with state Members, a structure that is unique to IUCN within international

442   environmental fora. Therefore, IUCN's motions process serves as a useful case

443   study for investigating where certain ideas and interests that make up the

444   conservation agenda originate from, how different actors contest these ideas, and

445   how these issues are or are not resolved.

446   *Details of IUCN's motions process*

447   All IUCN Members are entitled to propose motions and are advised to collaborate

448   with one of IUCN's six Commissions (composed of volunteer experts in their fields)

449   before submitting for review. IUCN aims to process every submitted motion 'fairly

450   and equitably, with adequate communication with proponents and co-sponsors

451   related to rejecting, amending or merging motions, explaining the rationale' (IUCN,

452   2020a). In the technical review IUCN Secretariat staff and volunteers assess

453   submitted motions against standardised criteria (e.g. does this interfere with IUCN's

454   programme, is it fully costed etc.) and submit their report to the Motions Working

455   Group, an assemblage of IUCN's Council and other staff within the Secretariat. At

456   the first Motions Working Group meeting motions are either accepted or rejected

457   based on the outcome of the technical review. If accepted, since 2016 motions are

458   then published online and pass on to an online debate. During this debate IUCN

459   Members have a chance to read the proposed motion and submit comments on an

460   online portal to edit or change aspects of the motion. These debates are coordinated

461   by facilitators, again from IUCN's Secretariat, Commissions or other relevant

462   volunteers, who mediate the online discussion, keep the Members to a strict

463   deadline of two periods open to comments and two re-drafts of the motion. Facilitator

464   guidance outlines their role in mediating discussion and attempting to resolve

465   disputes in order to achieve consensus, with an emphasis on building consensus

466   over identifying sites of contention. At the end of this period facilitators write a report

467   on the online debate for their motion, including any notable outstanding sites of

468   contention and their recommendation for whether the motion requires further debate

469   or has already reached consensus, and submits it to the Motions Working Group. At

470   the second Motions Working Group motions are sorted according to their 'maturity',

471   with motions deemed to have achieved consensus going on to an online vote ahead

472   of the World Conservation Congress, and those deemed contentious given time

473   during the Members' Assembly for debate and voting and 'contact groups' time slots

474   created for each motion. Contact groups are effectively side sessions where

475   Members can debate motion text and suggest edits, Commission members can

476   provide technical information but not suggest specific edits, and the contact group

477   mediators attempt to structure the session and reach consensus. Regardless of

478   whether consensus is achieved, all motions go on to be debated and eventually

479   voted on at the Members' Assembly. At the Members' Assembly voting must take

480   place in-person, Members who do not send delegates can either vote by proxy (an

481   in-person delegate from another Member casts their vote for them) or not vote. Each

482   motion can be debated by Members, attempting to persuade the rest of the

483   Membership to vote for or against a specific motion, and then motions are voted on.

484   For the purposes of voting, the Membership is split into two sections, one for states

485   (Category A), the other combining NGOs (Category B) and IPOs (Category C). Both

486   these sections have the same weighting, so the relatively smaller group of state

487   Members has effectively the same voting power as the larger combined section of

488   NGOs and IPOs. For governance motions (dealing with internal IUCN functioning),

489   motions must pass with ⅔ of overall votes cast, weighted between the two sections,

490   while other decisions including motions require only a simple majority of votes cast.

491   Abstentions are not counted as votes cast, so are entirely neutral as a voting option.

492   While NGO and IPO Members get a single vote, state Members receive three votes,

493   one of which is exercised collectively by the combination of government agency

494   Members of their state. These subnational government Members within a state

495   collectively have one vote, regardless of whether or not they are from a state which

496   is a state Member (for more information on voting rights, see page 14/15 of

497   https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/2022-002-En.pdf). If

498   successful, non-governance motions become Resolutions (addressed to IUCN) or

499   Recommendations (addressed to third parties or Members) (IUCN, 2019b). This

500   process is outlined in the following diagram:

501

Figure 1: IUCN's motions process. The coloured boxes represent key points where different groups within IUCN can influence motions.

502
503

504

505   *The impact of IUCN on global environmental governance*

506   IUCN has two roles as defined by Stuart et al. (2017), the first being as a provider of

507   environmental data and guidelines termed its 'technical role', the second being its

508   decision-making forum in the Members' Assembly, termed its 'convening

509   role'. Between these roles IUCN has facilitated the creation of the 1980 World

510   Conservation Strategy (IUCN, 2018a; IUCN et al., 1980), the establishment of

511   international environmental treaties such as CITES, Ramsar, and CBD, and was the

512   first environmental organisation with observer status at the United Nations General

513   Assembly, 'delivering the policy perspectives of its Members at the highest

514   international level of diplomacy' (IUCN, 2018b). In addition, IUCN is the central agent

515   responsible for producing and circulating globally accepted datasets, frameworks

516   and guidelines including the Red List of Endangered Species (Hoffmann et al., 2008;

517   Rodrigues et al., 2006), guidelines for protected area management, and new and

518   emerging issues such as IUCN's guidelines on synthetic biology (IUCN,

519   2020g). IUCN's convening role provides Members a chance of amplifying issues of

520   concern to them to the global stage, backed by IUCN's Membership of 1300

521   governments, NGOs, and IPOs, while also legitimising IUCN as a core player in

522   setting the global conservation agenda. As such, IUCN plays a major role in setting

523   and modifying what is accepted as conservation globally, what MacDonald (2003)

524   describes as 'producing and circulating a definition of what constitutes conservation'

525   (p1).

526   **Part 4: Mixed methods research framework and thesis chapters**

527   The research questions that this thesis attempts to answer are multifaceted and

528   would be impossible to answer purely through qualitative or quantitative methods

529   alone. However, through the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods we

530   can triangulate information to gain a more rigorous understanding of process through

531   cross-checking between methodologies. It also allows for more in-depth insights,

532   using each methodology to fill the gaps in the other, combining broad generalisations

533   of trends and patterns alongside in-depth analysis of case studies to further explore

534   certain ideas. As per the conclusions of Timans et al. (2019), we avoided overly-

535   standardised methodological framework in favour of creating our own framework

536   more tailored to both our available data and the questions we are attempting to

537   answer. This framework is outlined in the following diagram:

538
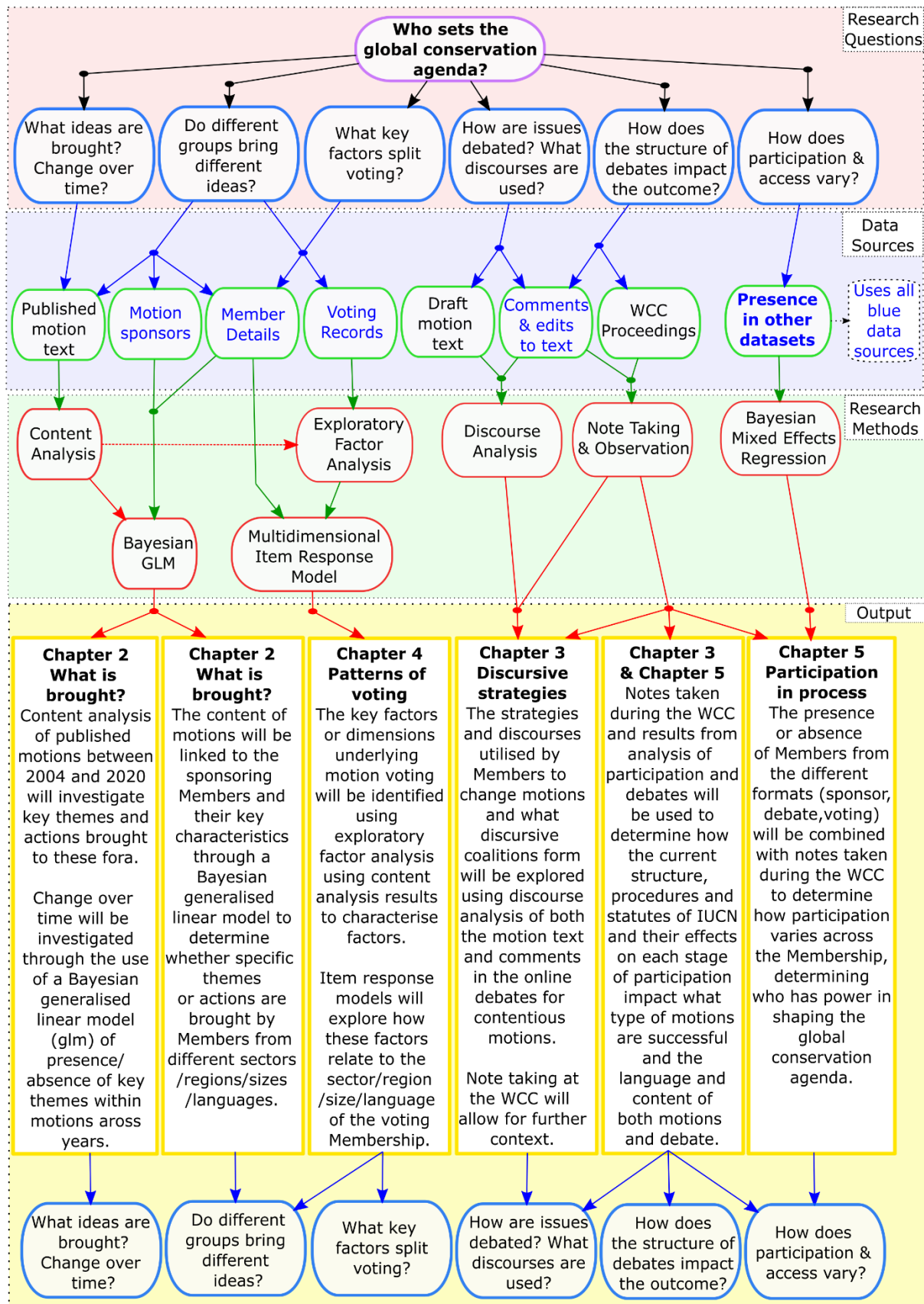
539 **Figure 2: Thesis outline on how each of the six questions raised will be answered, including**
540 **data sources, methods, and a summary.**

541

542 This thesis will consist of four empirical chapters to answer the six questions set out
543 in this introduction. The order of chapters matches the chronological order of the
544 motions process with motion proposal, then debate, then voting, and finally
545 investigating participation across the components.

546 *Chapter 2: Variation in policy themes prioritised by conservation decision makers*
547 *over the last two decades.*

548 The first empirical chapter consists of a content analysis of published IUCN
549 Resolutions and Recommendations at the five WCCs in 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016 and
550 2020, outlining the core thematic and operational content and then linking this
551 content to the key characteristics of the sponsoring Members. This draws on three
552 data sources – the published content of IUCN Resolutions and Recommendations,
553 the list of which IUCN Members sponsored each motion, and the key characteristics
554 of each IUCN Member. Content was explored by inductive content analysis to allow
555 themes to arise from the text, and then analysed using a Bayesian generalised linear
556 model. This helps to answer questions 1 and 2, investigating the core ideas brought
557 to the motions process, change over time, and whether different groups bring
558 different ideas.

559 *Chapter 3: The discursive strategies shaping IUCN's agenda – a case study of IUCN*
560 *motions.*

561 The second empirical chapter investigates the online debate component of the
562 motions process to uncover the discourses present in both text and comments as
563 well as the discursive strategies participants use to shape motions to suit their
564 interest. The data sources used in this chapter were original and final motion text
565 and the comments submitted by IUCN Members in online debates. This chapter
566 utilised discourse analysis of both motion text and the online debates associated with
567 controversial motions to identify discourses, discourse coalitions and key strategies
568 used by participants. This helps to answer questions 4 and 5 through outlining the
569 dynamics of motion debates and in providing insight into how the structure of
570 debates impacts the outcome.

571   *Chapter 4: Positions of conservation decision making organisations on key*

572   *conceptual divides vary by sector, region, language, and size.*

573   The third such chapter investigates the voting records of IUCN motions, generalising

574   patterns of voting into key underlying dimensions across which individual IUCN

575   Members can be located. This chapter used two data sources – the voting records of

576   IUCN Members at the 2021 WCC and the dataset of their key characteristics. This

577   chapter utilised exploratory factor analysis to first identify the key factors underlying

578   voting, then fit a multidimensional item response model to investigate between

579   positions on these factors and key characteristics. This helps in answering questions

580   2 and 3 as the key divides in voting are outlined and then how position along these

581   varies with sector, region, size and preferred language.

582   *Chapter 5: Participation in global conservation governance varies by organisation*

583   *type, region, size, and language.*

584   The final empirical chapter covers all the data sources used in prior chapters to

585   examine participation in the different components of IUCN's motions process by

586   different Members. The data sources for this chapter were re-used from other

587   empirical chapters, investigating each Member's presence or absence in motion

588   sponsorship, online debate and voting, combined in a Bayesian mixed effects

589   regression with characteristics to identify trends. This helps to answer question 6, as

590   we can assess how participation in sponsorship, debates and voting vary between

591   Members from different sectors, regions, sizes and preferred languages.

592   *Chapter 6: Discussion*

593   The final chapter will use the results of each chapter to explore the overarching

594   question over who sets the global conservation agenda, discussing the general

595   findings across chapters and relating them to the wider context.

596   **Impact of COVID 19 Pandemic on available methods**

597   Originally we intended to conduct semi-structured interviews with key figures in the

598   motions process, both employees within IUCN's Secretariat and the states and

599   organisations participating as IUCN Members. This would allow us to investigate the

600   reasons behind some of our key findings, gaining input directly from the actors

601   involved and providing justifications for their decisions. However, the COVID 19

602   pandemic significantly restricted the methods we were able to undertake and

603   delayed IUCN's World Conservation Congress to a point in the timeline where

604   significant new primary research was unfeasible. This required substantial changes

605   to both the timeline of the research and the articulation of different methodologies

606   available to answer our overall question. This has introduced a significant limitation

607   to this thesis; that, while demonstrating some consistent and important patterns in

608   priority and participation, we are unable to provide reasons for these trends. As such,

609   we leave the causal factors of the patterns we identify open to interpretation, instead

610   providing possible causes and indicating knowledge gaps for future research to

611   clarify.

612   **Role of IUCN and involvement in the motions process in this thesis**

613   IUCN acted as a CASE (Collaborative Awards in Science and Engineering) partner

614   for this research, part funding it alongside the Natural Environment Research Council

615   (NERC). Part of their role as a CASE partner means providing the student training,

616   facilities and expertise not available in a standard academic setting. This role was

617   facilitated by Dr Thomas Brooks, IUCN's Chief Scientist, who provided extensive

618   advice and guidance during this project. Dr Brooks introduced me to IUCN's Core

619   Charging Team, the Secretariat members tasked with organising submitting motions,

620   overseeing motion debates and ultimately voting both online and at the WCC.

621   Discussions with both Dr Brooks and the Core Motions Team greatly aided my

622   understanding of the motions process, both in technical details and the more

623   informal aspects, shaping my plans for how to answer the key research questions

624   and my interpretation of the results we found.

625   As part of building my understanding of IUCN's motions process and as IUCN's role

626   as CASE partner, I facilitated a motion for the 2021 WCC. This motion was fairly

627   uncontroversial and eventually passed in the online votes before the WCC itself.

628   However, this experience of both facilitating a motion and engaging with the

629   guidance for facilitators issued by IUCN shaped my understanding of how IUCN

630   envisions the motions process and their approach to managing conflict.

631 Additional insight was gained through attending IUCN's 2021 WCC. This resulted in

632 extensive note taking during the less formal aspects of the congress (such as the

633 opening ceremony and side-events) and the more motions-relevant components

634 (contact groups and the Members' Assembly where motions are debated and voted

635 on). The insight gained during this process shaped my interpretation of the results

636 from empirical chapters and the overall conclusions of this thesis.

637 **Data use and shareability**

638 IUCN part funded this project as a CASE partner, and has provided previously

639 unavailable datasets to enable the research outlined in this thesis. To allow for

640 replication of the methods here outlined, and to facilitate future work in this field,

641 IUCN has agreed to the related datasets to be shared under varying states of

642 anonymity. This agreement is set out in Table 1 below.

643 **Table 1: Data sharing agreement with IUCN**

Data Source	Years available	Public Availability	Sharing	Comments
Motion text	2004/2008/2012 /2016/2020	Available	Can share unedited	No issues with sharing.
List of motion sponsors	2004/2008/2012 /2016/2020	Available	Can share unedited	No issues with sharing.
Member characteristics	2020	Not available	Can share anonymised	From IUCN's private archives. Must be anonymised.
Member fee categories	2020	Not available	Can share anonymised	From IUCN's private archives. Must be anonymised.
Voting records	2004/2008/2012 /2016/2020	Not available	Can share anonymised	Specific voting records for Members not public. Must be anonymised.
Draft motions	2020	Not available	Cannot be shared	Early drafts can not be shared.
Comments and suggested edits	2020	Not available	Cannot be shared	Comments and suggested edits more broadly cannot be shared.

644 **2. Variation in policy themes prioritised by conservation decision makers**
645 **over the last two decades**

646 **1.0 Abstract**

647 The global conservation agenda is constituted and organised through international
648 conferences, congresses, and other fora. These events are key to the construction of
649 established definitions, goals and practices of conservation, and serve as spaces for
650 open debate and contestation of values and interests. However, to date there has
651 been little empirical investigation of the concepts and actors involved in these
652 debates and which groups bring specific ideas and interests into the discussion.
653 Here we examine trends in the representation of concepts over time and differences
654 between the interests and priorities of actors engaged in creating conservation policy
655 via Resolutions and Recommendations at the World Conservation Congress (WCC)
656 of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). The prevalence of
657 most themes has been stable since 2004, but the inclusion of concepts such as
658 climate change and risk has increased over time. We also found that issues raised
659 varied between groups, regions, and organisational sizes, with, for example,
660 institutions in the newly admitted Indigenous Peoples Organisations (IPOs) IUCN
661 Membership category focusing on issues of human rights, culture and indigenous
662 sovereignty. Our results demonstrate both the existence and the importance of a
663 wide diversity of interests amongst organisations participating in global conservation
664 decision making.

665 **2.0 Introduction**

666 Contemporary conservation is complex, involving a diverse assemblage of actors
667 carrying out actions at multiple scales (Liu et al., 2007; Poiani et al., 2000). This
668 complexity mirrors that of conservation issues, which often span borders and
669 traditional polities (e.g. international wildlife trade, carbon emissions) (Game et al.,
670 2014), involve networks of public, private and non-profit organisations (Corson et al.,
671 2019; Death, 2010; Lemos & Agrawal, 2006), and face political opposition and
672 conflicting interests (Bluwstein, 2018; Igoe & Brockington, 2002; Massé & Lunstrum,
673 2016; Paudel et al., 2020). Effective conservation governance therefore requires
674 large scale cooperation and coordination of efforts to establish a shared agenda that

675 both encompasses the complexity of the issues faced and recognises the frequent

676 inherent conflicts involved between stakeholders (Burch et al., 2019; Montana, 2017;

677 Obermeister, 2017; Rose, 2018). Conferences of international conservation

678 institutions play a prominent role in the coordination of conservation through the

679 establishment of intergovernmental policy (Campbell, Corson, et al., 2014; Corson et

680 al., 2019). These fora shape the international conservation agenda and facilitate the

681 contestation of ideas and priorities (Adeyeye et al., 2019; Hardy & Maguire, 2010; K.

682 I. MacDonald, 2010a, 2010b).

683 Such international conservation forums have been described as spaces for the

684 creation of narratives, alliances, agreements and conflict over global conservation

685 governance, as well as allowing for debate and negotiation on agendas and

686 concepts within conservation (Corson et al., 2019; Death, 2010; Lampel & Meyer,

687 2008). Conservation actors from across the globe congregate at these events,

688 making them opportunities for coordination and norm setting, as well as for the

689 introduction of new ideas and narratives to global conservation governance (Hardy &

690 Maguire, 2010; K. I. MacDonald, 2010a; Wilshusen & MacDonald, 2017). As such,

691 international conservation fora allow formulation of global conservation governance

692 and debate on conservation's definitions and agenda. However, while useful as

693 collaborative spaces for practitioners, such events have been criticised for being

694 unwelcoming to outside voices, over-representing the voices of national

695 governments, NGOs, funding bodies and private institutions over indigenous and

696 local groups (McLean et al., 2012), and being generally unaccepting of indigenous

697 knowledge systems (Adeyeye et al., 2019; Dove, 2006). Thus, recognizing what

698 concepts are brought to these fora, and which actors promote different concepts, is

699 important to understanding conservation governance and how the global

700 conservation agenda is shaped.

701

702 IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature) describes itself as "a

703 democratic union, bringing together experts, states, practitioners and organisations

704 to conserve nature and accelerate the transition to sustainable development"

705 (https://www.iucn.org/about). Unlike intergovernmental fora, which are by definition

706 beholden to national governments and thus may not reflect the views of wider

707 conservation stakeholders and practitioners (Partelow et al., 2020), it is structured to

708   give civil society and indigenous organisations voices at the same level as

709   governments. Thus, its Membership of more than 1,400 governments, non-

710   governmental organisations (NGOs), and indigenous peoples' organisations (IPOs)

711   meet every four years at the World Conservation Congress (WCC) to 'set the

712   direction' of IUCN's work, and to shape global conservation through IUCN's motions

713   process (https://www.iucn.org/about). Motions, if and when adopted by Membership

714   vote as Resolutions or Recommendations, are the means by which Members can

715   influence other Members and non-Members, and steer the policy and priorities of

716   IUCN as a whole. The creation of IUCN motions is intended as a deliberative

717   democratic process, amplifying the priorities and values of the Membership directly

718   into published IUCN policy. IUCN, both in its role as a provider of technical advice

719   and from its motion creation process, has facilitated the creation of the 1980 World

720   Conservation Strategy (IUCN, 2018a), the establishment of international

721   environmental treaties such as the Convention on International Trade in Endangered

722   Species of Wild Fauna and Flora(CITES), the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of

723   International Importance Especially as Waterfowl Habitat, and Convention on

724   Biological Diversity (CBD), and was the first environmental organisation with

725   observer status at the United Nations General Assembly, 'delivering the policy

726   perspectives of its Members at the highest international level of diplomacy' (IUCN,

727   2018, p3). As such, IUCN has been described as 'producing and circulating a

728   definition of what constitutes conservation' (K.I. MacDonald, 2003, p1).

729

730   Given the key role IUCN plays in shaping global conservation, it is important to

731   understand the dynamics by which its agenda is set. Such understanding is

732   contingent on knowledge of what ideas and interests constitute IUCN's published

733   policy, what groups are active in advancing these ideas, and how their engagement

734   in IUCN's motions process influences what is raised. Here, we therefore investigate

735   the priorities of IUCN's Membership through the public record of their sponsorship of

736   specific motion content, and explore relationships between Member characteristics

737   and the themes and actions they promote, focusing on the following two questions:

738

739   i)   What themes and recommended actions have been most prevalent

740   within IUCN policy published since 2004, and how have they changed

741   over time?

742   ii)   Do IUCN members, of different types, sizes, and preferred languages

743   and operating in different regions, propound different issues and ideas

744   for action?

745

3.0 Material and methods

746

3.1 IUCN's process of motion development

747

748 All IUCN Members are entitled to propose ("sponsor") motions. The motions undergo

749 technical review, and starting with the 2016 WCC have been published for online

750 debate. Then, if necessary, they are subject to in-person debate at the Members

751 Assembly, before being voted on. If accepted they become IUCN policy as

752 Resolutions (addressed to IUCN) or Recommendations (addressed to third parties)

753 (Fig. 1) (IUCN, 2020i). IUCN aims to process every submitted motion 'fairly and

754 equitably, with adequate communication with proponents and co-sponsors related to

755 rejecting, amending or merging motions, explaining the rationale' (IUCN, 2020i).

756
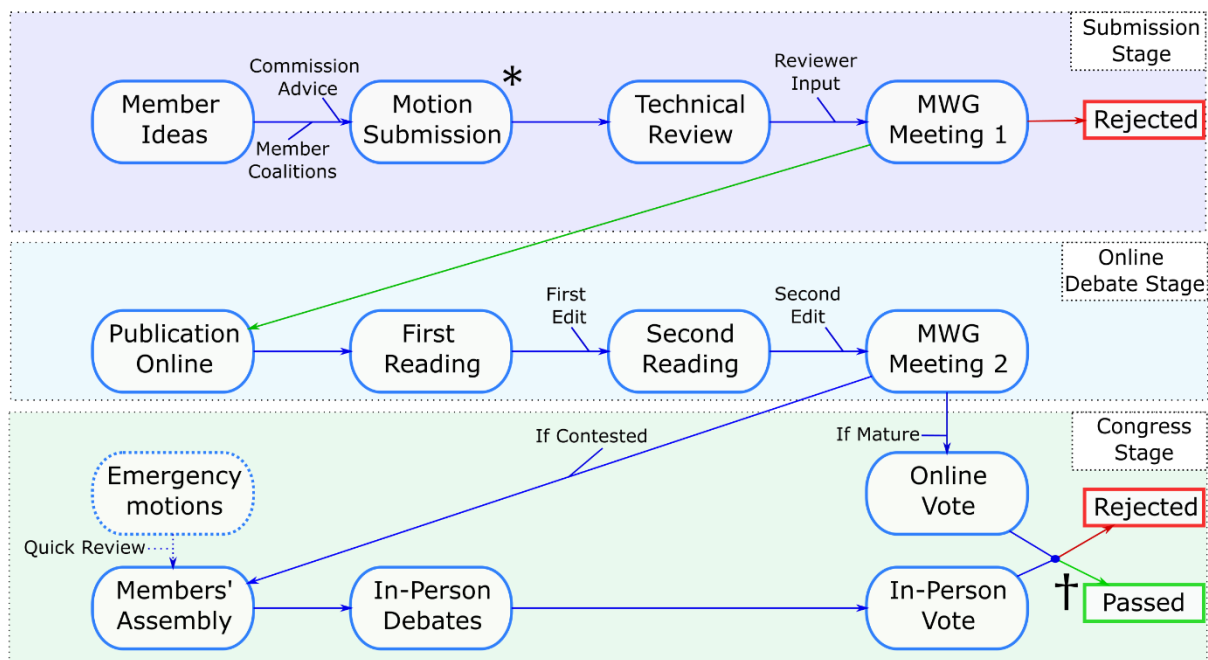
757 **Figure 3: Diagram of IUCN's motions process for the 2021 WCC. MWG = Motions Working**
758 **Group. "*" denotes point at which motion sponsorship analysed for this study; "†" denotes**
759 **point at which motion content analysed.**

760 We analyse the sponsorship of the motions as they are first submitted (denoted by
761 "*" in Figure 3), i.e. prior to the debate and voting across the IUCN Membership, as
762 well as the thematic content when they are finally published (denoted by "†" in Figure
763 3). While the specifics of motion sponsorship (e.g. the number of sponsors that each
764 motion can have and the number of sponsors required) have changed over time, the
765 act of sponsoring a motion clearly indicates an active endorsement of the motion in
766 question. As such, the thematic content of motions, including both the preamble of
767 the motion text (see Figure 4) and the proposed actions and aims in the operative
768 paragraphs, reflects issues that the sponsoring Members want to bring to the
769 decision-making forum of the motions process.

770
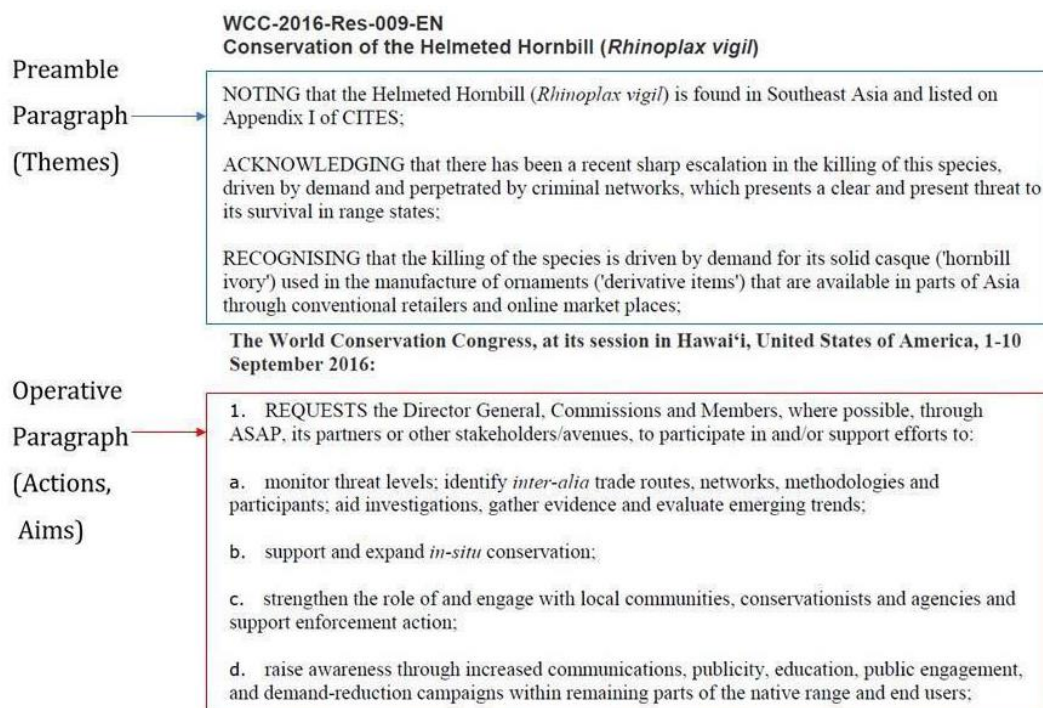
771 **Figure 4: Excerpt of Resolution 009 from the 2016 WCC in Hawai'i, USA (IUCN, 2016).**

772 IUCN motions have a set structure, consisting of a title, preambular paragraphs, and
773 operative paragraphs (Figure 4). The preambular section contains the context for the
774 motion, aiming to provide the reader with enough background knowledge about the
775 topic to understand the motion as a whole. The operative paragraphs then set out
776 the responses to the said issue, often through numbered points representing overall
777 goals which are then split into more specific objectives, each given a lower-case
778 letter. As such, the preamble contains the themes and context relevant to a given

779   motion, while the operative paragraph describes what the motion aims to achieve

780   and what action the motion is suggesting for IUCN or a third party to take.

781   *2.2 Data Sources*

782   *Member Information*

783   A file containing the relevant information for each IUCN Member in 2020 was

784   extracted from IUCN's online portal. The information contained within this file

785   includes a unique code for each Member, Membership category, statutory region,

786   and preferred language. A file documenting the membership fee category for each

787   Member, with fee groups based on either operational budget for NGOs or UN

788   contributions for states, was also used as a proxy for organisation size. Any

789   Members that had sponsored motions in the past but were missing from the

790   Members dataset were removed, leaving only Members with corresponding

791   covariate data.

792   *Motion sponsorship*

793   The process of submitting and sponsoring a motion includes writing it in a specific

794   format in one of IUCN's three official languages before submission for review. It is

795   also strongly advised that Members consult relevant experts within IUCN's

796   independent expert Commissions before submitting a motion. Records of motion

797   sponsorship were created from lists of proposed motions for each WCC event

798   detailing motion title, content and a list of sponsors. For the 2021 WCC this was

799   taken directly from the online congress portal. Number of sponsors for each motion

800   varied both between motions and between years. The lists of sponsors were

801   manually transferred to an Excel CSV file which was later matched with unique

802   member codes to combine with the Membership information dataset.

803   *Resolution and Recommendation content*

804   Resolution and Recommendation content was accessed by downloading copies of

805   the final published versions available online on IUCN's portal

806   [https://www.iucn.org/about/world-conservation-congress/congress-archives].

807

808

809 *2.3 Content Analysis*

810 To investigate the themes and propositions of Resolutions and Recommendations,

811 we undertook an inductive content analysis (Mayring, 2000) of 693 published IUCN

812 Resolutions and Recommendations from the WCC events in 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016

813 and 2020, following the methodology of Elo & Kyngäs (2008). We chose inductive

814 content analysis rather than using a pre-existing lexicon as we aimed to be guided

815 by the content that was raised by Members themselves. The software *NVivo 12* was

816 used for analysis (QSR, 2018) using the following protocol. An overview of our

817 methods is provided in Figure 5.

818
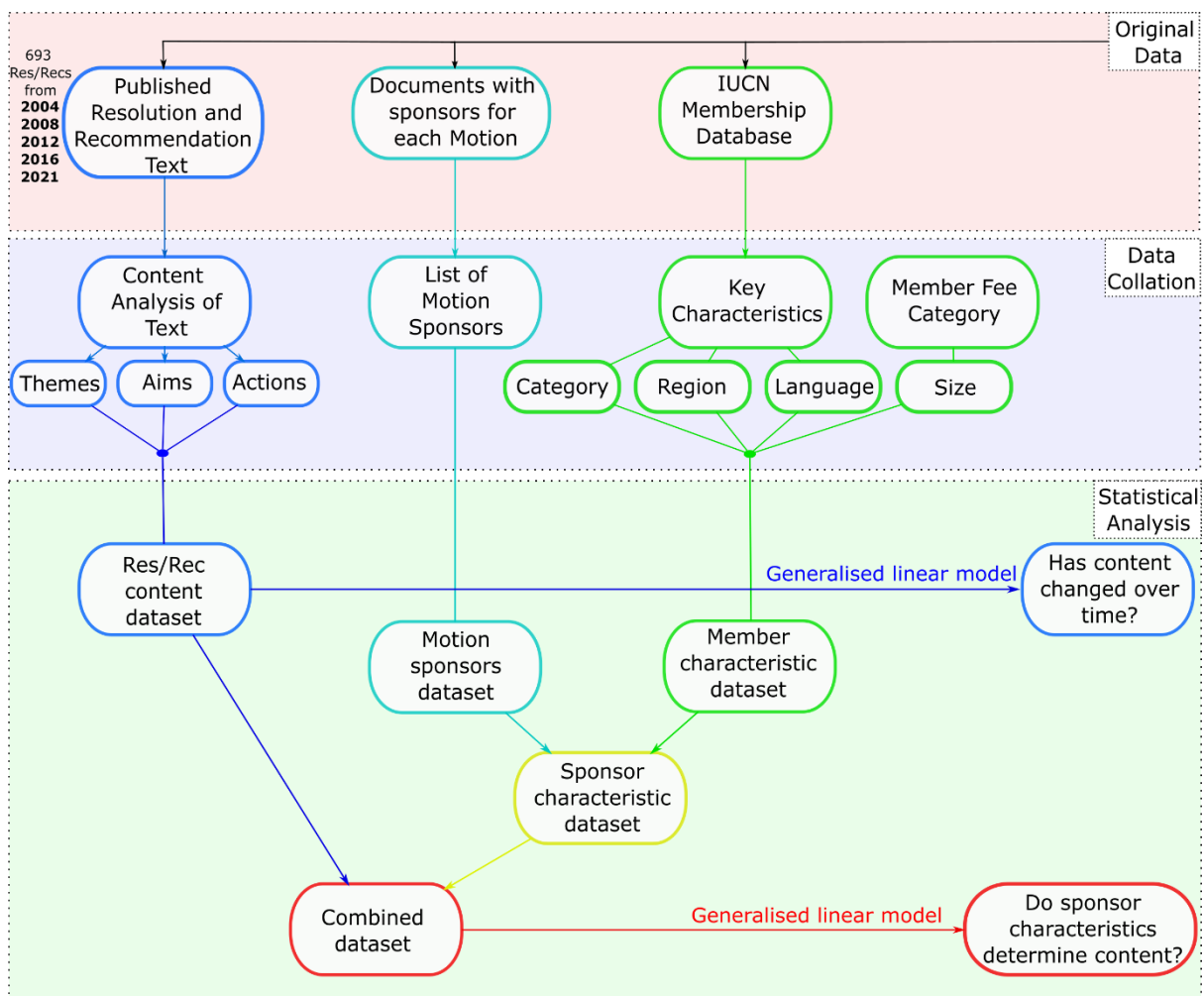
819 **Figure 5: Diagram of data collection, editing and analysis**.

820 The initial content analysis was conducted before the 2021 WCC and covered the

821 years 2004 to 2016. We took single motions (and their resultant Resolutions and

822 Recommendations) as our basic unit for analysis and recorded the presence or

823   absence of a given theme within the text of each Resolution or Recommendation for

824   later analysis. We trialled the coding process on the first twenty Resolutions and

825   Recommendations of 2004, then reviewed the resulting codes and associated text.

826   The purpose of this was to practice the methodology and to explore the structure of

827   Resolutions and Recommendations. From this, we decided to use separate sets of

828   codes for classifying themes, aims, and actions. We coded each year in

829   chronological order, assigning text from the preamble to coded 'themes', then the

830   second component to coded 'recommended actions'. When the 2016 content was

831   finished, Resolutions and Recommendations from 2004 and the first half of 2008

832   were reviewed retrospectively to ensure no codes were missed (ie, 244 of the 557

833   Resolutions and Recommendations considered). This resulted in no change.

834   The Recommendations and Resolutions resulting from the 2021 WCC were

835   analysed later than the others due to the delays resulting from the COVID 19

836   pandemic. The 2021 Recommendations and Resolutions were analysed using the

837   pre-existing code framework, repeating the process twice to confirm that coding was

838   consistent between the early and later motions.

839   The organisation phase involved ensuring each code was well defined, that the

840   content text made sense in relation to the code and that codes did not overlap in

841   definition. We then arranged the codes into a simple hierarchy, grouping related

842   thematic codes into more generalised categories which could be consistently

843   compared between Resolutions and Recommendations, and included in further

844   analysis.

845   Data encoding the presence or absence of codes corresponding to specific themes

846   or actions for each motion were exported from NVivo for statistical analysis. Each

847   Resolution or Recommendation could have multiple themes and actions and there

848   was no limit on the number of codes assigned. Resolutions or Recommendations

849   that were considered irrelevant to this study's enquiry were removed (i.e. because

850   they dealt solely with IUCN governance processes (e.g. 2016 Res 003 Including

851   regional governments in the structure of the Union) or had no explanatory text for

852   analysis outside amendments to IUCN Statutes (e.g. 2016 Res 007 Enhanced

853   practice and reforms of IUCN's governance). The list of removed Resolutions and

854   Recommendations is provided in Table 14, supplementary material.

855   *2.4 Member Characteristics*

856   IUCN records data on the characteristics of Member organisations, including

857   category (state, NGO or IPO), country, statutory region (the regionalisation

858   established in the IUCN Statutes), preferred language (of the three official IUCN

859   languages, English, French, and Spanish), and budget category. Operational region

860   (the regionalisation around which IUCN regional offices are organised) and

861   organisation type are also documented, but we did not consider these further

862   because they are not statutory documentation and in any case are highly correlated

863   with statutory region and Membership category, respectively. The following four

864   characteristics were therefore retained as predictors: Membership Category (A

865   Government/B NGO/C IPO); Statutory Region (Africa/South and East Asia/Meso &

866   South America/East Europe, North and Central Asia/North America and the

867   Caribbean/Oceania/West Asia/West Europe); Preferred Language

868   (English/Spanish/French); and size through the introduction of a separate dataset on

869   Member fees, which for NGOs & IPOs is determined by budget (Small, operating

870   costs <1million US$/Medium, operating costs over 1 million US$ and less than 8

871   million US$/Large, operating costs > 8 million US$) and for states by UN

872   contributions (Small, UN budget contribution <0.11%/Medium, UN budget

873   contribution over 0.11% and up to and including 1.31%/Large, UN budget

874   contribution over 1.31%). Several IPO organisations were registered as IUCN

875   Members in category B before the creation of category C for IPOs in 2016. These

876   were retrospectively classified as IPOs.

877   The composition of the Membership is shown in the following table.

878

879   **Table 2: Composition of IUCN's Membership by four covariates: Category, Language, Region**
880   **and Size**

Covariate	Level	Number	Percent
Category	State (A)	216	16
Category	NGO (B)	1100	80
Category	IPO (C)	19	1
Category	Affiliate (D)	43	3
Language	English	1030	75
Language	Spanish	173	13

Language	French	175	13
Region	Africa	240	17
Region	East Europe, North and Central Asia	64	5
Region	Meso and South America	200	15
Region	North America and the Carribean	158	11
Region	Oceania	52	4
Region	South and East Asia	273	20
Region	West Asia	77	6
Region	West Europe	314	23
Size	Small	1017	74
Size	Medium	145	11
Size	Large	71	5
Size	Affiliate	131	10
Size	Missing	14	1

881

882 *2.5 Statistical analysis*

883 Statistical analysis was performed using RStudio version 1.3.1073 (RStudio Team,
884 2020). Prevalence of themes, aims and actions within motions was analysed using
885 three Bayesian generalised linear models, each with a binomial response using the
886 'brms' package (Bürkner, 2017; Carpenter et al., 2017) to explore the effects of
887 change over time and the characteristics of motion sponsors on Resolution or
888 Recommendation content. The first model had the number of motions in which a
889 code was present over the total number of motions as the response variable, the
890 specific code was a unique identifier for the different thematic codes, and the
891 predictor was the year. The second model had the number of motions in which a
892 code was present over the total number of motions as the response function, with
893 specific code serving as an identifier for each thematic code and the predictors being
894 the WCC year and Member covariates (Category, region, language and size). These
895 are shown in the following Table.

896 Table 3: Model components for Bayesian generalised linear model

Component	Function	Coding	Levels
P	Response	Numeric	Number of motions with code present.
N	Response	Numeric	Total number of motions.
Code	Predictor	Categorical	Specific thematic motion code.

Category	Predictor	Categorical	State (A), NGO (B), IPO (C), Affiliate (D)
Language	Predictor	Categorical	English, Spanish, French
Region	Predictor	Categorical	Africa, East Europe, North and Central Asia, Meso and South America, North America and the Carribean, Oceania, South and East Asia, West Asia, West Europe
Size	Predictor	Categorical	Small, Medium, Large, Affiliate

897

898 For the three models (for theme, action and aim), models we chose a weakly

899 informative prior of a t-distribution with three degrees of freedom applied to all of the

900 fixed effect predictors to ensure that the output fell into sensible ranges while

901 allowing the results to match the underlying trends. The model had four Markov

902 chains which each ran for 5000 iterations, with the first 500 discarded as a warm up.

903 To assess model fit, we checked the rhat scores for each of the three models (for

904 theme, action and aim) to check for convergence. All models had an rhat score close

905 to 1, indicating convergence.

906 To facilitate interpretation of results, we conducted average predictive comparisons

907 (Gelman & Pardoe, 2006), predicting the probability of each theme being present

908 within a Resolution or Recommendation for scenarios where the characteristics of

909 sponsor organisations were systematically varied (e.g. comparing scenarios in which

910 all sponsors are NGOs vs those in which all sponsors are governmental).

911 **4.0 Results**

912 *3.1 Produced codes*

913 We conducted an inductive content analysis of over 500,000 words from 693

914 published IUCN Resolutions and Recommendations across the 2004, 2008, 2012,

915 2016, and 2021 WCC events. From this, twenty high-tier themes were produced

916 from the preamble (Table 4), while the operative section of each Resolution or

917 Recommendation had eight categories for generalisable aims (Table 15),

918 supplementary material) and fourteen classifications for actions (Table 5). The mean

919 number of themes contained within the preamble of a motion was 7.5, with the

920 operative section having a mean of 1.9 aims and 2.3 actions. Overall, the mean

921 number of codes assigned to a single motion was 11.7. Here, we present our results

922 focusing on analysis of the Resolution or Recommendation themes and actions.

923 Results focusing on the Resolution or Recommendation aims closely mirrored those

924 for themes (supplementary materials, Table 15, Figure 22, Figure 23, Figure 22).

925

926 **Table 4: High-tier themes from the Resolutions or Recommendations**

| Theme	Definition	Res No.	Example
Biodiversity	Reference to biodiversity generically.	3.005	NOTING that the European overseas territories are home to biodiversity of worldwide importance
Climate Change	Reference to climate change and effects.	3.084	CONCERNED that climate change is already having a serious impact on the world's biodiversity and human society
Conservation	Specific species conservation measures or principles.	3.039	RECALLING ongoing conservation developments in the Mediterranean, such as the Pyrenees Convention, the Alpine Convention, and other 'system projects' based projects
Cultural	Reference to issues of culture and language.	3.025	RECOGNIZING that each region has its own cultural values related to nature
Development	Reference to development, sustainable or otherwise.	3.003	NOTING that many authorities have committed themselves more widely to sustainable development
Ecosystems	Ecosystem conservation and reference to ecosystems.	3.035	AWARE of the need to protect and manage the outstanding natural areas of this region at the ecosystem level
Ethics	Reference to moral issues or ethical implications.	3.022	ACKNOWLEDGING the international community's commitment to the role of ethics in sustainable development
Finance/Business	Reference to private sector and/or its role in conservation.	3.060	RECOGNIZING that IUCN will not make optimal progress towards achieving its Mission unless and until it improves its interactions with key actors in the private sector;
Food	Issues of food security, sovereignty, crop wild relatives.	3.008	CONCERNED that current developments in GMOs as applied to agriculture, could affect the whole food chain and its associated ecosystems
Government/NGO	Actions of states/NGOs towards conservation.	3.003	CONSIDERING that, in their capacity as the administrative level closest to citizens, local and regional government authorities play an important role in encouraging society as a whole to protect the environment;
Human-Nature	Interaction/conflict/dependence between humanity and nature.	3.014	RECALLING that over 1.3 billion people living in conditions of extreme poverty, a high percentage of them women, generally in areas of high biodiversity, depend on biodiversity for their food security and health;
Human Pops	Issues around human populations.	3.063	RECOGNIZING that almost half the world's people live in cities and that this proportion is expected to grow to 60 percent by 2030;
Human Rights	Issues of human rights and wellbeing.	3.006	RECOGNIZING that water is fundamental for life and a finite natural resource which belongs to the Earth and all species for all time;
Indigenous	Indigenous sovereignty and involvement in conservation.	3.006	TROUBLED, however, that some indigenous and local communities have had the waters on which they depend polluted and exploited;
Global Agreements	Reference to other global institutions or agreements.	3.070	UNDERLINING the important role of the Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment and the Coastal Region of the Mediterranean (Barcelona Convention)
IUCN Specific	Reference back to previous motions or IUCN generally.	3.001	NOTING ALSO that, in total, 788 Resolutions and Recommendations have been adopted by the members at these sessions of the General Assembly and the World Conservation Congress;
Management	Management of nature including wildlife management.	3.012	ACKNOWLEDGING that all types of governance of natural resources -– including government-managed at different levels, community-based, co-managed and private – can be improved
Public Inclusion	Inclusion of the public, education and outreach.	3.081	CONCERNED WITH the lack of implementation of access to information, public participation, and access to justice rights at the national level;
Risks	Risks to nature and people (eg natural disasters, war, pollution).	3.046	NOTING with concern the detrimental impacts of war and violent conflict on natural and human environments;
Use of Resources	Use of natural resources, sustainable or otherwise.	3.036	GREATLY CONCERNED about the continued harmful levels of overfishing of certain fish species in the oceans around Antarctica

927 **Table 5: Recommended actions from the operative section of Resolutions or**
928 **Recommendations and their corresponding definitions.**

Action	Definition	Res No.	Example
Adapt Policies	Changes to policy and/or legal frameworks.	3.022	4. ENCOURAGES member organizations and states to examine the Earth Charter and to determine the role the Earth Charter can play as a policy guide
Bans & Moratoriums	Direct legal bans.	3.007	1. CALLS for a moratorium on further environmental releases of GMOs until these can be demonstrated to be safe for biodiversity
Capacity Building	Direct reference to building capacity.	3.008	4. CALLS UPON the IUCN Director General and the Commissions to work with members to identify potential synergies and taxonomic capacity-building partnerships.
Collaboration	Collaboration between Members.	3.014	5. DECIDES LIKEWISE to request multilateral and bilateral development and environment agencies to work together with IUCN on activities aimed at poverty reduction
Enforcement	More direct enforcement of laws/protected areas.	4.070	5. ASKS the Member States of the Alpine Convention and the Carpathian Convention to take an objective and effective position favouring simplified compliance procedures;
Environmental Monitoring	Monitoring of natural environment.	3.011	(d) support action to better regulate and monitor wildlife trade and eliminate illegal wildlife trade that threatens not only biodiversity but also animal and human health worldwide;
Funding	Increased funding for projects/organisations.	3.028	3. CALLS UPON those agencies, institutions and countries with the greatest financial capacity, to provide funding where it is required to ensure delivery within the shortest timeframes; and
Global Agreements	More participation in global agreements and institutions.	3.004	1. URGES African states, as far as they have not yet done so, to sign and ratify the revised African Convention in order to bring it into force as early as possible; and
Impact Assessments	Conducting impact assessment on specified issue.	3.111	(c) make sure that extensive evaluations are carried out on the ecological, social and cultural impact that each alternative might generate in Darién and the neighbouring regions
Plans & Strategies	Creation of new plans and strategies for future action.	3.005	(g) develop and implement an action plan for biodiversity conservation with ACP countries in each of the following areas of priority action:
Progress on Motions	Checking the progress of previously published motions.	4.011	1. RECOMMENDS that an on-line, automated system for members to submit contributions on their activities in relation to implementing the Resolutions and Recommendations
Regulations & Restrictions	Tighter limits or legal requirements.	3.068	(d) in the case of military active sonar, act with particular urgency to reduce impacts on beaked whales, and other potentially vulnerable species, by restricting training to low-risk areas,
Research	Calls for more knowledge and investigation.	3.015	4. REQUESTS the CEL to provide additional legal research, analysis and resources, and contribute to building the capacity of members in the enforcement of environmental laws
IUCN Resources	Utilising IUCN resources like the IUCN Red List or guidelines.	3.013	(a) CALLS UPON governments to make use of the data in the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species when considering the species to be afforded special conservation measures

929

3.2 Content of published Resolution or Recommendation over time

931
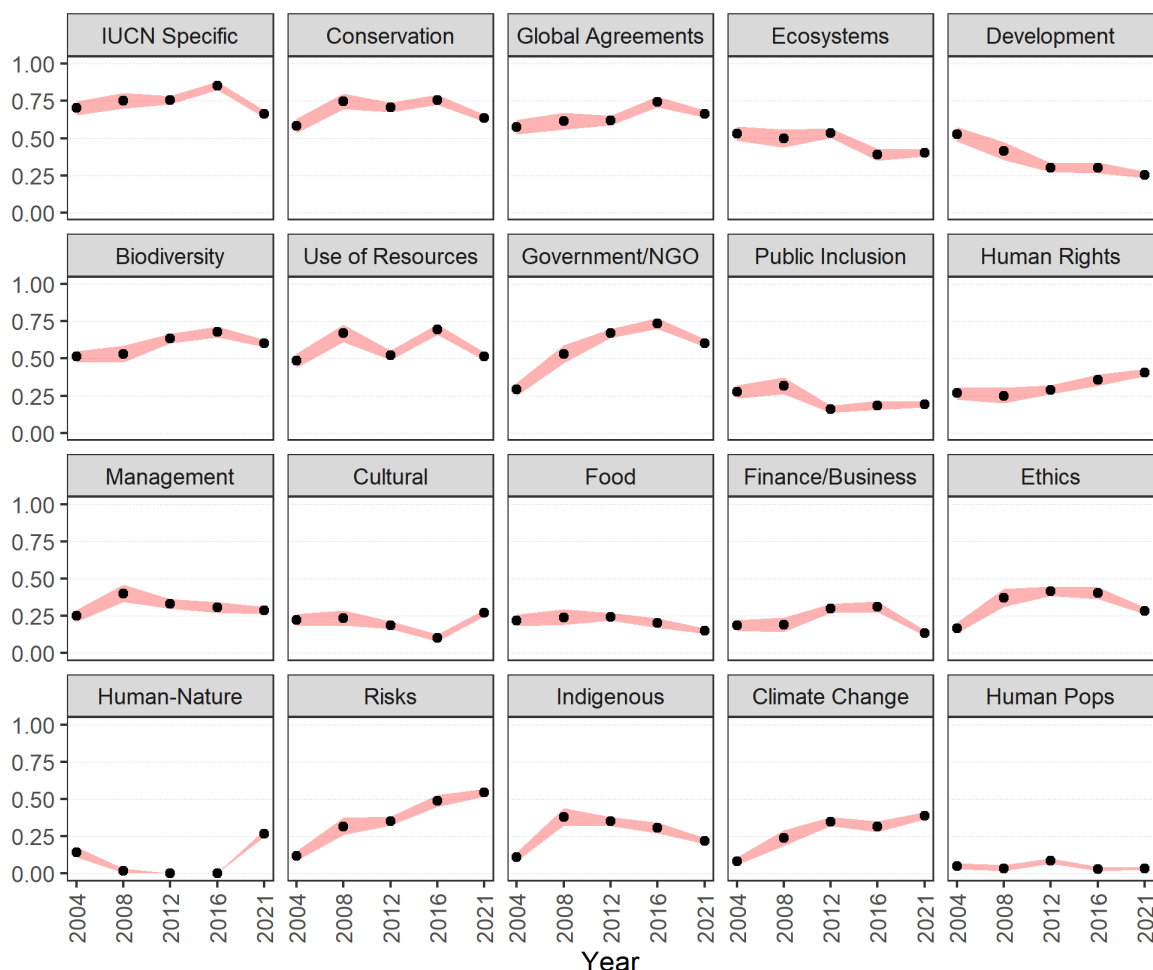
Figure 6: Thematic content of published IUCN Resolution or Recommendation created from the WCC events in 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016 and 2021. Panels are arranged in order of prevalence at the 2004 WCC. Points show the recorded prevalence while the ribbon displays the 95% confidence intervals. Confidence intervals are present due to the uncertainty in overall presence of a code in each year. Not every Member contributes text, so each point represents a different subset of the data with different sample sizes. The confidence intervals represent our uncertainty in each point given the modeling over time.

Of the twenty high-tier themes, the most common were reference to IUCN projects or policy (present in 75% of motions; reflecting guidance that motions should be placed in the context of existing IUCN policy as part of the motions preparation process), specific reference to species conservation action (69%) and reference to global agreements and institutions (64%), while themes such as human-nature interaction such as wildlife conflict (9%) and human populations (5%) were only rarely discussed (Figure 6).

946 Some themes increased over the five WCCs such as climate change, ethics,

947 government and NGO action, indigenous rights, and risks to nature and people while

948 others such as development decreased in prevalence.

949
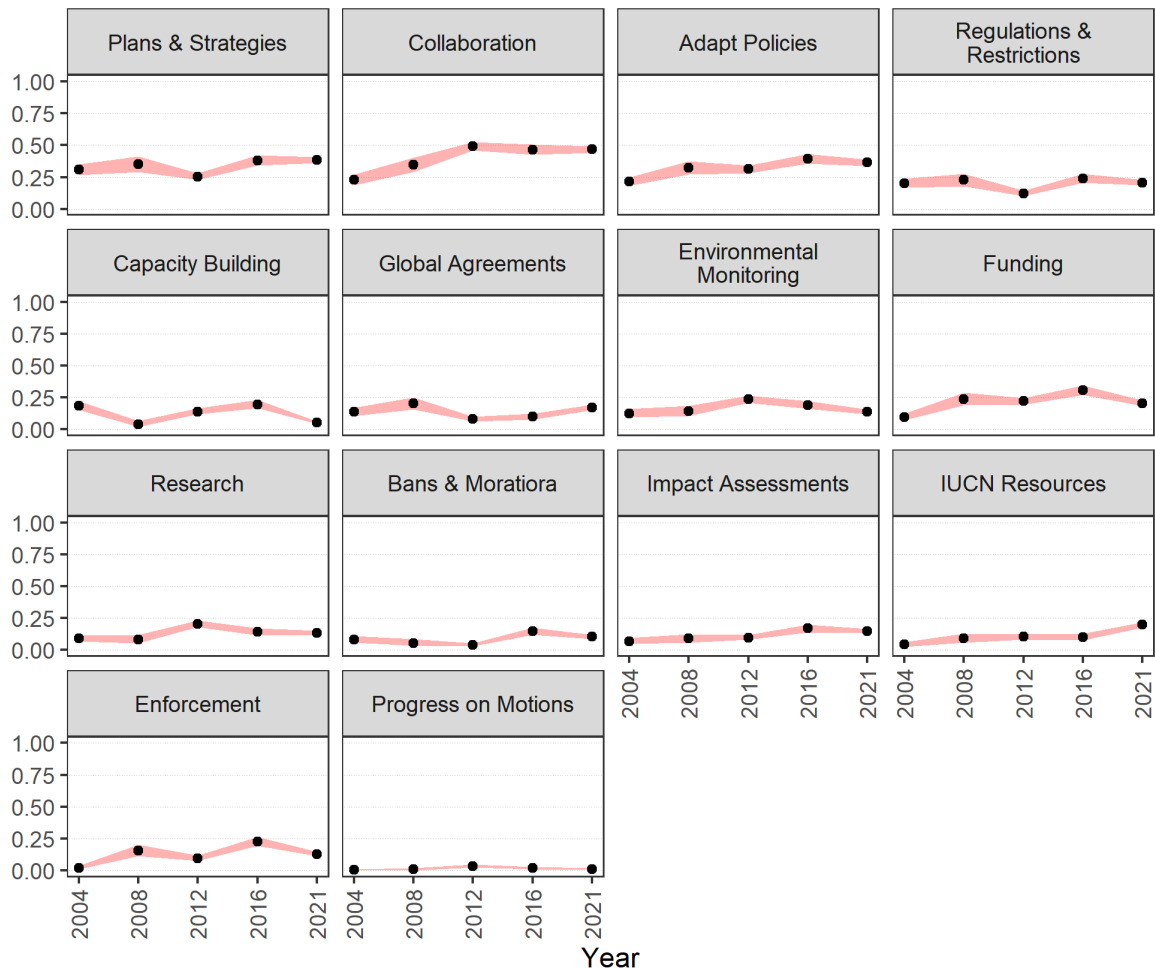
Figure 7: Recommend actions of published IUCN Resolution or Recommendation created from the WCC events in 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016 and 2021. Panels are arranged in order of prevalence at the 2004 WCC. Points show the recorded prevalence while the ribbon displays the 95% confidence intervals. Confidence intervals are present due to the uncertainty in overall presence of a code in each year. Not every Member contributes text, so each point represents a different subset of the data with different sample sizes. The confidence intervals represent our uncertainty in each point given the modeling over time.

957 Generally, the recommended action of Resolutions and Recommendations remained

958 fairly consistent over the five WCC events, with a few displaying slight overall

959 increases between 2004 and 2020 (e.g. collaboration, adapting policies,

960 enforcement).C

3.3 Do certain parts of the Membership advance different content?

Thematic content
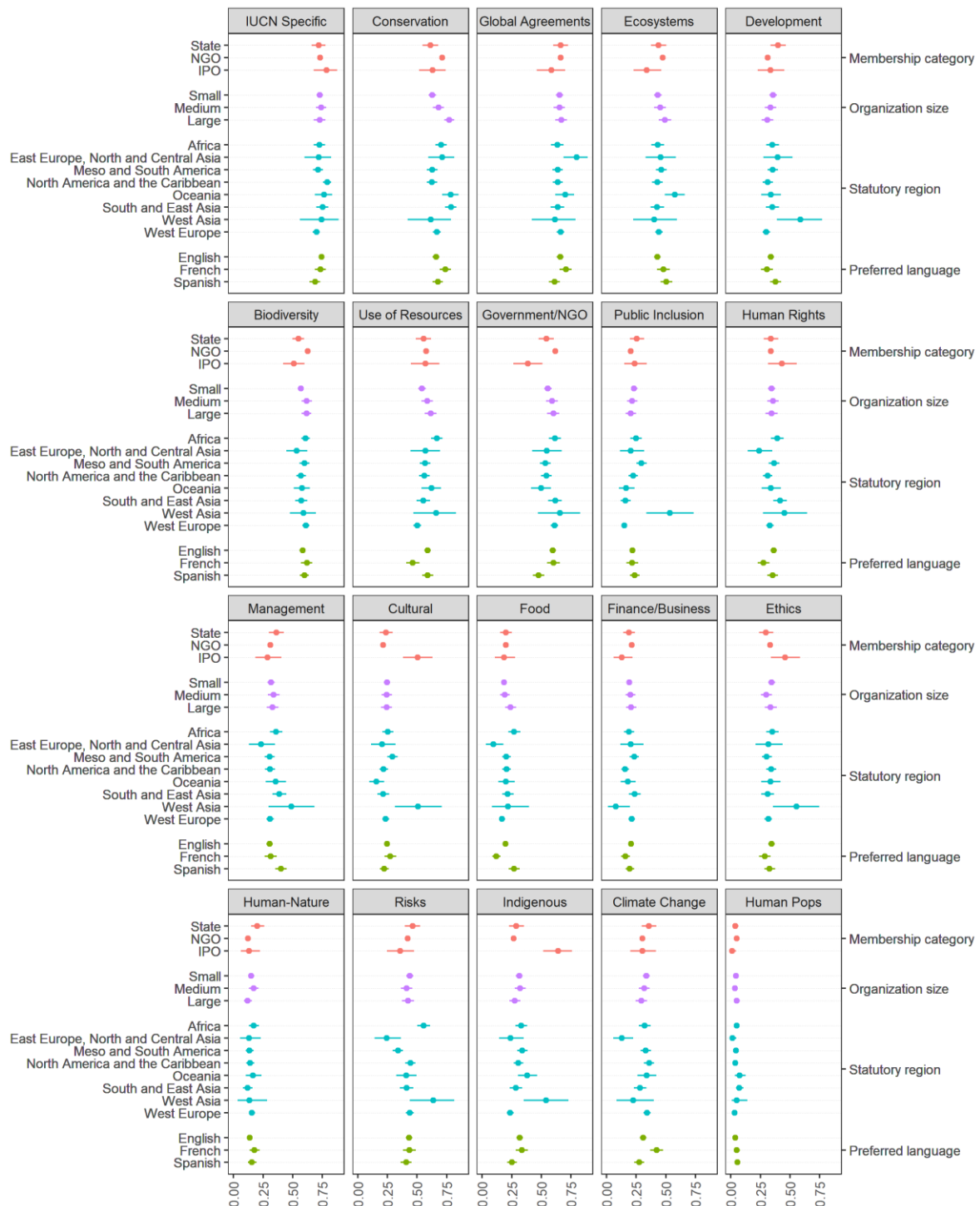
Figure 8: Predicted probability likelihood of different themes being present within a motion containing only one theme in different scenarios with varying covariates. Each bar shows the probability likelihood of a theme being present in a hypothetical motion when all sponsoring Members were of a single level of a covariate. Panels are arranged in order of prevalence at the 2004 WCC.

970 Of the twenty high-tier themes shown in (Figure 8), IPOs were more likely to sponsor

971 motions referring to culture, ethics, human rights and Indigenous rights than either

972 states or NGOs. Members based in Africa and West Asia were more likely to

973 reference risks and use of resources than other regions, while those based in West

974 Asia were most likely to refer to cultural issues, ethics, and public inclusion.

975 Members from Oceania were the most likely to sponsor motions referring to

976 ecosystems. The preferred language of Members also appears to be related to the

977 content they sponsor, such as Spanish preferring Members being most likely to

978 sponsor motions referring to food security while least likely to sponsor those referring

979 to global agreements or the past actions of NGOs and states. French speaking

980 Members were most likely to refer to climate change and specific conservation, while

981 least likely to refer to use of resources, food security, and development. Size also

982 impacted sponsored content, with larger organisations favouring topics of

983 conservation, ecosystems, and use of resources, while smaller organisations were

984 more likely to sponsor ideas of climate change, development, and public inclusion.

985

986

987   *Recommended Action*

988
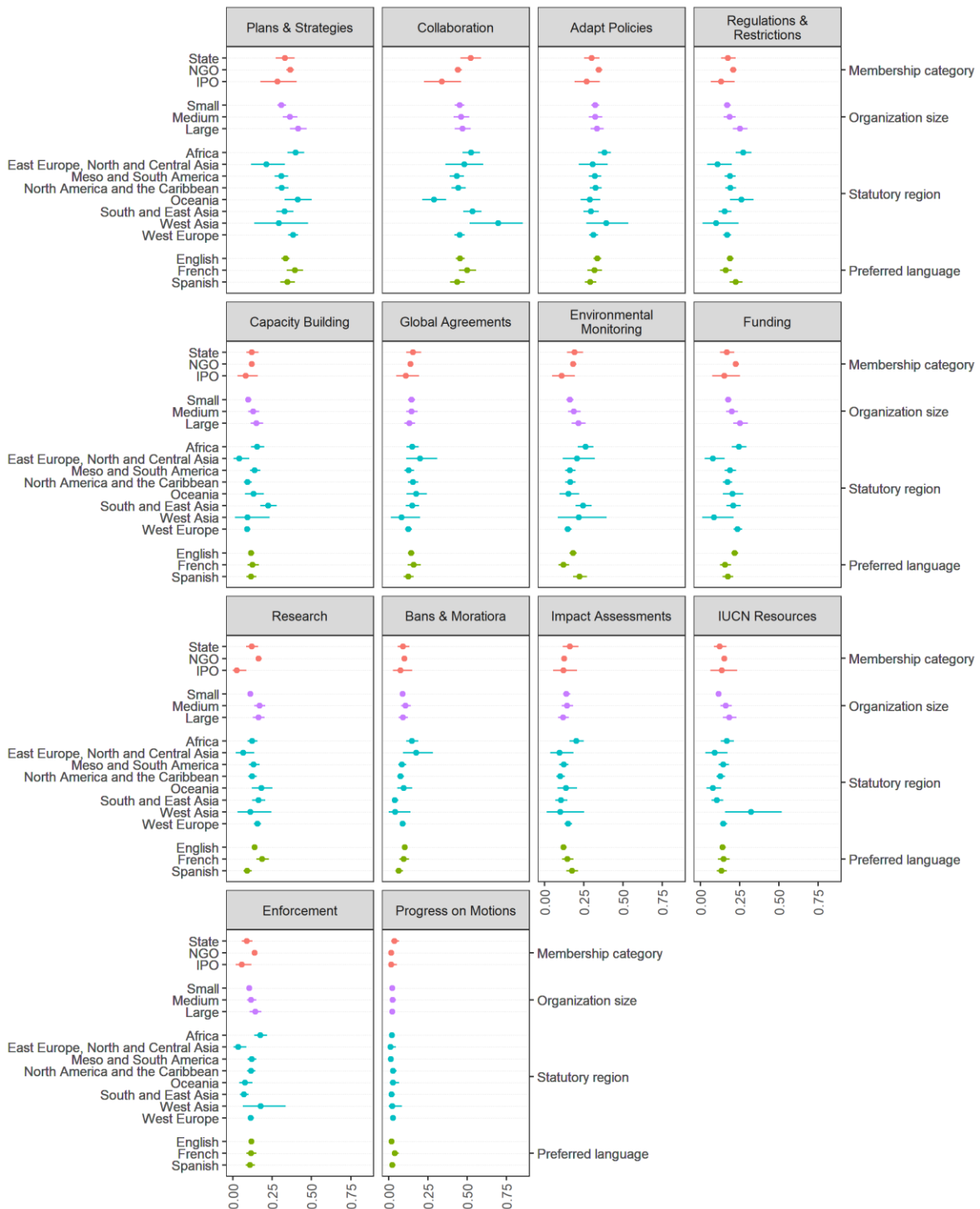
989   **Figure 9: Predicted probability likelihood of different recommended actions being present**
990   **within a motion containing only one recommended action in different scenarios with varying**
991   **covariates. Each bar shows the probability likelihood of an action being present in a**
992   **hypothetical motion when all sponsoring Members were of a single level of a covariate. Panels**
993   **are arranged in order of prevalence at the 2004 WCC**

994   Generally, NGOs focus on hard action such as adapting policies, enforcement,

995   changes to regulations, funding, and research, while states prioritise softer action

996   such as collaboration, global agreements, and impact assessments. Larger

997   Members more likely to recommend enforcement, funding, plans and strategies, and

998   regulation change. Members based in Africa were more likely to recommend actions

999   as part of their sponsored motions overall.

1000   **5.0 Discussion**

1001   The priorities and preferred actions of the diverse assemblage of actors shaping and

1002   contesting global conservation policy vary across multiple dimensions. Through

1003   analysis of IUCN Resolution and Recommendation content, and subsequent

1004   investigation of links with sponsoring Members, we find shifting trends in

1005   conservation attention and distinct patterns both of issues of concern within

1006   conservation and what is considered important action between regions, budget size

1007   and Membership category.

1008

1009   The comparative prevalence of themes within published Resolutions and

1010   Recommendations provides some insight into the priorities of IUCN's Membership

1011   and the role that they see Resolutions and Recommendations serving. IUCN views

1012   Resolutions and Recommendations as part of a process of creating conservation

1013   policy, directly from the Membership, to create new global agreements and

1014   standards to aid conservation, while fostering collaboration and project coordination

1015   between Members (IUCN, 2018b, p2-3). That the most common themes are those

1016   relating to specific species conservation measures and global agreements and

1017   institutions, as well as references to the IUCN itself, is therefore unsurprising. IUCN

1018   is an organisation focused primarily on conservation, working mostly within the

1019   sphere of international organisation and action. Its decisions have no legally binding

1020   requirements, so IUCN works through soft power and influence, seeking to

1021   'influence, encourage and assist' (Stuart et al., 2017). It publishes guidelines and

1022   databases created through its Commissions of volunteer experts, facilitates

1023   networking between organisations and states, advises other international bodies

1024   (such as the UN World Heritage Committee) and contributes to the creation of

1025   international agreements and bodies such as Ramsar, CITES, and the CBD. This

1026   approach is also clearly reflected in the most common recommended actions – the

1027   creation of plans and strategies, changes to legal frameworks and collaboration and

1028   coordination between Members.

1029

1030   While, perhaps surprisingly, the prevalence of most thematic content overall

1031   remained generally constant throughout the study, there are notable exceptions.

1032   Direct reference to development decreased over the five events, while references to

1033   climate change and risks to nature and people increased. One interpretation of such

1034   changes is that prevalence of a theme is related to its perceived salience and

1035   importance to contemporary conservation. Through this lens, climate change has

1036   increased in relevance and prevalence as a topic within conservation since 2004,

1037   which seems apparent (Anderson et al., 2021), while development has declined, a

1038   surprising trend given the 2015 establishment of the UN's Sustainable Development

1039   Goals.

1040

1041   An alternative interpretation is that IUCN motions represent the 'frontier' of the

1042   conservation agenda, where new ideas are being integrated into wider discourses.

1043   Under such an understanding the sustainable development paradigm, dominant

1044   since the 1980s (IUCN et al., 1980; WCED, 1987), has since become more

1045   integrated into core discourse, and as such is declining in prevalence in talks at the

1046   'frontier'. Climate change however, with its associated risks, their mitigation, and how

1047   these are relevant to conservation, appears to have taken a centre stage since 2008.

1048   Hagerman et al. (2010) quote IUCN's former Chief Scientist Jeff McNeely before the

1049   2008 WCC as noting 'climate change is poised to trump everything'. Indeed, climate

1050   change was one of the three central organising themes of the 2008 WCC, including

1051   over 60 sessions relating to 'climate change mitigation and adaptation in the context

1052   of conservation'. The trend predicted by McNeely is accurately reflected in the

1053   following congresses. The 2012 WCC had 'Nature + climate' as one of five core

1054   themes (IUCN, 2012), with climate discussed alongside trade-offs, private sector

1055   engagement and nature-based solutions (Fletcher, 2014). The 2016 WCC was held

1056   under the theme of 'Planet at the Crossroads' (IUCN, 2016b), and included climate

1057   change as one of its 'Journeys' (thematically organised sessions during the event).

1058   Most recently, the 2021 WCC established a new IUCN Commission, focused on the

1059   Climate Crisis (IUCN, 2020d). This trend has also been found in an analysis of

1060   publications across the fields of ecology and conservation, finding the term 'climate

1061   change' as having dramatically increased in prevalence since the millennium

1062   (Anderson et al., 2021).

1063

1064   While sustainable development is still a core component of global discourse (not

1065   least with the 2015 adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals by the UN

1066   General Assembly), it appears to comprise a progressively smaller part of IUCN's

1067   Programme, at least within its convening role. However, it is worth noting that our

1068   analysis of trends is limited by the short window of investigation for this study (2004-

1069   2020). This is substantially shorter than the timeframes over which historic paradigm

1070   shifts have occurred in global conservation. For example, sustainable development

1071   rose in prominence through the 1980s with the *World Conservation Strategy* (WWF

1072   et al., 1991) and *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987) before peaking in the late

1073   1990s (Aguirre, 2002).

1074

1075   One of the strengths of IUCN as a forum is the diversity of its membership, which in

1076   theory allows a broader suite of knowledge and perspectives to inform action. Our

1077   results suggest that different types of members do indeed bring distinct concerns

1078   and have differing ideas for suitable action. For example, states are more likely to

1079   sponsor motions referring to development and public inclusion, while IPOs raise

1080   concerns around human rights, cultural issues, and indigenous sovereignty.

1081   Similarly, while states preferred soft actions and a language of persuasion, NGOs

1082   and IPOs called for more material change such as funding or bans.

1083

1084   While widening the input into decision making can create more legitimate and

1085   operationally useful decisions, it can also lead to increased conflict, as differing

1086   interests and perspectives clash (M. J. N. Peterson et al., 2005). Matulis & Moyer

1087   (2016) have argued that the way in which such conflicts are resolved must take care

1088   to maintain 'space for historically underrepresented points of view' and the mutual

1089   existence of 'many different conservations'. The importance of these

1090   recommendations was exemplified in the '007' Motion on domestic ivory trade, which

1091   was passed by a small margin through majority vote, to the chagrin of many nation-

1092   state and civil society Members (Stuart et al., 2017). Stuart et al. (2017) viewed this

1093   as a threat to IUCN's legitimacy, and to its convening role, with the potential to

1094   weaken its cohesive voice and thus reduce the influence of IUCN in decision-making

1095 processes. Similarly, Peterson et al. (2005) argue that to ensure its democratic

1096 values and legitimacy, conservation policy processes should focus on a science-

1097 informed deliberation founded on argument, creating the 'unity through conflict' that

1098 characterise liberal democracies (Mouffe, 2000). Within this debate, our study

1099 highlights the variation in views that can be revealed by involvement of a diversity of

1100 actors, such as the increased prevalence of human rights, cultural issues, and

1101 indigenous rights with increasing IPO participation.

1102

1103 Another key finding of this paper is the differing nature of priorities of Members from

1104 different regions of the globe. For example, Members based in South and Central

1105 America were more likely to raise issues of human wellbeing and culture while those

1106 from Oceania focused on an ecosystems approach to conservation and those based

1107 in Africa and West Asia were more inclined towards use of resources and risks to

1108 people and nature. Sandbrook et al. (2019) found a similar pattern at the individual

1109 level in their survey of conservation practitioners, wherein respondents from Africa,

1110 Asia and South and Central America were more likely to favour "people-centred

1111 conservation", while those from North America and Oceania were more likely to

1112 favour "science-led ecocentrism".

1113

1114 We also found differences in Resolution or Recommendation content linked to the

1115 size of the sponsoring Member. For example, small organisations were most likely to

1116 discuss development, while large organisations were the most likely to propose

1117 increased market integration. Previous research has suggested that large NGOs

1118 have become increasingly aligned with the private sector as a means to attract

1119 funding and expand their operations while providing their donors with influence

1120 (Bertrand, Bombardini, Fisman, Hackinen, et al., 2018; Bertrand, Bombardini,

1121 Fisman, Trebbi, et al., 2018), increased revenue (Griffith & Knoeber, 1986; Anyango-

1122 van Zwieten et al., 2019), and potentially protecting or opening new areas for profit

1123 (Holmes, 2012). For example, Holmes (2012) describes the role of private sector

1124 actors in guiding the discussion on sustainable development in the 1990s through

1125 their involvement with environmental NGOs, producing a depoliticised and neoliberal

1126 definition of sustainability that was more conducive to capitalism (Sklair, 2002). As

1127 such, it makes sense that these large organisations raise issues of market inclusivity

1128 when proposing policy, to attract funding from the private sector and remain in good

1129   standing with corporate donors, while smaller organisations focus on seeking

1130   systemic change through legal instruments, development, and changes to policy, a

1131   trend found elsewhere in published literature (Finger & Princen, 2013; Neves, 2019).

1132

1133   While the analyses we present here provide valuable insights into the thematic

1134   priorities of IUCN Members, they must be viewed within the context of the broader

1135   motions process. In particular, the views and preferences of Members are not only

1136   be expressed through motion sponsorship, but also through the subsequent rounds

1137   of debate over the content of motions and the patterns of voting on the motions that

1138   are ultimately put before the Congress. Exploration of these subsequent phases of

1139   the motions process would represent promising avenues for future research, which

1140   could help to inform debates about the role of consensus and agonism in

1141   conservation governance, and provide further insights into the differing views and

1142   levels of participation across sections of the IUCN Membership.

1143

1144   In sum, our analysis of IUCN Resolution and Recommendation content and motion

1145   sponsorship provides insight into patterns of variation in input into conservation

1146   policy creation forums and documents trends about where ideas come from and

1147   divisions within the conservation community across regions, scale, and sector.

1148   These findings highlight the importance of accessible and diverse input into

1149   environmental decision making, while providing a base for further exploration of the

1150   shaping of global conservation and the influences and contexts that drive it.

1151   **3. The discursive strategies shaping IUCN's agenda – a case study of IUCN**
1152   **motions**

1153   **1.0 Abstract**

1154   Conservation governance determines the coordination of global action and the

1155   widely accepted norms and definitions of conservation. International forums and

1156   events play a key role in the organisation of conservation governance, providing

1157   space for debate and the contestation of ideas. The World Conservation Congress

1158   (WCC) hosted by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) is a

1159   prominent example, providing a process by which governments, non-governmental

1160   organisations (NGOs) and Indigenous People's Organisations (IPOs) can set the

1161   global conservation agenda. However, to date there has been little empirical

1162   investigation of the debates and conflicts present at these events. Here, we show

1163   through discourse analysis of online debates, that conflicts within IUCN's motions

1164   process, while diverse in topic and strategy, commonly revolve around a key divide

1165   within the Membership – whether IUCN has the legitimacy to make

1166   recommendations regarding domestic laws in sovereign states. We found that the

1167   divide in position between Members advocating for state sovereignty and Members

1168   believing in IUCN's legitimacy to mandate governmental action was present in nearly

1169   every motion studied. In addition, conflicts, while diverse in nature, often boiled down

1170   to arguments over strength and specificity of terminology, rather than directly

1171   addressing divides in interest or views. Our results suggest a more agonistic

1172   approach to IUCN's consensus-based motions process may result in a more

1173   proactive engagement with core antagonisms and conceptual divides within the

1174   Membership.

1175   **2.0 Introduction**

1176   Conservation has faced challenges both ecological (Acheson, 2006; Holling & Meffe,

1177   1996) and social (Holmes & Cavanagh, 2016; Oldekop et al., 2016). Failure to

1178   properly coordinate conservation action within the socio-cultural context and an

1179   absence of consideration for justice and equity has resulted in harmful outcomes,

1180   both for people, including displacement, incarceration and death, and in turn, nature

1181   (Brondizio & Le Tourneau, 2016; Holmes & Cavanagh, 2016). Evidence suggests

1182   conservationists are split on key issues such as the role of markets in conservation

1183   (Sandbrook et al., 2013), the so called 'new conservation' (Holmes et al., 2017) and

1184   what obligations human poverty places upon conservation action (J. A. Fisher et al.,

1185   2020). Further evidence shows that conservationists' values do not necessarily

1186   cluster in predictable ways, suggesting more complexity in value positions than the

1187   dichotomies provided by published literature, such as that on the 'new conservation

1188   debate' or the divide between 'ecocentric' and 'anthropocentric' (Sandbrook et al.,

1189   2019). The contestation of values and ideas is a vital determinant of global

1190   conservation's ability to achieve its goals without causing harm, as well as reflect on

1191   its successes and failures (Salomon et al., 2018). To ensure fair, representative and

1192　effective conservation, there is a need for clear debate between conservationists on

1193　values, what they believe, and objectives that they wish to achieve.

1194　International conservation forums are key sites for the contestation of ideas,

1195　commonly taking the form of conferences, agenda-setting and decision-making

1196　events. Here, epistemic communities spanning traditionally discrete sectors (state,

1197　NGO, private) pursue their interests in a formalised setting, creating new paradigms

1198　of conservation conducive to those interests (K. I. MacDonald, 2010a; Wilshusen &

1199　MacDonald, 2017). The meeting of different epistemic communities at these events,

1200　and the resulting dynamics, described by (Corson, Campbell, Wilshusen, & Gray,

1201　2019) as the 'narratives, agreements, decisions, alliances, counter-movements,

1202　social technologies and devices that shape GCG (global conservation governance)',

1203　all form the globally accepted definitions of conservation and conservation practice.

1204　Since the 1980s and the rise of the neoliberal socio-economic paradigm, global

1205　conservation governance has become more fragmented (F et al. Biermann, 2009; W.

1206　F. Fisher, 1997), with a reduction in the precedence of state actors and a

1207　subsequent rise in the importance of NGOs and the private sector. There has been a

1208　transition from state centred conservation action and regulation, which dominated

1209　conservation governance in the post-war period, to what (Partelow, Winkler, &

1210　Thaler, 2020) term 'polycentric governance', an assemblage of 'governments,

1211　ENGOs, intergovernmental organizations, corporations, and social movements'

1212　leading global conservation governance. This has been accompanied by a shift from

1213　legally binding agreements signed by states to predominantly voluntary compliance

1214　mechanisms and non-binding commitments such as the Aichi Targets and the UN's

1215　Sustainable Development Goals (Biermann & Pattberg, 2012; Norichika & Biermann,

1216　2017). These events, and the dynamics of power and agonism at play there, are key

1217　to understanding the drivers of global conservation governance.

1218　Understanding the contestation of conservation discourses is vital for mapping out

1219　how the global conservation agenda is set, and the balance of power in setting it. We

1220　define discourse as the means by which different people interpret disparate

1221　information to form coherent stories and understandings, or a 'shared way of

1222　apprehending the world' (p8) (Dryzek, 2005). Despite the prevalence of studies

1223　exploring the wider context of conferences and congresses, including public events,

1224   discussions and the structure of events (Adeyeye et al., 2019; Hagerman et al.,

1225   2010; K. I. MacDonald & Corson, 2012; Paulson et al., 2012; Peter Brosius &

1226   Campbell, 2010; Silver et al., 2015) as well as comprehensive summaries of such

1227   investigations (Corson et al., 2019), there are surprisingly few empirical studies on

1228   the core policy debates themselves. Numerous typologies of conservation

1229   discourses exist, for example splitting discourses by conceptualisation of the

1230   environment as problem or opportunity and whether response should be reformist or

1231   radical (Dryzek, 2005), or by whether pro or anti-capitalist and whether nature is

1232   considered separate from humans (Büscher & Fletcher, 2019). However, to date little

1233   empirical attention has been given to the processes by which discourses are

1234   contested within international conservation events, including the strategies different

1235   groups utilise to promote their interests.

1236   Using the online debates of IUCN's Motions process for the 2020 (taking place in

1237   2021) World Conservation Congress (hereafter WCC) as a case study, we address

1238   this research gap to identify discourses, alliances and coalition or antagonism

1239   between actors. We also analyse how formalised resolution of these conflicts

1240   impacts the outcome of motions, the contested policy which goes on to form the core

1241   of IUCN's agenda and 'voice'. If IUCN's Motions process can be considered a

1242   method by which the global conservation agenda is guided, including general

1243   definitions of conservation and the extent of activities which can be considered

1244   conservation, then we can view individual Motions as interventions to shape what

1245   this overarching conservation discourse is. Within these motions then, comments

1246   and interventions are a further attempt to shape what is generally accepted as

1247   conservation. This study treats participation in the motions process as discursive

1248   action, and as such, attempts to categorise interventions in discourses and

1249   discursive coalitions of varying scale.

1250   We investigate key areas of contention in selected Motions to answer the following

1251   questions:

1252   i.   What discourses are brought to contentious motion debates? How are they

1253   mobilised to effect change? Do they broadly resemble wider environmental

1254   discourses?

1255   ii.   What discursive coalitions form in debates? Why do they form?

1256   iii.   How do the structure and 'rules' of IUCN's Motions process influence the
1257   outcome of conflicts?

1258 The next section sets up the theoretical framework for discourse analysis we have
1259 developed, drawing on the work of key scholars. This closely informs the
1260 methodological framework, which follows.

1261 **3.0 Theoretical Framework**

1262 *3.1 Discourse definition*

1263 This work is essentially a discourse analysis. As above, people ascribe to discourses
1264 which work through language, assembling bits of information into coherent stories or
1265 accounts. Each discourse rests on assumptions, judgements and contentions that
1266 provide the basic terms for debates, agreements and disagreements between people
1267 (Dryzek, 2005).

1268 *3.2 Hajer 's discourse coalitions & storylines*

1269 The concepts of storylines and discourse coalitions are taken from (M. A. Hajer,
1270 1995). Rationales are roughly equivalent to arguments, and are identified for each
1271 discourse. Storylines are the justifications of rationales. Discourse coalition describes
1272 how different actors create short-term alliances when mutually attracted to certain
1273 discourses, shared apprehensions, storylines, or specific arguments. Hajer (1995)
1274 defines discourse coalitions as:

1275   "the ensemble of 1) a set of storylines, 2) the actors who utter the story lines,
1276   and 3) the practices in which this discursive activity is based. Storylines are
1277   seen here as the discursive cement that keeps a discourse coalition together"
1278   (page 65)."

1279 In Hajer's definition, these short-term alliances are linguistically based, rather than
1280 based on traditional associations and/or interests. As such, coalitions can form
1281 without necessarily the recognition of actors as they form discursively rather than
1282 through more conventional deliberate association This concept of discourse
1283 coalitions will be used to explore the emerging conflicts between groups of actors
1284 within IUCN Motions.

1285 *3.3 Laclau and Mouffe (hegemony & conflict)*

1286 The approach to discourse analysis presented by Laclau and Mouffe is adapted from

1287 their work '*Hegemony and Socialist Strategy'* as well as Jørgensen & Phillips (2002).

1288 The key idea in Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory is that meaning, whether of

1289 single words, vague concepts or social practices, is never finalised, that there is

1290 constant social struggle over definitions and interpretations of society, politics and

1291 identity. A discourse is created through the process of 'articulation', which seeks to

1292 give specific meaning to words, to 'fix' them, and to exclude other definitions and

1293 relations, what Laclau and Mouffe refer to as 'closure'. However, this process is

1294 never completely achieved, as there are always competing discourses to undermine

1295 closure and contest meaning, transforming terms that formerly held together

1296 discourses, termed 'nodal points', instead into 'floating signifiers', terms with

1297 contested meanings. Politics is defined as broader than simply party politics, instead

1298 described as the reflection of discursive struggle in the practical world, how we exist

1299 in society in a way that excludes other possibilities. This description provides a direct

1300 link between the cyclical relationships between power and the generation of

1301 knowledge, with the resulting formation of discourses directing people towards

1302 certain actions and beliefs to the exclusion of others, a perspective first described by

1303 Michel Foucault (Foucalt, 1980). When a discourse becomes so embedded that its

1304 contingency is forgotten, it is termed 'objective', roughly equivalent to the concept of

1305 ideology. Finally, Laclau and Mouffe's (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014) concept of

1306 'hegemony' sits between the political, in other words what is debatable, and the

1307 objective, what is taken as 'common sense'. For a discourse to develop from political

1308 conflict to objectivity, it passes through 'hegemonic interventions' where alternate

1309 views of the world are suppressed, creating a single perspective that becomes

1310 naturalised, with consensus formed. Though, as with closure, the creation of

1311 objectivity is never complete, and counter-hegemony can once again turn the

1312 objective into the political. Jørgensen & Phillips (2002) thus defined the role of the

1313 researcher as investigating and outlining the struggles that occur over meaning and

1314 the attempt to fix meaning, equivalent to Laclau and Mouffe's objectivity (Laclau &

1315 Mouffe, 2014). Key to this is the investigation and 'deconstruction' of hegemony,

1316 where the details of this struggle are detailed and analysed in context (Jørgensen &

1317 Phillips, 2002).

1318   *3.4 Laclau and Mouffe on agonism and democracy*

1319   When considering discourse and objectivity as they emerge within global

1320   conservation governance the conceptualisation of democracy and conflict formulated

1321   by Laclau and Mouffe provides a useful framework. Laclau and Mouffe describe

1322   agonism as mutually respectful competition, where two sides can be in conflict while

1323   retaining respect and an agreement (or meta-consensus in the sense of Dryzek &

1324   Pickering (2016)) that the democratic process is important and that their opposition,

1325   rather than disrupting it, is essential to it. This broadly reflects the argument of

1326   Peterson et al. (2005) that decision making in conservation should focus on science-

1327   informed deliberation.

1328   *3.5 Dryzek Discourse Typology*

1329   The typology of environmental discourses created by Dryzek (2013) attempts to

1330   categorise the various ways in which people discuss a transition from industrialism

1331   towards a more environmental paradigm. Dryzek characterises industrialism as an

1332   'overarching commitment to growth in the quantity of goods and services produced

1333   and to the material wellbeing that growth brings'. Within this definition, Dryzek

1334   includes various political ideologies as varying types of industrialism as all equally

1335   unconscious of environmental concerns, with such concerns only extending as far as

1336   maintaining inputs to industrial processes. While the validity of such a widespread

1337   generalisation may be questioned, Dryzek's description of 'departing' from

1338   industrialism is useful in analysing both the position of actors, and conflicts between

1339   environmental discourses across various contexts.

1340   The first categorisation of such a departure is in whether the suggested transition is

1341   'reformist', maintaining current structures of power and economics in society, or

1342   'radical', a significant departure from the status quo. The second dimension lies in

1343   whether the departure from industrialism prescribed is 'prosaic' or 'imaginative'. As

1344   Dryzek puts it, prosaic 'departures take the political-economic chessboard set by

1345   industrial society as pretty much given' (Dryzek, 2005, p13)and environmental

1346   problems are seen simply as issues for the current industrial political economy to

1347   overcome, whether radical or otherwise. Prosaic suggestions are always framed in

1348   the language and logic of industrialism. As an example, he gives initiatives to curb

1349   economic growth by central administration formed by scientific expertise, as he puts

1350   it 'a quintessentially industrialist instrument'. Imaginative departures instead seek

1351   instead to 'redefine the chessboard', where environmental problems are

1352   conceptualised as opportunities for change. Environmental concerns are made

1353   integral to the socio-economic system, rather than an external factor to be adapted

1354   to.

1355   The following diagram (Figure 10) explores this framework.

1356
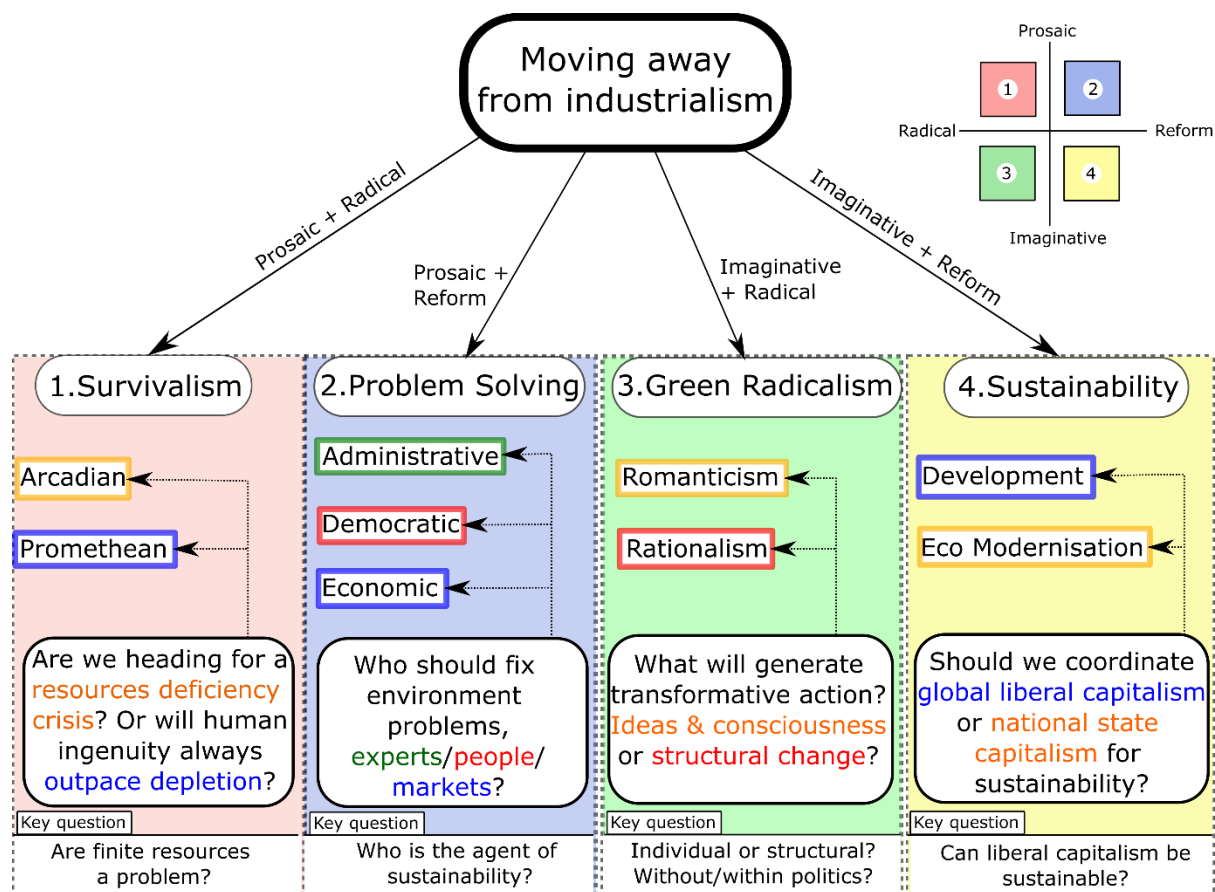
1357   **Figure 10: Dryzek's (Dryzek, 2005) typology of environmental discourse. The plot in the top**
1358   **right shows the four main discourses split along the two dimensions suggested by Dryzek.**

1359   **4.0 Methodology and methods**

1360   *4.1 IUCN's Motions process as a case study*

1361   IUCN Motions' Process is our chosen case study of a consensus-based model for

1362   the creation of 'Resolutions' for IUCN's actions and core agenda on the global stage

1363   and 'Recommendations' for action by third parties. Through this model, IUCN's

1364   Membership of both state and non-state actors propose Motions, debate and

1365   collaboratively edit their content, then either vote them into IUCN Recommendations

1366   and Resolutions or vote to reject them. This focus on consensus is typical of post-

1367   war international institutions, especially since the late 1980s (M. J. N. Peterson et al.,

1368   2005), and focuses all conflict through the model of agreement, expecting that a

1369   middle ground will exist for all issues, a framing of both politics and democracy that

1370   has been extensively challenged within both conservation (Matulis & Moyer, 2016;

1371   M. J. N. Peterson et al., 2005) and social theory more widely (Hikins, 1989; Laclau &

1372   Mouffe, 2014; Mouffe, 2000).

1373   Access to the Motions process provides a unique opportunity to investigate the

1374   conflicts that emerge in international conservation, and how the diverse views of the

1375   states and non-state organisations are mediated to form published policy. Further,

1376   the 2020/2021 WCC, with the inclusion of a new Membership category for

1377   Indigenous Peoples' Organisations (hereafter IPOs) and the recent acceptance of

1378   animal rights groups as Members, provides a unique opportunity to explore the

1379   establishment of novel discourses and strategies within IUCN's discursive arena.

1380   This analysis will focus on the online debate component of the motions process, from

1381   the first draft of motions sent to Members through to their submission to either online

1382   vote or for further discussion at the in-person Members' Assembly. IUCN's motions

1383   process for the 2021 WCC is outlined in the following diagram (Figure 11).
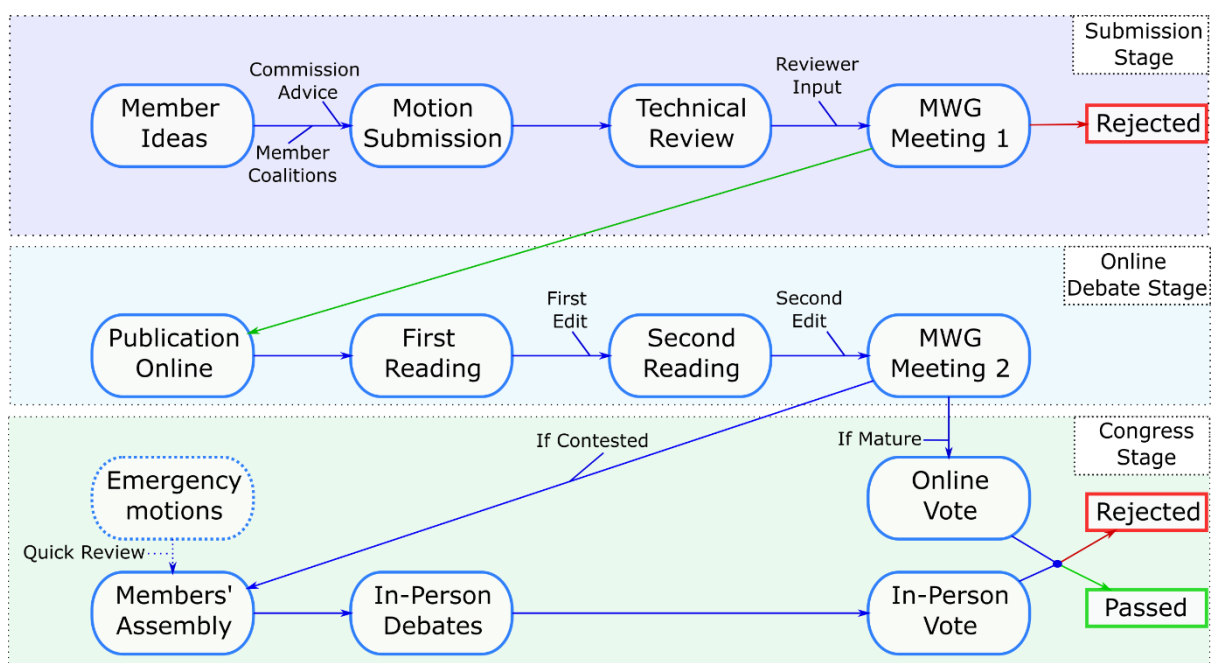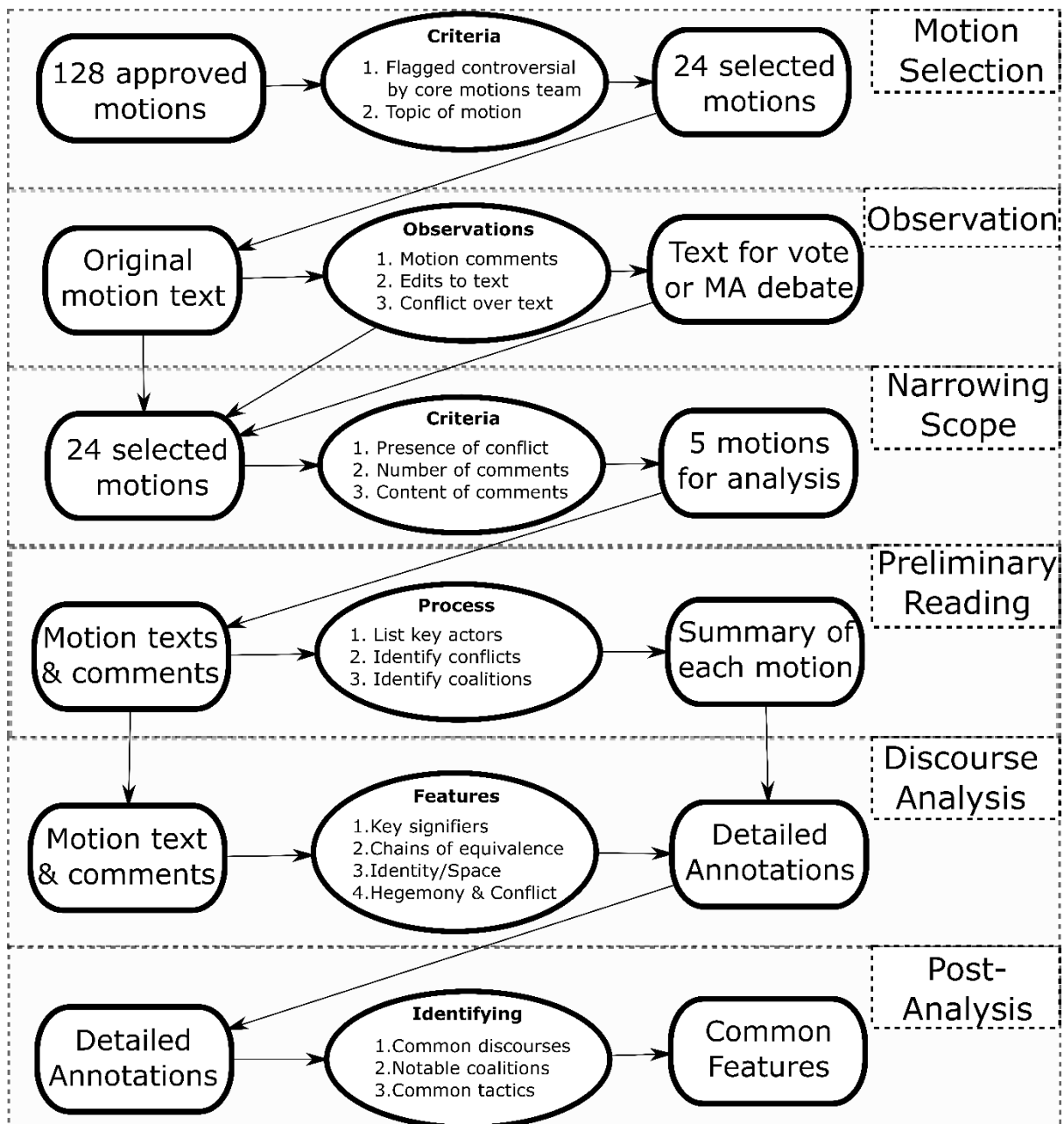
Figure 11: Diagram of IUCN's motions process for the 2021 WCC which had originally been planned for June 2020, but due to COVID-19 was delayed to September 2021. MWG = Motions Working Group, which is appointed by IUCN Council (itself elected by the IUCN Membership at each WCC).

4.2 Selecting case study motions for detailed discourse analysis

There was a need to make a purposive sample of the debates around motions in order to perform this discourse analysis. We did this by selecting motions which were the most contentious. While not representative of online debates for all motions of 2020(1), selecting motions in this way allowed us to assess the discourses utilised in contentious debates, understand the coalitions that form, and examine how the structure of these debates influenced the outcomes. Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that a random sample is not always the most appropriate strategy when attempting to gather information on a given problem, as 'the typical or average case is often not the richest in information' (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p13). Instead, Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that extreme or outlying cases often provide more information of interest to the study (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In the case of motions debated on before the 2020(1) WCC, this logic guided us to select case study motions with the highest degree of general activity and conflict, best representing the dynamics of debate within contentious IUCN motions. Of the 128 motions debated in the 2020(1) WCC, 24 were flagged as potentially contentious by the Motions Working Group and, of these, 10 were judged by the first author to have a suitable quantity of comments and direct conflict to

1406   provide useful information through analysis. After a preliminary reading, this number

1407   was refined to five case study motions and around 35,000 words based on the

1408   presence of conflict and whether there was content suitable for analysis within

1409   related comments. These five motions were not chosen to generalise across the

1410   entire motions process but to investigate in detail how conflict emerges in

1411   contentious motions. For the five selected motions, the pre-debate text was

1412   downloaded from the IUCN portal along with motion comments and the final version

1413   of the motion before congress A textual discourse analysis was then undertaken,

1414   informed by our theoretical framework. First, the motion text was analysed, then the

1415   comments were analysed in chronological order identifying the key points of Laclau

1416   and Mouffe using (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002) framework (section 1.3, Figure 13) as

1417   well as any existing discourse coalitions (section 1.2). Quotes for use in-text have

1418   been corrected for spelling. The process of selecting the five case study motions and

1419   undertaking the textual discourse analysis is summarised in the following diagram

1420   (Figure 12).

Motion Selection

128 approved motions → **Criteria** 1. Flagged controversial by core motions team 2. Topic of motion → 24 selected motions

Observation

Original motion text → **Observations** 1. Motion comments 2. Edits to text 3. Conflict over text → Text for vote or MA debate

Narrowing Scope

24 selected motions → **Criteria** 1. Presence of conflict 2. Number of comments 3. Content of comments → 5 motions for analysis

Preliminary Reading

Motion texts & comments → **Process** 1. List key actors 2. Identify conflicts 3. Identify coalitions → Summary of each motion

Discourse Analysis

Motion text & comments → **Features** 1.Key signifiers 2.Chains of equivalence 3.Identity/Space 4.Hegemony & Conflict → Detailed Annotations

Post-Analysis

Detailed Annotations → **Identifying** 1.Common discourses 2.Notable coalitions 3.Common tactics → Common Features

Figure 12: Data collation for this analysis. Each vertically arranged section shows subsequent chronological steps in the analysis.

4.3 Textual analysis

Our textual analysis then draws strongly upon (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002) four analytical categories to identify for operationalising discourse analysis:

   i.   Nodal points, master signifiers and myths, which can be collectively labelled key signifiers in the organisation of discourse;

   ii.   The concept of chains of equivalence which refers to the investment of key signifiers with meaning;

1431   iii.   Concepts concerning identity and social space: group formation, identity and

1432   representation; and

1433   iv.   Concepts for conflict analysis: floating signifiers, antagonism and hegemony.

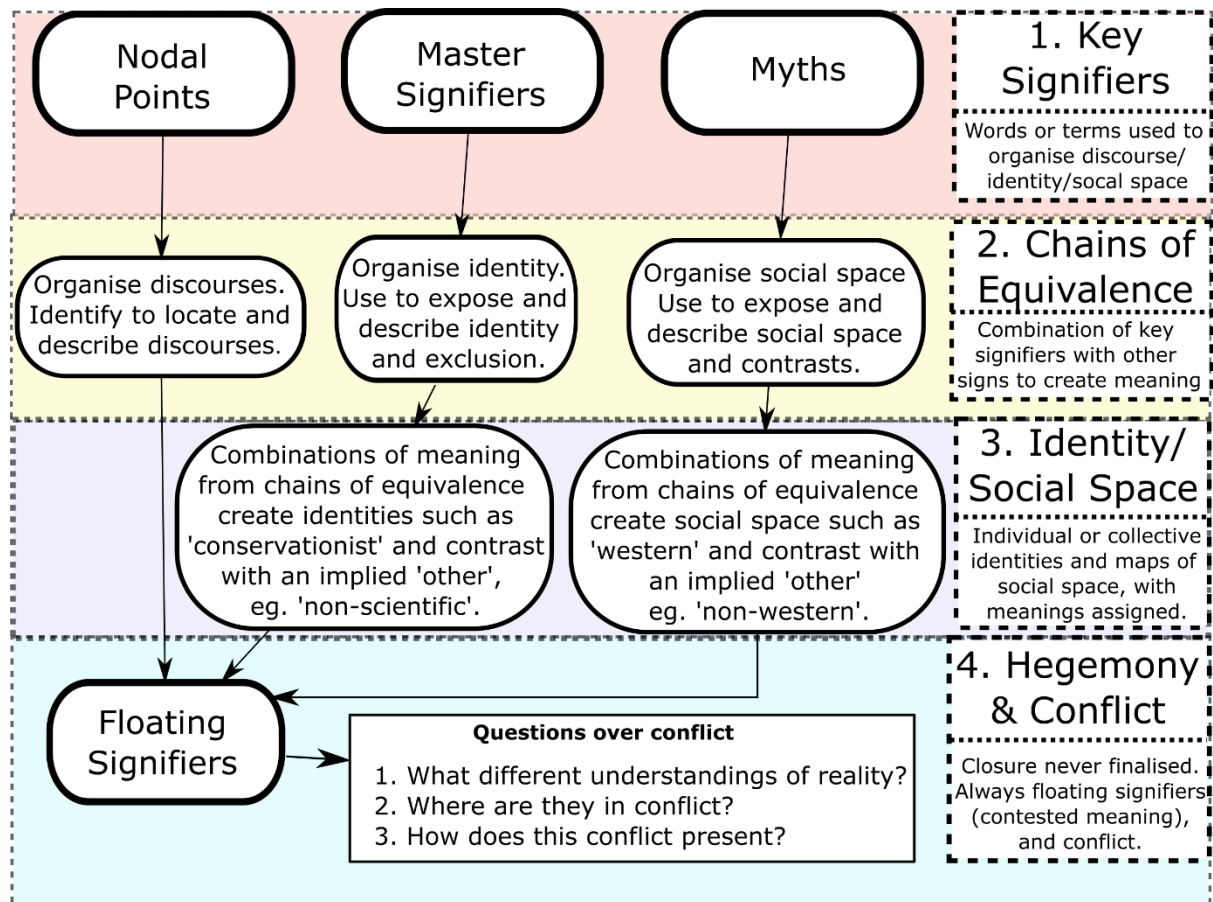1434   These analytical points are explored more clearly in the following diagram (Figure

1435   13).

1437 **Figure 13: Key methodological points as described by (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).**

1438   In this analysis, these four aspects are investigated for each case of discursive

1439   conflict identified and these terms are used to characterise conflicts, identify common

1440   strategies, and analyse how they impact the final text. We now turn to our results.

1441

1442

1443 **5.0 Results**

1444 Here we outline the conflicts present in the five draft motions analysed. For each
1445 conflict we detail the opposing positions and how they were contested. In all, seven
1446 conflicts were evident across the five motions.

1447 **5.1 108 Adapting Traditional Medicine to fulfil the vision of Ecocivilisation**

1448 This motion contained two arguments - one over the validity of traditional medicine
1449 (TM) as a practice and the other over the acceptability of the term 'ecocivilisation'.

1450 **5.1.1 Conflict I: Whether 'traditional medicine' can be considered part of**
1451 **conservation**

1452 The first conflict in this motion revolves around traditional medicine, its validity in
1453 medical practice, potential for sustainability, and the extent of IUCN's role in
1454 suggesting action for governments. While the motion focused on traditional
1455 medicine, or TM, some commenters referred to TCM, or traditional Chinese
1456 medicine.

1457 *Position 1: Supporters of traditional medicine*

1458 A position supportive of traditional medicine was formed by a discourse coalition
1459 (temporary alliances of actors, sections 3.2 and 4.3) of several IUCN Commissions
1460 and several non-state actors, including the original sponsors of the Motion. This
1461 coalition set out two key rationales (arguments put forward as part of a discourse,
1462 section 3.2 and 4.3):

1463   Rationale 1: Traditional medicine is a legitimate practice.

1464   Rationale 2: Traditional medicine can be sustainable and beneficial to
1465 conservation

1466 Key signifiers (words or terms used to organise discourses, characterise identity and
1467 define social space, sections 3.3, 4.3 and Figure 13) for the first rationale include
1468 nodal points (key signifiers relating to things, sections 3.3, 4.3 and Figure 13) such
1469 as 'culture' and 'medicinal value'. The second rationale sets out key signifiers such
1470 as 'regulation', 'sustainable use', 'domestication' and 'captive breeding'. There is a
1471 distinct lack of chains of equivalence (combinations of key signifiers to create

1472   meaning, sections 3.3, 4.3 and Figure 13) creating identity (individual or collective

1473   identities with associated meanings, section sections 3.3, 4.3 and Figure 13) across

1474   both rationales, either individual identities or more generalised social space (identity

1475   relating to physical areas or space, sections 3.3, 4.3 and Figure 13), with the

1476   discourse operating instead through generalisations of global trends and global

1477   issues. Chains of equivalence suggest that traditional medicine has important

1478   cultural and medicinal roles, may be supportive of conservation efforts, and that

1479   captive breeding and sufficient regulation may make traditional medicine sustainable

1480   (e.g. original motion text and comments by IUCN Commission and a Member NGO,

1481   quotes 1:4). In general, the discourse coalition was loosely based, with the majority

1482   of actors being Commission members seemingly interested in preventing traditional

1483   medicine being dismissed, and as such attracted to the storylines (justification of

1484   rationales, sections 3.2 and 4.3) put forward by other actors. The coalition appears to

1485   be held together by combatting the framing of traditional medicine as unsustainable

1486   and unevidenced.

1487   *Position II: Opponents to traditional medicine*

1488   Opponents formed a coalition of several NGO IUCN Members, one of which was an

1489   animal rights group, and a single state Member. No Commission representatives or

1490   other IUCN actors engaged with this discourse. They set out two rationales, directly

1491   mirroring those of the former:

1492   Rationale 1: It is incorrect to describe TM as 'advanced'.

1493   Rationale 2: Regulation for sustainable use is inadequate and ineffective.

1494   The first rationale was argued through key signifiers such as 'harm', neutrality',

1495   'evidence', and a dichotomy between 'scientific' and 'unscientific'. The second

1496   rationale was commonly argued through signifiers of 'poaching', 'laundering', 'non-

1497   detriment findings', 'illegal trade'. In contrast to the pro-traditional medicine position,

1498   identity plays a key role in this discourse through the creation of the 'West' as a

1499   social space, with an implied association of traditional medicine with non-western

1500   practices. This discourse also contests framings of TM as a valid and valuable

1501   practice. The first of these challenges the description of traditional medicine as an

1502   'advanced' medical system, quoting a published article describing 'Western-trained

1503   doctors and medical researchers' as being sceptical of TCM (Member NGO, quotes

1504   5:6). This construction of an identity, the 'Western-trained' professional, creates an
1505   implied contrast to the 'untrained' or 'non-western' practitioners carrying out
1506   traditional medicine. In addition, the inclusion of this quote creates a chain of
1507   equivalence associating traditional medicine (here referred to as TCM) with both
1508   ineffectiveness and harm. Together, these form a strong challenge to the former
1509   position's framing of traditional medicine. Later in the debates another NGO Member
1510   further adding to this identity creating a chain of equivalence which positions the
1511   identity of 'conservationist' as scientific, neutral and objective, while the practitioner
1512   of traditional medicine is not (Member NGO, quote 7). A state department within this
1513   coalition further added concerns over the extent of IUCN's remit and role (Member
1514   state, quote 8). Here it is IUCN's remit which is questioned, with the state suggesting
1515   IUCN should not actively endorse traditional medicine.

1516   The second rationale of this discourse coalition challenges the positive association of
1517   signifiers such as 'regulation', 'sustainable use' and 'captive breeding' with traditional
1518   medicine, instead suggesting that these are problems (e.g. Member NGO, quote
1519   9:11). One intervention creates 'sustainable production' as a floating signifier (key
1520   signifier with contested meaning and association, sections 3.3, 4.3 and Figure 13),
1521   challenging the former discourse's framing and instead linking farming of fauna to
1522   'poaching', 'laundering' and 'illegal trade' (Member NGO, quote 11). Almost exactly
1523   these terms are reinforced in a later comment by a state Member, detailing the
1524   dangers of captive breeding of endangered fauna, framing it as a cover for illegal
1525   trade (state Member, quote 12).

1526   *Hegemonic intervention and counter-hegemony*

1527   Of the two rationales set out by the opposing discourse, the latter rationale makes
1528   supporting arguments based on examples of risks from sustainable use. However,
1529   the former rationale (traditional medicine is not advanced) is a hegemonic
1530   intervention (attempt to suppress alternate views or rationales to create a single
1531   naturalised perspective, sections 3.3, 4.3 and Figure 13) based on attempted
1532   objectivity, turning a contested phrase into a fixed meaning. The proponents of this
1533   discourse describe traditional medicine as 'unscientific' and thus incompatible with
1534   'evidence-based', 'objective' and 'unbiased' conservation and conservationists. This
1535   attempt at objectivity treats knowledge and what counts as evidence as non-

1536 negotiable, framing conservation in a single, non-debatable way that excludes

1537 traditional medicine. In response, a Commission representative challenges this by

1538 questioning why use for TM is worse than use for food or any other purpose not

1539 addressed by the motion (Commission, quote 13). A further comment challenges the

1540 hegemonic framing of 'evidence', questioning the basis of how knowledge becomes

1541 evidence and detailing the development of "modern" medicine as having evolved

1542 from "ancient and diverse systems of knowledge" (Commission, quote 14). This

1543 counter-hegemonic intervention appears to have been effective, as the motion

1544 passed with reference to traditional medicine and its importance retained after further

1545 debate at the Members' Assembly.

5.1.2 Conflict II: Whether 'ecocivilisation' is relevant for international
1547 conservation

1548 The second conflict of this motion was over the inclusion of the term 'ecocivilisation'

1549 in both the title of the motion and the main body of text. Ecocivilisation was first

1550 coined in the 1980s describing a civilisation focused on maximising human and

1551 environmental wellbeing within resource and climatic limits.

For ecocivilisation's inclusion

1553 The argument for inclusion of the term is supported by several Commission

1554 members, the original motion sponsors, and a single NGO Member of IUCN. They

1555 set forward two rationales:

1556   Rationale 1: Ecocivilisation has international relevance

1557   Rationale 2: Ecocivilisation is fundamental to the motion's meaning

1558 The first rationale, contained in both the original text and comments, creates chains

1559 of equivalence framing ecocivilisation as relating to 'sustainable development',

1560 'human and nature coexistence', and a combination of social and ecological

1561 concerns. The second rationale, used in defence in later debates, argues that

1562 ecocivilisation is a useful tool for persuading traditional medicine users to act

1563 sustainably. The identities created include 'civilisation' and 'humanity' generally, and

1564 'speakers of Chinese languages' for the second rationale. Chains of equivalence

1565 define 'ecocivilisation' as the synthesis of both ecological and social considerations,

1566 and as such as the solution to problems surrounding sustainable development,

1567   climate change and biodiversity loss (e.g. original motion text and comments by

1568   IUCN Commission and a Member NGO, quotes 15:17). Additionally, by association

1569   with the Convention on Biological Diversity (hereafter CBD) a this coalition positions

1570   ecocivilisation as a term with global relevance (Commission, quote 17).

1571   *Against ecocivilisation's inclusion*

1572   From early in the first reading period, strong opposition to 'ecocivilisation' was put

1573   forward. This coalition included a single Commission member, a state department

1574   Member and two NGO Members. They put forward two rationales:

1575   Rationale 1: The term 'ecocivilisation' has limited applicability internationally

1576   Rationale 2: Use of ecocivilisation restricts relevance to China

1577   These rationales were organised around the key signifiers of 'applicability', the

1578   concept of 'global' standards, and the role of 'civilisation'. The second rationale is

1579   highly contingent on the first, and so the second is rarely presented without

1580   reference to the first. Identity also plays a key role, with the framing of ecocivilisation

1581   being 'Sinocentric', relating only to the social space of 'China', associated with

1582   'communist' and therefore distinct from what is considered 'global' (e.g. Commission,

1583   NGO and state comments, quotes 18:20). The identity of 'Communist' and the

1584   framing of 'China-specific' is contrasted with 'internationally-agreed language',

1585   suggesting an incompatibility with the two (Member NGO, quote 18). This articulation

1586   strongly presents the first rationale, with the second being introduced by later

1587   comments arguing that by focusing on traditional Chinese medicine the motion

1588   misses other traditional medicine use (Commission, quotes 21, 22), that by referring

1589   to ecocivilisation the motion is targeted at Chinese policy (Commission, quote 23),

1590   and finally that IUCN's role is not to 'pressure sovereign governments' (Commission,

1591   quote 24). These storylines support the rationales set forward by this coalition – that

1592   ecocivilisation as a term should be removed – and are further reiterated by later

1593   comments.

1594   *Hegemonic interventions and counter-hegemony*

1595   The framing of ecocivilisation as irrelevant to global environmentalism creates clear

1596   boundaries around 'internationally agreed' language – effectively agreed

1597   conservation discourse – excluding alternate articulations. As such, this is a

1598   hegemonic intervention aimed at preventing alternate articulations of conservation.

1599   However, this framing is challenged by new actor in the pro-traditional medicine

1600   coalition, seeking to find a middle ground by combining earlier articulations of this

1601   rationale with the recognition of ecocivilisation by the UNSDGs and IUCN, contesting

1602   the hegemonic framing of ecocivilisation as incompatible with internationally agreed

1603   language (Commission, quote 25). This is disputed by the same Commission

1604   representative as before, contesting the framing of the term civilisation, creating it as

1605   a floating signifier. They argue that the former's framing of ecocivilisation suggests a

1606   single form of civilisation and thus runs counter to the pluralistic ideals of the UN

1607   (Commission, quote 26). This challenge to ecocivilisation's connection to

1608   international institutions continues with a state Member arguing that the concept of

1609   ecocivilisation is not linked to the Sustainable Development Goals and that the

1610   theme of CBD's UN Biodiversity Conference is chosen by the host country, so not

1611   indicative of support (state Member, quote 27). These interventions challenge the

1612   fundamental justification of the pro-ecocivilisation coalition's first rationale, that

1613   ecocivilisation has global relevance. With that, two final responses are made from

1614   the pro-ecocivilisation position. The first justifies the second rationale, that

1615   ecocivilisation is key for the functioning of the motion, arguing ecocivilisation may

1616   have more applicability to the social and environmental concepts supported by the

1617   SDGs in Chinese language(s) and that, as such, use of the term will have greater

1618   resonance with users of TM, practitioners, and policy makers in China, where TM is

1619   popular (Commission, quote 28). Finally, with calls for ecocivilisation's removal from

1620   the Motion continuing, an NGO Member makes one final intervention, clarifying the

1621   concept of ecocivilisation as a holistic description of a society moving beyond

1622   harmful industrialism to achieve sustainability to face social and ecological

1623   challenges (Member NGO, quote 29). Despite these final interventions the version

1624   that was passed by electronic vote had all reference to ecocivilisation removed.

1625

1626

5.2 048 Rediscovering care for Mother Earth through renouncing the 'Doctrine of Discovery'

5.2.1 Conflict I: Retaining specific terms such as 'doctrine of discovery' and 'human rights'

The conflict within this motion manifested through arguments over specificity – whether the terms 'doctrine of discovery' should be included in the main body of text. While more Members were involved in motion creation and editing, the core of the conflict centred around two actors.

Position I: Setting out of terminology

The original motion text references the newly included category for Indigenous Peoples Organisation (hereafter IPOs), as well as outlining the importance of Indigenous Peoples to conserving and restoring nature. It describes injustices both past and present suffered by Indigenous Peoples, refers to the 'doctrine of discovery' and its context, and directly calls for its renunciation to protect the rights of Indigenous Peoples. The following is a direct excerpt:

> "AWARE that the rights of indigenous peoples have been denied since the beginnings of the colonial era in the 15th century, when Papal Bulls and royal edicts legitimised their enslavement and seizures of their assets, and occupying the lands where they lived, through proclaiming the so-called legal 'Doctrine of Discovery';"
> "RECOGNISING that many post-colonial legal regimes still formally recognise the so-called 'Doctrine of Discovery', despite most acknowledging that indigenous peoples have long inhabited lands European powers claimed to have discovered and that neither the Holy See nor the Church of England have annulled their Papal Bulls and Edicts that gave moral and religious support for the 'Doctrine of Discovery'; and"
> Original motion text (quote 30)

It also sets out a call for an 'IUCN Truth and Reconciliation Working Group' in the operative section, to involve Indigenous peoples in conservation related activities, using the specific term 'for the care of Mother Earth' (original motion text, quote 31).

Against specific terminology

1658   This position was taken by a single actor, a state Member of IUCN, making multiple

1659   interventions for the removal of both 'doctrine of discovery' and 'human rights' from

1660   the motion. They also call for the removal of all reference to religious leaders and

1661   institutions such as the Church of England and the Holy See, calls for establishing an

1662   IUCN Truth and Reconciliation Working Group, and the rights of Indigenous Peoples.

1663   While they call for the removal of large chunks of text, they provide only one

1664   justification, positioning human rights as a legally negotiated entity; therefore, in the

1665   absence of a legal framework that creates them, such rights do not exist (Member

1666   state, quote 32). The commenter creates a chain of equivalence connecting human

1667   rights with the modern legal frameworks of nation states, using this to justify the

1668   removal of a term they find problematic.

1669   *Hegemonic intervention and counter-hegemony*

1670   The response to this intervention was again taken by a single actor, an IUCN NGO

1671   Member. They set out clear rationales for why the motion should retain reference to

1672   both human rights and the doctrine of discovery, both of which they argue are central

1673   to the motion. They directly refer to amendments made by the opposing state

1674   Member, and directly refute their single justification by undermining the argument of

1675   human rights being contingent on legal frameworks, instead arguing that a rights

1676   framework is relevant and vital for renouncing the 'doctrine of discovery' (Member

1677   NGO, quote 33). In a later comment they outline why the 'doctrine of discovery' is

1678   relevant today, describing the modern legal system's use of the 'doctrine of

1679   discovery' and adding that the doctrine was never annulled or repealed (Member

1680   NGO, 34). Here, instead of using legal frameworks as an argument against the

1681   inclusion of the term, they argue that such frameworks are exactly why this is

1682   necessary. Finally, to counter the third change to specificity put forward by the

1683   opposing actor, they argue for retaining the recommendation for a Truth and

1684   Reconciliation Working Group by clearly setting out their rationale – that to avoid

1685   further clashes over natural resources, there is a need for such structures (Member

1686   NGO, quote 35). Despite this clear outlining of rationale and arguments, by the end

1687   of the second reading the removal of doctrine of discovery from the title remained.

1688   Subsequent clarification by the representative of the NGO was unsuccessful and the

1689   amendments made by the state Member were upheld, with the version forwarded to

1690   contact groups absent of the contested terminology. However, in WCC contact

1691 groups the state that argued for softening language was absent. As a result the
1692 motion was reverted near to its original wording and subsequently approved by vote
1693 at the Members Assembly.

1694 **5.3 075 IUCN Principles on Synthetic Biology**

1695 This motion was host to many positions, though two main conflicts emerged: whether
1696 the precautionary principle or precautionary approach was the most appropriate
1697 (roughly equating to the strength of position IUCN should take), and whether IUCN
1698 has the legitimacy to call for moratoria.

1699 **5.3.1 Conflict I: Precautionary Principle vs Precautionary Approach (softening**
1700 **terminology)**

1701 The original motion text used the term 'precautionary principle' as the recommended
1702 approach to synthetic biology. Definitions of precautionary principle most commonly
1703 requires clear demonstration of non-detrimental impacts of emerging technology,
1704 rather than absence of evidence. Two discourse coalitions were formed, one in
1705 favour of the precautionary principle, the other in favour of the 'precautionary
1706 approach', which only requires absence of evidence of harm before approving
1707 technology.

1708 *For precautionary principle and strong language*

1709 This position was taken up by a coalition of six NGO IUCN Members. They mobilised
1710 three rationales:

1711   Rationale 1: IUCN should recommend the precautionary principle and have a
1712   strong stance

1713   Rationale 2: Input into decision making and risk assessment should be
1714   democratic

1715 Key signifiers include 'assessments', 'science', 'indirect effects', and 'damage', with
1716 identity in 'stakeholders'. While the first two rationales were stated both in the motion
1717 text and early comments, the third emerged in response to challenges from the
1718 opposing discourse coalition. The most common articulation of the first rationale was
1719 a statement of support for synthetic biology's conservation applications followed by
1720 concerns over unintended outcomes and irreversible damage. By doing so, actors

1721 create a chain of equivalence linking synthetic biology to risks (Member NGO, quote

1722 36). Further, caution over solely quoting principle 15 of the Rio Declaration on

1723 Environment and Development were made in support of the precautionary principle,

1724 warning of the potential for risks to the environment from new techniques (Member

1725 NGO, quote 37). Additionally, rationale 2 was set forward through calls for

1726 democratic pragmatism (discourse positioning democracy as key to solving

1727 environmental problems, section 3.5, Figure 10). These commonly called for

1728 increased stakeholder participation (Member NGO, quotes 38:39).

1729 *For precautionary approach and softer language*

1730 This discourse coalition was made up of three state Members. They set forward

1731 three rationales, two opposing the former's and a third contesting recommendations

1732 for bans and moratoria:

1733   Rationale 1: The precautionary approach is more appropriate than the

1734   precautionary principle, and is legally recognised

1735   Rationale 2: State institutions are the only suitable actors to make decisions

1736   Rationale 3: IUCN should not recommend bans or moratoria

1737 Most interventions were edits to text replacing 'precautionary principle' with

1738 'precautionary approach' and terms such as 'principles' and 'policy' with 'guidance'

1739 and 'recommendations'. Reference to human rights and the co-generation of

1740 knowledge was replaced with more general statements over international law and

1741 the 'identification of impacts'. Questioning the legal legitimacy of original terminology

1742 was a common tactic. This coalition mobilised an argument that a 'precautionary

1743 approach' was more relevant to international agreements such as Principle 15 of the

1744 Rio Declaration (Member state, quote 40). There was also a challenge to the

1745 positioning of the precautionary principle as widely accepted, instead framing it as a

1746 matter of debate (Member state, quote 41). For the second rationale state Members

1747 made arguments regarding national sovereignty and the role of IUCN. The first of

1748 these removes reference in the text to consensus and decision-making drawing

1749 knowledge from multiple sources, justified by asserting that regulations on

1750 implementation of synthetic biology are the responsibility of national authorities

1751 (Member state, quote 42). Further interventions state that only national authorities

1752   may make political decisions, restricting IUCN's role to producing and sharing

1753   knowledge (Member state, quote 43). This is then set out as the justification for the

1754   third rationale, arguing that moratoria are the responsibility only of national

1755   authorities, and IUCN has no mandate for authorising decisions (Member state,

1756   quote 44).

1757   *Hegemonic interventions and counter-hegemony*

1758   The argument over the extent of IUCN's role and the sovereignty of nation states as

1759   sole actors engaging in political decision making is one of hegemony. The

1760   intervention by a state Member of IUCN to remove any reference to bans or

1761   moratoria, alongside general dilution of strong language throughout the motion,

1762   represents an interest in reducing the role of motions to simply providing evidence

1763   and options. This is clearly set out in their comment referring to 'political decisions

1764   taken by national authorities', a strong statement of administrative rationalism – that

1765   experts and state officials are the only actors who should be involved with

1766   environmental policy making (section 3.5, Figure 10). To counter this, a third

1767   rationale of the former position expands upon the second, stating that IUCN does

1768   have a role in debating and calling for specific political change (Member NGO,

1769   quotes 45:47). This counter-hegemonic intervention re-opens the issue of IUCN's

1770   role as a negotiable topic and counters the administrative rationalism of the state

1771   Members with a rationale of democratic pragmatism.

1772   It is worth noting that an NGO Member comments early on that they are happy to

1773   serve as a 'middle ground' between opposing views (Member NGO, quote 48). While

1774   they had no further interventions as far as comments and edits, they were later

1775   actively involved in the contact groups at the WCC as one of the main actors in

1776   support of the second position, advocating for the precautionary approach and a

1777   softer stance overall. This conflict continued on into the WCC, the contact groups,

1778   and the Members Assembly, eventually resulting in references to the precautionary

1779   principle but with slightly conflicting language over IUCN's stance on synthetic

1780   biology and gene drive.

1781

1782   **5.4 065 Engaging the private sector to combat wildlife trafficking**

1783   This motion had two main conflicts, one over terminology such as 'whistleblowers',

1784   the other over whether this motion should attempt to set out a formal definition of

1785   poaching.

1786   **5.4.1 Conflict I: Should the Motion refer to whistleblowers?**

1787   *Position 1: Whistleblowers should be referred to*

1788   This position attempted to retain the original specific language of the motion and

1789   consisted of a coalition between three NGOs. Their arguments all reflected one key

1790   rationale:

1791   Rationale 1: Whistleblowers are important to conservation, and should be

1792   protected/rewarded

1793   Key signifiers included nodal points of 'reward', 'encourage', and 'protect',

1794   specifically referring to the created identity of the 'whisteblower', either an individual,

1795   group of individuals or organisation that exposes wildlife crime. Chains of

1796   equivalence associated the identity of whistleblower with conservation, specifically

1797   through combatting wildlife trafficking (e.g. Member NGO, quote 49).

1798   *Position 2: More generalised language with no reference to whistleblower*

1799   This position was taken up by two NGOs and one state Member of IUCN. Their

1800   rationale can be summarised as the following:

1801   Rationale 1: Terminology should refer to official state processes and not refer

1802   to whistleblowers

1803   Key to this rationale was the concept of 'appropriate terminology', arguing for specific

1804   wording in line with official state processes (e.g. Member state, quotes 50:51). The

1805   idea of 'appropriate mechanism' and the creation of an identity of 'appropriate

1806   officials' position nation states and officials as the actors through which

1807   whistleblowers should be managed.

1808   These interventions and their justification sets out the core argument of this position

1809   – that whistleblowers should act through 'official' national frameworks. The word

1810   'appropriate' before 'officials' establishes the idea that there are a group of

1811   inappropriate actors to 'whistleblow' to, presumably including non-state actors such

1812   as the press, political opponents, or other non-state actors.

Hegemonic interventions and counter-hegemony

1814   The intervention by the opposing position in recommending whistleblowers act

1815   through 'official' state channels and 'prosecutors and other law enforcement', while

1816   absent of articulations reinforcing a single world view to the exclusion of others, may

1817   be considered hegemonic as, through the creation of an identity of official in contrast

1818   to other actors, it implies that only through such mechanisms is it appropriate to

1819   'blow the whistle'. In addition, the gatekeeping of discourse specifically around the

1820   term 'whistleblower' is hegemonic in nature, replacing a term uncomfortable for

1821   powerful interests and replacing it with 'appropriate' terminology that fundamentally

1822   changes the motion's meaning. However, the former coalition sets out arguments in

1823   response, arguing that whistleblowers is the appropriate term as it can be broader

1824   than individuals including NGOs (Member NGO, quote 52) and that rewards and

1825   protections are key to whistleblower systems (Member NGO, quote 53). Reinforcing

1826   these arguments is another member of the coalition, who directly addresses the

1827   opposing position's drive towards generalisation, accusing their rationale as being to

1828   'dilute the scope of the motion' (Member NGO, quote 54). This specific contestation

1829   of the trend towards generalisation exposed the tactics of the opposing position –

1830   changing terminology to dilute meaning – a counter-hegemonic intervention not

1831   found in other conflicts. After this intervention, there were no further attempts to

1832   generalise the language of the motion. While the debate over whistleblowers

1833   remained unresolved by the online debates, motion 065 passed by electronic vote

1834   without any reference to whistleblowers or rewards. However, another motion,

1835   motion 039, combines the causes of whistleblowers with environmental human and

1836   people's rights defenders.

1837   **5.4.2 Conflict II: Whether IUCN should create definition of poaching**

1838   This argument, somewhat tangential to the focus of the motion, operated through

1839   two very different groups of actors within conservation, pro-hunting conservation

1840   NGOs on one side and animal rights organisations on the other.

1841   *Position 1: IUCN should develop a definition of poaching*

1842   This coalitions was formed from hunting clubs, pro-hunting conservation NGOs, a

1843   state department and two IUCN Commission representatives. Their arguments can

1844   be summed up by the following rationale:

1845   Rationale 1: A definition of poaching vs legal hunting is needed for dealing
1846   with wildlife trafficking

1847 Key signifiers include nodal points of 'poaching', 'legal hunting' and 'definitions',
1848 while the creation of identities in 'private sector actors' and 'landowners' help in
1849 generating their arguments surrounding what is legitimate hunting and what is not.
1850 Chains of equivalence are relatively simple, mostly stating that a formal definition of
1851 poaching is required to combat wildlife trafficking (e.g. Member NGO and
1852 Commission, quotes 55:57). Here the storyline justifying their rationale is spelled out
1853 – that to combat wildlife trafficking there needs to be a recognised line between
1854 regulated 'hunting' and un-regulated 'poaching'. The inclusion of landowners and
1855 'private sector' as identities is particularly notable given historic conflicts over
1856 'poaching' by landless people versus the 'legal' hunting of the propertied
1857 (Commission, quote 57).

1858 *Position 2: It is beyond the scope of the motion to develop a poaching definition*

1859 This coalition was formed by conservation NGOs and animal rights NGOs. Their
1860 rationale was simple:

1861   Rationale 1: A formal definition of poaching is too controversial and complex
1862   for this motion

1863 Key signifiers include nodal points of 'controversy', 'corruption' and 'poor
1864 enforcement', thus challenging the former's chains of equivalence surrounding
1865 'enforcement' and questioning the framing of 'poaching vs legal hunting', creating
1866 both as floating signifiers. Chains of equivalence tended to stress the specific scope
1867 of this motion and that a legal definition is too wide and divisive to be contained
1868 within (Member NGO, quotes 58:59). A further argument is made against the
1869 creation of such a definition, arguing that legal frameworks are no guarantee for
1870 sustainable hunting, with many range states of endanger species failing to prevent
1871 corruption (Member NGO, quote 60). Two clear arguments are contained here; the
1872 first, that the distinction between legal and illegal use is not a 'useful' distinction in
1873 most range states of endangered species, associating these social spaces with
1874 'corruption' and thus undermining the articulation of the opposing discourse, the
1875 second that referring to how the commonly used meaning of hunting excludes non-
1876 animal wildlife trade.

1877 *Hegemonic interventions and counter-hegemony*

1878 The most obvious example of hegemony within this conflict is the framing of

1879 poaching in contrast to legal hunting. The former position sets out the historic

1880 rhetoric of hunting vs poaching that frames legal 'hunting' as sustainable and

1881 legitimate while the 'poaching' of the landless poor is harmful to the environment, a

1882 key conflict and discourse in the development of modern conservation (Eichler &

1883 Baumeister, 2018; Prendergast & Adams, 2003; D. E. Taylor, 2016). The framing of

1884 landowners as the key actors in environmental management adds to this context,

1885 contrasting their beneficial 'hunting' from the harmful 'poaching' of non-landholders.

1886 This objectivity is undermined by the intervention from the opposing position, citing

1887 corrupt and ineffective legal regimes for regulating hunting, which creates the

1888 concept of 'legal hunting' as a debatable topic again.

1889

1890 **5.5 100 Rewilding**

1891 This was a highly contentious motion with many overlapping conflicts. There were

1892 two core sites of disagreement – whether rewilding should be an aim of IUCN, and

1893 within that whether 'wilderness' should be the ultimate aim of rewilding.

1894 **5.5.1 Conflict I: Whether rewilding should be an aim of IUCN**

1895 *Position 1: Rewilding should be an aim of IUCN*

1896 In general, the explicitly pro-rewilding position is represented by the original motion

1897 text. First, rewilding is framed as beneficial to biodiversity, ecosystems, and

1898 ecosystem services, both compatible with restoration and the release of non-native

1899 species due to its emphasis on ecosystem functionality rather than species

1900 composition (original motion text, quotes 61:63).

1901 *Position 2: Sceptical of rewilding as a goal of IUCN*

1902 This position was taken by several IUCN Member NGOs. They put forward two

1903 rationales.

1904   Rationale 1: The motion is overly optimistic on rewilding's benefits, ignoring

1905   harms

1906   Rationale 2: Rewilding often occurs in an undemocratic way and requires
1907   better participation

1908   The first rationale uses nodal points of 'ignored risks', 'lacking definition', 'insufficient
1909   knowledge', 'human-wildlife conflict' and 'precautionary', while the second relies
1910   heavily upon conflicting identities along democratic pragmatist lines. Actors justifying
1911   the first rationale attempt to undermine the framing of rewilding as positive, instead
1912   associating it with negative outcomes. For example, early comments from this
1913   coalition cite an article published outside of IUCN and use anecdotal evidence to
1914   frame rewilding as overly optimistic, with rewilding associated with risks, insufficient
1915   knowledge and uncertain outcomes (Member NGO, quotes 64:65). Additionally,
1916   rewilding is associated with exclusion of people from landscapes and the potential
1917   creation of human-wildlife conflicts (Member NGO, quotes 66:67). The final chain of
1918   equivalence created for this rationale is associating rewilding with unsuitable projects
1919   such as large monoculture tree planting campaigns, with adverse impacts on
1920   ecosystem services (Commission, quote 68). The second rationale raises concerns
1921   over participation, equity and creates two conflicting identities – that of powerful
1922   figures that make decisions (both state and non-state) and those who have no say
1923   but are impacted by those decisions, using a project in Argentina as an example
1924   (Member NGO, quotes 69:70). This framing of the identities involved with rewilding
1925   creates a strong argument or their suggested edits. One of these is a call for more
1926   'precautionary' language, presumably referring to the precautionary principle
1927   (Member NGO, quote 71). Perhaps the more broad and substantial suggestion is
1928   one made in an early comment, which seeks to redress the undemocratic form of the
1929   current rewilding projects they outline, calling for the participation of "all interested
1930   actors" with specific reference to local communities (Member NGO, quote 72). These
1931   agendas fit in Dryzek's general framework under democratic pragmatism, a sub-
1932   discourse that argues for environmental problem solving through democratic means.

1933   *Hegemonic intervention and counter-hegemony*

1934   While strong positions against rewilding are made by the opposing discourse, there
1935   is little in the way of direct hegemonic intervention and counter-hegemony in this
1936   specific conflict.

1937   **5.5.2 Conflict II: Should wilderness be a goal of rewilding?**

1938 A second conflict in this motion surrounded the ultimate aims of rewilding,

1939 specifically whether wilderness should be considered the ultimate goal. Two

1940 positions were identified.

1941 *Position 1: Wilderness is the ultimate goal of rewilding*

1942 This position consisted of a loose coalition of two IUCN Member organisations and a

1943 Commission representative. They set out a single specific rationale:

1944   Rationale 1: Wilderness is a suitable goal for rewilding

1945 Key signifiers such as 'non-intervention', 'natural systems' and 'wilderness' created

1946 an image of rewilding as a process of building independent, functional ecosystems –

1947 natural and thus implied to exist without human presence or interference

1948 (Commission, quotes 73:75). When the framing of wilderness as a tool for rewilding

1949 is contested, further arguments are made by this actor over perceived 'weakness' in

1950 defining rewilding and challenging the opposing position's framing of wilderness as

1951 incompatible with human systems, questioning why wilderness could not be

1952 implemented in 'social-ecological systems' (Commission, quotes 76:77). They go on

1953 to use this rationale to argue against the opposing position's suggestion of changing

1954 'wilderness' to 'minimal ongoing management'.

1955 *Position 2: Wilderness is inappropriate as a goal of rewilding*

1956 The position against including rewilding as a goal of wilderness was taken up by a

1957 discourse coalition of several NGO IUCN Members. Their arguments can be

1958 summarised as two rationales.

1959   Rationale 1: An aim of wilderness excludes social-ecological systems

1960   Rationale 2: Wilderness is therefore an inappropriate term alongside rewilding

1961 For the first rationale they challenge both the use of 'natural' and 'wilderness' in

1962 regard to rewilding. A chain of equivalence is made characterising wilderness as

1963 excluding social-ecological systems, justifying its removal from the motion and from

1964 discourse around rewilding (Member NGO, quotes 78:79). With the first intervention

1965 they suggest removing reference to 'natural', the second they suggest alternate

1966 wording to 'wilderness', recommending 'minimal ongoing management' instead.

1967 While the main opponent rejected these suggestions as explored above, an

1968   intervention by another NGO suggests 'avoiding the need for continuous

1969   management'.

1970   *Hegemonic intervention and counter-hegemony*

1971   The hegemonic intervention in this instance was the challenge to the term

1972   'wilderness'. What emerged in this conflict is two competing definitions of

1973   'wilderness', one that excludes humans and one that does not. The intervention of

1974   the opposing positions effectively makes two objective statements – roughly

1975   equating to the two contradicting rationales. While this is later contested by the pro-

1976   wilderness position, their intervention does not appear to have been sufficient to re-

1977   open debate over the term during the online debates and later at the contact groups,

1978   and the final published motion contained no reference to 'wilderness' or 'minimal

1979   ongoing management'.

1980

1981   **6.0 Discussion**

1982   *6.1 What discourses are brought to contentious motion debates?*

1983   While we expected different actors within IUCN's motion debates to bring ideas from

1984   across the spectrum of Dryzek's typology of environmental discourses, most

1985   discourses and discursive coalitions formed were, at least superficially, specific to

1986   the topic of the motion, rather than falling along the more general patterns of

1987   Dryzek's framework. However, where there were cases of more general concepts of

1988   environmentalism clashing, that conflict almost exclusively emerged between

1989   'democratic pragmatism' and 'administrative rationalism', two sub-discourses within

1990   the 'environmental problem solving' discourse. Drzyek defines 'environmental

1991   problem solving' as prosaic, perceiving environmental factors as problems to be

1992   solved, and reformist, seeking to solve those issues without fundamentally changing

1993   the socio-economic structure of society (Dryzek, 2005). Within that, administrative

1994   rationalism sees 'experts', including both state-centred civil servants and non-state

1995   actors within institutions as the key agents of problem solving, while democratic

1996   pragmatism sees the 'public' and 'stakeholders' as vital to solving environmental

1997   problems. The conflict between these discourses constituted the creation of

1998   discourse coalitions in most of the contentious motions we observed.

1999 *6.2 What main discursive coalitions form in debates?*

2000 Within the motions we observed, the most common conflict – that between

2001 administrative rationalism and democratic pragmatism - commonly emerged with

2002 discourse coalitions of NGOs and other non-state Members (categories B and C)

2003 supporting democratic pragmatist positions and those containing state Members

2004 (category A) taking administrative rationalist stances. In certain cases, such as the

2005 motions concerning synthetic biology and rewilding, this conflict was directly stated.

2006 However, this rift also emerged through 'proxy' in another form, as an argument over

2007 the role of IUCN's motions process, especially in relation to the sovereignty of nation

2008 states. Often presented by discursive coalitions of state Members, the common

2009 rationale involved defining and restricting IUCN's role to that of advisor. Key

2010 examples include motion 108 (traditional medicine) in which positions against IUCN

2011 endorsing medicinal practices were present; in motions 108 and 075 (synthetic

2012 biology) with positions against IUCN interfering with political decision making

2013 emerging; and in motion 075 as arguments against IUCN recommending bans and

2014 moratoria. Which actors fell on what side of these debates roughly match those of

2015 the democratic pragmatism vs administrative rationalism divide – state Members

2016 believe only governments have the legitimacy to decide policy, and that IUCN should

2017 simply serve as an advisor, while non-state organisations see IUCN's role as more

2018 deliberative and democratic, reflecting the priorities and interests of Members and

2019 thus taking strong stances (such as on synthetic biology) and creating specific

2020 recommendations for policy change. This reflects previously reported rifts within

2021 IUCN's Membership over past motions, such as the '007' motion on domestic ivory

2022 markets (IUCN, 2016a; Stuart et al., 2017), where Category B (NGOs) managed to

2023 achieve a majority in passing a resolution that strongly recommended state members

2024 ban domestic ivory markets. While the NGOs that coordinated the '007' motion

2025 celebrated victory, their win demonstrated the surfacing of divergent perspectives

2026 within IUCN's Membership – the tension between nation state representatives which

2027 seek to protect their sovereignty and organisations wishing to create change. Our

2028 results suggest that this divergence between discourses is the most common conflict

2029 within contentious IUCN motions rather than wider debates between the broader

2030 environmental discourses. That said, the case study approach of this analysis, most

2031 notably the decision to choose a subset of contentious motions to analyse, has

2032   notable impacts on the generalisability of our findings. It may be the case that less

2033   contentious motions contain more of the content of the other environmental

2034   discourses, and that the motions that cover the divide between the sub-discourses of

2035   'democratic pragmatism' and 'administrative rationalism' become, as a result, more

2036   contentious in Member debates (as they contain content state Members find

2037   problematic). However, we can say confidently that within the most contentious

2038   motions of the 2020 WCC, debates were predominantly focused on this key divide.

2039   *6.3 How do the structure and 'rules' of IUCN's Motions process influence the outcome*
2040   *of conflicts?*

2041   The consensus-based approach adopted for IUCN motions may be a significant

2042   factor in why this overarching disagreement in the Membership emerges as

2043   consistent battles over wording and accepted terminology. Peterson et al. (2005)

2044   describe the appeal of consensus as promising 'win-win' outcomes, where the

2045   diverse groups involved with decision making can come to an agreement that

2046   satisfies everyone, creating mutual goodwill and a 'sense of community'. However,

2047   consensus theory has its risks. A focus on consensus can de-politicise and de-

2048   contextualise issues, framing problems as though a single, universally beneficial

2049   solution exists (Blythe et al., 2018; Fairhead et al., 2012), thus causing a dilution of

2050   meaning of important terms, leading to their use becoming limited. This last point is

2051   explored in detail by Stevenson et al. (2005), describing separate 'communities'

2052   creating their own idea of sustainable development and, through a lack of political or

2053   value definition, producing many conflicting definitions (T. R. Peterson, 1997). They

2054   go on to describe these definitions as being co-opted by 'business-as-usual' interests

2055   to convince the public that green consumption will solve environmental problems,

2056   thus reducing the meaning of sustainable development to a flexibly interpretable

2057   sentiment that can fit any interest (Stauber, 1994; Woollard & Ostry, 2001). Any

2058   ideas that fall outside of definitions acceptable to powerful interests are suppressed,

2059   legitimising the status quo and reducing 'power relationships to superficial conflicts of

2060   interest, presumably reconcilable through mutual good will' (M. J. N. Peterson et al.,

2061   2005). This reflects our findings in our observations of contentious motions. For

2062   example, knowledge and what is deemed to be acceptable language played a key

2063   role in several identified conflicts within our analysis. Hegemonic interventions were

2064   commonly employed to shape accepted language and knowledge within motions,

2065   with conflicts over the terms 'ecocivilisation' and 'doctrine of discovery' as key

2066   attempts to restrict the meaning of 'conservation' to exclude certain ideas. This is

2067   explicitly referred to in the cases of both traditional medicine and ecocivilisation from

2068   motion 108 (traditional medicine), with interventions excluding traditional medicine

2069   through framing it as 'unscientific' and excluding ecocivilisation on the grounds of it

2070   being 'Sinocentric', with little relevance outside of China. When such articulations of

2071   what is acceptable as part of conservation were challenged, conflicts were almost

2072   always reduced to a battle over specificity of language. Corson et al. (2015) provide

2073   a similar example of this in the Rio+20 Earth Summit, where hundreds of non-state

2074   actors invited by the UN to represent 'civil society', through the pressure of

2075   consensus, abandoned their diverse and contradictory positions to contribute to an

2076   ambiguous statement described as the 'least common denominator'. This drive

2077   towards agreement creates a process which favours powerful agendas, excludes

2078   marginal voices and prevents deliberative debate. Rather than stating opposition and

2079   engaging with core ideas, the arguments we observed often came down to a shift to

2080   more generalised language. Actors opposing certain ideas, when calling for less

2081   specific terminology, tended to give vague or hegemonic justifications for their

2082   rationales, relying on objectivity and broader discourse, while those arguing for

2083   retaining specificity tended to provide clear and evidenced justifications. An

2084   exception to this is the conflict over optimism towards rewilding and the aim of

2085   'wilderness' in motion 100 (rewilding), where opponents provided clear rationales

2086   and added further specific details to the motion, rather than producing a shift towards

2087   generality.

2088   Despite the failings of a consensus-based approach, including the singular, monistic

2089   vision of conservation it generates, it is key to IUCN's motions process and its impact

2090   (Stuart et al., 2017). Consensus is what gives power to IUCN motions, published as

2091   resolutions or recommendations that represent the combined will of the Membership.

2092   However, our findings, particularly around the failure to productively engage on core

2093   conceptual differences, would suggest the need for a shift in focus from strict

2094   consensus as the aim of debates to an increased role of agonistic deliberation. In

2095   line with the argument of Mouffe (2000) that liberal democracies succeed by

2096   fostering unity through conflict, (M. J. N. Peterson et al., 2005) call for an 'Argument-

2097   Based Model', which allows for conflicting and irreconcilable interests and values to

2098   argue and negotiate policy in a constructive manner. Additionally, (Dryzek &

2099   Pickering, 2016) in their call for reflexivity in environmental governance highlight the

2100   concept of 'meta-consensus', or consensus that can exist over conflict and

2101   argument, and that governance processes should 'look for a more productive

2102   relationship across diverse values, judgments, preferences, and discourses',

2103   embracing the contradiction between inclusion and consensus (Dryzek & Pickering,

2104   2016). Through such an approach, every IUCN Member would agree to the 'meta-

2105   consensus' of commitment to IUCN's motions process, which allows for context

2106   specific disagreements and argument without threatening the process as a whole.

2107   This concept may be considered roughly equivalent to Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto

2108   Laclau's 'radical democracy', an acceptance of difference and dissent underneath an

2109   overlying agreement on the fundamentals of democracy, mutual respect and a

2110   concept of democracy as a process that can never be finished (Laclau & Mouffe,

2111   2014; Mouffe, 2000). This, they argue, would allow for a form of democracy that

2112   would be fair, inclusive, and allow for 'oppressive power relations' to be 'visible, re-

2113   negotiated and altered' (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014).

2114   **7.0 Conclusion**

2115   Our findings highlight issues within the current structure of IUCN online debates (as

2116   of 2020). The first is that radically different understandings of the role of IUCN

2117   Resolutions and Recommendations between state and non-state parts of the

2118   Membership takes up a significant portion of the Membership's deliberative time on

2119   controversial motions and divides the Membership into two opposing camps – split

2120   over whether IUCN motions should make demands of nation states. Rather than this

2121   divide ever being directly addressed, it instead emerges as challenge over wording

2122   and terminology across many motions. The second challenge is that a commitment

2123   to consensus and a monistic 'vision' of conservation is stifling debate, funnelling it

2124   along a single axis and preventing a more reflexive and open discussion over the

2125   core tenets of conservation and IUCN's role. Our analysis is limited in its scope,

2126   observing only a single portion of the motions process and focusing on contentious

2127   motions as selected case studies, therefore missing examples where the process

2128   achieves consensus. Analysis of voting records or further investigation into debates

2129   within the motions process would allow a more thorough understanding of the

2130   spectrum of values and interests held by IUCN's Membership and the structures

2131   underlying their contestation.

2132   **4. Positions of conservation decision making organisations on key**

2133   **conceptual divides vary by sector, region, language and size**

2134   **1.0 Abstract**

2135   Global conservation is complex, coordinated at conferences, congresses and other

2136   fora by a disparate network of NGOs, IPOs, private actors and nation states. At such

2137   events markedly different concepts of conservation are put forward and contested,

2138   offering a unique opportunity to investigate the key conceptual divides between

2139   conservation decision makers. However, to date there has been no empirical

2140   investigation of the voting patterns of conservation decision makers within such fora.

2141   Here we investigate the underlying factors driving voting and abstention on

2142   conservation policy via Resolutions and Recommendations at the World

2143   Conservation Congress (WCC) of the International Union for Conservation of Nature

2144   (IUCN). We found two factors determining abstentions – mostly by state Members of

2145   IUCN – highly correlated and roughly relating to an argument over the extent to

2146   which Resolutions and Recommendations should suggest legislative action for

2147   states. For voting, we found two factors underlying voting, not mutually exclusive and

2148   roughly equating to mitigating human impact on nature and a more socially just

2149   conservation. Our results demonstrate a major rift in the perceived role of IUCN

2150   Resolutions and Recommendations as well as highlight differences in priority

2151   between conservation decision makers.

2152   **2.0 Introduction**

2153   International conservation fora are the drivers of many important decisions about

2154   conservation's direction, setting many of the norms and definitions that shape global

2155   conservation action (Hardy & Maguire, 2010; Lampel & Meyer, 2008). These fora

2156   bring together a diverse group of organisations, each with differing interests and

2157   stakes in conservation (Corson et al., 2019; Death, 2010; Swyngedouw, 2005). The

2158   aim of international conservation fora is often to follow a form of democratic process

2159   to reconcile the interests of participants and foster collaboration in shaping global

2160   conservation (K. I. MacDonald, 2010a). Outcomes these events generate therefore

2161   depend largely upon the positions that participating actors adopt on key issues within

2162   conservation. As such, understanding global conservation governance relies upon

2163   investigating the values and positions of the complex assemblage of actors that

2164   constitute it. While published literature gives insight into the views of academics,

2165   these debates have been criticised for being inflammatory, counter-productive, and

2166   too narrow (e.g. the 'new conservation debate' (e.g. Doak et al., 2014; Greenwald et

2167   al., 2013; Kareiva & Marvier, 2012; Marvier et al., 2012; Miller et al., 2014)), often

2168   under-representing views of women and those of other marginalised groups (Tallis et

2169   al., 2014). There have been explorations of the views of practitioners (Holmes et al.,

2170   2017; Lute et al., 2018; Sandbrook et al., 2013), conference attendees (Holmes et

2171   al., 2017) and, more recently, respondents to a global survey (Sandbrook et al.,

2172   2019).

2173   Far less attention has been paid to the positions adopted by conservation

2174   organisations. Partelow et al. (2020) surveyed 679 environmental NGOs and

2175   analysed their mission statements to create inductively a typology of global

2176   environmental discourse. They found the views of environmental NGOs to be more

2177   diverse than generally recognised, that there are strong differences between those

2178   situated in the global North and the global South, and from their responses and

2179   mission statements four primary discourses can be generalised: environmental

2180   management, climate politics, environmental justice, and ecological modernization.

2181   While this provides an important insight into the positions of environmental NGOs,

2182   they make up only part of the assemblage of environmental decision makers, and

2183   there may exist a disparity between what organisations claim in mission statements

2184   and survey responses and how they vote at international forums. To date there has

2185   been no systematic investigation of the positions adopted by the full assemblage of

2186   state and non-state actors shaping the global definition of conservation during their

2187   participation in global conservation governance.

2188   The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), with its active voting

2189   Membership of states, NGOs, and Indigenous Peoples' Organisations (hereafter

2190   IPOs), is unique in devolving decision-making power to civil society as well as state

2191   actors. It facilitates this through the motions process, a deliberative policy creation

2192   method undertaken once every four years before and during the Members' Assembly

2193   of the IUCN World Conservation Congress (WCC). As such, analysing voting on

2194   IUCN motions provides a unique window into the priorities and values of

2195 conservation organisations, IPOs and relevant nation states that influence and shape
2196 global conservation governance.

2197 Voting records have been previously used to characterise key dimensions underlying
2198 voting and position voting actors along those dimensions in different contexts
2199 including the European Parliament (Hix et al., 2006) and the US Supreme Court
2200 (Park, 2011). Our application of this methodology to conservation decision making is
2201 not only the first of its kind, but also the first empirical examination of voting records
2202 in conservation fora. As such, we produce unique insights into conservation decision
2203 making and provide a methodological framework for further investigation of
2204 conservation fora.

2205 Here, we investigate the key value divides that split conservation decision-making
2206 organisations when voting on policy. We assess whether such common divides exist
2207 within voting patterns, then, if they do exist, link positions along these divides to key
2208 characteristics of voting organisations. Our research questions follow:

2209   1. Can a smaller number of underlying dimensions help to explain the voting
2210   patterns of IUCN Members at WCCs?
2211   2. What are these dimensions?
2212   3. How do factors such as member category, preferred language, size or region
2213   influence dimension position?
2214   4. Can controversial or problematic motions be explained by these dimensions?
2215   5. How do these dimensions relate to wider contemporary debates in
2216   conservation literature?

2217 **3.0 Methods**

2218 *IUCN's motions process and its voting Membership*

2219 IUCN's motions process is a unique form of collaborative policy creation between
2220 state and civil society, where both state and non-state Members have the right to
2221 create, debate, and ultimately vote on proposed policy. As such, IUCN positions
2222 itself as a 'democratic union' (IUCN, 2020h), providing its Membership with the
2223 opportunity to influence the organisation's agenda and its message globally,
2224 including its advisory role to the United Nations General Assembly.

2225 IUCN's Membership is a mix of states, government agencies, NGOs both national

2226 and international, research institutions and zoos and, as of 2016, Indigenous

2227 Peoples Organisations (hereafter IPOs). Every Member has an equal right to engage

2228 in the motions process, resulting in published Resolutions (with at least one

2229 operative paragraph directed at IUCN) or Recommendations (wholly directed at

2230 institutions beyond IUCN), with majority rule (2/3 on governance motions) in both

2231 government and civil society houses. IUCN aims to process every submitted motion

2232 'fairly and equitably, with adequate communication with proponents and co-sponsors

2233 related to rejecting, amending or merging motions, explaining the rationale',

2234 regardless of who submitted the motion (IUCN, 2019a). While each Member has

2235 only a single vote, the results from Categories B (NGOs) and C (IPOs) are combined

2236 and weighted, so that their combined voting strength is equal to that of Category A

2237 (states). International NGOs have two votes to every one vote of national NGOs,

2238 weighting the votes in favour of international NGOs. Members can vote on non-

2239 controversial (as determined by the Council) motions online before the World

2240 Conservation Congress (hereafter WCC), but must vote in person at the Members

2241 Assembly of the WCC, or alternatively can designate another Member to vote for

2242 them via proxy. Figure 14 provides an outline of this process for the 2021 WCC.

2243
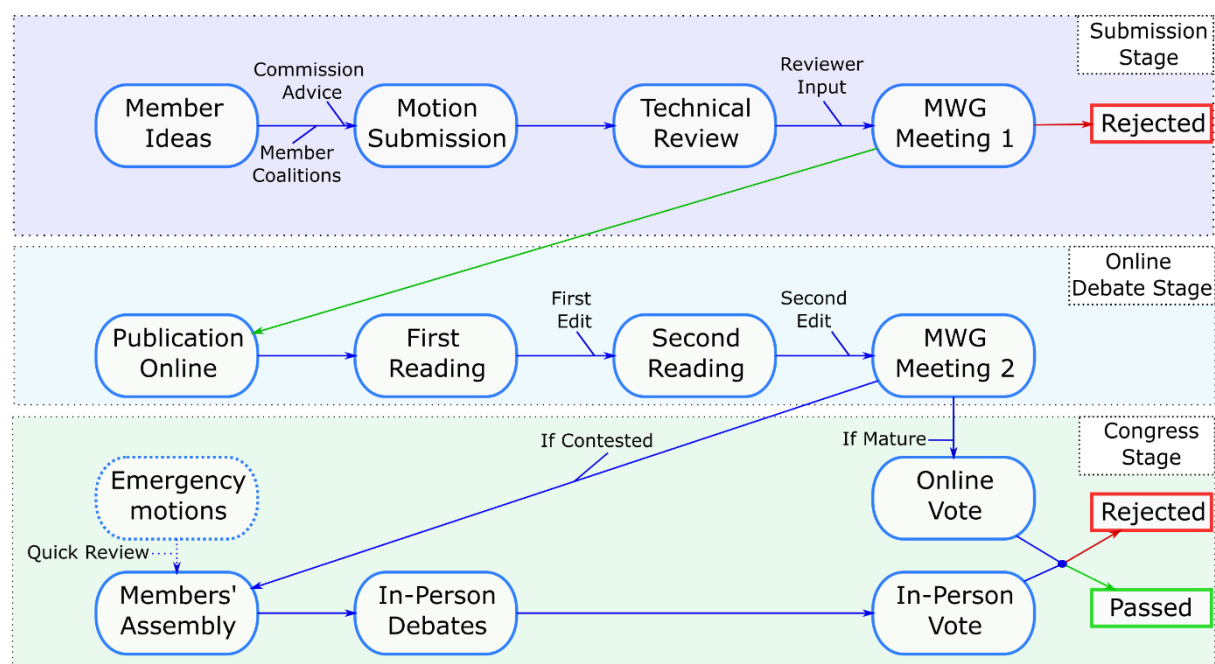
2244 **Figure 14: Diagram of IUCN's motions process for the 2021 WCC which had originally been**
2245 **planned for June 2020, but due to COVID-19 was delayed to September 2021. MWG = Motions**
2246 **Working Group, which is appointed by IUCN Council (itself elected by the IUCN Membership at**
2247 **each WCC).**

2248   The IUCN Secretariat, its paid staff, organises motion submission, coordinates the

2249   technical review, and supports the operations of the Motions Working Group, which

2250   is appointed by IUCN Council (itself elected by the IUCN Membership at each WCC).

2251   The Motions Working Group makes decisions on accepting motions during Motion

2252   Working Group meetings 1 and 2, deciding on merging or rejecting motions based

2253   on technical review and then determining whether a motion goes on to online vote or

2254   in-person voting at the Members' Assembly following facilitator reports. Additionally,

2255   the Council appoints an Appeals Committee to deal with issues related to motion

2256   rejection and merging.

2257   We analyse the voting on motions in two formats, online voting before the WCC and

2258   the voting that takes place during the WCC Members' Assembly('Congress Stage',

2259   Figure 14).

2260   *Data collection and formatting*

2261   *Member information*

2262   Covariate information for each IUCN Member in 2020 was downloaded from IUCN's

2263   online portal. The file included a unique code for each Member, Membership

2264   category (A Government/B NGO/C IPO), statutory region (Africa/South and East

2265   Asia/Meso & South America/East Europe, North and Central Asia/North America and

2266   the Caribbean/Oceania/West Asia/West Europe), and preferred language

2267   (English/Spanish/French). The Membership fee category for each Member was also

2268   downloaded from the IUCN portal, with fee groups based on either operational

2269   budget for NGOs and IPOs (Small, operating costs <1million US$/Medium, operating

2270   costs over 1 million US$ and less than 8 million US$/Large, operating costs > 8

2271   million US$) and UN contributions for states (Small, UN budget contribution

2272   <0.11%/Medium, UN budget contribution over 0.11% and up to and including

2273   1.31%/Large, UN budget contribution over 1.31%). We used this as a proxy for

2274   organisation size.

2275   The composition of the Membership is shown in the following table.

2276

2277 **Table 6: Composition of IUCN's Membership by four covariates: Category, Language, Region**
2278 **and Size**

Covariate	Level	Number	Percent
Category	State (A)	216	16
Category	NGO (B)	1100	80
Category	IPO (C)	19	1
Category	Affiliate (D)	43	3
Language	English	1030	75
Language	Spanish	173	13
Language	French	175	13
Region	Africa	240	17
Region	East Europe, North and Central Asia	64	5
Region	Meso and South America	200	15
Region	North America and the Carribean	158	11
Region	Oceania	52	4
Region	South and East Asia	273	20
Region	West Asia	77	6
Region	West Europe	314	23
Size	Small	1017	74
Size	Medium	145	11
Size	Large	71	5
Size	Affiliate	131	10
Size	Missing	14	1

2279

2280 *Voting records*

2281 Voting records from the last five WCC events (2004, 2008, 2012, 2016 and 2021)
2282 were collected from IUCN's archives, differentiating between assembly voting and
2283 online voting for the 2021 WCC. During data cleaning, corrupted or irrelevant votes
2284 were removed from the dataset (e.g. a vote of thanks to the host country would be
2285 characterised as irrelevant). After data cleaning and reformatting into a single
2286 dataset, it became clear that the 2020 list of IUCN Members was not compatible with
2287 previous years as many of the Members were not listed on the 2020 Member dataset
2288 and some had changed their names. Initially non-matchable Members were removed
2289 from the dataset, but for earlier years this made up a large proportion of the voting
2290 Membership. This, in addition to the distinction between online voting and assembly
2291 voting being available only for the 2021 WCC, led us to restrict our analysis to the
2292 2021 WCC to allow for more reliable and understandable results.

2293 *Using voting records*

2294 In the initial voting records there were four possible values that could be recorded:
2295 missing data (i.e. no vote or abstention recorded), a vote for a motion, a vote against
2296 a motion, and abstention on a motion. Based on our understanding of voting at the
2297 WCC we believe that voting and abstention are likely to represent two qualitatively
2298 different processes, with abstentions often representing a protest at the scope or
2299 context of the motion. For the purposes of analysis, we therefore decided to split the
2300 dataset into two, with one dataset indicating whether Members chose to vote on a
2301 motion or to actively abstain, the other indicating whether Members voted for or
2302 against a motion.

2303 *Information on motion content*

2304 To inform the classification of identified factors during exploratory factor analysis we
2305 utilised the coded content of motions generated in Chapter 1 (Variation in policy
2306 themes prioritised by conservation decision makers over the last two decades),
2307 arranging motions by their loading on each factor and observing patterns of each
2308 code's presence or absence. This, in addition to reading motion text and title, were
2309 used to characterise each factor for further analysis.

2310 *Statistical analysis*

2311 *Exploratory factor analysis*

2312 The factors underlying voting patterns for both abstention and voting for/against
2313 motions were investigated using exploratory factor analysis. First, the plausible
2314 range for the number of interpretable factors present in the data was examined with
2315 reference to scree plots and Very Simple Structure statistics (Revelle & Rocklin,
2316 1979). Subsequently, a set of models which assumed different numbers of factors
2317 were fit and anova tests used to compare the relative fit of nested pairs of models
2318 The most appropriate model was selected through both consideration of information
2319 criteria (AIC, BIC, SABIC and HQ) and a qualitative assessment of the meaning of
2320 highly loading motions. To be selected a model needed to have a low AIC value and
2321 produce distinct and strongly loaded factors with a clear theoretical interpretation.

2322 Exploratory factor analysis was undertaken within an item response theory

2323 framework using the "mirt" package (Chalmers et al., 2012) within RStudio (RStudio

2324 Team, 2020), modelling the binary response data using the two parameter logistic

2325 model ("2PL") followed by an oblique oblimin rotation of the factor loading matrix

2326 when more than one factor was present. Model fit is described in the Results section.

2327 The inputs into this analysis are shown in the following tables.

2328 **Table 7:** Model components for the abstention model.

Component	Function	Coding	Levels
Member	Predictor	Categorical	Unique Member code
Motion	Predictor	Categorical	Unique motion code
Vote	Response	Binary	The vote assigned to that Member and motion, 1 is an abstention, 0 is a vote (positive and negative), no vote coded as NA.

2329

2330 **Table 8:** Model components for the voting model

Component	Function	Coding	Levels
Member	Predictor	Categorical	Unique Member code
Motion	Predictor	Categorical	Unique motion code
Vote	Response	Binary	The vote assigned to that Member and motion, 1 is positive, 0 is negative, abstention and no vote coded as NA.

2331

2332 *Defining factors*

2333 The pattern of coded content of each motion within each factor was analysed to

2334 characterise the thematic content of each factor. Motions were considered to load

2335 strongly onto a factor if their absolute loading was > 0.4. The resulting description of

2336 each factor was then sense-checked by reading the motion text for all strongly

2337 loaded motions. This process was also used to compare models with varying

2338 numbers of factors to identify the model that best described patterns in the voting

2339 data. The models with best fit and theoretically coherent factors were selected for the

2340 next stage of analysis.

2341 *Simplifying datasets*

2342   With the correct number of factors and their respective descriptions selected,

2343   datasets were created for each factor within the abstention and voting datasets.

2344   These datasets were restricted to only motions with strong loading onto the specific

2345   factor that the dataset was being used to model.

2346   *Explanatory modelling to examine covariate effects*

2347   The relationship between characteristics (category, statutory region, size and

2348   preferred language) of Members and their position on each factor identified was

2349   investigated through an explanatory item response model (Ackerman et al., 2003)

2350   applied to each dataset created for each single factor, adding in covariate data. The

2351   inputs into this explanatory analysis are shown in the following table.

2352

2353   **Table 9:** Model components for explanatory model.

Component	Function	Coding	Levels
P	Response	Numeric	Latent variable corresponding to the underlying dimension the factor represents.
N	Response	Numeric	Total number of motions.
Category	Predictor	Categorical	State (A), NGO (B), IPO (C), Affiliate (D)
Language	Predictor	Categorical	English, Spanish, French
Region	Predictor	Categorical	Africa, East Europe, North and Central Asia, Meso and South America, North America and the Carribean, Oceania, South and East Asia, West Asia, West Europe
Size	Predictor	Categorical	Small, Medium, Large, Affiliate

2354

2355

2356   **4.0 Results**

2357   *Summary statistics on voting and abstentions*

2358   Out of the 1378 Members included within the Member information dataset we

2359   collected, 844 voted positively or negatively or actively abstained in the 2021 WCC

2360   motions we included. The mean number of active votes (positive or negative) per

2361   motion was 563 out of 844 total Members that voted, with the lowest turnout 473 active

2362   votes and the highest 619. Abstentions as a proportion of overall voting were relatively

2363   low, with a mean number of abstentions being 58 per motion, with the highest number

2364   of abstentions in a motion being 185 and the lowest 14.

2365   *Exploratory Factor Analysis*

2366   *Determining appropriate number of factors*

2367   For both the abstention dataset and the voting dataset, VSS statistics suggested that

2368   there were two distinct factors present in the data and examination of scree plots

2369   also suggested between 2 and 4 factors (supplementary material, Figure 24 & Figure

2370   25). We therefore compared models for both abstentions and voting assuming 1, 2

2371   and 3 factors using ANOVA, with both indicating that the three factor model was the

2372   most appropriate (Table 10 & Table 11). Higher dimensional models were not

2373   assessed as the VSS statistics suggested they would be inappropriate. The factors

2374   generated in the 1 and 2 factor models were retained for sense-checking in the

2375   subsequent stage.

2376   **Table 10: Information criteria-based model comparison results for abstention models**

Model	AIC	SABIC	HQ	BIC
Abstention 1	5213.058	5170.587	5185.776	5284.776
Abstention 2	4841.318	4911.290	4933.652	5079.567
Abstention 3	4802.158	4893.254	4922.366	5112.332

2377

2378   **Table 11: Information criteria-based model comparison results for voting models**

Model	AIC	SABIC	HQ	BIC
Voting 1	1733.624	1774.552	1791.623	1882.490
Voting 2	1649.934	1710.122	1735.226	1868.855
Voting 3	1621.482	1699.726	1732.361	1906.079

2379

2380   *Describing factors*

2381   *Abstention*

2382   For the abstention dataset the 1 and 3 factor models produced less clear and
2383   defined factors than the 2 factor model, which generated two well defined factors
2384   with moderate correlation. As such, the 2 factor model was selected for further

2385   analysis. The first factor determining whether Members abstain or not contained
2386   motions which focused their recommendations or concern on a single or several
2387   specific nation states, with such motions having significant abstention rates. The
2388   second factor defined a related but distinct pattern of motions; those that contained
2389   strong general recommendations for action by nation states such as changes to
2390   domestic legislation, adherence to international agreements or bans and moratoria
2391   on specific issues. The loadings of each factor are shown in

2392 Table 16 & Table 17 of the supplementary materials.

2393 *Voting*

2394 For voting the 1 factor model produced a factor whose thematic content was unclear

2395 and poorly defined, while the 3 factor model had two clear factors (with similar

2396 interpretations to the 2 factor model) and a third poorly defined and weakly loading

2397 factor, so the 2 factor model was selected for further analysis. The first factor

2398 determining whether Members voted for a motion contained motions with strong

2399 themes of mitigating human impacts on nature, such as through overfishing and wild

2400 land clearance, often with recommendations for reducing or eliminating this impact.

2401 The second factor contained motions which contained themes of human rights and

2402 more socially just conservation, with several containing calls for respecting

2403 Indigenous peoples' rights and many having calls for protecting human wellbeing

2404 within conservation activities. The loadings of each factor are shown in Table 18 and

2405 Table 19 of the supplementary materials.

2406

2407 *Differences between groups*
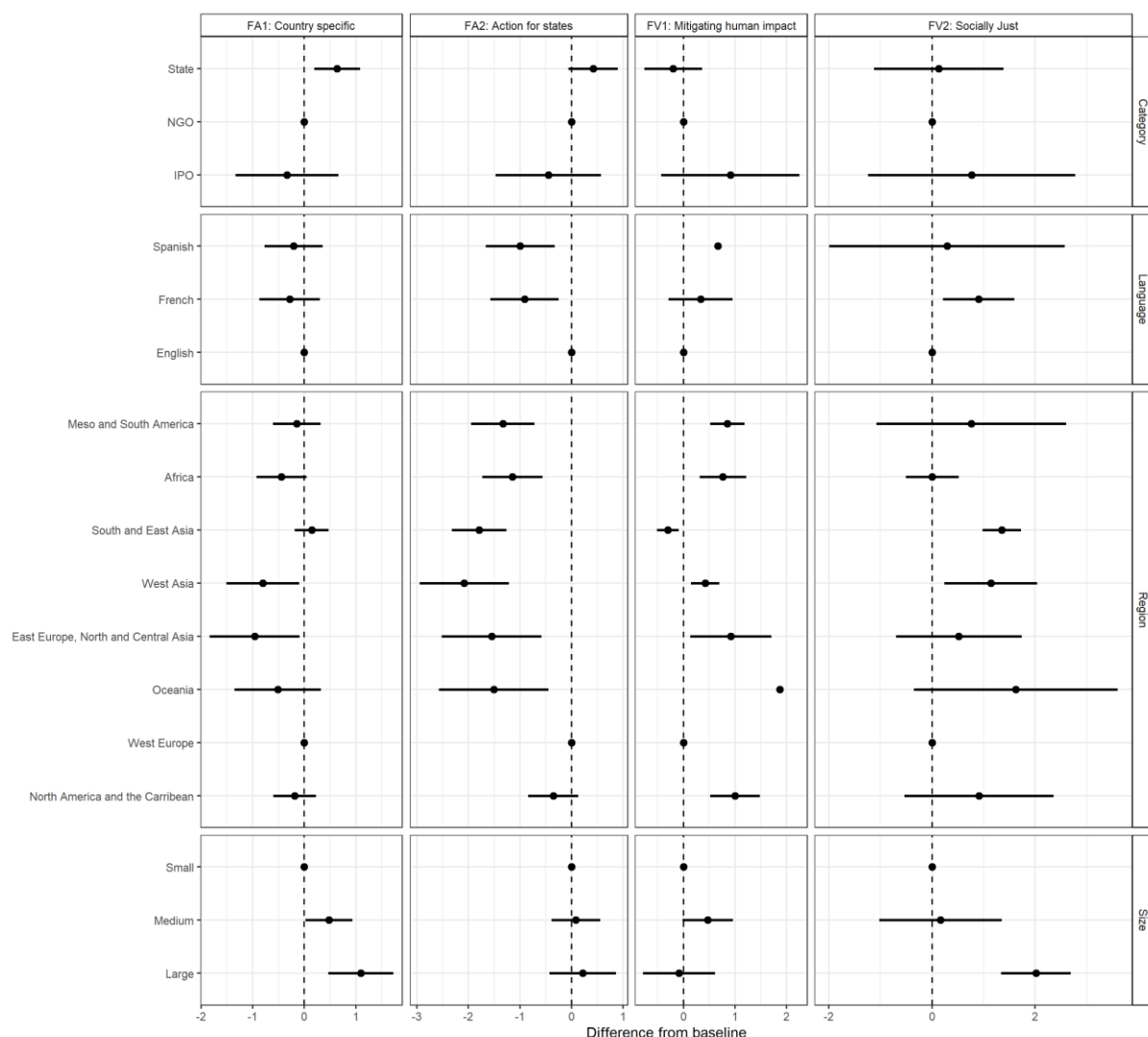
2408

2409 **Figure 15: Relationship between IUCN Member covariates and position on four key factors of**
2410 **voting. FA1 and FA2 are the two factors underlying abstention, FV1 and FV2 are the two**
2411 **factors underlying voting for or against motions. The points, derived from the regression**
2412 **coefficients, represent the estimated difference in the mean position of the focal group relative**
2413 **to the baseline category, which are displayed for clarity (NGO for category, English for**
2414 **language, West Europe for region and small for size). These baselines have no confidence**
2415 **intervals as they were included in the intercept (not shown). Lines indicate 95% confidence**
2416 **intervals.**

2417 For factor 1 of abstentions, motions where specific states were targeted within the

2418 motion text, state Members (category A) were most likely to abstain (mean = 0.637,

2419 std.error = 0.444; Figure 15). Members from South and East Asia were most likely to

2420 abstain on such motions (mean = 0.145, std.error = 0.33). Generally, large Members

2421 (mean = 1.096, std.error = 0.639) were more likely to abstain on such motions than

2422 medium (mean = 0.478, std.error = 0.456) and small organisations (baseline).

2423 Language had no clear effect on this factor.

2424 For factor 2, motions recommending strong actions for state, states (mean = 0.419,
2425 std.error = 0.480) were more likely to abstain than NGOs (baseline) or IPOs (mean =
2426 -0.449, std.error = 1.022). Spanish (mean = -0.996, std.error = 0.669) and French
2427 (mean = -0.911, std.error = 0.661) speaking Members were less likely to abstain on
2428 such motions than English speaking (baseline). Members from West Europe
2429 (baseline) and North America and the Caribbean (mean = -0.354, std.error = 0.485)
2430 were more likely to abstain on such motions than those based in other regions.

2431 For voting for or against motions, factor 1 related to mitigating human impact, with
2432 IPOs (category C) notably more likely to vote positively for these motions (mean =
2433 0.909, std.error = 0.1.342) than NGOs (baseline) and states (mean = -0.200,
2434 std.error = 0.560). Members from Oceania were most likely to vote for such motions
2435 (mean = 1.870, std.error = 0) while those from South and East Asia (mean = -0.303,
2436 std.error = 0.211) and West Europe (baseline) were least likely. Language and size
2437 had no clear loading on this factor.

2438 The second voting factor was defined by a focus on socially just conservation, with
2439 IPOs again more likely (mean = 0.770, std.error = 2.006) than NGOs (baseline) and
2440 states (mean = 0.133, std.error = 1.254) to vote for such motions. French speaking
2441 Members (mean = 0.905, std.error = 0.695) were also more likely to sponsor such
2442 motions than English speaking Members (baseline). Members from Oceania (mean
2443 = 1.624, std.error = 1.978), South and East Asia (mean = 1.353, std.error = 0.374)
2444 and West Asia (mean = 1.140, std.error = 0.902) were most likely to vote for such
2445 motions while those from West Europe (baseline) were least likely. Generally, larger
2446 organisations were more likely to vote for related motions, with large organisations
2447 (mean = 2.016, std.error = 0.674) being most likely.

2448 *Plotting Members in factor space*

2449 The following figures show the Membership plotted along the two factors for both
2450 voting and abstentions.
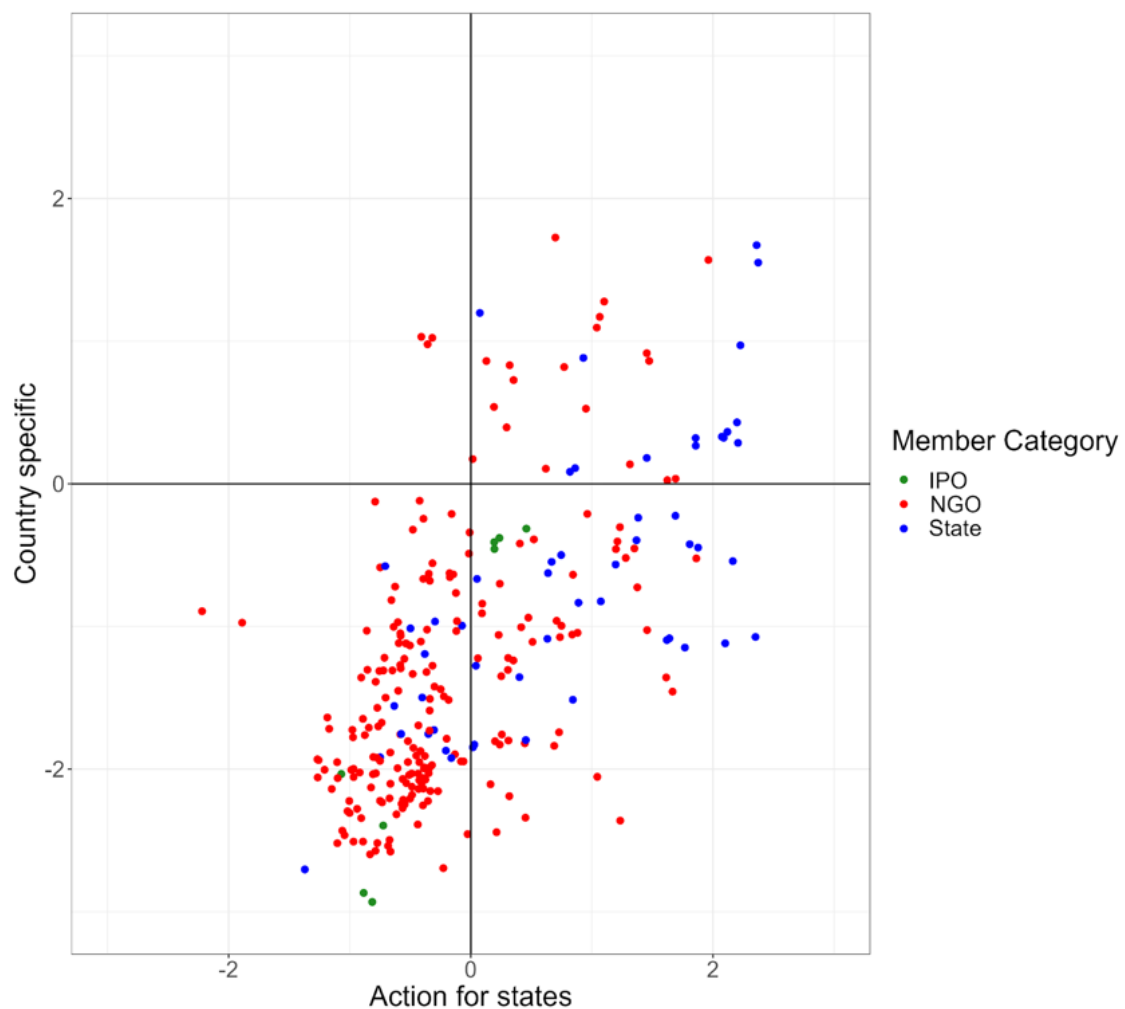
Figure 16: IUCN Members plotted against the two factors underlying abstentions. Colour represents Membership Category, where green is IPOs, red is NGOs, and blue is States.

There appears to be a clustering of the majority of Members within the bottom left quadrant, where they are unlikely to abstain on motion containing country specific (F1) or generic action for states (F2). States appear more likely to abstain generally, while NGOs are less likely. IPOs appear in two distinct clusters, those neutral on the two factors for abstention and another unlikely to abstain on country specific action while neutral on generic action for states. Only three states were in the top left, likely to abstain on country specific action but not general actions for states.
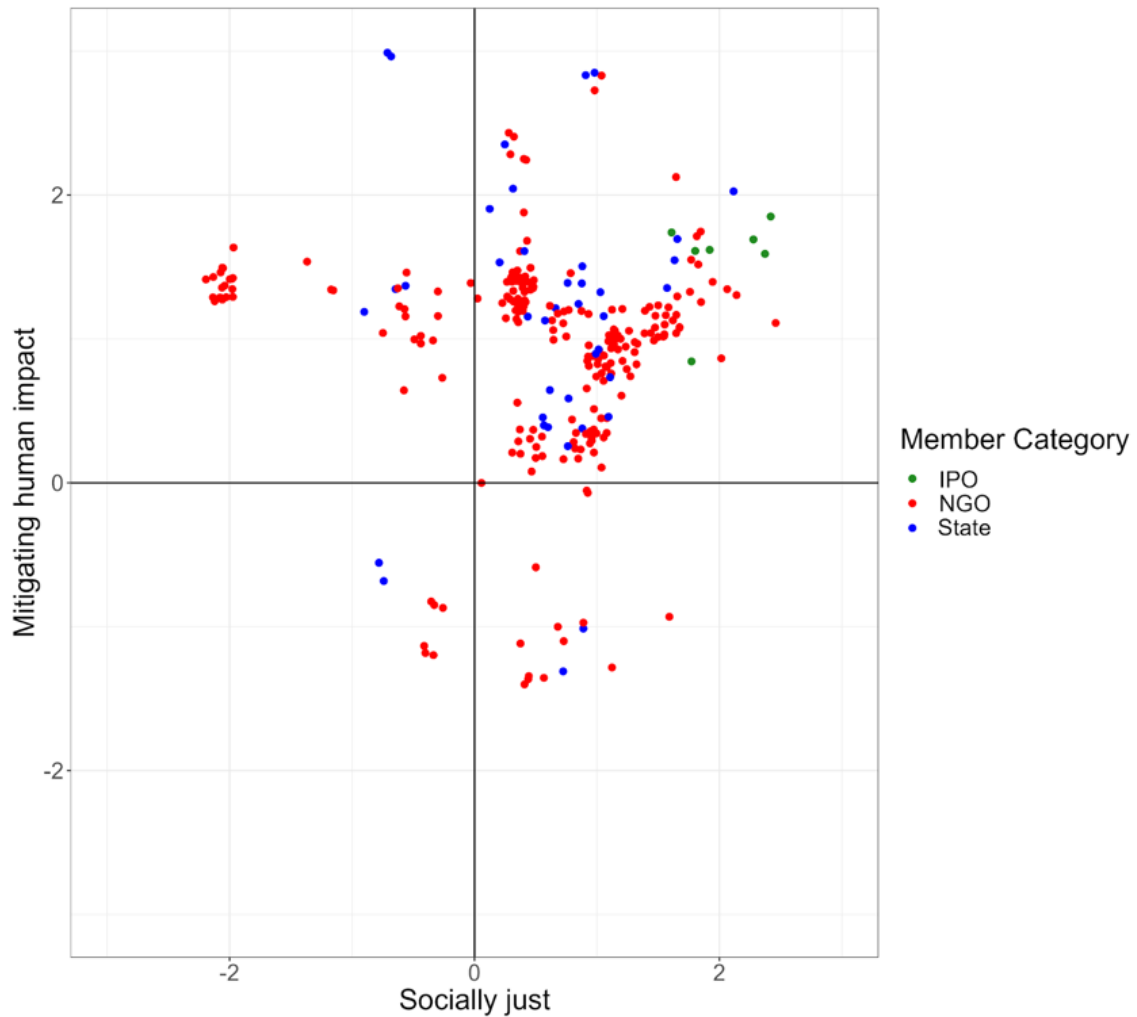
Figure 17: IUCN Members plotted against the two factors underlying voting. Colour represents Membership Category, where green is IPOs, red is NGOs, and blue is States.

The majority of Members are within the top right quadrant, supportive of both mitigating human impact (F1) and socially just conservation (F2). Very few Members are in the bottom left quadrant, signifying an opposition to both mitigating human impact and socially just conservation. IPO Members are the highest scoring for socially just conservation and also high scoring for mitigating human impact.

The clustering of Member states in the top left quadrant is explored in the following plot.
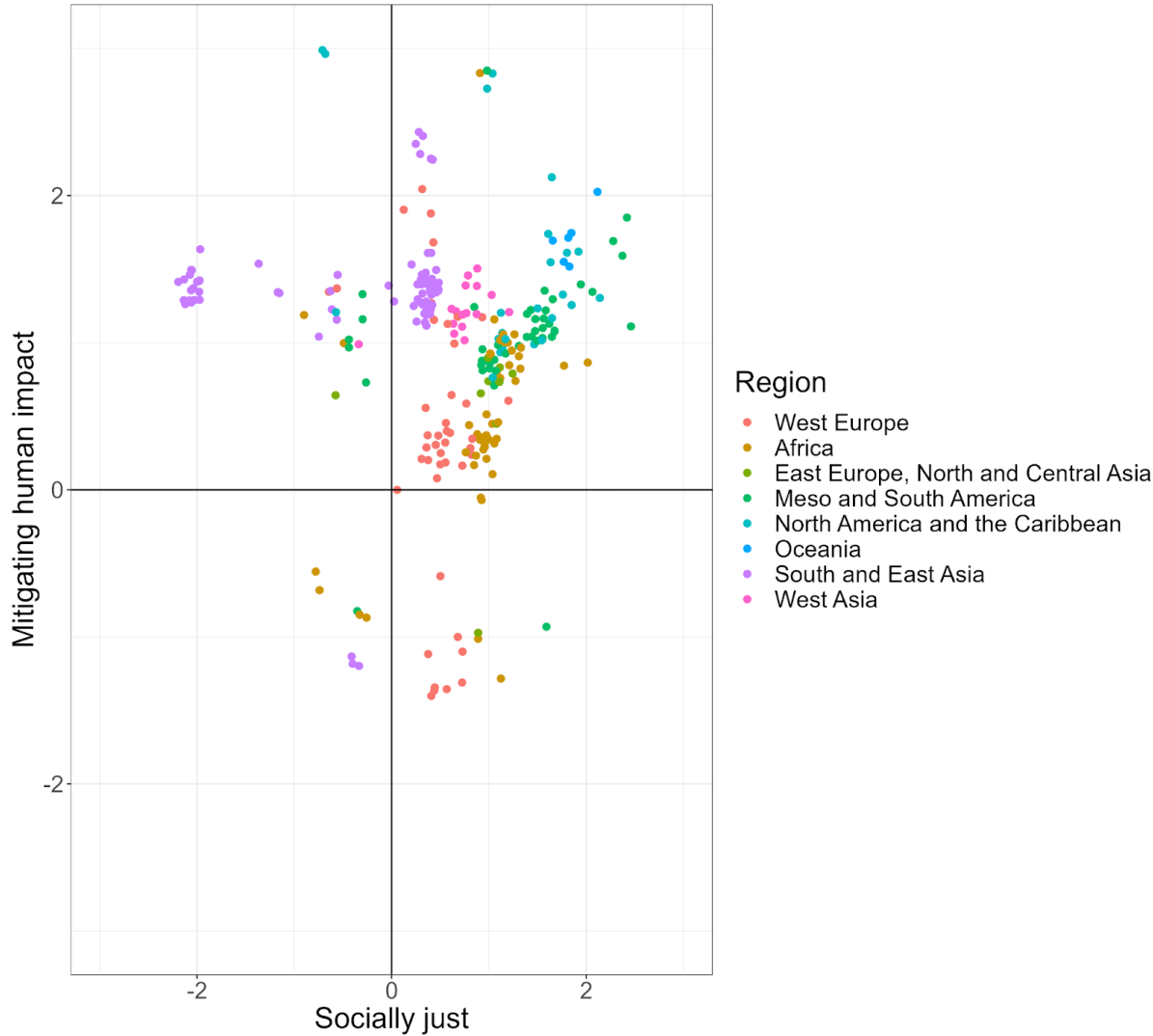
Figure 18: IUCN Members plotted against the two factors underlying voting. Colour represents statutory region.

There is a visual clustering of South and East Asian states in the top left quadrant, supportive of mitigating human impact while scoring low for socially just conservation. In general, Members from South and East Asia have a high score for mitigating human impact, with variable support for socially just conservation. Members from West Asia were almost entirely located in the top right quadrant, supportive of both mitigating human impact and socially just conservation. For Members from West Europe, they are consistently mildly supportive of socially just conservation wile highly variable on the question of mitigating human impact, with a cluster of such Members in the bottom right quadrant.

2486

2487 **5.0 Discussion**

2488 *1: Generalisable underlying dimensions*

2489 While specific motions may attract alliances and conflicts specific to the matter at
2490 hand, our findings suggest four underlying dimensions can help to understand
2491 patterns of voting and abstentions at IUCN's 2021 WCC – two that characterise
2492 reasons for abstaining on motions and two that characterise votes for or against
2493 specific motions. The restriction of our analysis to the 2021 WCC means we cannot
2494 generalise this trend across years, and indeed similar analysis of previous years may
2495 have yielded different results. However, the consistency of our findings with similar
2496 patterns found within motion sponsorship (Chapter 2, content of motions) suggest
2497 these divides may be consistent across years. For example, in the content analysis
2498 of published motions from the 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016, 2020 WCCs we found that
2499 states were less likely to sponsor motions recommending legislative action from
2500 states and that IPOs were most likely to sponsor motions containing reference to
2501 socially just conservation.

2502

2503 *2: Explaining abstentions through factors*

2504 We found two specific topics that are controversial to IUCN Members, particularly
2505 those within category A (states), larger IUCN Members, and those from South and
2506 East Asia, West Europe and North America. These factors were closely correlated,
2507 suggesting significant overlap in controversial material within them. This makes
2508 sense given that the two factors describe a similar issue – the extent to which IUCN
2509 Resolutions and Recommendations should call for hard action for states –on
2510 different scales, whether for specific Members or generalised across all states. As
2511 such, they can be considered as two strands of a centralised controversial issue;
2512 namely over the role of IUCN Resolutions and Recommendations and whether they
2513 should recommend strong action for nation states.

2514

2515 This forms the basis of a more general argument that we have found in prior analysis
2516 of the content of IUCN Resolutions and Recommendation (Chapter 2, content of
2517 motions), of online debates preceding to the 2021 WCC (Chapter 3, motion

2518   debates), and of the contact groups and Members' Assembly debates during the

2519   WCC –whether non-state actors should be invested with the power to recommend

2520   change from nation states (e.g. Brown, 2015; Corson et al., 2019). The results from

2521   our analysis here match those of these prior investigations, namely that the non-

2522   state component of IUCN's Membership (categories B and C) support strong

2523   language and demands from IUCN Resolutions and Recommendations, while the

2524   state Members (category A) make arguments for softer language and, generally, do

2525   not accept strong demands. This also reflects historic events in IUCN's Membership

2526   where this divide came to the fore. One such event, the notorious '007' motion on

2527   banning domestic ivory markets (IUCN, 2016a), passed in 2016 with strong support

2528   from the non-state section of the Membership and opposition from the state section,

2529   representing a rift which threatened the unity of IUCN's Membership (Stuart et al.,

2530   2017). More recently the 2021 motion on IUCN's principles on synthetic biology

2531   (IUCN, 2020g) created a conflict over specific terminology, resulting in many hours of

2532   debate within both contact groups and the Members' Assembly, eventually resulting

2533   in a passed motion with ambiguous text agreed.

2534

2535   More widely this contradiction reflects concerns over the rising role of non-state

2536   actors in international environment governance, with an expanding pathway for

2537   private interests to influence policy and agreements (for example see Fisher, 1997;

2538   Heins, 2008; Partelow et al., 2020; Polletta et al., 1999). While other forums have the

2539   core right to create and vote on policy reserved for nation-states, IUCN's cross-

2540   sector approach brings this conflict into clearer focus, with small NGOs eager to

2541   change the global conservation landscape in their interest. Our finding that larger

2542   IUCN Members were more likely to abstain alongside states also fits with a wider

2543   understanding of the niche of large conservation NGOs in global civil society. Large

2544   NGOs align their rhetoric with that of the private sector as a means of generating

2545   funding, providing in return for their private sector donors influence (Bertrand,

2546   Bombardini, Fisman, Hackinen, et al., 2018; Bertrand, Bombardini, Fisman, Trebbi,

2547   et al., 2018), increased revenue (Anyango-van Zwieten et al., 2019; Griffith &

2548   Knoeber, 1986), and opening new areas for profit (Holmes, 2012). As an example,

2549   Anyango-van Zwieten et al. (2019) describe how the World Wide Fund for

2550   Nature(WWF) expends significant effort to continually renegotiate itself into a 'space

2551   of flows' between revenue from states, markets and civil society by placing itself at a

2552 strategic position between them: it has to 'be in the right networks, speak the right

2553 language, and connect to relevant social, informational and political flows to stay

2554 relevant and connected to substantial flows of funding' (Anyango-van Zwieten et al.,

2555 2019, p1). As such, it makes sense that these large organisations attempt to stay in

2556 good favour with states through abstaining on state-centred motions while smaller

2557 organisations focus on seeking systemic change through legal instruments,

2558 development, and changes to policy, a trend found elsewhere in published literature

2559 (Finger & Princen, 2013; Neves, 2019).

2560

2561 *3: Explaining voting through factors*

2562 Our analysis identified two factors underlying patterns of voting for or against

2563 motions that were thematically distinct and not correlated with each other. The first

2564 factor, that of mitigating human impact on nature, reflects the general focus of

2565 conservation on sustainability and sustainable development since the 1980 World

2566 Conservation Strategy (IUCN et al., 1980) and the Brundtland report (WCED, 1987).

2567 The second factor, that of human rights and socially just conservation, broadly

2568 reflects more recent movements towards a version of conservation less harmful to

2569 people, examples being the Durban accords (IUCN, 2003; Paulson et al., 2012),

2570 criticisms of militarised conservation (Bluwstein, 2018; Duffy, 2014; Lunstrum, 2014;

2571 Massé & Lunstrum, 2016) and more recent calls for 'convivial conservation' (Büscher

2572 & Fletcher, 2019; Buscher & Fletcher, 2020). IPOs (category C) were highly likely to

2573 vote for both motions seeking to mitigate human impacts (factor 1) and those

2574 concerned with socially just conservation (factor 2), while states were least likely to

2575 vote for such motions. This reflects the impact of Indigenous participation in global

2576 environmental governance in promoting human rights such as in the United Nations

2577 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Powless, 2012), the Durban

2578 Accords (IUCN, 2003; Paulson et al., 2012), and numerous other environmental fora

2579 (Zurba & Papadopoulos, 2021).

2580

2581 French preferring Members, as well as those based in West Asia, Oceania and Meso

2582 and South America were most likely to vote for motions aimed at socially just

2583 conservation, English preferring Members and those based in West Europe were

2584 least likely. This may reflect regional differences in conservation priorities, with

2585   European based organisations still acting within the colonial logic of traditional

2586   conservation, prioritising so called 'fortress' conservation (Domínguez & Luoma,

2587   2020; Grove, 1995; Prendergast & Adams, 2003) while those based outside of

2588   Europe, especially in regions which had been host to formal European colonies,

2589   prioritise a version of conservation more considerate of human rights (Rodriguez et

2590   al., 2007), matching the findings of our earlier work on the content of published IUCN

2591   Resolutions and Recommendations (Chapter 2, content of motions).

2592

2593   *4 Implications*

2594   The high level of abstentions, especially by states, on motions with hard

2595   recommendations for specific nation states is an issue not picked up on in the

2596   sponsored motions yet clearly is a strong driver of voting for these Members.

2597   However, the general underlying contradiction over the fundamental purpose and

2598   remit of IUCN Resolutions and Recommendations underlies other components of the

2599   motions process we have investigated (the sponsoring of motions and online

2600   debates) and will require addressing to avoid further problems such as the passing

2601   of the '007' motion despite significant protest from state Members and followed by

2602   disruption and mistrust (IUCN, 2016a; Stuart et al., 2017).

2603

2604   The two factors underlying voting – mitigating human impact and socially just

2605   conservation – are not mutually exclusive, with significant overlap in supporters or

2606   opposition to both. However, the reversed patterns regarding size of organisation

2607   would suggest different agendas for large and small conservation NGOs, one that

2608   would require further investigation than this study can provide.

2609

2610   *5 Next steps*

2611   In order to move towards generalisation of these findings this methodology could be

2612   applied to voting in other environmental decision-making fora such as the UN's

2613   Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the Convention on International Trade in

2614   Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) or the United Nations

2615   Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Additionally, investigation

2616   into the reasons for voting for or against specific motions such as interviews with

2617   participants or surveys of the entire Membership could serve an important validation

2618   mechanism for these findings and potentially provide further detail on the trends we

2619   observed.

2620

2621   **6.0 Conclusion**

2622   We found that voting on IUCN's motions could be categorised into two factors

2623   underlying reasons for abstention – opposition to requesting change from specific

2624   states and general calls for strong action from states – and two factors underlying

2625   voting for or against motions – whether they focused on mitigating human impact or

2626   human wellbeing through socially just conservation. We demonstrated how key

2627   characteristics of IUCN Members relate to their positions on specific factors, for

2628   example with states abstaining on motions calling for strong state action, IPOs voting

2629   for motions focused on socially just conservation, and Members based in Oceania

2630   voting for motions aimed at mitigating human impacts on nature. Our analysis is the

2631   first of its kind in empirically investigating the voting of conservation decision makers,

2632   finding divides useful for future deliberation and debate, while provide a basis for

2633   further work into the views and values of these actors.

5. Participation in global conservation governance varies by organisation type, region, size, and language

1.0 Abstract

Global conservation governance is the process by which the worldwide nature conservation agenda is set through shifting narratives and discourses. This most commonly occurs through international conferences, with a diverse array of state and non-state actors contesting ideas and collaborating to produce statements, strategies and other declarations to guide global conservation action. There is growing agreement that widening government and civil society participation in such conferences increases the chances of solving complex environmental problems, as well as improving the legitimacy and acceptance of these solutions. Here, we examine variation between organisation types and among regions in participation in different stages of the motions process of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). We show strong patterns of participation within IUCN's motions process, including predominant roles of large, international NGOs and the newly included category for Indigenous Peoples Organisations (IPOs), relative to state actors. Our results also suggest potential barriers to in-person participation for Members from South and East Asia, with notably higher participation in online formats. Our findings contribute to understanding of participation in global conservation governance and provide reasons for optimism on widening government and civil society participation in decision making.

2.0 Introduction

Wider participation in environmental problem solving, from both different levels of government and from across civil society, is increasingly recognised by institutions, public bodies, and scholars as a mechanism to help address the complex ecological and political factors underlying environmental problems (Jager et al., 2020; Wesselink et al., 2011). Demeritt (2015) outlines three rationales for greater participation in environmental decision making - the first, that participation is a fundamental democratic right, especially in decisions which directly impact participants; the second, that since the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development's Agenda 21 (WCED, 1987) participation has been seen as vital for

2665   fomenting public consent; and third, that outputs of participatory processes tend to
2666   be of higher quality than non-participatory ones in terms of scientific rigour and
2667   equity. Studies into participatory governance reflect these instrumental benefits in
2668   improved conflict resolution (M. Fisher & Sablan, 2018), compliance and legitimacy
2669   (Birnbaum, 2016; Rana & Chhatre, 2017), and effective learning (Gerlak & Heikkila,
2670   2011), as well as a generally improved environmental standard of governance
2671   outputs (Jager et al., 2020).

2672   Access and participation of civil society actors in global environmental governance
2673   has been increasing in recent decades (Andonova & Mitchell, 2010; Parkins &
2674   Mitchell, 2005), with a more integral role for non-governmental organisations
2675   (hereafter NGOs) and indigenous peoples organisations (hereafter IPOs) in decision
2676   making events. However, to a large extent, civil society actors remain on the
2677   periphery of many decision-making processes (D. R. Fisher, 2010; D. R. Fisher &
2678   Green, 2004), commonly due to a 'two-tier system' where state actors have direct
2679   decision-making authority, relegating other actors to advisory and lobbying roles
2680   (Reimerson, 2013; Witter et al., 2015). Jager et al. (2020) conceptualise participation
2681   through three dimensions – first, the breadth of involvement of stakeholders and
2682   actors; second, the extent of communication among participants, including whether
2683   unidirectional or more discursive; and third, the degree of power delegation, or the
2684   extent to which decision-making power is delegated to a wide array of actors. While
2685   there have been clear improvements to the first dimension in recent decades, similar
2686   developments in the second and third dimension have yet to materialise, as NGOs
2687   and IPOs are not routinely delegated decision-making power.

2688   IUCN, with its Membership of states, NGOs, and IPOs, is unique in divesting
2689   decision-making power to civil society as well as state actors through its motions
2690   process, a deliberative policy creation method undertaken once every four years
2691   through the Members' Assembly of the IUCN World Conservation Congress (WCC).
2692   The motions process provides an informative case study for active participation in
2693   environmental decision making by a broad constituency of different organisations
2694   and states. However, to date there has been little investigation into the factors
2695   underlying participation, whether certain groups dominate the creation of IUCN's
2696   published Resolutions and Recommendations, and the degree to which the motions

2697   process is fair and accessible to all. Here, we aim to explore participation in IUCN's
2698   motions process through the following questions:

2699   i)   Do some groups participate more than others overall?
2700   ii)   Do different parts of the Membership participate in different steps of the
2701   motions process?
2702   iii)   Can these patterns be explained by Member characteristics such as
2703   organisation type, region, or size?

2704   **3.0 Methods**

2705   *2.1 IUCN's motions process and its Membership*

2706   IUCN positions itself as a 'democratic union' (IUCN, 2020h), hosting a unique
2707   process of collaborative policy creation between state and civil society actors
2708   through its motions process. Motions are the core mechanism by which IUCN
2709   Members can influence IUCN's agenda and its message to decision-makers globally,
2710   including through its advisory role to the United Nations General Assembly. IUCN's
2711   Membership is composed of state, government agency, and sub-national state
2712   agencies, a variety of NGOs including charities, research institutions and zoos, and
2713   as of 2016, IPOs. Every IUCN Member is entitled to propose motions, participate in
2714   debates both online and in person, and then vote on whether they should become
2715   published Resolutions (with at least one operative paragraph directed at IUCN) or
2716   Recommendations (wholly directed at institutions beyond IUCN), with majority rule
2717   (2/3 on governance motions) in both government and civil society houses. IUCN
2718   aims to process every submitted motion 'fairly and equitably, with adequate
2719   communication with proponents and co-sponsors related to rejecting, amending or
2720   merging motions, explaining the rationale', regardless of who submitted the motion
2721   (IUCN, 2019a). Figure 19 provides an outline of this process for the 2021 WCC.

2722
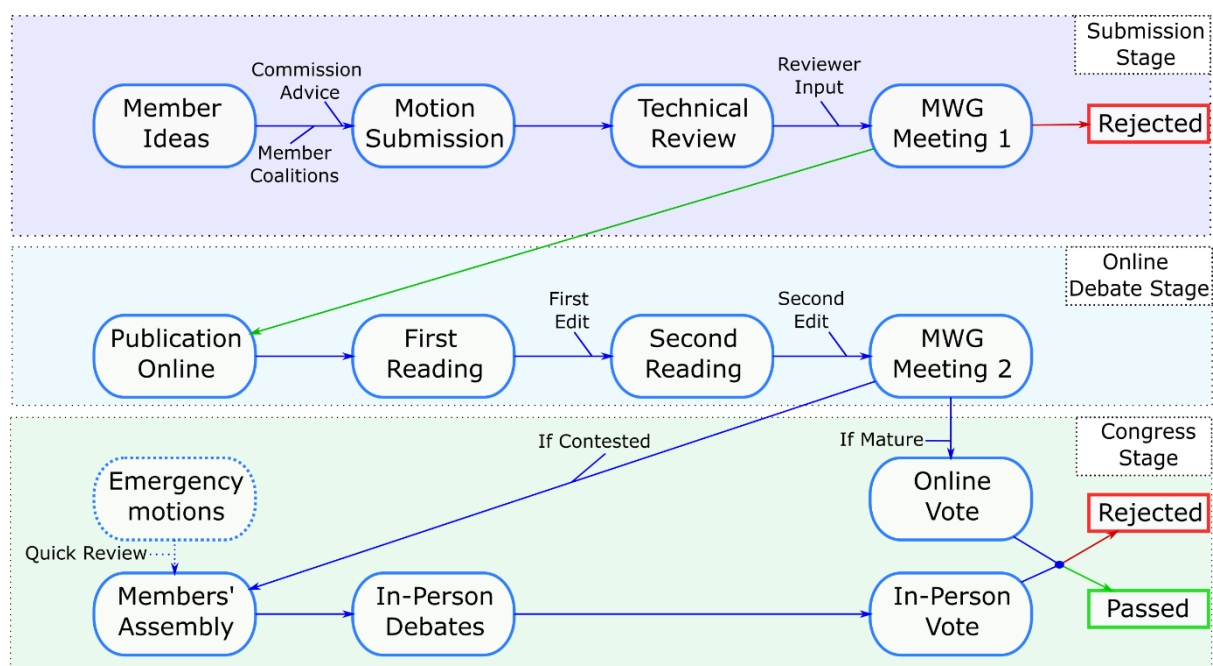
2723 **Figure 19: Diagram of IUCN's motions process for the 2021 WCC which had originally been**
2724 **planned for June 2020, but due to COVID-19 was delayed to September 2021. MWG = Motions**
2725 **Working Group, which is appointed by IUCN Council (itself elected by the IUCN Membership at**
2726 **each WCC).**

2727 IUCN Members have four opportunities to create, shape and filter motions. These

2728 are in motion submission, in the debates, and in motion voting – both online and in

2729 the Members' Assembly. The IUCN Secretariat organises motion submission,

2730 manages the technical review, and supports the operations of the Motions Working

2731 Group, which is appointed by IUCN Council (itself elected by the IUCN Membership

2732 at each WCC). The Motions Working Group makes decisions on accepting motions

2733 during Motion Working Group meetings 1 and 2, deciding on merging or rejecting

2734 motions based on technical review and then determining whether a motion goes on

2735 to online vote or in-person voting at the Members' Assembly following facilitator

2736 reports. Additionally, the Council appoints an Appeals Committee to deal with issues

2737 with motion rejection and merging.

2738 One component of the in-person debates process is engagement in contact groups

2739 within the Members' Assembly. Contact groups are where contentious motions (as

2740 determined by in-person debates informed by the second Motion Working Group

2741 meeting) are debated and edited by Members with technical advice from

2742 Commissions. These occur outside of scheduled Members' Assembly time to allow

2743 adequate time for voting, and can – particularly for controversial motions – be quite

2744 lengthy and result in significant changes to motion text. However, lists of participants

2745 are not typically documented for contact groups, and so there was no way to factor

2746 contact groups into our analysis.

2747 *2.2 Data Collection*

2748 *Member Information*

2749 A file containing the relevant information for each IUCN Member in 2020 was

2750 downloaded from IUCN's online portal. The information contained within this file

2751 includes a unique code for each Member, Membership category (A Government/B

2752 NGO/C IPO), statutory region (Africa/South and East Asia/Meso & South

2753 America/East Europe, North and Central Asia/North America and the

2754 Caribbean/Oceania/West Asia/West Europe), and preferred language

2755 (English/Spanish/French). A file containing the membership fee category for each

2756 Member was also shared, with fee groups based on either operational budget for

2757 NGOs and IPOs (Small, operating costs <1million US$/Medium, operating costs over

2758 1 million US$ and less than 8 million US$/Large, operating costs > 8 million US$)

2759 and UN contributions for states (Small, UN budget contribution <0.11%/Medium, UN

2760 budget contribution over 0.11% and up to and including 1.31%/Large, UN budget

2761 contribution over 1.31%). We used this as a proxy for organisation size.

2762 The composition of the Membership is shown in the following table.

2763 **Table 12: Composition of IUCN's Membership by four covariates: Category, Language, Region**
2764 **and Size**

Covariate	Level	Number	Percent
Category	State (A)	216	16
Category	NGO (B)	1100	80
Category	IPO (C)	19	1
Category	Affiliate (D)	43	3
Language	English	1030	75
Language	Spanish	173	13
Language	French	175	13
Region	Africa	240	17
Region	East Europe, North and Central Asia	64	5
Region	Meso and South America	200	15
Region	North America and the Carribean	158	11
Region	Oceania	52	4
Region	South and East Asia	273	20

Region	West Asia	77	6
Region	West Europe	314	23
Size	Small	1017	74
Size	Medium	145	11
Size	Large	71	5
Size	Affiliate	131	10
Size	Missing	14	1

2765

2766 *Modes of participation*

2767 To determine participation in IUCN's motions process we collected data from IUCN's

2768 archives on past motions and sponsors, voting records, member information, and

2769 online debates, as outlined in Figure 20.
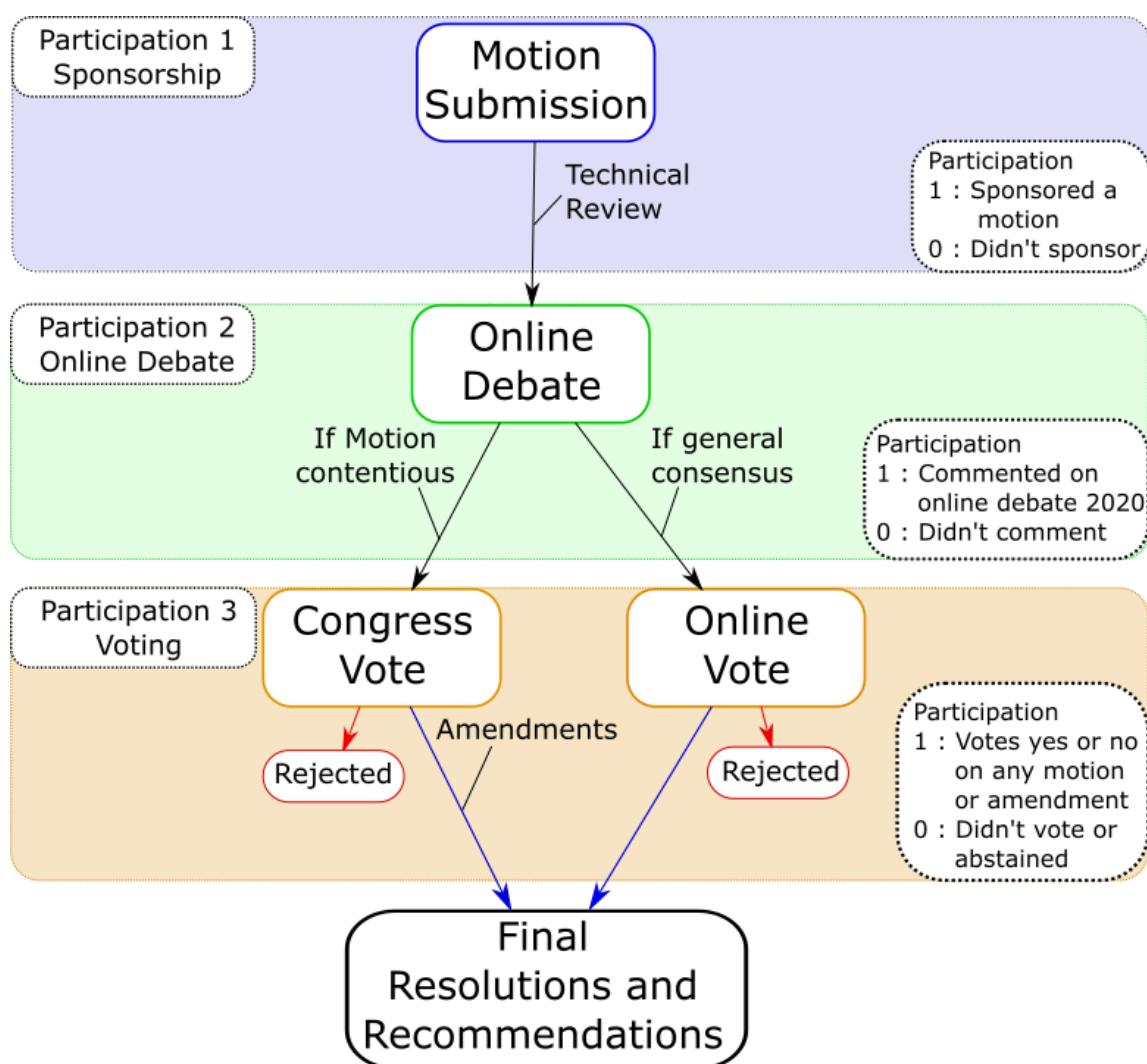
2770

2771 **Figure 20: Four points where IUCN Members can influence motions during IUCN's motions**
2772 **process (as of the 2021 WCC). For each mode of participation the conditions for either**
2773 **participating or not participating are displayed on the right.**

2774

Motion sponsorship

2776 Any Member can sponsor a motion. The process of submitting and sponsoring a
2777 motion includes writing it in a specific format in one of IUCN's three official
2778 languages before submitting for review. It is also strongly advised that Members
2779 consult relevant specialists from the independent expert IUCN Commissions before
2780 submitting a motion. Records of motion sponsorship were created from the lists of
2781 proposed motions for the 2021 WCC event detailing motion title, content, and a list of
2782 sponsors, taken directly from the online WCC portal. These lists of sponsors were
2783 manually transferred to an Excel CSV file which was later matched with unique
2784 member codes to combine with the Membership information dataset.

Debates

2786 Online debates have been a feature of IUCN's motions process since the inclusion of
2787 online voting in 2016, allowing Members a chance to raise issues and make edits to
2788 motions with an aim of reaching general consensus. The reasoning behind this
2789 change was to allow for non-controversial motions to be voted on online before the
2790 Members' Assembly, therefore freeing up time for in-person debates and voting on
2791 more contentious motions. Information on participation in online debates was only
2792 available for the 2021 WCC, because records of the 2016 online debates were not
2793 retained. We accessed the online debate page for each motion on the 2021 WCC
2794 portal and manually transferred documentation of the Members that commented on
2795 each motion to a CSV file which was later matched with the unique Member codes
2796 from the Member information dataset.

2797 Further, throughout IUCN's history its Membership has been able to debate
2798 proposed motions in person at the Members' Assembly, now hosted at the WCC but
2799 prior to 2000 taking place at a General Assembly. As the Members' Assembly is
2800 often short on time, much of the debate on motions now takes place in contact
2801 groups, side-sessions that occur outside of Members' Assembly time where
2802 Members can debate and make edits to proposed motions, with Commission
2803 members providing technical advice.

Online and In-person Voting

2805   Once IUCN Member debates have produced versions of draft motions with text
2806   either agreed by all debate participants, or with clearly marked alternative text
2807   proposals where agreement cannot be reached, these are taken to the full Members'
2808   Assembly for voting.

2809   Records for congress voting were available from 2004, albeit in different formats.
2810   Results were cleaned (deleting anomalous entries, for example, 'test-vote') and
2811   standardised, to allow comparability between years. We decided to discard
2812   amendments (ie, voting on alternative text formulations) from the voting records, and
2813   thus treat the final vote on each motion as the chance to participate. These records,
2814   were then combined into an overall dataset after matching with the Member
2815   information dataset.

2816   Records for online voting have only existed since 2016; before that all voting took
2817   place at the Members' Assembly in person.

2818   *2.3 Rationale for focusing analysis on 2021 WCC*

2819   Lists of IUCN's Members are not available for the years of previous WCC events
2820   (2004, 2008, 2012 & 2016), meaning that we cannot be certain of which Members
2821   have had a chance to participate in each year. For example, some organisations
2822   may have been IUCN Members since 2004, with others only joining more recently
2823   (this is a particular issue when considering IPOs, given the establishment of the IPO
2824   Membership category in 2016). Including these years would risk introducing bias into
2825   the results, making apparent participation for each Member dependent on how many
2826   years they had been a Member for. If we were to assume all organisations had been
2827   IUCN Members since 2004 we would underestimate participation, whereas if we only
2828   include actively participating Members each year this would overestimate
2829   participation. In addition, information on participation in online debates was only
2830   available for the 2021 WCC, and the distinction between online voting and congress
2831   voting has only existed since the 2016 WCC. We therefore decided to restrain our
2832   analysis of participation to the 2021 WCC to reduce bias and to allow for the
2833   inclusion of online debates.

2834   *2.4 Statistical analysis*

2835 Statistical analysis was performed using RStudio version 1.3.1073 (RStudio Team,

2836 2020). A Bayesian mixed effects regression was used to analyse participation across

2837 the three modes of participation. We chose a prior which automatically scaled to be

2838 weakly informative across the varying ranges of the different data types, equivalent

2839 to Normal (0, 2.5) if both the response and predictor variables had been scaled so

2840 that their standard deviations were each 1. For analysis abstentions were treated as

2841 non-participation as abstentions typically indicate that a Member had not had time to

2842 form an opinion on a motion, and thus was not actively influencing the motion. (If we

2843 had included abstentions as participation, estimated participation would, unjustifiably,

2844 appear higher.) The binary response variable of participation was predicted by the

2845 fixed effects of type of participation (sponsoring, debates, online voting and

2846 Congress voting), Member covariates (Category, region, language and size) and

2847 whether a Resolution or Recommendation, with Member code as a random effect.

2848 This is shown in the following table.

2849 **Table 13:** Model components for the Bayesian mixed effects regression.

Component	Function	Coding	Levels
P	Response	Binary	Whether the Member participated (1) or didn't participate (0) in a specific opportunity.
Member code	Random effect	Categorical	Specific Member code for each Member. Random effect in model.
Participation type	Fixed effect	Categorical	Motion sponsorship, debates, online voting and congress voting.
Category	Fixed effect	Categorical	State (A), NGO (B), IPO (C), Affiliate (D)
Language	Fixed effect	Categorical	English, Spanish, French
Region	Fixed effect	Categorical	Africa, East Europe, North and Central Asia, Meso and South America, North America and the Carribean, Oceania, South and East Asia, West Asia, West Europe
Size	Fixed effect	Categorical	Small, Medium, Large, Affiliate

2850

2851 To allow for easier interpretation of results, predicted participation was created for

2852 each of the four participation types under subsequent scenarios where the value of

2853 each covariate was increased in turn to 1.

4.0 Results

The majority of the 1,335 Members included in this analysis (as of 2020 Member dataset) were NGOs (82%) with English as their preferred language (75%) and classified as small through their budget size (76%). The most common statutory region was West Europe (22%), followed by South and East Asia (20%), Africa (18%), Meso and South America (15%), North American and the Caribbean (11%), West Asia (6%), East Europe, North and Central Asia (5%) and Oceania (4%). Of the 1,335 Members included as of 2020, 829 (62%) participated in at least one of the four methods of participation, while only 188 (14%) participated in all four. Regarding the varying methods of participation, 307 (23%) sponsored a motion, 132 (10%) participated in online debates, 905 (68%) voted in person at the WCC and 1,287 (96%) voted online before the WCC. Of the ten most active Members, engaging in nearly 50%. of opportunities to participate (i.e. four possible modes of participation for each of the 82 motions at the 2021 WCC), one was in category A (states), while nine were in category B (NGOs), with two of those being international NGOs. Of the fifty most active Members, participating in over 45% of opportunities, 11 (22%) were international NGOs, despite a total of only 103 (7%) international NGOs being IUCN Members.

2872

2873

English speaking Members were most likely to participate in each of the four modes

of participation (mean = 0.267), with Spanish speaking Members having second

highest participation (mean = 0.203) and French speaking the least (mean = 0.168).

However, this spread was notably smaller for assembly voting (English mean =

0.470; Spanish mean = 0.504; French mean = 0.374) than online voting, where

English speaking organisations were notably more likely to participate (English mean

= 0.405; Spanish mean = 0.236; French mean =0.214).

NGOs (mean = 0.266) and IPOs (mean = 0.262) had the highest overall

participation, while states had notably lower participation (mean = 0.159). While

NGOs were most active in online voting (mean = 0.390) IPOs had the highest level

of participation in congress voting (mean = 0.552).

2890 Overall, Resolutions saw higher participation (mean = 0.271) than
2891 Recommendations (mean = 0.224). This pattern was most notable in online debates
2892 (Resolution mean = 0.081; Recommendation mean = 0.018) and motion sponsoring
2893 (Resolution mean = 0.171; Recommendation mean = 0.060).

2894 Across the four types of participation large Members were most likely to participate
2895 (mean = 0.336) with medium sized (mean = 0.299) and small (mean = 0.240)
2896 Members less likely. This relationship was less strong in online voting (large mean =
2897 0.426; medium mean = 0.442; small mean = 0.361) and online debates (large mean
2898 = 0.115; medium mean = 0.067; small mean = 0.427) where the variance between
2899 organisation sizes was notably lower.

2900 Overall, participation was highest in Members from North American and the
2901 Caribbean (mean = 0.296) and South and East Asia (0.275), with Members based in
2902 West Asia (mean = 0.207) and East Europe, North and Central Asia (mean = 0.145)
2903 the least likely. Members based in Oceania (mean = 0.236) and West Europe (mean
2904 = 0.182) were most likely to sponsor motions, with those based in Meso and South
2905 America (mean = 0.092), South and East Asia (mean = 0.071), East Europe, North
2906 and Central Asia (mean = 0.070) and West Asia (mean = 0.008) all notably less
2907 likely to sponsor motions. Members from North America and the Caribbean were by
2908 far the most likely to participate in online debates (mean = 0.158), while Members
2909 from Meso and South America (mean = 0.058), East Europe, North and Central Asia
2910 (mean = 0.016), South and East Asia (mean = 0.013) and West Asia (mean = 0.005)
2911 were all notably less likely to participate.

2912 While Members based in South and East Asia (mean = 0.560) were by far the most
2913 likely to participate in online voting (other regions mean < 0.40), with those based in
2914 Meso and South America (mean = 0.261) and East Europe, North and Central Asia
2915 (mean = 0.76) least likely, for assembly voting Members from Meso and South
2916 America were most likely to participate (mean = 0.589), with those from South and
2917 East Asia notably less likely than other regions (mean = 0.455). Members based in
2918 East Europe, North and Central Asia were least likely to participate in both formats
2919 (evote mean = 0.176; assembly mean = 0.316).

5.0 Discussion

We found varying participation in IUCN's motion process depending on the mode of participation and the characteristics of participating organisations. Through analysis of recorded participation, we have demonstrated notable trends in how different organisations interact with and influence the creation of IUCN's conservation policy in relation to their region, budget size, type and preferred language.

One perhaps surprising result was higher participation in motions that became Resolutions than those that became Recommendations. For sponsorship this may be due to Resolutions been seen as tools through which other IUCN state and civil society members can be influenced directly (hence attracting more sponsorship), as opposed to the more diffuse nature of Recommendations. For voting this trend may be present due to the tendency for Members, especially states, to abstain on controversial motions, particularly those seen as encroaching on national sovereignty – often a key point of contention between IUCN's categories. Why Members were less likely to participate in debates on recommendations than resolutions is unclear.

While it is unsurprising that participation was found to be greater in online voting than in-person voting at the Members' Assembly, as it is easier for Members to access online voting than attending in-person voting, this effect was not consistent across regions, Member category, and size. For example, NGOs were most likely to participate in e-vote while IPOs were most likely to participate in assembly voting, and overall online votes had higher participation from English speaking Members than Members preferring other languages, a pattern less notable in assembly voting. Additionally, participation in online debates was highest in Members based in North America and the Caribbean and West Europe. This trend may be explained through access to internet or potential language barriers for participation in the online components of the motions process, whereas in the assembly live translations into IUCN's three languages are provided. Online debate and voting were introduced to IUCN's motions process in 2016, and so 2021 was only the second year in which these formats for participation were available. While IUCN circulates clear guidance for Members on how to participate in these new formats, barriers exist in that the online debates on many motions are conducted in English and both voting and

2952 debate take place on a website hosted by IUCN with specific login credentials for
2953 each Member.

2954 Another interesting pattern was the impact on statutory region on participation in
2955 online and assembly voting. Members based in South and East Asia were by far the
2956 most active participants in online voting, while in assembly voting they had relatively
2957 much lower participation. This is likely due in some part to the COVID19 pandemic,
2958 with the resulting restrictions on travel on countries with more severe COVID
2959 outbreaks due, in large part, to vaccine access and political factors. During the
2960 Members' Assembly many delegates raised the issue of in-person participation, with
2961 the concern that IUCN Members unable to attend the Congress in person were
2962 essentially denied a vote on motions considered too contentious for online voting.
2963 However, the change to governance proposed – to delay voting two weeks for online
2964 voting (https://iucn.s3.eu-west-3.amazonaws.com/en/CGR-2021-3.2-
2965 1_Motion_calling_for_an_online_vote_on_%20all_motions_following_%20the_%20C
2966 ongress.pdf) – did not meet the 2/3 threshold required for governance motions and
2967 was therefore rejected, as it would require a change to IUCN's 1996 Statutes
2968 (requiring voting to take place in-person). This issue of regionally variable access to
2969 voting on contentious motions has significant impacts on the shaping of IUCN policy
2970 and therefore the global conservation agenda more widely, potentially favouring
2971 actors in some regions over others. Our results suggest that online voting is a
2972 potential solution to this problem.

2973 English speaking, larger Members were overall more likely to participate than smaller
2974 organisations, with a weighting towards Members based in more affluent regions
2975 such as North America and the Caribbean and South and East Asia, while those
2976 based in less affluent regions such as East Europe, North and Central Asia had the
2977 lowest participation. One feasible explanation is variable capacity for participation,
2978 with wealthier organisations and Member states having more resources for creating
2979 motions, engaging in debates and sending delegated to the Members' Assembly.
2980 This, in addition to barriers in the form of COVID travel restrictions on participation
2981 for many Members in the 2021 WCC, has serious implications when considering the
2982 formation of what MacDonald (2010b) refers to as 'the organisation of conservation'.

2983   An important trend in our results is that large NGOs are the most consistently active

2984   group within the Membership, suggesting that when granted decision making power

2985   these organisations become highly active in deliberation and voting. Given the

2986   significant resources of such organisations, and their constantly negotiated position

2987   in what has been described as a 'space of flows' between revenue from states,

2988   markets and civil society that requires them to 'be in the right networks, speak the

2989   right language, and connect to relevant social, informational and political flows to

2990   stay relevant and connected to substantial flows of funding' (Anyango-van Zwieten et

2991   al., 2019), it is perhaps unsurprising that they are the most active groups within

2992   IUCN's Membership. This result also reflects the wider pattern of increasing power of

2993   NGOs within environmental governance since the 1980s as part of the shift to

2994   polycentric governance (Corson et al., 2019; Partelow et al., 2020).

2995   MacDonald (2010a) describes the WCC as a 'field-configuring event', where different

2996   actors attempt to negotiate a 'new organisational order'. In doing so, these actors

2997   reproduce the epistemic community (Haas, 1992) of which they are part, mediated

2998   through common individuals who 'physically and ideologically migrate' between

2999   positions in state and NGO sectors, utilising events like the WCC to shape this

3000   organisational order (K. I. MacDonald, 2010a). Our results, viewed from this

3001   perspective, suggest that the epistemic communities arising from larger and

3002   wealthier states and organisations, especially those from affluent regions such as

3003   Europe and North America, have greater capacity for participating in field-configuring

3004   events and thus shaping global conservation governance. This may go some way to

3005   explain controversial shifts within mainstream conservation such as market

3006   environmentalism and neoliberal conservation (Arsel & Büscher, 2012; Castree,

3007   2008b, 2008a; Holmes & Cavanagh, 2016), green grabbing and other forms of

3008   accumulation through conservation (Corson & MacDonald, 2012; Fairhead et al.,

3009   2012), and the growing militarisation of conservation (Duffy, 2014; Lunstrum, 2014;

3010   Massé & Lunstrum, 2016). These changes benefit the material interests of the

3011   wealthier state Members of IUCN of the global north and the strategic interests of

3012   large international conservation NGOs. However, they remain issues of contention

3013   among conservationists more widely, and these shifts in accepted mainstream

3014   conservation have taken place without consensus among the views of conservation

3015   practitioners (Sandbrook et al., 2013, 2019) and despite significant protest within

3016   IUCN's Membership at previous Members' Assemblies (e.g. MacDonald, 2010a).

3017   Another important result of our study is the significant participation of IPOs in IUCN's

3018   motions process. We found IPO Members to be highly active in all forms of

3019   participation except online debates. IPOs are not only voting in both formats but are

3020   actively creating and sponsoring motions. This has resulted in important decisions at

3021   the 2020 WCC such as Resolution 002 "Strengthened institutional inclusion

3022   concerning indigenous peoples" (IUCN, 2020c), Resolution 117 "Actions to

3023   strengthen food sovereignty and security of indigenous peoples and peasant

3024   communities" (IUCN, 2020e), and perhaps most notably Resolution 119

3025   "Renunciation of the Doctrine of Discovery to Rediscover care for Mother Earth"

3026   (IUCN, 2020f). These motions deal with inherently political topics ranging from

3027   strengthening indigenous inclusion in global conservation governance to food

3028   sovereignty, establishing the right for Indigenous Peoples and peasant communities

3029   to full control and access to the food systems that sustain them. Arguably most

3030   impactful is the renunciation of the Doctrine of Discovery, the Papal Bull (religious

3031   decree) that historically set out the legal justification for seizure of Indigenous lands

3032   in the early colonial period and continues to be used in contesting Indigenous

3033   sovereignty as recently as 2019 (IUCN, 2020f). By renouncing the doctrine,

3034   contemporary land ownership across the colonised world is brought into question,

3035   and unsurprisingly this motion was the site of significant conflict and controversy

3036   during online debates. However, it ultimately passed with close to its original

3037   wording, and alongside the other successful motions sponsored by IPOs

3038   demonstrates a positive shift from what Adeyeye et al. (2019) refer to as 'nominal

3039   participation' to a more active and meaningful influence on deliberative processes.

3040   While IPOs now have access to participate in all steps of a motion's creation, there is

3041   a notable shortcoming in engagement with online debates, possibly related to

3042   internet access or language barriers.

3043   The three dimensions of participation conceptualised by Jager et al. (2020) are

3044   breadth of involvement, communication between participants (especially discursive

3045   communication), and the extent to which decision-making power is delegated. While

3046   the inclusion of IPOs and decision-making power of civil society Members reflects a

3047   significant improvement to the first of these, and the third is satisfied by Members

3048   having delegated voting power, the extent to which IUCN's motions process satisfies

3049   the second dimension is put into question by our results regarding the low

3050   participation in online debates by IPOs; we have no data on participation in in-person

3051   WCC debates and contact groups. While increasing financial support to aid in

3052   attendance of congress and expanding access to online voting were key

3053   recommendations of IUCN's Governance Resolution N (IUCN, 2020b), the issue of

3054   access to online debates is still outstanding. Dryzek & Pickering (2016) emphasise

3055   the need for deliberation to ensure reflexivity, the ability for an institution to

3056   reconfigure itself to adapt to past failures and changes in circumstance. While an

3057   open, accessible space for debate is indeed present, the relatively low participation –

3058   especially for IPOs, government agencies, and Members outside the global north –

3059   raises questions over the degree to which effective deliberation is taking place. In

3060   order to make the most of the introduction of new epistemic communities in the form

3061   of IPOs, and to ensure equity in the motions process between regions and

3062   organisational capacity, especially in light of the growing likelihood of global crises

3063   on the scale of COVID, a strengthening of participation in online debates would

3064   complement the transition to online voting in allowing the IUCN motions process to

3065   continue its shift towards a more accessible and fairer process for policy creation.

3066   **6.0 Conclusion**

3067   Our findings suggest IUCN's actions towards fostering wider and more meaningful

3068   participation of civil society, including both NGOs and IPOs, in its motions process

3069   has been somewhat successful, with such organisations actively creating and voting

3070   on motions. However, significant barriers remain to participation, with relatively low

3071   engagement with online debates by IPOs and Members from the global south and

3072   generally less affluent global regions. Identifying the drivers of this low participation

3073   is beyond the scope of this study, but doing so could lead to a more fair and

3074   accessible motions process, and ultimately perhaps generation of more effective

3075   Resolutions and Recommendations. In addition, our findings suggest that creating

3076   more possibilities for remote participation generally could even out inequalities in

3077   accessibility to the in-person components of the motions process, particularly in

3078   congress voting, increasing accessibility for Members unable to attend and ensuring

3079   the resilience of the process considering the heightened frequency of global crises.

6. Discussion

This thesis set out to investigate the formation and maintenance of the global conservation agenda using IUCN's motions process as a case study for cross-sector conservation governance. In doing so, we uncovered highly variable agendas and interests, differing capacities for participation, and perhaps most significantly a clear divide in how different groups view the role of the motions process itself. This divide, centred on the extent to which published Resolutions and Recommendations may make specific requests to states permeates all four empirical chapters of this thesis and is central to answering questions about how the global conservation agenda develops. This final chapter explores the wider context of our findings, situating them within current knowledge on global conservation governance, and then provides practical recommendations for next steps and potential solutions to the challenges we highlight.

Who sets the global conservation agenda?

In this thesis we set out to answer six overall questions, aimed at investigating the shaping of the global conservation agenda:

1. What ideas are brought to environmental forums? Has this changed over time?
   Chapter 2 (motion content)
2. Do different groups bring different ideas?
   Chapter 2 (motion content) and Chapter 4 (voting records)
3. Are actors split on key issues? What are the key dividing factors?
   Chapter 4 (voting records)
4. How do actors debate issues? What discourses are mobilised?
   Chapter 3 (online debates)
5. How does the structure of debates shape the output?
   Chapter 3 (online debates) and Chapter 5 (participation)
6. How does participation and access vary across different characteristics?
   Chapter 5 (participation)

3112 From these, we formed individual conclusions to each question explored in each

3113 respective chapter. Across the four empirical chapters of this thesis, three

3114 overarching conclusions can be made:

3115

3116   1. IUCN's agenda in shaping global conservation is constituted by a wide range

3117   of views and interests, but the degree of influence varies.

3118   2. IUCN's Membership is characterised by a tension between expanding cross-

3119   sector decision making and national sovereignty in setting the conservation

3120   agenda.

3121   3. An underlying commitment to consensus is a barrier to addressing key

3122   divides.

3123

3124 The following three sections will explore each of these points in detail.

3125 **Finding I: IUCN's agenda in shaping global conservation is constituted by a**

3126 **wide range of views and interests, but the degree of influence varies.**

3127 *Access to global conservation governance*

3128 Global conservation governance defines the 'rules' and agenda by which

3129 conservation is practised globally. As such, ensuring the transparency and

3130 democratic fairness of governance processes is of vital importance to people and

3131 nature globally. Demeritt (2015) outlines three rationales for public access to

3132 environmental decision making - the first, that participation is a fundamental

3133 democratic right, especially in decisions which directly impact participants; the

3134 second, that since the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development's

3135 Agenda 21 (WCED, 1987) participation has been seen as vital for fomenting public

3136 consent; and third, that outputs of participatory processes tend to be of higher quality

3137 than non-participatory ones in terms of scientific rigour and equity. While IUCN's

3138 motions process is in no sense publicly accessible – it is only open to paid Member

3139 organisations and states – these rationales can be considered to still apply, with

3140 even its limited access producing more ethical, legitimate, and rigorous

3141 decisions. Other studies into participatory governance find instrumental benefits in

3142 improved conflict resolution (M. Fisher & Sablan, 2018), compliance and legitimacy

3143   (Birnbaum, 2016; Rana & Chhatre, 2017), and a generally improved environmental

3144   standard of governance outputs (Jager et al., 2020).

3145

3146   *Evidence of democratic contestation within IUCN's motions process*

3147   In this thesis we have demonstrated strong democratic participation in IUCN's

3148   motions process, with state and non-state Members influencing and changing

3149   IUCN's direction to suit their objectives. Those objectives varied significantly by

3150   sector, statutory region, preferred language and size, representing distinct agendas

3151   and interest groups constituting IUCN's Membership (Chapters 2 and 4). Indigenous

3152   peoples' Organisations (hereafter IPOs) across both voting and motion creation

3153   favoured socially-just approaches to conservation, NGOs sought to generate strong

3154   action from states with large, international NGOs attempting to include markets

3155   within conservation, and states focused on development and public inclusion. Each

3156   distinct agenda has resulted in successful motions along these lines, delivering the

3157   interests of these groups into successful IUCN Resolutions and Recommendations,

3158   direct statements of intent for IUCN's agenda or suggestions for change directed at

3159   external actors. Particularly notable within this was the new ideas and perspectives

3160   brought by IPOs, forming a direct pathway for these ideas to be included within

3161   conservation governance for the first time. IPOs raised important and novel motions

3162   at the 2021 WCC, resulting in successful Resolutions such as a renunciation of the

3163   Doctrine of Discovery, the legal framework underpinning the theft of Indigenous land

3164   and forming the basis for property regimes across the colonised world (IUCN, 2020f),

3165   a Resolution calling for strengthened institutional inclusion of Indigenous peoples

3166   (IUCN, 2020c), and a Resolution reinforcing the importance of food sovereignty of

3167   Indigenous peoples and peasant communities (IUCN, 2020e). These decisions

3168   directly result from the inclusion of new voices in global conservation governance

3169   and constitute a major success in IUCN's goal of functioning as a democratic union

3170   for global conservation.

3171   *Variable influence on the conservation agenda*

3172   However, our investigation of variable participation in IUCN's motions process

3173   (Chapter 5) suggests that not all actors have equal influence in shaping the global

3174 conservation agenda. Here, we consider influence to mean the extent to which

3175 specific actors can shape the accepted norms of conservation to suit their interest.

3176 Given the role of IUCN motions in shaping these norms, we envision the scale to

3177 which different actors are able to produce successful motions and the extent to

3178 which they can participate in the various components of the motions process, and

3179 thus shape the final form of published motions, directly constitutes a portion of their

3180 overall 'influence' on global conservation. For example, larger international

3181 organisations were generally more active in all stages of the motions process than

3182 smaller IUCN Members, and there was notably different participation in in-person

3183 rather than online voting between regions, suggesting significant barriers to

3184 attending Congress to participate. Large NGOs were by a significant degree the

3185 most active in motion creation and sponsorship, directly amplifying their views into

3186 IUCN publications (Chapter 5). Given the extensive differences in interests and

3187 priorities between Members from different sectors, regions and size (Chapters 2 &

3188 4), this variation in access can be considered to have notable impacts on how IUCN

3189 Resolutions and Recommendations, and thus a significant component of the global

3190 conservation agenda, are constituted.

3191 *Implications*

3192 IUCN's motions process has succeeded in widening input into environmental

3193 decision-making, first with NGOs and more recently with IPOs. This increasingly

3194 participatory process has resulted in a more diverse range of views and interests

3195 being reflected in global conservation governance and has directly resulted in the

3196 creation of powerful statements on past injustices and a potentially different path for

3197 conservation. However, degree of access and influence vary between actors,

3198 resulting in different capacities for shaping the global conservation agenda.

3199 **Finding II: IUCN's Membership is characterised by a tension between**

3200 **expanding cross-sector decision making and national sovereignty in setting**

3201 **the conservation agenda.**

3202 *The shift from state-centred decision making to including non-state actors*

IUCN's cross-sector approach to conservation governance forms part of a global picture of the increasing role of NGOs and private companies in international decision making since the mid-20th century, with an acceleration associated with the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s (W. F. Fisher, 1997; Heins, 2008; Partelow et al., 2020; Polletta et al., 1999). This shift has created more complexity in understanding policy creation, as it now often operates in what has been referred to as an 'institutional void' (M. Hajer, 2003). This term describes the fragmented governance architecture of global decision making, where there are no generally accepted rules for policy creation, decisions have consequences crossing traditional polities, and there are far more actors influencing decision making and accepted knowledge (Biermann, 2009; M. Hajer, 2003). When assessing the influences and power shaping international decisions, the focus has shifted from collaboration between states to the complex assemblage of NGOs, academic institutions, corporate interests, social movements and suite of other actors that now drive global conservation governance (Dryzek, 2005; Himley, 2008; Partelow et al., 2020; Polletta et al., 1999). This global transition from state-led regulation to more polycentric governance is arguably most pronounced in environmental politics, with decisions now commonly made by a diversity of actors, both state and non-state, often with starkly different motivations, positions, funding, and influence (Arsel & Büscher, 2012; Igoe & Brockington, 2007; Lemos & Agrawal, 2009; McCarthy & Prudham, 2004). In addition to non-governmental actors having significant impacts on environmental policy creation in both local and international forums (Allan & Hadden, 2017; Larsen, 2018; Thaler et al., 2019), they also have a role in shaping public discourse on the environment and people's perception of these issues globally (Brulle, 1996; Buscher & Fletcher, 2020; Cooper, 1996; M. A. Hajer, 1995). Past studies on the views of environmental NGOs in particular have found that the ideology and actions of such organisations have significant influences over political action (Dalton et al., 2003), and while many have had roles in opposing unsustainable and damaging corporate activities (Daubanes & Rochet, 2018; Polletta et al., 1999), many of the most influential conservation NGOs and 'think-tanks' driving global environmental policy have deep financial ties to the corporate world and interests likely to benefit from deregulation (Anyango-van Zwieten et al., 2019; Griffith & Knoeber, 1986; Sullivan, 2013; L. M. Taylor, 2020).

3236   *Relevance to our findings*

3237   Most environmental fora operate through state-to-state deliberation and voting (e.g.

3238   the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD),the United Nations

3239   Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)), creating key statements,

3240   strategies, targets and frameworks through consensus between nation-state

3241   delegates. IUCN, with its Membership of both state and non-state actors, is unique in

3242   delegating decision-making power in motion creation, debating and voting to both

3243   sectors. While this puts IUCN at the forefront of the ongoing trend towards

3244   heightened non-state power in international decision making, it also means it is host

3245   to a tension within its Membership - whether this mixed constituency has the

3246   legitimacy to make demands of nation states. More specifically, this argument is over

3247   the sovereignty of nation states and the potential for non-elected organisations

3248   (IUCN's non-state Membership) to make demands of nation states to alter domestic

3249   national legislation and action.

3250

3251   This tension has been reflected within our analysis of the content and sponsorship of

3252   published IUCN Resolutions and Recommendations between 2004 and 2020

3253   (Chapter 2, with NGOs more likely to sponsor motions with hard action while states

3254   oppose them), our analysis of voting records (Chapter 4, that the two factors

3255   underlying abstentions are linked to both specific and general material

3256   recommendations for states), and explored in more detail in the discourse analysis of

3257   online debates (Chapter 3, where this divide emerges as a conflict between

3258   administrative rationalism and democratic pragmatism). IUCN's unique situation in

3259   cross-sector governance means it expresses this divide clearly in voting, debating,

3260   and sponsoring, with clear lines between state and non-state sections of the

3261   Membership.

3262

3263   However, this tension reflects a more general question facing international politics,

3264   whether the principles of democracy are compatible with an expansion in power and

3265   influence of 'civil society' relative to that of democratically elected governments. For

3266   example, for IUCN to be considered democratic, it must have a demos - or voting

3267   base upon which to decide decisions - commonly defined as 'rule by the people' (List

3268   & Koenig-Archibugi, 2010; Saunders, 2012; Scherz, 2013). By including non-state

3269 civil society actors alongside states in decision making, IUCN has already brought

3270 into question the legitimacy of its 'demos', as NGOs are not elected or created by

3271 direct mandate of the public, but instead by investment, with various NGOs attracting

3272 funding by adhering to the values of individuals, corporations, or sections of society

3273 (Klees, 1998). Civil society, far from being impartial, is entirely partial to the powerful

3274 interests capable of funding such organisations, with corporate philanthropic

3275 donations often serving as a form of tax-exempt lobbying (Bertrand, Bombardini,

3276 Fisman, Trebbi, et al., 2018).

3277

3278 This brings us to the question of the informal components of both the motions

3279 process and the influences on IUCN's agenda as a whole, as opposed to the formal

3280 components (i.e. motion sponsorship, debating and voting) investigated in this

3281 thesis. Given that we were unable to conduct interviews with key figures within the

3282 motions process, we were unable to investigate how motions are shaped by the

3283 informal discussions outside of the allotted debates and other processes.

3284 Additionally, when considering the overall question of who sets the global

3285 conservation agenda, actors external to the Membership can be considered to shape

3286 IUCN's agenda. For example, despite the lack of representation within IUCN's

3287 Membership, private sector actors had a significant presence at the 2021 WCC –

3288 including a self-described 'entrepreneur' running the opening event and a large

3289 number of the side-sessions with a repeated assertion that conservation can only

3290 succeed through close collaboration with private interests. Such influences are

3291 entirely missed by the empirical methods undertaken during this research, only

3292 visible during the physical attendance of the WCC itself, as referred to in the

3293 introduction. However, given the extent to which such external actors led events at

3294 the WCC, their influence over the informal parts of the motions process may be

3295 considerable.

3296 *Implications*

3297 A more accessible and cross-sector process of environmental decision making

3298 brings new ideas, interests, and values to global conservation governance, with

3299 extensive benefits and positive outcomes as outlined in this thesis. Many of the most

3300 significant outcomes of the 2021 WCC stemmed directly from this widening of

3301   participation to include new actors. However, the resulting conflict over the role of

3302   IUCN motions and the extent to which non-state actors should make material

3303   demands of nation states is resulting in abstentions and dilution of meaning within

3304   motion text, disrupting the discursive nature of the motions process. A clear and

3305   deliberative debate on the role and extent of IUCN motions could potentially retain

3306   the benefits of wider participation while mitigating the resulting antagonism between

3307   state and non-state actors. This is expanded upon further in the "Alternative models

3308   to consensus theory " section of Finding III.

3309   Finding III: An underlying commitment to consensus is a barrier to addressing

3310   key divides

3311   Our final general finding suggests that IUCN's commitment to consensus building in

3312   the online and in-person debates may be preventing a more thorough and effective

3313   deliberation on the key divides that split the Membership, and conservationists more

3314   generally.

3315   *Consensus theory and its use in environmental governance*

3316   Following World War II and the establishment of new multilateral international fora,

3317   consensus was commonly utilised as a tool for quickly producing policy that was

3318   acceptable to all and had a strong mandate from across the organisation's

3319   membership (Holdgate, 1999). IUCN and most other multilateral fora have retained

3320   this consensus-based approach to negotiation due to the legitimacy it lends to

3321   products of governance processes (Holdgate, 1999). Peterson et al. (2005) describe

3322   the appeal of consensus-based approaches as promising 'win-win' outcomes, where

3323   the diverse groups involved with decision making can come to an agreement that

3324   satisfies everyone, creating mutual goodwill and a 'sense of community'. Stuart et al.

3325   (2017) describe IUCN's commitment to consensus as vital to the legitimacy and

3326   reach of its Resolutions and Recommendations, as each can be considered the

3327   collective voice of its Membership. They argue that, given extensive time for fact

3328   finding, drawing on IUCN's technical role (the provision of evidence and guidelines)

3329   and for adequate debate between Members on opposite sides of each debate, some

3330   form of satisfactory consensus may be reached. As such, they argue for a higher

3331   proportion of votes being required to pass a motion into a published Resolution or

3332   Recommendation. Whether such a change takes place, IUCN's motions process has
3333   a core focus on fostering consensus.

3334   *Problems with consensus theory*

3335   However, the proposition that there may always be a universally beneficial solution
3336   for all parties and interests can depoliticise issues by conceptualising a single,
3337   universally beneficial solution that would satisfy all parties (Blythe et al., 2018;
3338   Fairhead et al., 2012). This depoliticisation can suppress the ability for actors to state
3339   their interests in favour of a collective drive towards gaining consensus, suppressing
3340   hostilities and instead 'defus[ing] the potential agonism that exists in human
3341   relations' (Mouffe, 1999). The effect this has is to further marginalise already
3342   marginalised voices, as within a culture committed to consensus those that cause
3343   dissent are positioned as disruptors, leaving little space for opposing worldviews or
3344   positions (Matulis & Moyer, 2016). Similarly, Peterson et al. (2005) argue that
3345   consensus, while useful in producing immediate positive results on non-controversial
3346   subjects, can suppress democratic debate in more divisive matters and entrench
3347   existing power relationships within decision making. While IUCN's inclusion of IPOs
3348   is a positive step for global conservation, not all members enter decision-making
3349   processes on an equal footing, with new members joining a pre-existing political
3350   structure with pre-existing relations of power, limiting their ability to influence others
3351   and thus create change (Mouffe, 2000). This often results in the suppression of ideas
3352   or positions that contradict the definitions put forward by powerful actors, legitimising
3353   the status quo and reducing 'power relationships to superficial conflicts of interest,
3354   presumably reconcilable through mutual good will' (M. J. N. Peterson et al., 2005).

3355   The results of our investigations support these claims. One notable example is the
3356   absence of direct confrontation on the matter of state sovereignty vs polycentricity
3357   within debates, which instead emerges as conflicts over specificity with alternate
3358   edits to text being put forward. These edits tend to dilute the meaning of proposed
3359   motions, reducing the outcome to a more vague, generalised form which is
3360   acceptable to state Members. Additionally, by avoiding addressing this conflict in
3361   debates, it instead emerges as high rates of voting abstentions on motions
3362   containing requests for material action by nation states. By failing to engage with

3363 higher-level divides within the Membership during the allotted time for debate, these
3364 conflicts manifest as disruption of later stages of the motions process.

3365 *Alternative models to consensus theory*

3366 A divide in the Membership over national sovereignty and the role of IUCN
3367 Resolutions and Recommendations is not a failure in itself - the question of the
3368 extent to which non-state actors should have an equal platform with nation states is
3369 an important one with far reaching consequences for democracy and justice.
3370 However, the lack of proper debate on this question within the motions process
3371 manifests as an unspoken conflict within the Membership with potentially serious
3372 consequences for IUCN's convening role (see Stuart et al., 2017). Peterson et al.
3373 (2005) argue that to ensure the democratic values and legitimacy of conservation
3374 decision making, such policy processes should focus on a science-informed
3375 deliberation they term as an 'Argument-Based Model' founded on argument, creating
3376 the 'unity through conflict' that characterise liberal democracies (Mouffe, 2000). Such
3377 a focus on what Laclau and Mouffe (2014) refer to as 'agonism' could facilitate a
3378 more open and productive debate on core issues, such as the divide over the
3379 purpose of the motions process and the balance of power between Membership,
3380 Secretariat and partners. Agonism refers to mutually respectful debate where
3381 disagreement and contestation is considered key to democratic processes rather
3382 than harmful to it. Matulis & Moyer (2016) take this further, advocating for a form of
3383 'agonistic pluralism', with practical suggestions such as facilitators and moderators
3384 being selected for having 'underrepresented views', the replacement of consensus
3385 with agonistic conflict as the aim of debates, ample time for in-person argumentation,
3386 and highlighting rather than concealing points of contention. With an acceptance that
3387 some positions are irreconcilable, debate functions to find an outcome that is
3388 acceptable to as much of the voting base as possible while avoiding the silencing
3389 and marginalising effects of consensus by accepting when no such position
3390 exists. Within this, however, there must be a universal acceptance of the 'rules' of
3391 debate. Here, Niemeyer & Dryzek's (2006) concept of 'meta consensus' may be
3392 useful, defined as an "agreement on the legitimacy of disputed values, the credibility
3393 of disputed beliefs, the nature of disputed choices (including the range of acceptable
3394 options), and the acceptable range of contested discourses" (Niemeyer & Dryzek,

3395   2006, p638, Table 1). Through such an approach, every IUCN Member would agree

3396   to the 'meta-consensus' of commitment to IUCN's motions process, which allows for

3397   context specific disagreements and arguments without threatening the process as a

3398   whole. Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau's vision of 'radical democracy' - an

3399   acceptance of difference and dissent underneath an overlying agreement on the

3400   fundamentals of democracy, mutual respect and a conceptualisation of democracy

3401   as a process that can never be finished (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014; Mouffe, 2000) -

3402   roughly match those of Dryzek & Pickering (2016), who advocate for governance

3403   processes which 'look for a more productive relationship across diverse values,

3404   judgments, preferences, and discourses', embracing the contradiction between

3405   inclusion and consensus (Dryzek & Pickering, 2016, p8). In Laclau and Mouffe's

3406   conceptualisation of radical democracy they suggest that such an approach could

3407   allow for a more fair and inclusive form of democracy which would allow for power

3408   relations to be made visible, create the potential for them to be re-negotiated and

3409   perhaps even altered (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014). This form of structured antagonism

3410   could produce a more reflexive form of governance, what Dryzek & Pickering (2016)

3411   refer to as the "ability of a structure, process, or set of ideas to reconfigure itself in

3412   response to reflection on its performance" (p1). This reflexivity is in contrast to the

3413   adaptation currently seen in the motions process, where the details of IUCN's

3414   operations and structure can be shaped and altered by successful Resolutions but

3415   more deep-seated change (i.e. to approach to partners, balance of state/non-state

3416   power, limits to motion content) is difficult, and discussion of these topics is often

3417   smoothed over in debates in the drive for consensus.

3418   IUCN relative to other environmental organisations is already well situated to

3419   implement these ideas in their motions process, as already there are sophisticated

3420   measures for situation analysis and debate outside of the motions process for

3421   controversial issues - as was undertaken for the creation of a new Membership

3422   category for IPOs (Stuart et al., 2017) - and the current structure of an ultimate

3423   majority vote could be enhanced to allow for further debate and contention within the

3424   Membership. This would require significant changes to the approach to parts of the

3425   motions process - notably the published guidelines and structure of online debates

3426   and in-person debates at both contact groups and Members' Assembly - from a

3427   stated desire for consensus building to a model of identifying key areas of conflict for

3428 further debate or, failing resolution, to deliberation and fact-finding between WCC

3429 events. A clear commitment to agonism shared with the Membership and the calling

3430 for an open debate on the issues raised in this thesis would strengthen IUCN's

3431 convening role and may ultimately solve some of the internal conflicts currently

3432 stifling deliberation.

3433 **Part 3: Limitations and Future Research**

3434 *Limitations*

3435 IUCN's records were not designed with analysis in mind and have varied significantly

3436 over the last twenty years. As a result, our analyses encountered significant issues

3437 that limited the scope and depth of our investigation. For example, incomplete

3438 records and ambiguities in naming resulted in extensive periods of data cleaning and

3439 manual matching and, in some cases, limited our investigation to a single year (the

3440 most recent WCC in 2021). Additionally, to conduct analysis we had to combine

3441 multiple datasets, requiring many incomplete entries to be removed. With more

3442 readily accessible records alongside standardised methods of data storage our

3443 analysis could have allowed for more investigation of trends and patterns over time

3444 as we managed in the content analysis of published motions (the past five WCCs -

3445 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016 & 2021). This is particularly notable for records of IUCN's

3446 Membership, where a yearly record of the entire Membership and each Member's

3447 relevant information (unique code, category, statutory region, preferred language

3448 and fee category) would have allowed for investigation of both participation and

3449 voting patterns over the last five WCC events. Additionally, a standardised method of

3450 collecting voting records would have allowed for much easier analysis of dimensions

3451 between WCCs, allowing us to investigate whether the key dimensions of voting

3452 remain consistent over time. In future, creating a unique identifier for each Member

3453 would allow for consistent tracking across years, including when names change and

3454 when the list of IUCN Members changes over time (with new Members joining and

3455 old ones leaving).

3456

3457 The second major source of limitations was the COVID pandemic, delaying the WCC

3458 by a year and a half and thus preventing the possibility of including semi-structured

3459 interviews in our analysis, a data-source that could have added another layer of

3460 understanding as to why Members participate, sponsor and vote in certain

3461 ways. However, the pandemic did allow for unique insights into patterns of

3462 participation and how Members from different regions have highly variable

3463 consequences from global events regarding access to the various components of the

3464 motions process.

3465

3466 The last major limitation of this study was in the use of IUCN as a single case study.

3467 Using IUCN's motions process to investigate the diverse influences on global

3468 conservation provided useful insights on the varying agendas and power of the

3469 actors that shape global conservation governance, largely because of its unique

3470 position of granting decision-making power to non-state actors. These detailed

3471 insights from a range of sources built a useful picture of the different forces and

3472 perspectives on conservation decision making, exposing key conflicts and points of

3473 contention between sectors, regions, and type of organisations. However, these

3474 findings cannot be largely generalised to all global environment governance as IUCN

3475 is the only forum granting decision-making power to non-state actors. While other

3476 environmental fora are notably influenced by the assemblage of non-state actors

3477 surrounding them, the decision-making power lies in state-to-state deliberation and

3478 voting. As such, key divides we found in our investigation such as the question over

3479 national sovereignty will likely not manifest in these other fora. What we can

3480 generalise though is the agendas and interests of the state and non-state actors as

3481 such events, as we can assume these actors will consistently influence decisions

3482 towards their interests across different environmental fora.

3483 *Future research*

3484 We anticipate the analyses conducted in this thesis to be starting points for both

3485 more widespread investigations into the behind-the-scenes shaping of global

3486 conservation governance and more detailed explorations of the reasoning for

3487 specific positions within IUCN Members. First, many of the gaps identified by these

3488 analyses could be further investigated to explore the reasons for variable

3489 participation, sponsorship, voting direction and justifications for debate strategy

3490 through surveys of IUCN's Membership, Commission and Secretariat, and/or the

3491 implementation of interview techniques to gain a depth of inquiry into motivational

3492 aspects not achieved in this thesis. This would give insight into the informal

3493 processes that influence both motions and IUCN's agenda that were outside the

3494 scope of this thesis. Secondly, we hope the techniques and methodologies

3495 developed in this thesis are applied to other significant governance fora such as the

3496 Conference of Parties (COPs) of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD,

3497 multilateral state-to-state decision making) or the Convention on International Trade

3498 in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES, only legally binding

3499 conservation agreement). Such analyses could investigate the extent of non-state

3500 power and influence in shaping decisions at these sites (expanding on the work

3501 outlined in Corson et al., (2019)), the patterns of voting or sponsorship that indicate

3502 variable positions of voting states, or the discursive strategies used in deliberation

3503 and debate.

3504 **Part 4: Practical recommendations for IUCN**

3505 In order to strengthen the deliberative aspects of IUCN's convening role while

3506 retaining the legitimacy created by consensus, we suggest the following measures:

3507   1. Add a recognition of the need for open debate and disagreement to calls for

3508   consensus in technical review and facilitator guidelines and in documentation

3509   for Membership.

3510   2. Change the focus of online debates to be aimed at identifying key

3511   irreconcilable points of contention rather than solving disputes to produce

3512   consensus. While this may result in more time required for debate at the

3513   contact groups and Members' Assembly held at the WCC, it will structure

3514   debates to allow for a clearer deliberation on key issues.

3515   3. If it is clear that more time is required to fact find and deliberate on

3516   contentious motions, Members should be free to vote to delay a motion to the

3517   next congress (as with the bear-farming motion at the 2012 WCC, more

3518   information in Stuart et al. 2017).

3519   4. Begin an open and long-term dialogue on the balance of influence between

3520   Membership and external actors on IUCN's agenda (as per Finding II)

3521 **Part 5: Conclusion**

3522 In this thesis we have demonstrated that, while there are promising signs in wider

3523 participation in IUCN's motions process and the introduction of new perspectives,

3524 there are core unresolved contradictions between the Membership and IUCN's

3525 institutional influences and in key conceptual divides between sections of the

3526 Membership on the role and remit of IUCN's motions process. For these issues to be

3527 resolved, there is a need for a truthful and robust debate both on IUCN's core

3528 foundations as an institution - especially regarding funding and influence - and on the

3529 extent to which IUCN Resolutions and Recommendations should request changes to

3530 domestic national law. For this to take place, we recommend a shift in focus for

3531 debates from consensus to agonism, embracing the conflicts present within the

3532 Membership and attempting to create a forum for debate on the key issues identified

3533 here.

3534

7. References

Acheson, J. M. (2006). Institutional failure in resource management. *Annual Review of Anthropology.*, *35*, 117–134.

Adams, W. M. (2004). Against extinction: The story of conservation. In *Against Extinction: The Story of Conservation*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781849770415

Adeyeye, Y., Hagerman, S., & Pelai, R. (2019). Seeking procedural equity in global environmental governance: Indigenous participation and knowledge politics in forest and landscape restoration debates at the 2016 World Conservation Congress. *Forest Policy and Economics*, *109*(June 2018), 102006. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2019.102006

Aguirre, B. E. (2002). "Sustainable development" as collective surge. *Social Science Quarterly*, *83*(1), 101–118.

Allan, J. I., & Hadden, J. (2017). Exploring the framing power of NGOs in global climate politics. *Environmental Politics*. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2017.1319017

Anderson, S. C., Elsen, P. R., Hughes, B. B., Tonietto, R. K., Bletz, M. C., Gill, D. A., Holgerson, M. A., Kuebbing, S. E., McDonough MacKenzie, C., Meek, M. H., & Veríssimo, D. (2021). Trends in ecology and conservation over eight decades. In *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* (Vol. 19, Issue 5, pp. 274–282). John Wiley and Sons Inc. https://doi.org/10.1002/fee.2320

Andonova, L. B., & Mitchell, R. B. (2010). The rescaling of global environmental politics. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, *35*, 255–282. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ-100809-125346

Anyango-van Zwieten, N., Lamers, M., & van der Duim, R. (2019). Funding for nature conservation: a study of public finance networks at World Wide Fund for nature (WWF). *Biodiversity and Conservation*, *28*(14), 3749–3766. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10531-019-01848-y

Arsel, M., & Büscher, B. (2012). Nature^{TM} Inc: Changes and Continuities in Neoliberal Conservation and Market-based Environmental Policy. *Development and Change*. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2012.01752.x

Bertrand, M., Bombardini, M., Fisman, R., Hackinen, B., & Trebbi, F. (2018). *Hall of mirrors: Corporate philanthropy and strategic advocacy*.

Bertrand, M., Bombardini, R., Fisman, F., Trebbi, M., Norris, K., Rabinovitz, D., Felipe Riano, J., Senapitak, V., Bertrand, M., Bombardini, M., Fisman, R., Trebbi, F., & Nber, A. (2018). *Tax-Exempt Lobbying: Corporate Philanthropy As a Tool for Political Influence*. http://www.nber.org/papers/w24451

Biermann, F. et al. (2009). The fragmentation of Global Governance Architectures. *Global Environmental Politics*, *9*(4), 14–40.

Biermann, F., & Pattberg, P. H. (2012). *Global environmental governance reconsidered*. MIT Press.

Birnbaum, S. (2016). Environmental Co-governance, Legitimacy, and the Quest for Compliance: When and Why Is Stakeholder Participation Desirable? *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, *18*(3), 306–323. https://doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2015.1077440

Bluwstein, J. (2018). From colonial fortresses to neoliberal landscapes in Northern Tanzania: A biopolitical ecology of wildlife conservation. *Journal of Political Ecology*, *25*(1), 144–168. https://doi.org/10.2458/v25i1.22865

Blythe, J., Silver, J., Evans, L., Armitage, D., Bennett, N. J., Moore, M. L., Morrison, T. H., & Brown, K. (2018). The Dark Side of Transformation: Latent Risks in Contemporary Sustainability Discourse. *Antipode*, *50*(5), 1206–1223. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12405

Brockington, D., & Igoe, J. (2006). Eviction for conservation: a global overview. *Conservation and Society*, *4*(3), 424–470. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1098410

Brondizio, E. S., & Le Tourneau, F. M. (2016). Environmental governance for all. *Science*, *352*(6291), 1272–1273. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aaf5122

Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution*. Mit Press.

Brulle, R. J. (1996). Environmental discourse and social movement organizations. *Sociological Inquiry*.

Burch, S., Gupta, A., Inoue, C. Y. A., Kalfagianni, A., Persson, Å., Gerlak, A. K., Ishii, A., Patterson, J., Pickering, J., Scobie, M., van der Heijden, J., Vervoort, J., Adler, C., Bloomfield, M., Djalante, R., Dryzek, J., Galaz, V., Gordon, C., Harmon, R., … Zondervan, R. (2019). New directions in earth system governance research. *Earth System Governance*, *xxxx*, 100006. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esg.2019.100006

Bürkner, P. C. (2017). brms: An R package for Bayesian multilevel models using Stan. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *80*(1). https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v080.i01

Büscher, B., & Fletcher, R. (2019). Towards convivial conservation. *Conservation \& Society*, *17*(3), 283–296.

Buscher, B., & Fletcher, R. (2020). *The Conservation Revolution: Radical Ideas for Saving Nature Beyond the Anthropocene*. Verso Trade.

Campbell, L. M., & Brosius, Jp. (2010). Collaborative Event Ethnography: Conservation and development trade-offs at the fourth world conservation congress. *Conservation and Society*, *8*(4), 245. https://doi.org/10.4103/0972-4923.78141

Campbell, L. M., Corson, C., Gray, N. J., MacDonald, K. I., Brosius, J. P., & Campbell Lisa, Corson Catherine, Gray Noella, MacDonald Kenneth, B. P.

(2014). Studying Global Environmental Meetings to Understand Global Environmental Governance: Collaborative Event Ethnography at the Tenth Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity. *Global Environmental Politics*, *14*(3), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1162/GLEP

Campbell, L. M., Hagerman, S., & Gray, N. J. (2014). Producing targets for conservation: Science and politics at the Tenth Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity. *Global Environmental Politics*, *14*(3), 41–63. https://doi.org/10.1162/GLEP_a_00238

Carpenter, B., Gelman, A., Hoffman, M. D., Lee, D., Goodrich, B., Betancourt, M., Brubaker, M., Guo, J., Li, P., & Riddel, A. (2017). *Stan: A probabilistic programming language. Journal of Statistical Software. 76(1). 10.18637/jss.v076.i01.*

Castree, N. (2008a). Neoliberalising nature: Processes, effects, and evaluations. In *Environment and Planning A* (Vol. 40, Issue 1, pp. 153–173). https://doi.org/10.1068/a39100

Castree, N. (2008b). Neoliberalising nature: The logics of deregulation and reregulation. *Environment and Planning A*, *40*(1), 131–152. https://doi.org/10.1068/a3999

Cooper, M. M. (1996). Environmental rhetoric in the age of hegemonic politics: Earth First! and the Nature Conservancy. *Green Culture: Environmental Rhetoric in Contemporary America*, 236–260.

Corson, C., Brady, B., Zuber, A., Lord, J., & Kim, A. (2015). The right to resist: disciplining civil society at Rio+20. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *42*(3–4), 859–878. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2014.992884

Corson, C., Campbell, L. M., Wilshusen, P., & Gray, N. J. (2019). Assembling global conservation governance. *Geoforum*.

Corson, C., Gruby, R., Witter, R., Hagerman, S., Suarez, D., Greenberg, S., Bourque, M., Gray, N., & Campbell, L. M. (2014). Everyone's solution? Defining and redefining protected areas at the convention on biological diversity. *Conservation and Society*, *12*(2), 190–202. https://doi.org/10.4103/0972-4923.138421

Corson, C., & MacDonald, K. I. (2012). Enclosing the global commons: The convention on biological diversity and green grabbing. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *39*(2), 263–283. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2012.664138

Dalton, R. J., Recchia, S., & Rohrschneider, R. (2003). The environmental movement and the modes of political action. *Comparative Political Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414003255108

Daubanes, J. mname, & Rochet, J.-C. mname. (2018). The Rise of NGO Activism. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, *11*(4), 183–212. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3098805

de Vos, J. M., Joppa, L. N., Gittleman, J. L., Stephens, P. R., & Pimm, S. L. (2015). Estimating the normal background rate of species extinction. *Conservation Biology*, *29*(2), 452–462. https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.12380

Death, C. (2010). *Governing sustainable development: Partnerships, protests and power at the world summit*. Routledge.

Demeritt, D. (2015). The promises of participation in science and political ecology. In *The Routledge Handbook of Political Ecology*.

Díaz, S., Settele, J., Brondizio, E. S., Ngo, H. T., Agard, J., Arneth, A., Balvanera, P., Brauman, K. A., Butchart, S. H. M., Chan, K. M. A., Garibaldi, L. A., Ichii, K., Liu, J., Subramanian, S. M., Midgley, G. F., Miloslavich, P., Molnár, Z., Obura, D. O., Pfaff, A., … others. (2019). Pervasive human-driven decline of life on Earth points to the need for transformative change. *Science*, *366*(6471). https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aaw3100

Doak, D. F., Bakker, V. J., Goldstein, B. E., Hale, B., Saffen, E. E., & Chun, P. W. (2014). What is the future of conservation? *Trends in Ecology and Evolution*, *9*(4), 329–344. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tree.2013.10.013

Domínguez, L., & Luoma, C. (2020). Decolonising conservation policy: How colonial land and conservation ideologies persist and perpetuate indigenous injustices at the expense of the environment. *Land*, *9*(3). https://doi.org/10.3390/land9030065

Dove, M. R. (2006). Indigenous people and environmental politics. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *35*(191-208.).

Dryzek, J. (2005). *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourse. Oxford: Oxford University Press*.

Dryzek, J., & Pickering, J. (2016). *Deliberation as a Catalyst For Reflexive Environmental Governance*.

Duffy, R. (2014). Waging a war to save biodiversity: The rise of militarized conservation. *International Affairs*, *90*(4), 819–834. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12142

Eichler, L., & Baumeister, D. (2018). Hunting for Justice: An indigenous critique of the North American Model of Wildlife Conservation. *Environment and Society: Advances in Research*, *9*(1), 75–90. https://doi.org/10.3167/ares.2018.090106

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x

Fairhead, J., Leach, M., & Scoones, I. (2012). Green Grabbing: A new appropriation of nature? *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *39*(2), 237–261. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2012.671770

Finger, M., & Princen, T. (2013). *Environmental NGOs in world politics: linking the local and the global*. Routledge.

Fisher, D. R. (2010). *COP-15 in Copenhagen: How the Merging of Movements Left Civil Society Out in the Cold* (Issue 2). http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/gep/summary/v010/10.2.fisher.html

Fisher, D. R., & Green, J. F. (2004). Understanding Disenfranchisement: Civil Society and Developing Countries' Influence and Participation in Global Governance for Sustainable Development. *Global Environmental Politics*, *4*(3), 65–84. https://doi.org/10.1162/1526380041748047

Fisher, J. A., Dhungana, H., Duffy, J., He, J., Inturias, M., Lehmann, I., Martin, A., Mwayafu, D. M., Rodríguez, I., & Schneider, H. (2020). Conservationists' perspectives on poverty: An empirical study. *People and Nature*, *2*(3), 678–692. https://doi.org/10.1002/pan3.10098

Fisher, M., & Sablan, T. (2018). Evaluating environmental conflict resolution: Practitioners, projects, and the movement. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, *36*(1), 7–19. https://doi.org/10.1002/crq.21222

Fisher, W. F. (1997). DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.26.1.439

Fletcher, R. (2014). Orchestrating consent: Post-politics and intensification of nature TM Inc. at the 2012 world conservation congress. *Conservation and Society*, *12*(3), 329–342. https://doi.org/10.4103/0972-4923.145167

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *12*(2), 219–245. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363

Foucalt, M. (1980). Power/knowledge. *New York: Pantheon*, 1–185.

Game, E. T., Meijaard, E., Sheil, D., & Mcdonald-Madden, E. (2014). Conservation in a wicked complex world; challenges and solutions. *Conservation Letters*, *7*(3), 271–277. https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12050

Gelman, A., & Pardoe, I. (2006). *Average predictive comparisons for models with nonlinearity, interactions, and variance components *. www.stat.columbia.edu/~gelman

Gerlak, A. K., & Heikkila, T. (2011). Building a theory of learning in collaboratives: Evidence from the everglades restoration program. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *21*(4), 619–644. https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/muq089

Gramsci, A. (2010). *[1971].Selections from the prison notebooks. Translation by Q. Hoare and G.N.Smith. New York: International Publishers.*

Gray, N. J. (2018). Charted waters? Tracking the production of conservation territories on the high seas. *International Social Science Journal*, *68*(229–230), 257–272. https://doi.org/10.1111/issj.12158

Greenwald, N., Dellasala, D. A., & Terborgh, J. W. (2013). Nothing new in Kareiva and Marvier. *BioScience*, *63*(4), 241.

Griffith, J. J., & Knoeber, C. R. (1986). Why do corporations contribute to the Nature Conservancy? *Public Choice*, *49*(1), 69–77.

Grove, R. (1995). Green imperialism: colonial expansion, tropical island Edens and the origins of environmentalism 1600-1860. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism 1600-1860*. https://doi.org/10.2307/3985069

Grove, R. (2002). Climatic fears: Colonialism and the history of environmentalism. *Harvard International Review*, *23*(4), 50.

Gruby, R. L., Fairbanks, L., Acton, L., Artis, E., Campbell, L. M., Gray, N. J., Mitchell, L., Zigler, S. B. J., & Wilson, K. (2017). Conceptualizing Social Outcomes of Large Marine Protected Areas. *Coastal Management*, *45*(6), 416–435. https://doi.org/10.1080/08920753.2017.1373449

Gruby, R. L., Gray, N. J., Campbell, L. M., & Acton, L. (2016). Toward a Social Science Research Agenda for Large Marine Protected Areas. In *Conservation Letters* (Vol. 9, Issue 3, pp. 153–163). Wiley-Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12194

Haas, P. M. (1992). Introduction: Epistemic communities and international policy coordination. In *International Organization* (Vol. 46, Issue 1). https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300001442

Hagerman, S., Satterfield, T., Dowlatabadi, H., & others. (2010). Climate change impacts, conservation and protected values: understanding promotion, ambivalence and resistance to policy change at the World Conservation Congress. *Conservation and Society*, *8*(4), 298. https://doi.org/10.4103/0972-4923.78146

Hajer, M. (2003). Policy without Polity ? Policy Analysis and the Institutional Void. *Policy*, *36*(2), 175–195. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1024834510939

Hajer, M. A. (1995). *The politics of environmental discourse: ecological modernization and the policy process*. Clarendon Press Oxford.

Hardy, C., & Maguire, S. (2010). Discourse, field-configuring events, and change in organizations and institutional fields: Narratives of DDT and the Stockholm Convention. *Academy of Management Journal*, *53*(6), 1365–1392.

Heins, V. (2008). Nongovernmental organizations in international society struggles over recognition. In *Nongovernmental Organizations in International Society Struggles over Recognition*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230611269

Hikins, J. W. (1989). *Through the rhetorical looking-glass: Consensus theory and fairy tales in the epistemology of communication—A reply to Bineham*.

Himley, M. (2008). Geographies of environmental governance: The nexus of nature and neoliberalism. *Geography Compass*. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2008.00094.x

Hix, S., Noury, A., & Roland, G. (2006). *Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament*. *50*(2), 494–511.

Hoffmann, M., Brooks, T. M., da Fonseca, G. A. B., Gascon, C., Hawkins, A. F. A., James, R. E., Langhammer, P., Mittermeier, R. A., Pilgrim, J. D., Rodrigues, A. S. L., & others. (2008). Conservation planning and the IUCN Red List. *Endangered Species Research*, *6*(2), 113–125.

Holdgate, M. (1999). *The green web: a union for world conservation*. Routledge.

Holling, C. S., & Meffe, G. K. (1996). Command and control and the pathology of natural resource management. *Conservation Biology*, *10*(2), 328–337.

Holmes, G. (2012). Biodiversity for Billionaires: Capitalism, Conservation and the Role of Philanthropy in Saving/Selling Nature. *Development and Change*, *43*(1), 185–203. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01749.x

Holmes, G., & Cavanagh, C. J. (2016). A review of the social impacts of neoliberal conservation: Formations, inequalities, contestations. *Geoforum*, *75*, 199–209. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2016.07.014

Holmes, G., Sandbrook, C., & Fisher, J. A. (2017). Understanding conservationists' perspectives on the new-conservation debate. *Conservation Biology*. https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.12811

Igoe, J., & Brockington, D. (2002). Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*. https://doi.org/10.2307/3097688

Igoe, J., & Brockington, D. (2007). Neoliberal conservation: A brief introduction. *Conservation and Society*. https://doi.org/10.1108/BFJ-11-2016-0552

IUCN. (2003). *The Durban Action Plan, Vth IUCN World Parks Congress, Durban, South Africa, 8-17 September 2003. Gland: IUCN.*

IUCN. (2012). *IUCN World Conservation Congress: Theme and slogan*. https://2012congress.iucn.org/about/theme_and_slogan/index.html

IUCN. (2016a). *WCC-2016-Res-011-EN. Closure of domestic markets for elephant ivory.* https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/resrecfiles/WCC_2016_RES_011_EN.pdf

IUCN. (2016b). *IUCN World Conservation Congress (2016) : Planet at the crossroads*. https://2016congress.iucn.org/why-attend/planet-crossroads.html

IUCN. (2018a). *IUCN 70 years: International Union for Conservation of Nature annual report 2018.* https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/2019-007-En.pdf

IUCN. (2018b). The impact of IUCN resolutions on international conservation efforts : an overview. *IUCN Publication*, 19. https://doi.org/IUCN-Rep-2018-001, En

IUCN. (2019a). *The IUCN World Conservation Congress 2020 Motions Process*. *January*, 1–10. https://www.iucncongress2020.org/sites/www.iucncongress2020.org/files/iucn_staff/pages/1._iucn_2020_-_introduction_to_the_motions_process_en_1.pdf

IUCN. (2019b). *The IUCN World Conservation Congress 2020 Motions Process 2 . Submission of Motions II . Overview of the process III . The submissions process in a nutshell.* 1–18. https://www.iucncongress2020.org/sites/www.iucncongress2020.org/files/iucn_staff/pages/2._iucn_wcc_2020_-_submission_of_motions_en_0.pdf

IUCN. (2020a). *Members (Taken from IUCN Website https://www.iucn.org/about/union/members). Accessed 04/12/2020.*

IUCN. (2020b). *WCC-2020-Dec-148-EN. Enabling effective attendance and participation of Members in future sessions of the World Conservation Congress.*

IUCN. (2020c). *WCC-2020-Res-002-EN. Strengthened institutional inclusion concerning indigenous peoples.*

IUCN. (2020d). *WCC-2020-Res-110-EN. Establishing a Climate Change Commission.*

IUCN. (2020e). *WCC-2020-Res-117-EN. Actions to strengthen food sovereignty and security of indigenous peoples and peasant communities.*

IUCN. (2020f). *WCC-2020-Res-119-EN. Renunciation of the Doctrine of Discovery to Rediscover care for Mother Earth.*

IUCN. (2020g). *WCC-2020-Res-123-EN. Towards development of an IUCN policy on synthetic biology in relation to nature conservation.*

IUCN. (2020h). *About IUCN: Page on IUCN's Website*. https://www.iucn.org/about

IUCN. (2020i). *IUCN World Conservation Congress Marseille Website: Motions*. https://www.iucncongress2020.org/event/members-assembly/motions

IUCN, UNEP, & WWF. (1980). *World Conservation Strategy: Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development. IUCN, Gland, Switzerland. https://portals.iucn.org/library/node/6424.*

Jager, N. W., Newig, J., Challies, E., & Kochskämper, E. (2020). Pathways to implementation: Evidence on how participation in environmental governance impacts on environmental outcomes. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 30(3), 383–399. https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/muz034

Jørgensen, M. W., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method. Sage; 2002 Aug 18.* Sage.

Kareiva, P., & Marvier, M. (2012). What Is Conservation Science? *BioScience*. https://doi.org/10.1525/bio.2012.62.11.5

Keck, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*.

Klees, S. J. (1998). NGOs: Progressive force or neoliberal tool. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, *1*(1), 49–54.

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2014). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics*. Verso Trade.

Lampel, J., & Meyer, A. D. (2008). Field-Configuring Events as Structuring Mechanisms: How Conferences, Ceremonies, and Trade Shows Constitute New Technologies, Industries, and Markets. *Journal of Management Studies*, *45*(6), 1025–1035.

Larsen, P. B. (2018). The Good, the Ugly and the 'Dirty Harry's of Conservation: Rethinking the Anthropology of Conservation NGOs. In *The Anthropology of Conservation NGOs* (pp. 17–46). Springer.

Lemos, M. C., & Agrawal, A. (2006). Environmental governance. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, *31*(1), 297–325. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.energy.31.042605.135621

Lemos, M. C., & Agrawal, A. (2009). Environmental governance and political science. In *Governance for the Environment: New Perspectives*. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511627170.005

List, C., & Koenig-Archibugi, M. (2010). Can There Be a Global Demos? An Agency-Based Approach. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, *38*(1), 76–110. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1088-4963.2009.01174.x

Liu, J., Dietz, T., Carpenter, S. R., Alberti, M., Folke, C., Moran, E., Pell, A. N., Deadman, P., Kratz, T., Lubchenco, J., Ostrom, E., Ouyang, Z., Provencher, W., Redman, C. L., Schneider, S. H., & Taylor, W. W. (2007). Complexity of coupled human and natural systems. *Science*, *317*(5844), 1513–1516. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1144004

Lunstrum, E. (2014). Green Militarization: Anti-Poaching Efforts and the Spatial Contours of Kruger National Park. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *104*(4), 816–832. https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2014.912545

Lute, M. L., Carter, N. H., López-Bao, J. v., & Linnell, J. D. C. (2018). Conservation professionals agree on challenges to coexisting with large carnivores but not on solutions. *Biological Conservation*, *218*(January), 223–232. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2017.12.035

MacDonald, C. (2008). *Green, Inc: An environmental insider reveals how a good cause has gone bad*. Rowman & Littlefield.

3881 MacDonald, K. I. (2003). IUCN: a history of constraint. *Permanent Workshop of the*
3882   *Centre for the Philosophy of Law*, 1–25.

3883 MacDonald, K. I. (2010a). Business, biodiversity and new 'fields' of conservation:
3884   The world conservation congress and the renegotiation of organisational order.
3885   *Conservation and Society*, *8*(4), 256–275.

3886 MacDonald, K. I. (2010b). The devil is in the (bio)diversity: Private sector
3887   "engagement" and the restructuring of biodiversity conservation. *Antipode*,
3888   *42*(3), 513–550. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00762.x

3889 MacDonald, K. I., & Corson, C. (2012). "TEEB Begins Now": A Virtual Moment in the
3890   Production of Natural Capital. *Development and Change*, *43*(1), 159–184.
3891   https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2012.01753.x

3892 Marquet, P. A., Naeem, S., Jackson, J. B. C., & Hodges, K. (2019). Navigating
3893   transformation of biodiversity and climate. In *Science Advances* (Vol. 5, Issue
3894   11). American Association for the Advancement of Science.
3895   https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aba0969

3896 Marvier, M., Lalasz, R., & Kareiva, P. (2012). Conservation in the Anthropocene
3897   Beyond Solitude and Fragility. *The Breakthrough Institute - Conservation in the*
3898   *Anthropocene*.

3899 Massé, F., & Lunstrum, E. (2016). Accumulation by securitization: Commercial
3900   poaching, neoliberal conservation, and the creation of new wildlife frontiers.
3901   *Geoforum*, *69*(March), 227–237. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.03.005

3902 Matulis, B. S., & Moyer, J. R. (2016). Beyond Inclusive Conservation: The Value of
3903   Pluralism, the Need for Agonism, and the Case for Social Instrumentalism. In
3904   *Conservation Letters*. https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12281

3905 Mayring, P. (2000). The qualitative content analysis process. *Forum: Qualitative*
3906   *Social Research (FQS)*, *1*(2, Art.20). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-
3907   2648.2007.04569.x

3908 McCarthy, J., & Prudham, S. (2004). Neoliberal nature and the nature of
3909   neoliberalism. *Geoforum*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2003.07.003

3910 McLean, K. G., Johnston, S., & Castillo, A. R. (2012). The role of indigenous peoples
3911   in global environmental governance: Looking through the lens of climate
3912   change. *Green Economy and Good Governance for Sustainable Development:*
3913   *Opportunities, Promises and Concerns, United Nations Press, Tokyo*.

3914 Miller, B., Soulé, M. E., & Terborgh, J. (2014). "New conservation" or surrender to
3915   development? *Animal Conservation*, *17*(6), 509–515.
3916   https://doi.org/10.1111/acv.12127

3917 Montana, J. (2017). Accommodating consensus and diversity in environmental
3918   knowledge production: Achieving closure through typologies in IPBES.
3919   *Environmental Science and Policy*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2016.11.011

Mouffe, C. (1999). Deliberative democracy or agonistic pluralism? *Social Research*, 745–758.

Mouffe, C. (2000). *The democratic paradox*. verso.

Neves, K. (2019). The Anthropology of Conservation NGOs: Rethinking the Boundaries. *Conservation and Society*. https://doi.org/10.4103/cs.cs_19_84

Niemeyer, S., & Dryzek, J. S. (2006). Reconciling Pluralism and Consensus as Political Ideals. *American Journal of Political Science*, *50*(3), 634–649. http://www.ask-force.org/web/Discourse/Dryzek-Reconciling-Pluralism-Consensus-2006.pdf

Norichika, K., & Biermann, F. (2017). *Governing through goals: Sustainable development goals as governance innovation*. mit Press.

Obermeister, N. (2017). From dichotomy to duality: Addressing interdisciplinary epistemological barriers to inclusive knowledge governance in global environmental assessments. *Environmental Science and Policy*, *68*, 80–86. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2016.11.010

Oldekop, J. A., Holmes, G., Harris, W. E., & Evans, K. L. (2016). A global assessment of the social and conservation outcomes of protected areas. *Conservation Biology*, *30*(1), 133–141. https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.12568

Park, J. H. (2011). *Modeling Preference Changes via a Hidden Markov Item Response Theory Model*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237534789

Parkins, J. R., & Mitchell, R. E. (2005). Public participation as public debate: A deliberative turn in natural resource management. *Society and Natural Resources*, *18*(6), 529–540. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920590947977

Partelow, S., Winkler, K. J., & Thaler, G. M. (2020). Environmental non-governmental organizations and global environmental discourse. *PloS One*, *15*(5), e0232945. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0232945

Paudel, K., Potter, G. R., & Phelps, J. (2020). Conservation enforcement: Insights from people incarcerated for wildlife crimes in Nepal. *Conservation Science and Practice*, *2*(2), e137.

Paulson, N., Laudati, A., Doolittle, A., Welsh-Devine, M., & Pena, A. P. (2012). Indigenous peoples' participation in global conservation: Looking beyond headdresses and face paint. *Environmental Values*, *21*(3), 255–276. https://doi.org/10.3197/096327112X13400390125894

Peter Brosius, J., & Campbell, L. M. (2010). Collaborative event ethnography: Conservation and development trade-offs at the fourth world conservation congress. *Conservation and Society*, *8*(4), 245–255. https://doi.org/10.4103/0972-4923.78141

Peterson, M. J. N., Peterson, M. J. N., & Peterson, T. R. (2005). Conservation and the myth of consensus. *Conservation Biology*, *19*(3), 762–767. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1523-1739.2005.00518.x

Peterson, T. R. (1997). *Sharing the earth: The rhetoric of sustainable development*.

Poiani, K. A., Richter, B. D., Anderson, M. G., & Richter, H. E. (2000). Biodiversity conservation at multiple scales: Functional sites, landscapes, and networks. *BioScience*, *50*(2), 133–146. https://doi.org/10.1641/0006-3568(2000)050[0133:BCAMSF]2.3.CO;2

Polletta, F., Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1999). Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. *Contemporary Sociology*. https://doi.org/10.2307/2653901

Powless, B. (2012). An Indigenous Movement to Confront Climate Change. *Globalizations*, *9*(3), 411–424. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2012.680736

Prendergast, D. K., & Adams, W. M. (2003). Colonial wildlife conservation and the origins of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (1903-1914). *ORYX*, *37*(2), 251–260. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0030605303000425

QSR, I. P. Ltd. (2018). *NVivo qualitative data analysis software. Version 12, 2018*.

Rana, P., & Chhatre, A. (2017). Beyond committees: Hybrid forest governance for equity and sustainability. *Forest Policy and Economics*, *78*, 40–50. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2017.01.007

Reimerson, E. (2013). Between nature and culture: Exploring space for indigenous agency in the Convention on Biological Diversity. *Environmental Politics*, *22*(6), 992–1009. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2012.737255

Rodrigues, A. S. L., Pilgrim, J. D., Lamoreux, J. F., Hoffmann, M., & Brooks, T. M. (2006). The value of the IUCN Red List for conservation. In *Trends in Ecology and Evolution*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tree.2005.10.010

Rodriguez, J. P., Taber, A. B., Daszak, P., Sukumar, R., Valladares-Padua, C., Padua, S., Aguirre, L. F., Medell\'\in, R. A., Acosta, M., Aguirre, A. A., & others. (2007). Globalization of conservation: a view from the south. *SCIENCE-NEW YORK THEN WASHINGTON-*, *317*(5839), 755.

Rose, D. C. (2018). Avoiding a post-truth world: embracing post-normal conservation. *Conservation and Society*, *16*(4), 518–524.

RStudio Team. (2020). *RStudio: Integrated Development Environment for R. RStudio, PBC, Boston, MA URL http://www.rstudio.com/*.

Salomon, A. K., Lertzman, K., Brown, K., Wilson, Ḵii'iljuus Barbara, Secord, D., & McKechnie, I. (2018). Democratizing conservation science and practice. *Ecology and Society*, *23*(1). https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-09980-230144

Sandbrook, C., Fisher, J. A., Holmes, G., Luque-Lora, R., & Keane, A. (2019). The global conservation movement is diverse but not divided. *Nature Sustainability*.

Sandbrook, C., Fisher, J., & Vira, B. (2013). What do conservationists think about markets? *Geoforum*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2013.09.009

Saunders, B. (2012). Defining the demos. *Politics, Philosophy \& Economics*, *11*(3), 280–301.

Scheffers, B. R., de Meester, L., Bridge, T. C. L., Hoffmann, A. A., Pandolfi, J. M., Corlett, R. T., Butchart, S. H. M., Pearce-Kelly, P., Kovacs, K. M., Dudgeon, D., Pacifici, M., Rondinini, C., Foden, W. B., Martin, T. G., Mora, C., Bickford, D., & Watson, J. E. M. (2016). The broad footprint of climate change from genes to biomes to people. In *Science* (Vol. 354, Issue 6313). American Association for the Advancement of Science. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aaf7671

Scherz, A. (2013). The legitimacy of the demos: Who should be included in the demos and on what grounds? . *Living Reviews in Democracy*, *4*, 1–14. www.zora.uzh.churl:https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-91127

Silver, J. J., Gray, N. J., Campbell, L. M., Fairbanks, L. W., & Gruby, R. L. (2015). Blue Economy and Competing Discourses in International Oceans Governance. *Journal of Environment and Development*, *24*(2), 135–160. https://doi.org/10.1177/1070496515580797

Sklair, L. (2002). Democracy and the transnational capitalist class. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *581*(MAY), 144–157. https://doi.org/10.1177/000271620205800103

Stauber, J. C. (1994). Going... going... green. *PR Watch*, *1*(3), 2.

Stuart, S. N., al Dhaheri, S., Bennett, E. L., Biggs, D., Bignell, A., Byers, O., Cooney, R., Donaldson, J., Dublin, H. T., Eggermont, H., Engels, B., van Havre, B., Hoffmann, M., Horie, M., Hutton, J., Khosla, A., Launay, F., Lees, C., Mace, G. M., … von Weissenberg, M. (2017). IUCN's encounter with 007: safeguarding consensus for conservation. *Oryx*, 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0030605317001557

Sullivan, S. (2013). Banking Nature? The Spectacular Financialisation of Environmental Conservation. *Antipode*, *45*(1), 198–217. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.00989.x

Swyngedouw, E. (2005). Governance innovation and the citizen: The Janus face of governance-beyond-the-state. *Urban Studies*, *42*(11), 1991–2006.

Tallis, H., Lubchenco, J., & Marvier, M. (2014). A call for inclusive conservation. *Nature*, 2–7. https://doi.org/10.1038/515027a

Taylor, D. E. (2016). *The rise of the American conservation movement: Power, privilege, and environmental protection*. Duke University Press.

4033 Taylor, L. M. (2020). *Addressing Anthropogenic Climate Change: How*
4034   *Contemporary Latent Neoliberalism is Getting in the Way*.

4035 Thaler, G. M., Viana, C., & Toni, F. (2019). From frontier governance to governance
4036   frontier: The political geography of Brazil's Amazon transition. *World*
4037   *Development*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2018.09.022

4038 Timans, R., Wouters, P., & Heilbron, J. (2019). Mixed methods research: what it is
4039   and what it could be. *Theory and Society*, *48*(2), 193–216.
4040   https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-019-09345-5

4041 WCED. (1987). Our Common Future. *Oxford University Press* .

4042 Wesselink, A., Paavola, J., Fritsch, O., & Renn, O. (2011). Rationales for public
4043   participation in environmental policy and governance: Practitioners'
4044   perspectives. *Environment and Planning A*, *43*(11), 2688–2704.
4045   https://doi.org/10.1068/a44161

4046 Wilshusen, P. R., & MacDonald, K. I. (2017). Fields of green: Corporate
4047   sustainability and the production of economistic environmental governance.
4048   *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *49*(8), 1824–1845.

4049 Witter, R., Marion Suiseeya, K. R., Gruby, R. L., Hitchner, S., Maclin, E. M.,
4050   Bourque, M., & Brosius, J. P. (2015). Moments of influence in global
4051   environmental governance. *Environmental Politics*, *24*(6), 894–912.
4052   https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2015.1060036

4053 Woollard, R. F., & Ostry, A. S. (2001). *Fatal consumption: rethinking sustainable*
4054   *development* (Vol. 5). UBC Press.

4055 WWF, (World Wide Fund for Nature), IUCN, (International Union for Conservation of
4056   Nature), & UNEP, (United Nations Environment Programme). (1991). *Caring for*
4057   *Earth. Gland: WWF (World Wide Fund for Nature), IUCN (International Union for*
4058   *Conservation of Nature), and UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme).*

4059 Zurba, M., & Papadopoulos, A. (2021). Indigenous Participation and the
4060   Incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge and Perspectives in Global
4061   Environmental Governance Forums: a Systematic Review. *Environmental*
4062   *Management*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00267-021-01566-8

4063

4064

4065 **8. Supplementary Materials**

4066 **Chapter 2 : Content analysis**

4067 *Removed motions*

4068 **Table 14: Removed motions. motions were removed from dataset if they were judged to be**
4069 **only administrative, they had no text, or were thanks to the host country.**

Code	Motion Title	Year
3.001	Precedence clause – Establishing precedence in regard to IUCN general policy	2004
3.002	3.002 Improving the transparency of the IUCN Council	2004
3.080	Vote of thanks to the host country	2004
4.001	Strengthening the links between IUCN members, Commissions and Secretariat	2008
4.002	Coordination of the IUCN Programme	2008
4.003	Strengthening IUCN's National and Regional Committees	2008
4.006	IUCN's name	2008
4.007	Changing IUCN's Statutory Regions	2008
4.011	Development of an automated system to record members' actions on Resolutions and Recommendations to improve reporting at, and between, World Conservation Congresses	2008
4.106	Vote of thanks to the host country	2008
5.001	Strengthening the motions process and enhancing implementation of IUCN Resolutions	2012
5.002	Improved opportunity for Member participation in IUCN	2012
6.001	Identifying and archiving obsolete Resolutions and Recommendations to strengthen IUCN policy and to enhance implementation of IUCN Resolutions	2016
6.002	IUCN Global Group for National and Regional Committee Development	2016
6.003	Including regional governments in the structure of the Union	2016
6.004	Including indigenous peoples' organisations in the structure of the Union	2016
6.005	Election of the IUCN President	2016
6.006	Members' Assembly's sole authority to amend the Regulations pertaining to the objectives, nature of the membership and membership criteria	2016
6.007	Enhanced practice and reforms of IUCN's governance	2016
6.008	Proposed amendment to Article 6 of the IUCN Statutes concerning the dues of State and political/economic integration organisation Members adhering to IUCN	2016
6.113	Recording of the adoption of the motions by electronic vote prior to the Congress	2016
6.114	Approval of Commission Mandates 2017-20	2016
6.116	Approval of financial statements 2012-15	2016
6.117	Appointment of External Auditors 2017-20	2016

| 6.118	Approval of Financial Plan 2017-2020	2016
6.119	Membership Dues 2017-20	2016
6.120	Rescission list	2016
6.121	Election of Regional Councillors, Chairs of Commissions, Treasurer and President 2016-20	2016
7.001	Archiving Resolutions and Recommendations meeting retirement criteria, consolidating policy and future reviews	2020

4070

4071   *Code definitions: Aims*

4072   **Table 15: Aims of the operative section of motions and their corresponding definition.**

| Aim	Definition	Res No.	Example
Conservation	Improving specific conservation outcomes.	3.052	(a) coordinate their actions with the aim of promoting strategic plans for conservation of the most significant environmental systems in the Mediterranean; and
Economy & Markets	Integrating market and private sector in conservation.	3.060	3. URGES the IUCN Council to explore and adopt principles, guidelines and mechanisms for engaging with the private sector
Energy Production	Altering energy production.	3.069	1. URGES the Government of the Russian Federation to renounce all plans to construct floating atomic power stations
Human Wellbeing	Improving human rights and living standards etc.	3.006	(a) all water resources, including the oceans, must be protected as a public trust so that use of water does not diminish their public or ecological benefits;
Mitigating Risks	Reducing risks to people and nature from climate change and other threats.	4.065	(d) maximize resilience to climate change in the design of freshwater protected areas; and
Public Inclusion	Including the public in conservation and decision making.	3.101	(g) encourage the effective management of boreal forests and their protected areas through cooperation and communication among land managers and civil society;
Sustainable Development	Specific aims of sustainable development.	4.133	(a) promote the use of technologies consistent with the rationale of sustainable development and building resilience; and
Sustainable Use	Increasing sustainability of resource use.	5.068	5. URGES riparian States with wetlands located in transboundary river basins to work together for the equitable, reasonable and optimum utilization of water resources;

4073

4074

4075   Aim Plots
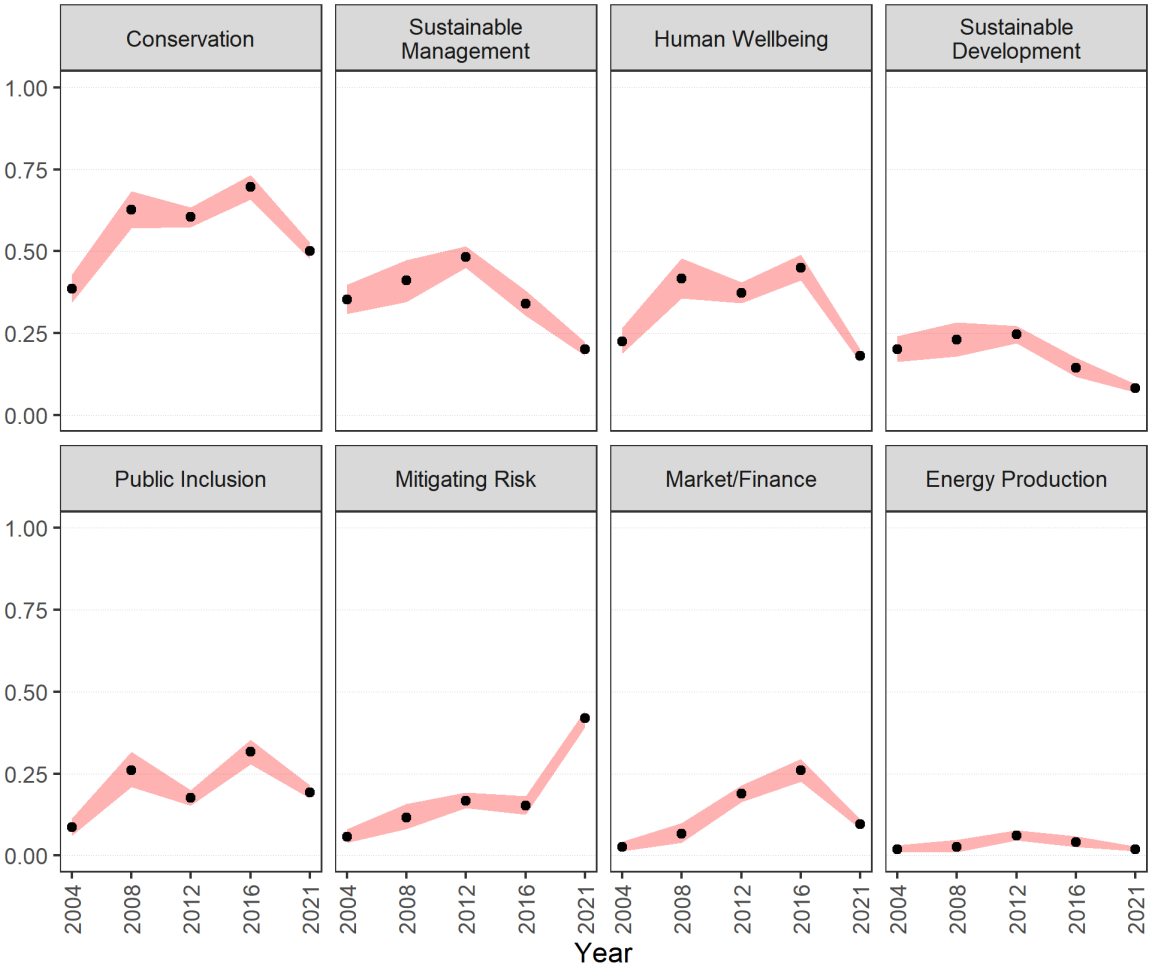
4076

4077   **Figure 22: Coded aims of published IUCN motions created from the WCC events in 2004, 2008,**

4078   **2012, 2016 and 2020. Points show the recorded prevalence while the ribbon displays the 95%**

4079   **confidence intervals. Panels are arranged in order of prevalence at the 2004 WCC. Confidence**

4080   **intervals are present due to the uncertainty in overall presence of a code in each year. Not**

4081   **every Member contributes text, so each point represents a different subset of the data with**

4082   **different sample sizes. The confidence intervals represent our uncertainty in each point given**

4083   **the modeling over time.**

4084

4085
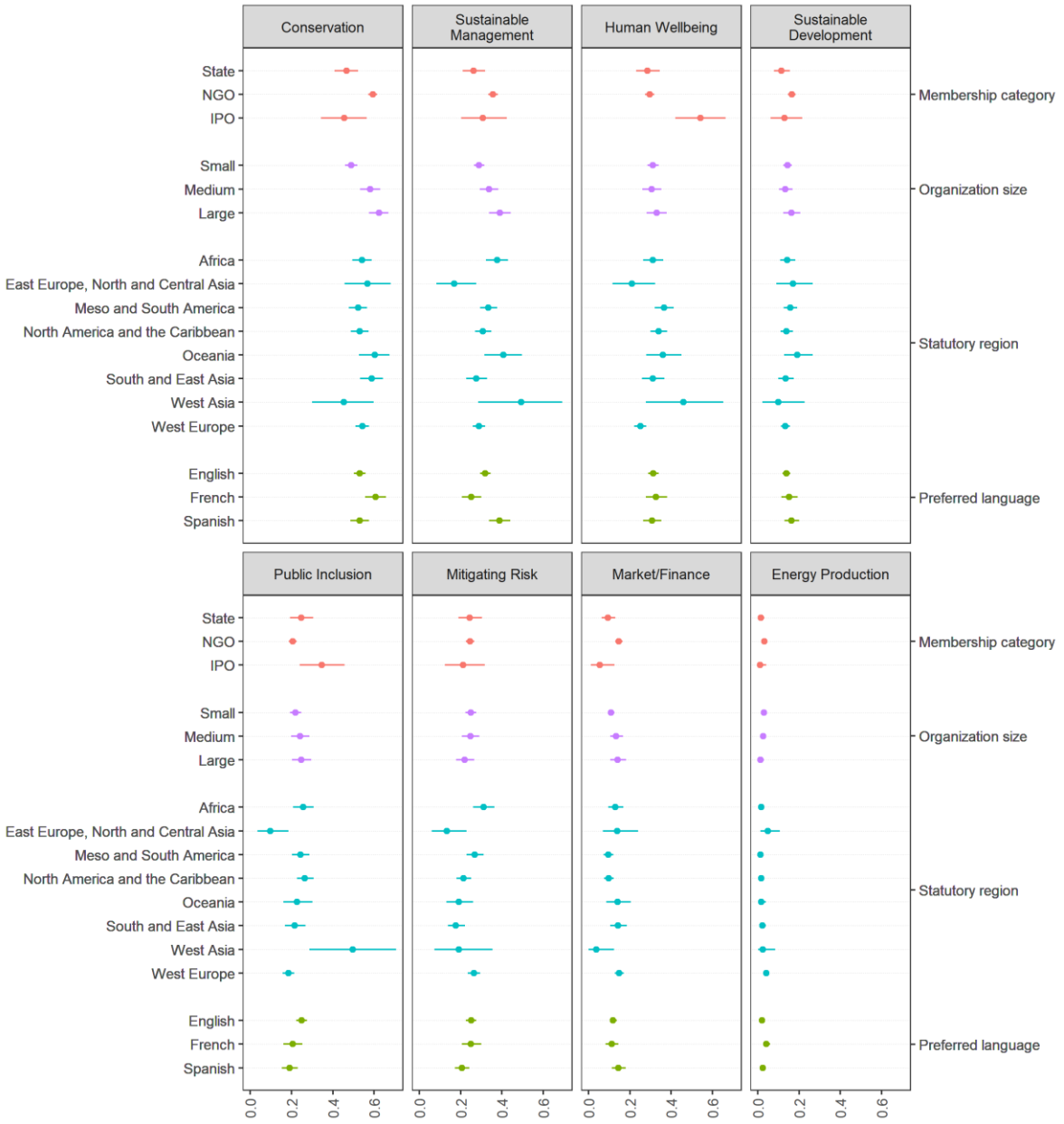
4086 **Figure 23: Predicted probability likelihood of different themes being present within a Motion**
4087 **containing only one recommended action in different scenarios with varying covariates. Each**
4088 **bar shows the probability likelihood of an action being present in a hypothetical Motion when**
4089 **all sponsoring Members were of a single level of a covariate. Panels are arranged in order of**
4090 **prevalence at the 2004 WCC.**

4091

4092

4093   **Chapter 3: Discourse analysis**

4094   **Quotes in chronological order from discourse analysis**

4095   *Motion 108 Adapting Traditional Medicine to fulfil the vision of Ecocivilisation*

4096   1 'TM species have an important cultural and medicinal role'
4097   **Original Motion text**

4098   2 'sustainable alternatives may well come from captive-bred sources'
4099   **IUCN Commission representative**

4100   3 'use of wildlife species in TCM, when sustainable and contributing to local
4101   livelihoods, supports conservation of species in their natural habitats'
4102   **IUCN Commission representative**

4103   4 'Sustainable use of wildlife can be beneficial, if proven sustainable and well
4104   regulated.'
4105   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4106   5 'Advanced' is a comparative term, therefore inappropriate. Simply stating that
4107   there are 'many advantages' is overly generic and an overreach.'
4108   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4109   6 '…Most Western-trained doctors and medical researchers regard TCM practices
4110   with scepticism: there is no substantial evidence that most of them work, and some
4111   signs that a few do harm'
4112   **Cited article**

4113   7 'we feel that the first paragraph [TM as an advanced medical system] is
4114   problematic as it appears to endorse an unscientific and un-evidenced system that
4115   runs counter to the objective approach that we would take as conservationists. We
4116   would propose that this needs to use more neutral and factual language,
4117   acknowledging the existence and cultural importance of TM in many societies
4118   (without reference to countries or regions specifically) without appearing to endorse
4119   it.'
4120   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4121   8 '… // supports actions to discourage use of trafficked wildlife in traditional medicine;
4122   however, we do not believe IUCN should comment on traditional medicine as a
4123   practice, nor is it IUCN's role to endorse or promote specific medicinal practices.'
4124   **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4125   9 'Note that in practice, the use of certification schemes is often problematic and far
4126   from watertight'
4127   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4128   10 'As evidenced by recent multilateral discussions and decisions in the CITES
4129   arena, verification of the legal acquisition of CITES-listed species continues to be a
4130   challenge, and the lack of access to and thus verification of Non Detriment Findings

4131 remains a problem.'
4132 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4133 11 Use of the term 'sustainable production' is of significant concern in reference to
4134 fauna. Farming of fauna has been well documented to be implicated in poaching,
4135 laundering and illegal trade.
4136 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4137 12 'We are concerned that this statement ['regulated use of wild products or their
4138 domestication'] could ultimately be interpreted to encourage the domestication and
4139 captive-breeding of endangered fauna for use, which can fuel demand, confound
4140 enforcement, and provide cover for the illegal trade.'
4141 **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4142 13 'Why is use for TM worse than use for food or any other purpose, which this
4143 Motion does not address?'
4144 **IUCN Commission representative**

4145 14 'Firstly, I urge the Member to consider the history of medicine world-wide, and the
4146 fundamental contributions to what we now consider "modern" medicine of extremely
4147 ancient and diverse systems of knowledge. While I agree that it is not correct to
4148 assume that all traditional remedies are safe or efficacious, neither is it justifiable to
4149 assume that they are not. A simple search of scholarly literature reveals the
4150 increasing number of TM treatments that are demonstrated through empirical
4151 research to meet a "modern" medical paradigm of safety and efficacy.'
4152 **IUCN Commission representative**

4153 15 "NOTING that the sustainable use of the environment is a key pillar of
4154 ecocivilisation and thus TM must also follow this model;"
4155 **Original motion text**

4156 16 "This Motion is not targeting at any specific country. What it is focused on is not
4157 TCM but TM (Traditional Medicine). Ecological Civilization is a global topic, it's a new
4158 civilization stage featured by sustainable development and envisions a harmonious
4159 co-existence between human and nature. So, we strongly keep the concept."
4160 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4161 17 "Maintaining use of the term eco-civilisation is a key component of this motion.
4162 Not only will the CBD meeting this year be under the umbrella of ecocivilisation, but it
4163 is also a tool for policy within China. Including the concept in the title of the motion
4164 ties more sustainable TCM, and the prevention of the use of endangered species as
4165 a necessary element of fulfilling the vision of ecocivilisation."
4166 **IUCN Commission representative**

4167 18 "Ecological civilisation' is a China-specific term, first applied at the 17th Congress
4168 of the Communist Party of China (2007). There is poor understanding and direct
4169 applicability outside of China, so use of 'ecocivilisation' seems inappropriate here."
4170 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4171 19 "Ecocivilization is not an internationally recognized goal, and the // cannot support
4172 the use of this term. Is there a way to reframe to align with internationally-agreed

4173   language?"
4174   **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4175   20 "The problem with this Motion lies in the Title. Ecocivilisation is a term that was
4176   "invented" by China and has no synonyms in English. It is impossible to define (or
4177   redefine) it without reference to China."
4178   **IUCN Commission representative**

4179   21 "TCM is practiced worldwide. If the title must include the term "Ecocivilisation",
4180   then by definition it is limited to PRChina… Therefore, the larger market is missed."
4181   **IUCN Commission representative**
4182

4183   22 "TM is practiced worldwide. By limiting it to TCM, the Motion excludes non-
4184   Chinese Traditional Medicines, not only in Asia, but in also Africa and South
4185   America, and anywhere TM is used."
4186   **IUCN Commission representative**
4187

4188   23 "If the Sponsors insist on grounding the Motion in Ecocivilisation", then it is aimed
4189   specifically at China, and appears to be motivated to influence Chinese policy." ~
4190   **IUCN Commission representative**
4191

4192   24 "It is not to role of IUCN WCC to pressure sovereign governments, and there it is
4193   not appropriate to pass this Motion as it is written."
4194   **IUCN Commission representative**

4195   25 "I propose to resolve the concerns about the motion title by adding a 1st
4196   preambular paragraph: Acknowledging that the "vision of ecocivilisation"
4197   incorporates both social and environmental objectives to achieve sustainability as
4198   supported by United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and IUCN;"
4199   **IUCN Commission representative**

4200   26 "we cannot support use of the term "ecocivilisation".   Not only is the term very
4201   strongly--almost exclusively--associated with China, it implies there is but one
4202   civilization. This in itself is contradictory to the very concept of United Nations. How
4203   can there be a common, worldwide vision of civilisation? There certainly can be for
4204   China, but not for two or more cultures or civilizations.   How can it be said that
4205   Americans, Asians, Europeans, Africans, just to name a few, are the same
4206   civilization?"
4207   **IUCN Commission representative**

4208   27 "This concept is not cited in or linked to the Sustainable Development Goals. We
4209   also note that the theme of the CBD's UN Biodiversity Conference/Conference of the
4210   Parties is chosen by the host country and not selected by CBD Parties, so we do not
4211   accept this as an indication of their support."
4212   **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4213   28 "a) it is possible that this term may better align with the social and environmental
4214   concepts supported by the SDGs in Chinese language(s) than it does in English; and

4215 b) use of this term in an IUCN motion may therefore have greater resonance with the
4216 communities of TM users, practitioners, and policy makers in China -- where TM
4217 accounts for the largest numbers and volumes of wildlife species used in medicine."
4218 **IUCN Commission representative**

4219 29 "1. Ecocivilisation is the fourth civilization after Primitive Civilisation, Agricultural
4220 Civilisation and Industrial Civilisation. The history of civilizations shows that the rise
4221 or fall of a civilization is closely related to its relationship with nature. Industrialization
4222 has incurred serious damage to the nature. And ecocivilisation is developed under
4223 the backdrop that green and eco-friendly production modes and lifestyle are needed
4224 to achieve sustainability, and calls on highlighting social and ecological challenges
4225 face by humankind."
4226 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4227

4228 *048 Rediscovering care for Mother Earth through renouncing the 'Doctrine of*
4229 *Discovery'*

4230 30 "AWARE that the rights of indigenous peoples have been denied since the
4231 beginnings of the colonial era in the 15th century, when Papal Bulls and royal edicts
4232 legitimised their enslavement and seizures of their assets, and occupying the lands
4233 where they lived, through proclaiming the so-called legal 'Doctrine of Discovery';"
4234 "RECOGNISING that many post-colonial legal regimes still formally recognise the
4235 so-called 'Doctrine of Discovery', despite most acknowledging that indigenous
4236 peoples have long inhabited lands European powers claimed to have discovered and
4237 that neither the Holy See nor the Church of England have annulled their Papal Bulls
4238 and Edicts that gave moral and religious support for the 'Doctrine of Discovery'; and"
4239 **Original motion text**

4240 31 "2. REQUESTS Council to establish an IUCN Truth and Reconciliation Working
4241 Group, to explore and explain best practices for involving indigenous peoples in co-
4242 stewardship of protected natural areas, conservation of nature, and sustainable use
4243 of species, and other appropriate activities for the care of Mother Earth;"
4244 **Original motion text**

4245 32 "Comment: For accuracy we suggest not using a rights framework in this context
4246 [sic] we don't believe there would have been an applicable legal framework since the
4247 15th century that would contemplate rights of indigenous peoples."
4248 **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4249 33 "While we understand our colleague's concern, it is important to note that human
4250 rights have existed prior to the international legal instruments which denote them.
4251 UNDRIP recognizes that indigenous peoples "have suffered from historic injustices
4252 as a result of their colonization and dispossession of their lands." A rights framework
4253 is the appropriate means to discuss the history and future renunciation of the
4254 Doctrine of Discovery, because it is the original problem which stripped indigenous
4255 peoples of their rights for centuries."
4256 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4257 34 "Courts throughout the world have continued to cite the Doctrine of Discovery as
4258 recently as last year. To renounce the Doctrine of Discovery, we must also
4259 acknowledge that the Papal Bulls and Edicts, which created the Doctrine, were not
4260 annulled, and are living orders which promote the Doctrine's survival."
4261 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4262 35 "To best represent the challenges that renouncing the Doctrine of Discovery will
4263 pose while striving for equity, the call to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Working
4264 Group should remain. Throughout the world, States are facing this question as a
4265 result of forced confrontation, rather than through equitable engagement. Right now,
4266 in British Columbia, transportation is halted because of the unresolved title claims
4267 over land that the Wet'suwet'en Nation has never ceded, through treaty or other
4268 means. To avoid escalating clashes over land and natural resources and to promote
4269 a renewed care for the Earth through the vision of indigenous peoples, we support

4270 establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Working Group."

4271 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4272

4273 *075 IUCN Principles on Synthetic Biology*

4274 36 "We recognise that synthetic biology offers potentially significant benefits for
4275 conservation (in particular in relation to potential management of invasive alien
4276 species - a major threat to the world's birds), but also poses substantial risks. We
4277 agree with the need for case-by-case assessment, application of the precautionary
4278 principle, and the need for the development of a policy to be based on
4279 dialogue involving all stakeholders."
4280 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4281 37 "In the context of synthetic biology (including gene drive), we believe that quoting
4282 only principle 15 of Rio declaration: "...the lack of full scientific certainty shall not be
4283 used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental
4284 degradation" (Annex (p.II) could promote techniques that pose a risk to the
4285 environment. We strongly believe that precautionary principle should be
4286 strengthened."
4287 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4288 38 "In particular, we agree with the need for evaluation of biodiversity impacts, need
4289 for adequate science-based governance, case-by-case assessment, application of
4290 the precautionary principle, and inclusion of stakeholder involvement and
4291 multidisciplinary dialogue."
4292 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4293 39 "Assessments of the directions and impacts of synthetic biology (including
4294 engineered gene drive) on conservation should be informed by dialogues between
4295 those involved in conservation, land and environment custodians, and those involved
4296 in and affected by the technology."
4297 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4298 40 "The original language of this motion embedded an interpretation of the
4299 Precautionary Principle indicating that it is a 'principle of international law' An
4300 expression of a 'precautionary approach as set out in Principle 15 of the Rio
4301 Declaration' would be more acceptable"
4302 **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4303 41 "We also propose to delete the first sentence in Part II "the Precautionary
4304 Principle is a principle of international law" as this is a matter of controversy and
4305 debate"
4306 **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4307 42 "Regulations regarding implementation of synthetic biology are the responsibility
4308 of national authority, in accordance with their international commitments within the
4309 Convention on Biological Diversity and its Protocols"
4310 **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4311 43 "Decisions related to risk management of synthetic biology applications are
4312 political decisions taken by national authorities. IUCN policy has to be focused on
4313 production and sharing of knowledge, not on the decision-making process,

4314   mentioned in several paragraphs"
4315   **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4316   44 "The introduction of moratoria is a political decision that is the responsibility of
4317   national authorities. IUCN can decide not to support certain applications of synthetic
4318   biology which do not respect the principles, but has no mandate for authorization
4319   decisions"
4320   **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4321   45 "Besides the introduction of moratoria, bans on specific applications of synthetic
4322   biology should be considered under certain circumstances"
4323   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**
4324

4325   46 "We support that moratoria should be an option discussed within IUCN; this
4326   discussion should take place in the next years and should not be limited per se by
4327   linking moratoria to a set of pre-conditions"
4328   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4329   47 "'Besides the introduction of moratoria, bans on specific applications of synthetic
4330   biology should be considered under certain circumstances.'"
4331   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4332   48 "Although I am not the facilitator for this motion, since // has yet to develop its own
4333   policy on this important issue, I am willing to help find middle ground between
4334   opposing points of view, should these arise"
4335   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4336

4337   *065 Engaging the private sector to combat wildlife trafficking*

4338   49 "Whistleblowers have an important role in combating wildlife trafficking and
4339   should be legally protected and rewarded."
4340   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4341   50 "This statement is unnecessarily restrictive. Informants should provide information
4342   through all appropriate mechanisms and to all appropriate officials."
4343   **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4344   51 ""Whistleblower" is not the appropriate term here."
4345   **IUCN Member representative, category A (State)**

4346   52 "Whistleblowers is the appropriate term. Whistleblowers are broader than
4347   individual and can include NGOs."
4348   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4349   53 "Rewards are a key component of whistleblower systems in addition to protection
4350   and needs to be included here."
4351   **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4352 54 "We see no logical rationale for deleting 'whistleblowers' and substituting
4353 'individuals' other than to dilute the scope of the motion. We support the motion in its
4354 last iteration. In addition, we do not understand why the work 'rewards' is in
4355 parentheses. It is an integral and important part of the effectiveness of whistleblower
4356 programs world-wide."
4357 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4358 55 "A clear definition must be developed in order to differentiate poaching versus
4359 legal, regulated hunting."
4360 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4361 56 "Isolated instances of corruption do not undermine an entire system as not being
4362 legal or regulated. Corruption is rampant throughout the world, yet we do not say
4363 every action coming from any particular country is illegal"
4364 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4365 57 "It is crucial to differentiate poaching from legal, regulated hunting. Importantly the
4366 involvement of private sector involved in wildlife management both as landholders
4367 both as concessionaires is critical in combating illegal trade in wildlife and in
4368 maintaining healthy ecosystems and communities"
4369 **IUCN Commission representative**

4370 58 "we do not support including this sentence as it appears to be outside of the
4371 scope and intent of this motion:"
4372 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4373 59 "We support the deletion of this paragraph as suggested by []. The proposed
4374 action is likely to lead to controversy and lack of consensus among IUCN members"
4375 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4376 60 "In many countries that are range states for the most endangered species of
4377 fauna and flora, (remembering that this applies to illegal logging as well as illegal
4378 hunting and trafficking in animals), this is not a useful distinction due to the
4379 prevalence of corruption and weak status of the rule of law. In addition, "hunting" is
4380 not an appropriate term for the scope of this Motion; one does not "hunt" rosewood
4381 trees in the generally accepted English language usage."
4382 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4383

4384 *100 Rewilding*

4385 61 "NOTING the emergence of rewilding as a new approach to enhancing
4386 biodiversity, connectivity, ecological resilience and ecosystem service delivery;"
4387 **Original motion text**

4388 62 "FURTHER NOTING that rewilding and restoring are related concepts that both
4389 have a place in ecosystem stewardship;"
4390 **Original motion text**

4391 63 "ACKNOWLEDGING that rewilding places emphasis on ecosystem functionality
4392 over species composition, promotes unpredictability in ecosystem dynamic trajectory
4393 and has lower fidelity to taxonomic precedent;"
4394 **Original motion text**

4395 64 "The motion is too optimistic on rewilding-RW. It says " large RW initiatives have
4396 emerged, and are emerging, across the world, and have gained great practical
4397 experience" It does not address its risks nor the need for an integral analysis of the
4398 initiative"
4399 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4400 65 "a lack of a consistent definition of RW and insufficient knowledge about the
4401 possible outcomes of RW endeavors ."
4402 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4403 66 "planned in a manner that excludes people from landscapes rather than being
4404 designed with local support ..."
4405 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4406 67 "Introductions of ecological replacements...can entail unforeseeable uncertainties
4407 and ecological risks and should be assessed with caution...Human–wildlife
4408 conflicts—for example"
4409 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4410 68 "Rewilding is increasingly used for massive tree planting campaigns (including
4411 monoculture of non indigenous species) whose number is boosted by the climate
4412 change agenda and may have adverse effects on biodiversity, soil composition,
4413 water resources"
4414 **IUCN Commission representative**

4415 69 "Our comments go in line with the situation in Argentina, an example of the
4416 concerns we stated in previous comments, where rewilding is happening without any
4417 strategic process in place, lack of public participation, lack of previous ecosystems
4418 evaluation, etc. "
4419 **IUCN Commission representative**

4420 70 "It is up to a sort of "public-private partnership" (the National Parks Administration
4421 and a stock corporation) to decide on this regard in a closed, worrying and criticized
4422 initiative"
4423 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4424 71 "Therefore, even though the motion calls for the development of principles,
4425 parameters and guidelines for applying rewilding approaches, a more preventive and
4426 precautionary language would be helpful. Thanks!"
4427 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4428 72 "a strategic process for the participation of all interested actors (specially local
4429 communities) at the national and local level to define RW, to see if it is conservation
4430 priority or not, what kind of RW (passive or actively reintroducing species) if so,
4431 which areas or species are a priority, etc"
4432 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4433 73 "I would add clearer reference to functioning natural ecosystems as a hopeful
4434 ultimate aim of rewilding."
4435 **IUCN Commission Representative**

4436 74 "Along the same line, I suggest including a reference to wilderness protection as
4437 a management practice for rewilding areas"
4438 **IUCN Commission Representative**

4439 75 "Suggestion: FURTHER ACKNOWLEDGING that rewilding is complementary to,
4440 and not a replacement for, efforts to conserve the ecological integrity of natural
4441 systems with the ultimate objective of wilderness"
4442 **IUCN Commission Representative**

4443 76 "However, reactions to my reference to wilderness (aka non-intervention
4444 management) demonstrate the core problem… I don't think that turning a eucalyptus
4445 plantation to a managed cork oak forest in PT should be branded as rewilding."
4446 **IUCN Commission Representative**

4447 77 "I don't understand why wilderness "can not be implemented in social–ecological
4448 systems". If social needs change, wilderness can appear on a landscape scale and
4449 this is how rewilding can drive a transformative change."
4450 **IUCN Commission Representative**

4451 78 "With reference to the 1st comment by //, // proposes that the original wording of
4452 the preamble be retained, so that urban rewilding isn't excluded"
4453 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4454 79 "However, // respectfully disagrees with the suggestion that the ultimate objective
4455 of rewilding is wilderness, which would imply that rewilding can not be implemented
4456 in social–ecological systems. For this reason, we would suggest retaining the original
4457 wording of this particular section of the preamble"
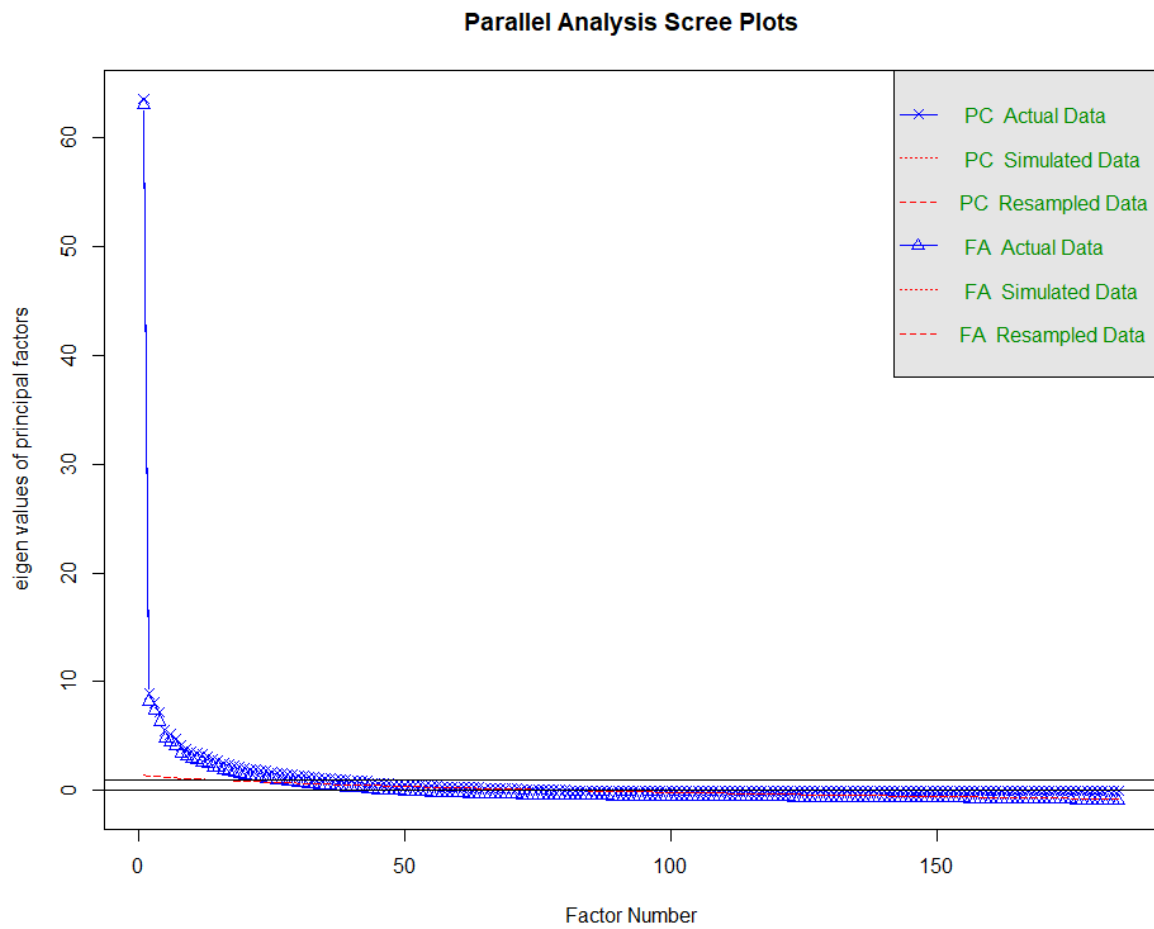4458 **IUCN Member representative, category B (NGO)**

4459

4460

4461 **Chapter 4: Voting**

4462 *Scree plots*

4463 *Abstention*

Parallel Analysis Scree Plots

4464

4465 **Figure 24: Scree plot of abstention voting records**

4466

4467   *Voting*

Parallel Analysis Scree Plots
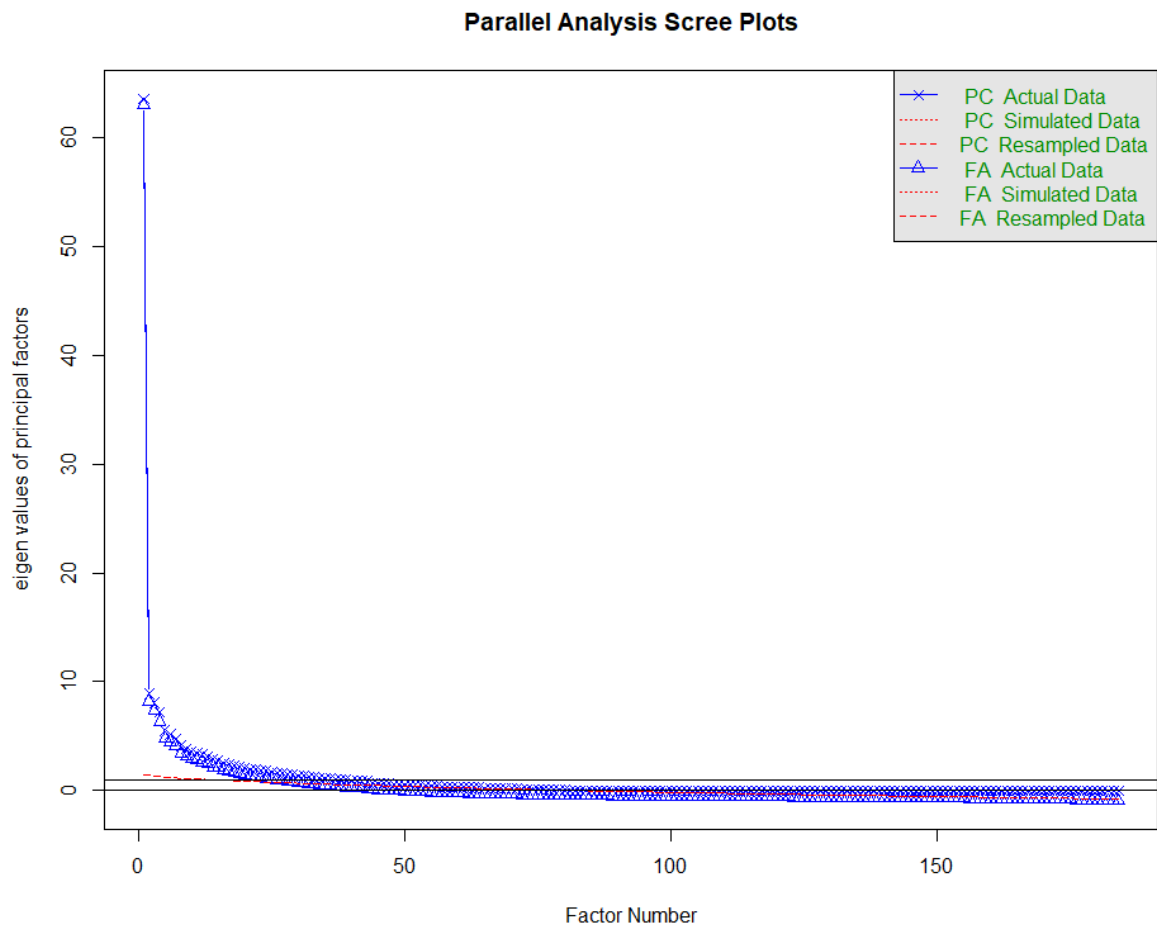
4468

4469   **Figure 25: Scree plot of active votes in voting records**

4470

4471

4472   **Table 16: Loadings on factor 1 of abstentions**

Motion	Title	Loading
136	Protecting the Okavango from oil and gas exploitation	0.95
134	Protecting the Lower Congo River from large hydro-electric dam developments	0.93
133	Call to withdraw draft-permit mining of fossil fuels underneath UNESCO World Heritage Site Wadden Sea	0.93
101	Addressing human-wildlife conflict: fostering a safe and beneficial coexistence of people and wildlife	0.86
137	Affirming the right of Indigenous Peoples and local communities to sustainably manage and utilise wild resources in the context of COVID-19	0.85
84	Global response to protected area downgrading, downsizing and degazettement (PADDD)	0.78
118	Reinforcing the protection of marine mammals through regional cooperation	0.77
40	Develop and implement a transformational and effective post2020 global biodiversity framework	0.68
125	Strengthening the protection of primary and old-growth forests in Europe and facilitating their restoration where possible	0.30
69	Protection of deep-ocean ecosystems and biodiversity through a moratorium on seabed mining	0.24
126	Acting for the conservation and sustainable use of marine biological diversity in the ocean beyond national jurisdiction	0.21
132	Controlling and monitoring trade in croaker swim bladders to protect target croakers and reduce incidental catches of threatened marine megafauna	0.19
67	Reducing the impacts of the mining industry on biodiversity	0.18
131	Ensuring adequate funding for the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species	0.15
75	Towards development of an IUCN policy on synthetic biology in relation to nature conservation	0.12
24	Restoring a peaceful and quiet ocean	0.10
130	Strengthening sustainable tourism's role in biodiversity conservation and community resilience	0.04
21	Planning of maritime areas and biodiversity and geodiversity conservation	-0.32
62	Towards a Policy on Natural Capital	-0.50

4473

4474

4475 **Table 17: Loadings on factor 2 of abstentions**

Motion	Title	Loading
21	Planning of maritime areas and biodiversity and geodiversity conservation	1.01
24	Restoring a peaceful and quiet ocean	0.81
132	Controlling and monitoring trade in croaker swim bladders to protect target croakers and reduce incidental catches of threatened marine megafauna	0.80
67	Reducing the impacts of the mining industry on biodiversity	0.78
131	Ensuring adequate funding for the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species	0.74
69	Protection of deep-ocean ecosystems and biodiversity through a moratorium on seabed mining	0.73
126	Acting for the conservation and sustainable use of marine biological diversity in the ocean beyond national jurisdiction	0.72
125	Strengthening the protection of primary and old-growth forests in Europe and facilitating their restoration where possible	0.68
75	Towards development of an IUCN policy on synthetic biology in relation to nature conservation	0.65
62	Towards a Policy on Natural Capital	0.55
130	Strengthening sustainable tourism's role in biodiversity conservation and community resilience	0.43
40	Develop and implement a transformational and effective post2020 global biodiversity framework	0.28
118	Reinforcing the protection of marine mammals through regional cooperation	0.17
101	Addressing human-wildlife conflict: fostering a safe and beneficial coexistence of people and wildlife	0.07
136	Protecting the Okavango from oil and gas exploitation	0.06
133	Call to withdraw draft-permit mining of fossil fuels underneath UNESCO World Heritage Site Wadden Sea	0.05
134	Protecting the Lower Congo River from large hydro-electric dam developments	0.00
137	Affirming the right of Indigenous Peoples and local communities to sustainably manage and utilise wild resources in the context of COVID-19	-0.04
84	Global response to protected area downgrading, downsizing and degazettement (PADDD)	-0.05

4476

4477   **Table 18: Loadings on factor 1 of voting**

Motion	Title	Loading
40	Develop and implement a transformational and effective post2020 global biodiversity framework	1.00
24	Restoring a peaceful and quiet ocean	0.98
132	Controlling and monitoring trade in croaker swim bladders to protect target croakers and reduce incidental catches of threatened marine megafauna	0.98
126	Acting for the conservation and sustainable use of marine biological diversity in the ocean beyond national jurisdiction	0.97
13	Protection of Andes-Amazon rivers of Peru: the Marañón, Ucayali, Huallaga and Amazonas, from large-scale infrastructure projects	0.97
69	Protection of deep-ocean ecosystems and biodiversity through a moratorium on seabed mining	0.97
39	Protecting environmental human and peoples' rights defenders and whistleblowers	0.97
34	Integrated solutions to the climate change and biodiversity crises	0.95
44	Actions to strengthen food sovereignty and security of indigenous peoples and peasant communities	0.94
137	Affirming the right of Indigenous Peoples and local communities to sustainably manage and utilise wild resources in the context of COVID-19	0.65
133	Call to withdraw draft-permit mining of fossil fuels underneath UNESCO World Heritage Site Wadden Sea	0.54
3	Establishing a Climate Change Commission	0.42
101	Addressing human-wildlife conflict: fostering a safe and beneficial coexistence of people and wildlife	0.39
21	Planning of maritime areas and biodiversity and geodiversity conservation	0.32
45	Recognising and supporting indigenous peoples' and local communities' rights and roles in conservation	0.27
135	Promoting human, animal and environmental health, and preventing pandemics through the One Health approach and by addressing the drivers of biodiversity loss	-0.04
62	Towards a Policy on Natural Capital	-0.22
131	Ensuring adequate funding for the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species	-0.32
125	Strengthening the protection of primary and old-growth forests in Europe and facilitating their restoration where possible	-0.93

4478

4479

4480

4481 **Table 19: Loadings on factor 2 of voting**

Motion	Title	Loading
62	Towards a Policy on Natural Capital	0.98
45	Recognising and supporting indigenous peoples' and local communities' rights and roles in conservation	0.90
135	Promoting human, animal and environmental health, and preventing pandemics through the One Health approach and by addressing the drivers of biodiversity loss	0.86
21	Planning of maritime areas and biodiversity and geodiversity conservation	0.72
24	Restoring a peaceful and quiet ocean	0.19
39	Protecting environmental human and peoples' rights defenders and whistleblowers	0.13
44	Actions to strengthen food sovereignty and security of indigenous peoples and peasant communities	0.04
125	Strengthening the protection of primary and old-growth forests in Europe and facilitating their restoration where possible	0.04
126	Acting for the conservation and sustainable use of marine biological diversity in the ocean beyond national jurisdiction	0.04
137	Affirming the right of Indigenous Peoples and local communities to sustainably manage and utilise wild resources in the context of COVID-19	0.02
13	Protection of Andes-Amazon rivers of Peru: the Marañón, Ucayali, Huallaga and Amazonas, from large-scale infrastructure projects	-0.03
132	Controlling and monitoring trade in croaker swim bladders to protect target croakers and reduce incidental catches of threatened marine megafauna	-0.03
3	Establishing a Climate Change Commission	-0.04
34	Integrated solutions to the climate change and biodiversity crises	-0.05
69	Protection of deep-ocean ecosystems and biodiversity through a moratorium on seabed mining	-0.07
40	Develop and implement a transformational and effective post2020 global biodiversity framework	-0.11
133	Call to withdraw draft-permit mining of fossil fuels underneath UNESCO World Heritage Site Wadden Sea	-0.32
101	Addressing human-wildlife conflict: fostering a safe and beneficial coexistence of people and wildlife	-0.93
131	Ensuring adequate funding for the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species	-0.94

4482

Discussion

Practical advice on data storage and availability

To keep collection of data standardised and to allow for easier future use, we suggest the following points.

1. For Membership records keep yearly records (or more regularly) of the entire Membership with relevant information (unique code, category, type, statutory region, operational region, preferred language and fee category).

2. For voting records create a standardised format for recording votes on both electronic and congress voting containing only the name and unique code for each Member and a consistent motion reference number established in the motion submission phase.

3. Include the unique Member code on every instance of a Member's name being used for the various components of the motions process (i.e. motion sponsorship & content documents, voting records, debate logs).

4. Ensure that motion number remains consistent from motion submission through to voting, even if this means that in voting sessions many numbers are missing. This allows for a tracking of motion content through to the point where it is voted in (and gains a new number Resolution or Recommendation number from 1) or rejected.