

**The Decolonizing Conservation Reading List has [moved to Notion!](#) This version will be available for the foreseeable future, but I will no longer update it (as of January 23, 2023). For more info about the switch, please see [this link](#).**

### **Decolonizing Conservation Reading List**

Compiled and managed by Sara Cannon, [secannon@protonmail.com](mailto:secannon@protonmail.com) .

**To read about the intended audience for this list and its purpose, please visit this [blog post](#).**

A Spanish version of the list is available [here](#), thanks to Twitter user [@agrohacker!](#) *Léalo en español [aquí](#)*. French versions of the [blog post](#) and [list](#) are also available, thanks to Marine Gauthier. *Vous pouvez lire l'article de blog original [ici](#) et accéder à la liste en français (avec des ressources en français) [ici](#).*

I would be grateful for any suggestions for resources to add to this list (please email them to me [here](#)), **especially if they were created by people who are Indigenous and/or who are from the 'Global South'**. Please also feel free to [send me an email](#) if you would like a copy of an article that is behind a paywall. I am happy to use my library privileges to share a PDF if I can. Many thanks to all of the people who have taken the time to review and provide feedback and suggestions! Note that some resources are listed in more than one section.

***Last updated: 19 October, 2022***

I believe it is important to pay people for their labor, although I don't feel that it's appropriate for me to accept payment for this work. Instead, I hope that you will instead consider making a contribution to the following Indigenous people and causes:

- The Wet'suwet'en people at the Unist'ot'en Camp in British Columbia are actively being displaced from their land (in [violation of the UN Declaration of the Rights for Indigenous Peoples](#)) so that LNG can construct a pipeline that will transport oil from Alberta's tar sands to the coast. Please consider making a contribution to support them [here](#).
- Please consider contributing to the [Lytton First Nation Emergency Relief Fund](#). Lytton, BC broke several temperature records in late June 2021, with temperatures reaching almost 50 degrees Celsius, immediately followed by a devastating forest fire.

- I am constantly learning from [Dr. Katherine Crocker](#), who is always generous with her time and never hesitates to call people out using patience and compassion, despite the toll it takes on her personally. You can make a contribution to her [PayPal](#), or support her by buying some of her [lovely jewelry](#). Dr. Crocker uses the funds she receives to support Indigenous folks in need.

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## Introducing decolonization and what it means for conservation:

- Domínguez & Luoma 2020, Decolonising Conservation Policy: How Colonial Land and Conservation Ideologies Persist and Perpetuate Indigenous Injustices at the Expense of the Environment. <https://doi.org/10.3390/land9030065>
- Mabele et al. 2021, What do we mean by decolonizing conservation? A response to Lanjouw 2021. <https://conviva-research.com/what-do-we-mean-by-decolonizing-conservation-a-response-to-lanjouw-2021/>
- Tuck and Yang 2012, Decolonization is not a metaphor <https://www.latrobe.edu.au/staff-profiles/data/docs/fjcollins.pdf>
- Angelo Villagomez, What I mean by “Decolonize Conservation” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5XfPaczZ5lk>
- West and Aini, 2018, Decolonising Conservation <https://paige-west.com/2018/07/28/decolonizing-conservation/>  
See Also: Decolonising Conservation, Q&A with PNG marine activist John Aini <https://news.mongabay.com/2018/07/decolonizing-conservation-qa-with-png-marine-activist-john-aini/>
- Whyte 2018, White Allies, Let's Be Honest about Decolonization <https://www.yesmagazine.org/issues/decolonize/white-allies-lets-be-honest-about-decolonization-20180403>

## Critiquing conservation science and practices

### Introductions, summaries, and overviews

- Adams and Mulligan 2003, Decolonizing Nature: Strategies for Conservation in a Post-colonial Era  
<https://adriancolston.files.wordpress.com/2016/10/decolonizing-nature-strategies-for-conservation-in-a-postcolonial-era1.pdf>
- Artelle et al. 2019, Supporting resurgent Indigenous-led governance: A nascent mechanism for just and effective conservation  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0006320719307803>
- Baker, Eicchorn, and Griffiths 2019, Decolonising field ecology  
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/btp.12663>
- Ban and Frid 2018, Indigenous peoples' rights and marine protected areas  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2017.10.020>.
- Cronon 1996, The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3985059>
- Green 2013, Contested Ecologies: Dialogues in the South on Nature and Knowledge  
<https://www.hspress.ac.za/books/contested-ecologies>
- Garnett 2018, A spatial overview of the global importance of Indigenous lands for conservation  
<https://www.nature.com/articles/s41893-018-0100-6>
- Gautier and Pravettoni 2018, [Reserved! An Atlas On Indigenous People Facing Nature Conservation](#) (PDF)
- Guha 1997, The authoritarian biologist and the arrogance of anti-humanism: wildlife conservation in the Third World [link opens PDF]  
[Guha-Authoritarian Biologist.pdf](#)
- Hau'ofa 2003, Our Sea of Islands, from *A New Oceania: Rediscovering our Sea of Islands*  
<https://savageminds.org/wp-content/image-upload/our-sea-of-islands-epeli-hauofa.pdf>
- Hernandez 2022, Fresh Banana Leaves: Healing Indigenous Landscapes through Indigenous Science:  
<https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/675699/fresh-banana-leaves-by-jessica-h>

[ernandez/](#)

- Jacobs et al, 2022, Unsettling marine conservation: Disrupting manifest destiny-based conservation practices through the operationalization of Indigenous value systems.  
<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3sm1f1vq>
- Malavasi 2020, The map of biodiversity mapping  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0006320720309010>
- Mbaria and Ogada 2017, The Big Conservation Lie:  
<https://shop.survivalinternational.org/collections/books/products/the-big-conservation-lie-book>  
See also: video of a talk Mordecai Ogada gave at Colorado State University about this book:  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3\\_YuC29wS0c&t=2633s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3_YuC29wS0c&t=2633s)
- Merchant 1990, The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution  
<https://www.harpercollins.com/products/the-death-of-nature-carolyn-merchant?variant=32218020806690>  
See also: Worthy, Allison and Bauman 2018, After the Death of Nature: Carolyn Merchant and the Future of Human-Nature Relations  
<https://www.routledge.com/product/isbn/9781138297302>
- Nazarea, Rhoades, and Andrews-Swann 2013, Seeds of Resistance, Seeds of Hope: Place and Agency in the Conservation of Biodiversity  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt183pf5c>
- Norman 2015, Standing Up for Inherent Rights: The Role of Indigenous-Led Activism in Protecting Sacred Waters and Ways of Life  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2016.1274459>
- Plumwood 2002, Decolonising Relationships with Nature  
[https://bridges.monash.edu/articles/journal\\_contribution/Decolonising\\_relationships\\_with\\_nature/3826707](https://bridges.monash.edu/articles/journal_contribution/Decolonising_relationships_with_nature/3826707)
- Powell 2017, Vanishing America: Species Extinction, Racial Peril, and the Origins of Conservation  
<https://academic.oup.com/whq/article-abstract/48/3/329/3078068>
- Rodrigues 2020, Neocolonial Narratives of Primate Conservation 25th May 2020  
<https://human-primate-interactions.org/blog/>
- Rubis and Theriault 2019, Concealing protocols: conservation, Indigenous survivance, and the dilemmas of visibility

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14649365.2019.1574882>

- Schuster et al. 2019, Vertebrate biodiversity on indigenous-managed lands in Australia, Brazil, and Canada equals that in protected areas  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1462901119301042?via%3Dihub>
- Tran et al. 2020, A review of successes, challenges, and lessons from Indigenous protected and conserved areas  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0006320719308456>
- von der Porten et al. 2019, The Role of Indigenous Resurgence in Marine Conservation  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/08920753.2019.1669099>
- Witter & Satterfeld 2018, The Ebb and Flow of Indigenous Rights Recognitions in Conservation Policy  
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/dech.12456>
- Zaitchik 2018, How Conservation Became Colonialism  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/16/how-conservation-became-colonialism-environment-indigenous-people-ecuador-mining/>

### *Capitalism and neoliberalism in conservation*

- Adams 2017, Sleeping with the enemy? Biodiversity conservation, corporations, and the green economy  
<https://journals.uair.arizona.edu/index.php/JPE/article/view/20804>
- Akama et al. 2011, Wildlife Conservation, Safari Tourism and the Role of Tourism Certification in Kenya: A Postcolonial Critique  
<https://ir-library.ku.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/123456789/11602/Wildlife%20Conservation%2C%20Safari%20Tourism%20.....pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Apostolopoulou et al. 2021, Reviewing 15 years of research on neoliberal conservation: Towards a decolonial, interdisciplinary, intersectional, and community-engaged research agenda  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2021.05.006>
- Àvila-García and Luna Sánchez 2012, The Environmentalism of the Rich and the Privatization of Nature: High-End Tourism on the Mexican Coast  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0094582X12459329>
- Barbosa 1996, The People of the Forest against International Capitalism: Systemic and Anti-Systemic Forces in the Battle for the Preservation of the Brazilian Amazon Rainforest  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1389315>

- Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012, Conservation, green/blue grabbing, and accumulation by dispossession in Tanzania  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03066150.2012.667405>
- Brockington and Duffy 2011, Capitalism and Conservation  
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/book/10.1002/9781444391442>
- Buscher, Brockington, Igoe, and Neves 2012, Towards a synthesized critique of neoliberal conservation.  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10455752.2012.674149>
- Brockington, Duffy, and Igoe 2008, Nature Unbound: Conservation, Capitalism and the Future of Protected Areas <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781849772075>
- Buscher, Dressler, and Fletcher 2014, Nature Inc: Environmental conservation in the neoliberal age <https://uapress.arizona.edu/book/nature-inc>
- Chapin 2004, A Challenge to Conservationists  
<https://redd-monitor.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/WorldWatch-Chapin.pdf>
- Chung 2017, The Grass Beneath: Conservation, Agro-Industrialization, and Land-Water Enclosures in Postcolonial Tanzania  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/24694452.2018.1484685>
- Collard, Dempsey, and Sundberg 2014, A Manifesto for Abundant Futures  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00045608.2014.973007>
- Collins 2019, Colonial residue: REDD+, territorialisation and the racialized subject of Guyana and Suriname  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718519302283>
- Dempsey and Bigger 2019, Intimate Mediations of For-Profit Conservation Finance: Waste, Improvement, and Accumulation <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12503>
- Dempsey and Suarez 2015, Arrested Development? The Promises and Paradoxes of “Selling Nature to Save It” <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2016.1140018>
- Dempsey et al. 2022, Biodiversity targets will not be met without debt and tax justice  
<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41559-021-01619-5>
- Dressler and Roth 2011, The Good, the Bad, and the Contradictory: Neoliberal Conservation Governance in Southeast Asia

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0305750X1000183X>

- Gonzalez-Duarte 2021, Butterflies, organized crime, and “sad trees”: A critique of the Monarch Butterfly Biosphere Reserve Program in a context of rural violence  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0305750X21000322>
- Harper 2005, ‘Wild Capitalism’ and ‘Ecocolonialism’: A Tale of Two Rivers  
<https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1525/aa.2005.107.2.221>
- Holmes 2012, Biodiversity for Billionaires: Capitalism, Conservation and the Role of Philanthropy in Saving/Selling Nature <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01749.x>
- Holmes 2011, Conservation’s friends in high places: neoliberalism, networks, and the transnational conservation elite  
<http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/76972/1/Holmes%2811%29GlobalElites.pdf>
- Holmes 2018, Conservation Jujutsu, or How Conservation NGOs Use Market Forces to Save Nature from Markets in Southern Chile  
[https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-60579-1\\_7](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-60579-1_7)
- Holmes and Cavanagh 2016, A review of the social impacts of neoliberal conservation: Formations, inequalities, and contestations  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718515302530>
- Kimerling 2012, Huaorani Land Rights in Ecuador: Oil, Contact, and Conservation  
<https://www.liebertpub.com/doi/abs/10.1089/env.2011.0034>
- Lunstrum 2017, Capitalism, Wealth, and Conservation in the Age of Security: The Vitalization of the State <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2017.1407629>
- Milne 2022, Corporate Nature <https://uapress.arizona.edu/book/corporate-nature>
- Moore 2016, The Rise of Cheap Nature [https://orb.binghamton.edu/sociology\\_fac/2](https://orb.binghamton.edu/sociology_fac/2)
- Moore and Velednitsky 2017, The Case for Ecological Reparations: A Conversation with Jason W. Moore <https://edgeeffects.net/jason-w-moore/>
- Ndebele 1999, Game Lodges and Leisure Colonialists  
<https://www.njabulondebele.co.za/work/game-lodges-and-leisure-colonialists/>
- Noe and Kangalawe 2015, Wildlife Protection, Community Participation in Conservation, and (Dis) Empowerment in Southern Tanzania

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26393203>

- Ogada 2020, Why Black Lives Don't Matter in Kenya's Colonial 'Conservancies'  
<https://www.theelephant.info/features/2020/06/12/why-black-lives-dont-matter-in-kenyas-colonial-conservancies/>
- Pigott 2020, Capitalism is killing the world's wildlife populations, not humanity  
<https://theconversation.com/capitalism-is-killing-the-worlds-wildlife-populations-not-humanity-106125>
- Rogers 2021, The tragedy of conservation.  
<https://www.facetsjournal.com/doi/10.1139/facets-2020-0072>.
- Simpson 2017, Nishnaabeg Anticapitalism. In: As We Have Always Done  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt1pwt77c>
- Sullivan 2017, What's ontology got to do with it? On nature and knowledge in a political ecology of the 'green economy'  
<https://journals.librarypublishing.arizona.edu/jpe/article/id/1995/>
- Youdelis et al. 2021, Decolonial conservation: establishing Indigenous Protected Areas for future generations in the face of extractive capitalism.  
<https://journals.librarypublishing.arizona.edu/jpe/article/id/4716/>

### ***Displacement and land theft***

(see also [Terra Nullius](#))

- Agrawal and Redford 2009, Conservation and Displacement: An Overview  
<http://www.conservationandsociety.org/text.asp?2009/7/1/1/54790>
- Bocarejo & Ojeda 2016, Violence and conservation: Beyond unintended consequences and unfortunate coincidences  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.11.001>
- Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012, Conservation, green/blue grabbing, and accumulation by dispossession in Tanzania  
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- Davis 2016, The Arid Lands: History, Power, Knowledge  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1bkm534>
- Dowie 2011, Conservation Refugees: The Hundred-Year Conflict between Global Conservation and Native Peoples  
<https://mitpress.mit.edu/books/conservation-refugees>
- Gilio-Whitaker 2019, The Story We've Been Told About National Parks Is Incomplete  
<http://time.com/5562258/indigenous-environmental-justice/>
- Jago 2019, Canada's National Parks are Colonial Crime Scenes  
<https://thewalrus.ca/canadas-national-parks-are-colonial-crime-scenes/>
- Longo 2018, The world's largest conservation group is complicit in human rights abuses and illegal land theft  
[https://medium.com/@jf\\_86730/if-this-is-a-park-a082a468bb6a](https://medium.com/@jf_86730/if-this-is-a-park-a082a468bb6a)
- Mei-Singh 2016, Carceral Conservationism: Contested Landscapes and Technologies of Dispossession at Ka'ena Point, Hawai'i  
<https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2016.0059>
- Mittal and Fraaser 2018, Losing the Serengeti: the Maasai land that was to run forever  
<https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/losing-the-serengeti.pdf>
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<https://www.routledge.com/Land-Rights-Biodiversity-Conservation-and-Justice-Rethinking-Parks-and-Mollett-Kepe/p/book/9781138217720>
- Neumann 1995, Dukes, earls, and eratz Edens: aristocratic nature preservationists in colonial Africa.  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1068/d140079>
- Poirer and Ostergren 2002, Evicting People from Nature: Indigenous Land Rights and National Parks in Australia, Russia, and the United States  
[https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.ca/&http\\_sredir=1&article=1536&context=nri](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.ca/&http_sredir=1&article=1536&context=nri)
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<http://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195142433.001.0001>

- Stevens 2014, Indigenous Peoples, National Parks, and Protected Areas: A New Paradigm Linking Conservation, Culture, and Rights  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt183pbn5>

### *Ethnographies of conservation projects*

- Blaser 2009, The Threat of the Yrmo: The Political Ontology of a Sustainable Hunting Program <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1433.2009.01073.x>
- Blaser 2016, Is Another Cosmopolitics Possible? <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca31.4.05>
- Ferdinand 2016, Ecology, Identity, and Colonialism in Martinique: The Discourse of an Environmental NGO (1980-2011)  
[https://drive.google.com/file/d/1VnJ7JETHzkFpFfjgKNpmcecdYznDL\\_FA/view?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1VnJ7JETHzkFpFfjgKNpmcecdYznDL_FA/view?usp=sharing)
- Grandia 2012, Enclosed: Conservation, Cattle and Commerce among the Q'eqchi' Maya lowlanders. <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/13656>.
- Parreñas 2018, Decolonizing Extinction: The Work of Care in Orangutan Rehabilitation <https://www.dukeupress.edu/decolonizing-extinction>
- Newmann 2002, Imposing Wilderness. Struggles over livelihood and nature preservation in Africa. <https://b-ok.cc/book/905875/2718be>
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<https://www.dukeupress.edu/conservation-is-our-government-now>
- Ybarra 2017, Green Wars: Conservation and Decolonization in the Maya Forest  
<https://www.ucpress.edu/book/9780520295186/green-wars>

### *Green Militarization & Green Violence*

- Asiyambi 2016, A political ecology of REDD+: Property rights, militarised protectionism, and carbonised exclusion in Cross River.  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0016718516302391>
- Bocarejo & Ojeda 2016, Violence and conservation: Beyond unintended consequences and unfortunate coincidences  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.11.001>

- Buscher & Ramutsindela 2016, Green violence: rhino poaching and the war to save Southern Africa's peace parks <https://academic.oup.com/afraf/article/115/458/1/2195193>
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- Duffy et al. 2019, Why we must question the militarisation of conservation <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2019.01.013>
- Duffy 2022, Security and Conservation: The politics of the illegal wildlife trade. <https://yalebooks.yale.edu/book/9780300230185/security-and-conservation/>
- Gonzalez-Duarte 2021, Butterflies, organized crime, and "sad trees": A critique of the Monarch Butterfly Biosphere Reserve Program in a context of rural violence <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0305750X21000322>
- Lunstrum 2014, Green Militarization: Anti-Poaching Efforts and the Spatial Contours of Kruger National Park <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2014.912545>
- Lunstrum 2017, Capitalism, Wealth, and Conservation in the Age of Security: The Vitalization of the State <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2017.1407629>
- Lunstrum 2017, Feed them to the lions: Conservation violence goes online <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0016718516301415>
- Lunstrum and Ybarra 2018, Deploying Difference: Security Threat Narratives and State Displacement from Protected Areas [http://doi.org/10.4103/cs.cs\\_16\\_119](http://doi.org/10.4103/cs.cs_16_119)
- Marijnen and Verweijen 2016, Selling green militarization: the discursive (re)production of militarized conservation in the Virunga National Park, Democratic Republic of the Congo <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2016.08.003>
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- Norton 2015, The militarisation of marine resource conservation and law enforcement in the Western Cape, South Africa  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0308597X14002401>
- Peluso 1993, Global Environmental Change, Coercing Conservation? The Politics of State Control  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/0959378093900067>
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<https://doi.org/10.4337/9781800885615>
- Simlai 2015, Conservation 'Wars': Global Rise of Green Militarisation  
<https://www.epw.in/journal/2015/50/perspectives/conservation-wars.html-0>

### Globalization of conservation

- Aguilar-Støen 2015, Global forest conservation initiatives as spaces for participation in Colombia and Costa Rica  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718515000482>
- Asiyambi 2016, A political ecology of REDD+: Property rights, militarised protectionism, and carbonised exclusion in Cross River.  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0016718516302391>
- Bluwstein and Lund 2018, Territoriality by conservation in the Selous - Niassa corridor in Tanzania  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0305750X16305101>
- Bulkan 2016, Hegemony in Guayana: REDD-plus and the State Control over Indigenous Peoples and Resources  
<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1iJb5lb1STOtAJ3G502I7Ist9wM9VLKQ/view?usp=sharing>
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### *Terra Nullius*

(see also [Displacement and land theft](#) and [Imaginations of indigeneity and conservation discourses](#))

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**Examples of conservation work, resource management, and research that has been led by and/or done in partnership with Indigenous peoples:**

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### Further readings and resources

- A Decolonizing Environmental Justice Reading List  
<https://sites.uea.ac.uk/global-environmental-justice/training/decolonial-ej-reading-list>
- Applying a decolonial framework to teaching and research in ecology and evolution  
[https://drive.google.com/file/d/1\\_BSWn3R4QgAOGqH7tXC1ed\\_cqoGHVB9c/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1_BSWn3R4QgAOGqH7tXC1ed_cqoGHVB9c/view)
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<https://csepscpe.wixsite.com/csep-scpe/indigenous-perspectives>
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<http://cicr.uga.edu/>
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<https://www.corneredbypas.com/>
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[http://democracyinafrica.org/decolonizing\\_the\\_academy/](http://democracyinafrica.org/decolonizing_the_academy/)
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- Gilio-Whitaker 2019, As Long as Grass Grows: The Indigenous Fight for Environmental Justice, from Colonization to Standing Rock  
<http://www.beacon.org/As-Long-as-Grass-Grows-P1445.aspx>
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<https://www.dukeupress.edu/rock-water-life>
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