1	Including Rural America in academic conservation science
2 3 4 5	David J. Kurz ^{1,2} , Arthur D. Middleton ¹ , Melissa S. Chapman ¹ , Bruce R. Huber ³ , Alex McInturff ⁴ , Jeremy Sorgen ¹ , Kyle S. Van Houtan ^{5,6} , Christine E. Wilkinson ¹ , Lauren Withey ¹ , and Justin S. Brashares ¹
6 7 8	¹ Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720, USA
8 9 10	² Trinity College, Environmental Science Program, Hartford, CT 06106
11 12	³ Notre Dame Law School, Notre Dame, IN, 46556, USA
13 14	⁴ School of Environmental and Forest Sciences, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195
15 16	⁵ Loggerhead Marinelife Center, Juno Beach, Florida, 33408, USA
17 18	⁶ Nicholas School of the Environment, Duke University, P.O. Box 90328, Durham, NC 27708, USA
19 20	* Correspondence: David J. Kurz
21	david.kurz@berkeley.edu
22 23 24 25	Keywords: advancement criteria ₁ , DEIJ ₂ , diversity ₃ , inclusion ₄ , local stakeholders ₅ , public outreach ₆ , rural engagement ₇ , rural-urban divide ₈
26	
27	1 Introduction
28	Academia, including academic conservation science, is making historic strides on diversity,
29	equity, inclusion, and justice (DEIJ). In recent years, there have been powerful calls for
30	promoting diversity and inclusivity in conservation science (e.g. Schell et al., 2020;
31	Rudd et al., 2021). These calls have been accompanied by concrete signs of progress, including
32	more frequent land acknowledgements (Huntington, 2021), calls for paid internship
33	opportunities (e.g. Vercammen et al., 2020), prioritizing DEIJ in faculty hires (Cronin et al.,
34	2021), calls to support interdisciplinary research (Bennett et al., 2016), and many other
35	developments. The considerable momentum on DEIJ offers an opportunity to continue

36 promoting DEIJ in a variety of senses. In the U.S. context, rural attitudes and values—broadly

37 speaking—have received relatively little research attention in the conservation literature,

38 presenting an opportunity for more intentional inclusion of rural communities in conservation

39 (Bonnie et al., 2020).

40

41 Why is rurality important to consider in conservation DEIJ discussions? One reason is that 42 characterizing rurality is elusive; in the United States, distinct Rural Americas descend from 43 distinct rural histories. For Black and Indigenous communities in the United States, rural 44 experiences are tied to legacies of injustice over centuries, including killings, cultural genocide, 45 forced removal from homelands, rights and legal violations, slavery, and a number of other 46 injustices (Gates, 2011; Madley, 2017; Gilio-Whitaker, 2019). For rural communities of color, 47 historical legacies of racial injustice are compounded by injustices tied to rurality more 48 generally, such as poverty and isolation (Davis et al., 2020a).

49

50 Additionally, rural communities in the U.S. experience disparities in health, education, and 51 income (Hartley, 2004; Gabe et al., 2007; Burdick-Will and Logan, 2017). For example, many 52 students in Rural America experience limited funding, limited access to technology, histories of 53 segregation, and barriers to opportunity and cultural resources (Davis et al., 2020b). Rural 54 students are less likely than non-rural students to attend college, four-year institutions, 55 selective schools, and universities that confer graduate degrees (Koricich et al., 2018). 56 An important antidote to these injustices is representation, e.g. Black teachers helping guide 57 Black students (Davis et al., 2020a). In academic conservation science, increased representation 58 and inclusion could also help ease tensions between rural constituents and pro-conservation 59 entities in the United States, which have existed for decades (Yung et al., 2003; Robbins, 2006; 60 Messick et al., 2021).

61

Discord between conservation and rural stakeholders has famously played out in the U.S. West,
 home to decades-old contestations of values between local constituents and conservation
 entities. For example, for some private landowners in the Western U.S., the Endangered

Species Act of 1973 became a mechanism for exclusion from decision-making on their own lands (Meltz, 1994), and a salient symbol of federal government overreach. For example, differing values have led to strain over conservation between independent, place-based ranchers and outside NGO and government representatives in Montana's Eastern Front (Yung et al., 2003). In the coalition-building that has been attempted in the U.S. West, some coalitions have bridged differences in environmental values, while others—strikingly—have not, despite highly similar views on environmental policy (Robbins, 2006).

72

73 In addition to arguments based on justice, rural inclusion in academic conservation science also 74 provides fresh values and perspectives. For example, Indigenous land stewardship, based on 75 extensive histories in rural landscapes, is critical for equitable energy transitions in rural areas 76 (Eisenberg and Warner, 2021). Inclusion of rural values also offers opportunities for reframing 77 intractable policy conversations. For example, Diamond et al. (2021) reported that 78% of rural 78 midwestern voters found a climate policy argument convincing when it was framed in terms of 79 benefits to farmer livelihoods. Inclusion of rural values also offers new opportunities for diverse 80 conservation teams. Diverse teams are important for creativity, both generally (Paulus et al., 81 2017) and in conservation specifically (Gould et al., 2017).

82

To promote justice for excluded rural communities and to diversify perspectives in conservation, we advocate for more intentional inclusion of rural U.S. communities in academic conservation science. Toward this goal, we advocate for three pathways for rural inclusivity in academic conservation science: (i) emphasizing knowledge co-production through partnerships that resonate with rural lifestyles and values; (ii) proactively recruiting and training rural students in conservation science degree programs; and (iii) reshaping academic advancement criteria to incentivize rural engagement.

- 90
- 91
- 92

93 2.1 Pathway 1: Emphasizing knowledge co-production and partnerships that resonate

94 with rural lifestyles and values

95 Trust-building between scientists and local communities can be facilitated by genuine 96 academic-community partnerships (Adams et al., 2014). Face-to-face engagement allows an 97 irreplaceable cultural cache to be built between researchers and stakeholders, and helps 98 researchers develop a more intimate knowledge of the socio-cultural realities of a study 99 context or constituency (Roux et al., 2006). For example, rural communities tend to bear 100 disproportionate burdens on the front lines of environmental issues, such as climate change-101 related natural disasters and water pollution (Lal et al., 2011). Rural community members are 102 also critically important stewards of U.S. landscapes, as tribal representatives, farmers, 103 ranchers, hunters, and conservation managers. As such, there is a powerful opportunity for 104 academics to work with locals to identify locally-relevant conservation solutions (Figure 1). This 105 work will bear witness to the considerable common ground that exists between rural 106 stakeholders and conservation academics who agree on environmental stewardship but can be 107 separated by politicization and mistrust of government (Bonnie et al., 2020). 108

109 Collaborations between academics and local communities provide opportunities for 110 researchers to learn about the priorities of rural communities while supporting local initiatives 111 and leadership (Smith et al., 2009; Rodrigues and Shepherd, 2022). Over time, these 112 collaborations may extend beyond pragmatic partnerships to reform the value orientations, 113 skills, and knowledge sets of all parties. Moreover, environmental policy proposals that 114 incorporate local values and livelihoods can be convincing to rural stakeholders (Diamond et al., 115 2021). Other possible avenues for renewed academic-public partnerships could include 116 collaborations with religious organizations on earth stewardship through climate action, 117 something for which religious scientists are particularly well-positioned (Hanes, 2014). 118 Moreover, thoughtful alignment of climate messaging with religious language and values can 119 help foster a bipartisan agenda (Wardekker et al., 2009).

120

121 **2.2** Pathway 2: Recruiting and training rural students in conservation science degree

122 programs

123 Recruiting rural students is a promising pathway for strengthened relationships between rural 124 and university communities (Figure 1). Rural students are less likely than non-rural students to 125 attend college, four-year institutions, selective schools, and universities that confer graduate 126 degrees (Koricich et al., 2018). We advocate for more intentional recruitment of rural students 127 to undergraduate, graduate, and faculty opportunities in conservation. In recent years, there 128 have been a number of powerful calls for diversity, equity, and inclusion within academic 129 science (e.g. Davis, 2020; Schell et al. 2020; Subbaraman et al., 2020). Building on this 130 momentum, academic conservation scientists have an opportunity to increase representation 131 still further by recruiting students from rural backgrounds in conservation science. This form of 132 inclusion could help integrate rural students into opportunities and resources that are often not 133 accessible to them (Davis et al., 2020a).

134

135 Greater inclusion of rural students in graduate and undergraduate conservation programs could 136 offer several benefits for advancing conservation. First, rural students could help create new 137 links between conservation and local issues in rural communities, such as agricultural interests 138 (Diamond et al., 2021). Moreover, rural students could be new messengers for climate policies 139 in their communities, situating climate science within socio-culturally contextualized ethics (Van 140 Houtan, 2006). In order to inspire lasting support for conservation issues, scientific arguments 141 should be expressed within communally accepted ethical frameworks and existing social 142 traditions (Van Houtan, 2006). Rural voters often have sophisticated environmental views, but 143 disagree with some environmental policies due to low trust of the federal government (Bonnie 144 et al., 2020) or an absence of place-based values relevant to their lives and livelihoods (Yung et 145 al., 2003; O'Neill et al., 2007). Rural students, then, could be a critical link between academic 146 and rural communities, helping build trust, increasing attention to local issues, embodying rural 147 values, and communicating conservation science in locally relevant ways.

- 148
- 149

2.3 Pathway 3: Reshaping academic advancement criteria to promote rural engagement Another major step forward for academic-rural ties would be a re-orientation of the incentive structures and norms of academia to more fully include and value public engagement (Alperin et al., 2019). For the academic conservation science community to be more committed to creative forms of public engagement, the value of service must be grounded in tangible structures and incentives, especially through greater weight in academic advancement review processes (Figure 1).

157

158 A new faculty model in service of these goals should reframe the standards of scholarship and 159 advancement. For example, Creativity Contracts are an approach to help encourage faculty 160 pursuit of a wider variety of academic activities through custom-designed, malleable roles 161 (Boyer, 1990). One study showed that 75% of governing boards, 70% of Deans, 67% of provosts, 162 71% full-time non-tenure track faculty, and 50% of tenure-track faculty found this idea 163 attractive (Kezar et al., 2015). For example, through Creativity Contracts, participation at a rural 164 stakeholder workshop could carry similar weight as a presentation at an academic conference. 165 Outreach efforts, rather than being devalued, should hold weight in evaluation and 166 advancement (Schell et al., 2020). To bring about this change, institutional support for public 167 outreach must increase, aligning tangible practice with widespread acknowledgement of the 168 importance of outreach (Doberneck, 2016; Rose et al., 2020). Indeed, some universities— 169 including some land-grant institutions—have strayed from earlier roles as reliable partners for 170 local stakeholders such as farmers and union workers (Jamieson, 2020). While this important 171 work continues through extension offices, NGOs, and individual academics, academia as a 172 whole could more fully embrace its public outreach imperative (Kezar, 2018).

173

What can outreach by conservation academics to rural publics look like? A few ideas, some of which we have implemented ourselves, include workshops, public lectures and town halls, novel conference structures, op-eds in newspapers, podcasts, museum exhibits, collaborations with religious groups, participation on local or regional boards, and art shows. While these ideas are not new and are currently put in practice to some degree (particularly by the 179 important work of extension specialists, NGOs, government agencies, and science

180 communicators), they are rarely a focus in advancement deliberations (Kezar, 2018).

181 At present, the conventions of our discipline can be self-defeating and pull us away from the

182 very constituents we seek to serve, learn from, and engage. As the criteria by which academic

183 careers are judged, advancement standards should reflect rather than undermine the priorities

184 and values of conservation science.

185

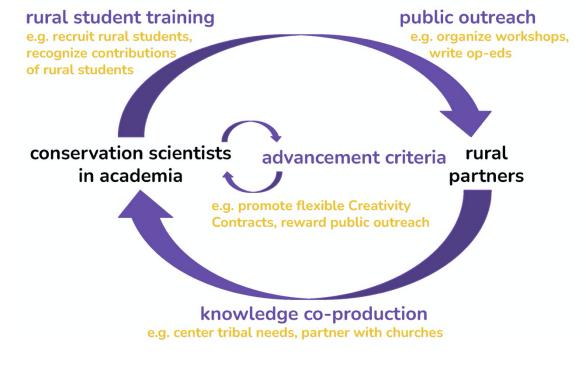
186 **3 Discussion**

187 As part of the movement for advancing diversity, equity, inclusion and justice, academic 188 conservation science is seeking to increase accessibility for underrepresented groups. 189 However, DEIJ efforts in academia have, by and large, not prioritized rurality, and rural students 190 are underrepresented in science at every stage (O'Neal and Perkins, 2021). Additionally, 191 ongoing conservation challenges—including 30x30, state and federal climate policy, expanding 192 renewable energy, etc.—need fresh approaches and ideas from constituents of different 193 backgrounds and geographies. Furthermore, as part of a "boundary science", conservation 194 academics have an opportunity to help liaise between science production and decision-making 195 (Cook et al., 2013), and there are important opportunities for this work in Rural America 196 (Bonnie et al., 2020). We suggest that inclusivity of Rural America in academic conservation 197 science would advance justice goals, diversify perspectives, and provide pragmatic 198 opportunities for conservation.

199

As conservation scientists in academia, we have a powerful opportunity to build bridges between rural communities and academia in the United States. Most of the U.S. public wants action on the environment (Pew 2016), including climate change (Pew 2020), and rural communities are important stakeholders in conservation solutions. However, the aversion of many rural constituents to some forms of environmental legislation shows we must do more to build solutions that emphasize shared values (Bonnie et al., 2020; Diamond et al., 2021). Through co-producing knowledge, recruiting rural students to conservation science programs,

- 207 and increasing the flexibility of academic advancement standards, conservation academics can
- 208 expand DEIJ for communities in Rural America while enriching conservation partnerships.
- 209
- 210 **4** Figure
- 211 Figure 1. Conceptual diagram of recommended mechanisms for academic-rural engagement,
- 212 with examples of each mechanism.



215

213 214

- 216 **5** Author Contributions
- 217 DJK, MSC, CEW, LW, and JSB contributed to early discussions that led to the paper. All authors
- 218 contributed ideas and insights that strengthened the paper. All authors contributed to editing
- the manuscript. All authors approved the submitted version.
- 220

221 6 Funding

- 222 The authors acknowledge the following funding sources who helped support the research:
- 223 The Mustard Seed Foundation, the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship,
- the Philomathia Graduate Student Fellowship in the Environmental Sciences, the Thomas

225	McKenna Meredith '48 Postdoctoral Fellowship in Environmental Science at Trinity College, and
226	the UC Berkeley Rausser College of Natural Resources.

227

228 **7** Acknowledgements

Thank you to Claire Kremen for encouraging an early version of this work, and to Matthew Potts for supporting ideas connected to this work. Thank you to Evelyne St-Louis for assistance with the figure and for support for this work. Parts of this article were previously included in a preprint, accessible at <u>https://ecoevorxiv.org/repository/view/4255/</u>.

233

2348References

Adams, M. S., Carpenter, J., Housty, J. A., Neasloss, D., Paquet, P. C., Service, C., Walkus, J., and

236 Darimont, C. T. (2014). Toward increased engagement between academic and indigenous

community partners in ecological research. *Ecol. Soc.* 19, 5 doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5751/ES-

238 06569-190305

239

Alperin, J. P., Nieves, C. M., Schimanski, L. A., Fischman, G. E., Niles, M. T., and McKiernan, E. C.

241 (2019). Meta-Research. How significant are the public dimensions of faculty work in review,

promotion and tenure documents? *eLife*, 8, e42254. doi: 10.7554/eLife.42254

243

244 Bennett, N. J., Roth, R., Klain, S. C., Chan, K. M. A., Clark, D. A., Cullman, G., et al. (2016).

245 Mainstreaming the social sciences in conservation. *Conserv. Biol.* **31**, 56-66. doi:

246 https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.12788

247

Bonnie, R., Diamond, E. P., & Rowe, E. (2020). Understanding rural attitudes toward the

environment and conservation in America. Nicholas Institute for Environmental Policy Solutions

250 [Report]. Available at:

251 https://nicholasinstitute.duke.edu/sites/default/files/publications/understanding-rural-

252 attitudes-toward-environment-conservation-america.pdf

253

- 254 Boyer, E.L. (1990). Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate. Princeton
- 255 University Press: Lawrenceville.
- 256
- 257 Burdick-Will, J., and Logan, J. R. (2017). Schools at the rural-urban boundary: blurring the
- 258 divide? An. Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci. 672, 185-201. doi:
- 259 https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716217707176
- 260
- 261
- 262 Cook, C. N., Mascia, M. B., Schwartz, M. W., Possingham, H. P., and Fuller, R. A. (2013).
- 263 Achieving conservation science that bridges the knowledge action boundary.
- 264 *Conserv. Biol.* 27, 669-678. https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.12050
- 265
- 266 Cronin, M. R., Alonzo, S. H., Adamczak, S. K., Baker, D. N., Beltran, R. S., Borker, A. L., et al.
- 267 (2021). Anti-racist interventions to transform ecology, evolution, and conservation biology
- 268 departments. Nat. Ecol. Evol. 5, 1213-1223. doi: https://doi.org/10.1038/s41559-021-01522-z
- 269
- 270 Davis, S.M. (2020). [@Blackinthelvory and @DrShardeDavis]. (2020, June). Available at:
- 271 https://twitter.com/BlackInThelvory, https://blackintheivory.net
- 272
- 273 Davis, J. L., Ford, D. Y., Moore III, J. L., and Floyd, E. F. (2020a). Black and gifted in Rural America:
- barriers and facilitators to accessing gifts and talented education programs. *TPRE* 10, 85-100.
- 275 doi: https://doi.org/10.3776/tpre.2002.v10n2p85-100
- 276
- 277 Davis, J. L., Ford, D.Y., Moore, J. L., and Floyd, E. F. (2020b). "Black, gifted and living in the
- 278 'country': searching for equity and excellence in rural gifted education programs," in
- 279 African-American rural education: college transitions and postsecondary experiences,
- eds. C. R. Cambers and L. Crumb (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing), 39-52.
- 281

282	Diamond, E. P., Bonnie, R., and Rowe, E. (2021). Rural attitudes on climate change. Nicholas
283	Institute for Environmental Policy Solutions and The University of Rhode Island [Report].
284	Available at: https://nicholasinstitute.duke.edu/sites/default/files/publications/Rural-Attitudes-
285	on-Climate-Change-Midwest_1.pdf
286	
287	Doberneck, D. M. (2016). Are we there yet?: Outreach and engagement in the consortium for
288	institutional cooperation promotion and tenure policies. JCES 9, 8-18.
289	
290	Eisenberg, A. M., and Warner, E. K. (2021). The precipice of justice: equity, energy, and the
291	environment in Indian Country and rural communities. Energy Law J. 42, 281-298.
292	
293	Gabe, T. M., Colby, K., and Bell, K. P. (2007). Creative occupations, county-level earnings and
294	the U.S. rural-urban wage gap. CJRS 3, 393-410.
295	
296	Gates, H. L. (2011). Life Upon These Shores: Looking at African American History, 1513-2008.
297	New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
298	
299	Gilio-Whitaker, D. (2019). As Long as Grass Grows: the Indigenous Fight for Environmental
300	Justice. Boston: Beacon Press.
301	
302	Gould, R. K., Phukan, I., Mendoza, M. E., Ardoin, N. M., and Panikkar, B. (2017). Seizing
303	opportunities to diversify conservation. Conserv. Lett. 11, e12431.
304	doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12431
305	
306	Hanes, J.M. (2014). Science and religion: think local. Science 346, 309. doi:
307	10.1126/science.346.6207.309
308	

- 309 Hartley, D. (2004). Rural health disparities, population health, and rural culture. *Am. J. Public*
- 310 *Health* 94, 1675-1678. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.94.10.1675

311 Huntington, H. P. (2021). What do land acknowledgments acknowledge? Environ.: Sci. Policy 312 Sustainable Dev. 63, 31-35. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/00139157.2021.1924579 313 314 Jamieson, K. H. (2020). Reconceptualizing public engagement by land-grant university scientists. 315 PNAS 117, 2734-2736. doi: https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1922395117 316 317• Kezar, A. (2018). A new vision for the professoriate. Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning 318 50, 84-87. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/00091383.2018.1509616 319 320 Kezar, A., Maxey, D., and Holcombe, E. (2015). The Professoriate Reconsidered. University of 321 Southern California [Report]. Available at: https://pullias.usc.edu/wp-322 content/uploads/2015/10/Professoriate-Reconsidered-final.pdf 323 324 Koricich, A., Chen, X., and Hughes, R. P. (2018). Understanding the effects of rurality and 325 socioeconomic status on college attendance and institutional choice in the United States. 326• *Rev. High. Ed.* 41, 281-305. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2018.0004 327 328 Kurz, D. J., Middleton, A. D., Chapman, M., Huber, B. R., McInturff, A., Sorgen, J., et al. (2022). 329 [Preprint] EcoEvoRxiv. doi: https://doi.org/10.32942/osf.io/entgj 330 331 Lal, P., Alavalapati, J. R. R., and Mercer, E. D. (2011). Socio-economic impacts of climate change 332 on rural United States. Mitig. Adapt. Strateg. Glob. Chang. 16, 819-844. doi: 333 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11027-011-9295-9 334 335 Madley, B. (2017). An American Genocide: The United States and the Californian Indian 336 Catastrophe, 1846-1873. New Haven: Yale University Press. 337

Meltz, R. (1994). Where the wild things are: the Endangered Species Act and private property.
 Envtl. L. 369

340

- 341• Messick, J. A., Serenari, C., and Rubino, E. C. (2021). Determinants of private landowner
- 342 participation in endangered species conservation: a comprehensive review and analytical
- 343 framework. Soc. Nat. Resour. 34, 980-998. doi:
- 344 https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2020.1865495
- 345 Mishra, C., Young, J. C., Fiechter, M., Rutherford, B., and Redpath, S. M. (2017). Building
- 346 partnerships with communities for biodiversity conservation: lessons from Asian mountains.
- 347 J. Appl. Ecol. 54, 1583-1591. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/1365-2664.12918

348

- 349 O'Neal, L., and Perkins, A. (2021). Rural exclusion from science and academia. *Trends Microbiol.*
- 350 29, 953-955. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tim.2021.06.012
- 351
- 352 O'Neill, J., Holland, A., and Light, A. (2007). Environmental Values. London: Routledge.
- 353 Paulus, P. B., van der Zee, K. I., and Kenworthy, J. (2017). "Cultural Diversity and Team
- 354 Creativity," in The Palgrave Handbook of Creativity and Culture Research, ed. V. P. Glăveanu
- 355 (London: Springer Nature).

356

- 357 Pew Research Center. (2016). Most Americans favor stricter environmental laws and
- 358 regulations [Poll]. Available at: https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2016/12/14/most-
- 359 americans-favor-stricter-environmental-laws-and-regulations/

360

- 361 Pew Research Center. (2020). Two-thirds of Americans think government should do more on
- 362 climate [Poll]. Available at: https://www.pewresearch.org/science/2020/06/23/two-thirds-of-
- 363 americans-think-government-should-do-more-on-climate/
- 364

- 365 Robbins, P. (2006). The politics of barstool biology: environmental knowledge and power in
- 366 greater Northern Yellowstone. *Geoforum*, 37, 185-199.
- 367 doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2004.11.011
- 368
- 369 Rodrigues, R. R., and Shepherd, T. G. (2022). Small is beautiful: climate-change science as if
- people mattered. *PNAS Nexus* 1, 1-9. doi: https://doi.org/10.1093/pnasnexus/pgac009
- 371
- Rose, K. M., Markowitz, E. M., & Brossard, D. (2020). Scientists' incentives and attitudes toward
 public communication. *PNAS* 117, 1274-1276. doi: https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1916740117
 374
- 375 Roux, D. J., Rogers, K. H., Biggs, H. C., Ashton, P. J., and Sergeant, A. (2006). Bridging the
- 376 science-management divide: moving from unidirectional knowledge transfer to knowledge
- 377 interfacing and sharing. *Ecol. Soc.* 11, 4.
- 378
- 379 Rudd, L. F., Allred, S., Ross, J. G. B., Hare, D., Nkomo, M. N., Shanker, K. et al. (2021).
- 380 Overcoming racism in the twin spheres of conservation science and practice. Proc. R. Soc. B 288,
- 381 1962. doi: https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2021.1871
- 382
- 383 Schell, C. J., Guy, C., Shelton, D. S., Campbell-Staton, S. C., Sealey, B. A., Lee, D. N., et al. (2020).
- 384 Recreating Wakanda by promoting Black excellence in ecology and evolution.
- 385 Nat. Ecol. Evol. 4, 1285-1287. doi: https://doi.org/10.1038/s41559-020-1266-7
- 386
- 387 Smith, R. J., Veríssimo, D., Leader-Williams, N., Cowling, R. M., and Knight, A. T. (2009). Let the
- 388 locals lead. Nature 462, 280-281. doi: https://doi.org/10.1038/462280a
- 389
- 390 Smith-Doerr, L., Alegria, S., and Sacco, T. (2017). How diversity matters in the US science and
- 391 engineering workforce: a critical review considering integration in teams, fields, and
- 392 organizational contexts. *Engag. Sci. Technol. Soc.* 3, 139-153. doi:
- 393 https://doi.org/10.17351/ests2017.142

- Subbaraman, N., Davis, S., and Woods, J. M. (2020). The Twitter hashtag that put a spotlight on
 racism in academia. *Nature* 582, 327.
- 396
- 397 Turner, J. M., and Isenberg, A. C. (2018). The republican reversal: conservatives and the
- 398 environment from Nixon to Trump. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- 399
- 400 Van Houtan, K. S. (2006). Conservation as virtue: a scientific and social process for conservation
- 401 ethics. *Conserv. Biol.* 20, 1367-1372. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1523-1739.2006.00447.x 402
- 403 Vercammen, A., Park, C., Goddard, R., Lyons-White, J., and Knight, A. (2020). A reflection on the
- 404 fair use of unpaid work in conservation. *Conserv. Soc.* 18, 399-404.
- 405
- 406 Wardekker, J. A., Petersen, A. C., and van der Sluijs, J. P. (2009). Ethics and public perception of 407 climate change: exploring the Christian voices in the US public debate.
- 408 *Global Environ. Change*, 19, 512-521. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2009.07.008 409
- 410 Yung, L., Freimund, W. A., and Belsky, J. M. (2003). The politics of place: understanding
- 411 meaning, common ground, and political difference on the Rocky Mountain Front. *For. Sci.* 49,
- 412 855-866. doi: https://doi.org/10.1093/forestscience/49.6.855
- 413
- 414