

# DANIEL CHIU SUAREZ

Franklin Environmental Center at Hillcrest, #218 // 531 College Street, Middlebury, VT 05753

email: [dsuarez@middlebury.edu](mailto:dsuarez@middlebury.edu) // phone: (802) 443-5365

website: <https://danielsuarez.ca>

## Appointments

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2018 - present      Middlebury College      **Assistant Professor** of Environmental Studies,  
CV Starr Fellow in International Studies

## Education

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|------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2017 | University of California, Berkeley | <b>PhD</b> in Environmental Science,<br>Policy & Management (ESPM) |
| 2011 | University of Toronto              | <b>MA</b> in Geography &<br>Environmental Studies                  |
| 2008 | University of British Columbia     | <b>BSc</b> in Anthropology &<br>Environmental Science              |

## Research Interests

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Political ecology, global environmental politics, climate & environmental justice, science & technology studies, critical pedagogy, social movements, conservation, theories of change

## Publications

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*In Prep*      **Suarez, D.C.**; Grodsky, Z.; Pierson, S. *Theories of for Climate Justice: How They Change (and How They Don't)*. For submission to Environmental Politics.

*In Press*      **Suarez, D.C.** *Response from Author*. In *Book Review Forum—Biologists Unite: The Rise and Fall of Ecosystem Services* (w/ Robbins, P.; Corson, C.; Fletcher, R.; Irvine-Broque, A.; Lave, R.) Commissioned by AAG Review of Books.

2026      **Suarez, D.C.** *Biologists Unite: The Rise and Fall of Ecosystem Services*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

2025      **Suarez, D.C.** *Conjunctural Plankton*. In *Book Review Forum—Saving a Rainforest & Losing the World: Conservation and Displacement in the Global Tropics* (w/ Hecht, S.; Oliveira, G.; Schwartzman, G.; Thaler, G.) AAG Review of Books 14(1), 51-62.

2024      **Suarez, D.C.**, Gokaslan, H., Pierson, S.; Terlesky, A.; Chalfin-Jacobs, S. *The Politics of Hope*. In Ray, S.J. & Atkinson, J. (Eds.) *An Existential Toolkit for Climate Justice Educators: How to Teach in a Burning World*. Oakland: University of California Press.

- 2023 **Suarez, D.C.**; Kircher, C.; Santi, T. *A Clear and Present Pedagogy: Teaching About Planetary Crisis (When You're in a Planetary Crisis)*. Antipode 56(1), 276-298.
- 2022 **Suarez, D.C.** *Mainstreaming Ecosystem Services: The Hard Work of Realigning Biodiversity Conservation*. Environment & Planning E: Nature & Space 6(2), 1299-1321.
- 2018 **Suarez, D.C.** & Dempsey, J. (2018) *Ecosystem Services*. In Hulme, M.; Castree, N.; Proctor, J. (Eds.) *Companion to Environmental Studies*. New York: Routledge.
- 2016 Dempsey, J. & **Suarez, D.C.** (2016) *Arrested Development? The Promises and Paradoxes of "Selling Nature to Save It."* Annals of the Association of American Geographers 106(3), 653-671.
- 2015 **Suarez, D.C.** (2015) *Review of Transforming the Frontier: Peace Parks and the Politics of Neoliberal Conservation in Southern Africa*. Journal of Peasant Studies 42(2), 452-456.
- 2014 Corson, C; Gruby, R.; Witter, R.; Hagerman, S.; **Suarez, D.C.**; Greenberg, S.; Bourque, M.; Gray, N.; Campbell, L.M. (2014) *Everyone's Solution? Defining and Redefining Protected Areas in the Convention on Biological Diversity*. Conservation and Society 12(2), 71-83.
- Suarez, D.C.** (2014) *The Institutionalization of Ecosystem Services in Transnational Policy Networks*. International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis. Laxenburg: IIASA
- 2013 **Suarez, D.C.** & Corson, C. (2013) *Seizing Center Stage: Ecosystem Services, Live, at the Convention on Biological Diversity*. Human Geography 6(1), 64-79.
- 2012 Hagerman, S.; Witter, R.; Corson, C.; **Suarez, D.C.**; Maclin, E.M.; Bourque, M.; Campbell, L. (2012) *On the Coattails of Climate? Opportunities and Threats of a Warming Earth for Biodiversity Conservation*. Global Environmental Change 22, 724-735.
- 2009 **Suarez, D.C.** (2009) *Restaurant Tipping: Short-Circuiting the Morality of the Market*. Research in Economic Anthropology 29, 309-339

## Press & Media

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- The Guardian (commissioned) *Biologists of the World, Unite?*
- New Scientist (2026) *Putting a Price on Nature Failed: Can Radical Tactics Save It?* [[link](#)]
- Sustainability Now! (2026) *Biologists Unite! The Rise and Fall of Ecosystem Services* [[link](#)]
- Vermont Public Radio (2019) *How Is Climate Change Affecting Vermont Right Now?* [[link](#)]

## Selected Awards & Grants

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Name</i>                                   | <i>Institution</i>     | <i>~Value</i> |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| 2024-27     | CV Starr Fellowship in International Studies  | Starr Foundation       | \$21,000      |
| 2026        | Book Review Forum for <i>Biologists Unite</i> | AAG                    | N/A           |
| 2022-23     | Climate & Environment Seed Grant              | VCBSRCE                | \$4,000       |
| 2021        | Clifford Symposium Grant                      | Erol Foundation & Midd | \$30,000      |
| 2020        | Ada Howe Kent Faculty Grant                   | Middlebury College     | \$2,250       |
| 2019        | Lamberti Faculty Appreciation Award (HM)      | Middlebury College     | N/A           |
| 2012-17     | Summer Research Grants (x2)                   | UC Berkeley            | \$7,000       |
| 2017        | Warren & Josephine Harding Award              | UC Berkeley            | \$2,000       |
| 2016        | Doctoral Research Grant (DDRIG)               | NSF                    | \$17,000      |
| 2016        | Edward A. Coleman Fellowship                  | UC Berkeley            | \$20,000      |
| 2012-15     | Edward Hildebrand Fellowship                  | UC Berkeley            | \$16,500      |
| 2014-15     | Berkeley Connect Fellowship                   | UC Berkeley            | \$35,000      |
| 2012-14     | Doctoral Fellowship                           | SSHRC                  | \$40,000      |
| 2014        | YSSP Summer Fellowship                        | IIASA                  | \$7,500       |
| 2013        | GESA Innovation Fund Grant                    | GDF                    | \$4,000       |
| 2011-14     | ESPM Graduate Fellowship                      | UC Berkeley            | \$130,000     |
| 2010        | Canada Graduate Scholarship                   | SSHRC                  | \$17,500      |
| 2010-11     | Graduate Expansion Fund Award                 | University of Toronto  | \$2,600       |
| 2010        | Zehra Alpar Graduate Scholarship              | University of Toronto  | \$1,000       |
| 2010        | Anne McMaster Grant                           | University of Toronto  | \$1,500       |
| 2010        | Arthur & Sonia Labatt Fellowship              | University of Toronto  | \$5,000       |
| 2010        | Alastair Fairweather Greensaver Award         | University of Toronto  | \$1,000       |
| 2009        | University of Toronto Fellowship              | University of Toronto  | \$23,000      |
| 2008        | Environmental Youth Corps                     | ECO Canada             | \$12,000      |

## Past Research Appointments & Experience

2022-23 **Visiting Assistant Professor**—*University of British Columbia*

Sabbatical appointment with UBC Geography to complete book project on ecosystem services & advance research on critical environmental pedagogy

2011-17 **Doctoral Dissertation**—*UC Berkeley*

*Mainstreaming Natural Capital: The Rise of Ecosystem Services in Biodiversity Conservation*

Multi-sited organizational ethnography analyzing politics of “ecosystem services” in global biodiversity conservation; published book monograph with MIT Press

*Committee: Nancy Peluso, David Winickoff, Kate O’Neill, Jake Kosek, Chris Ansell*

- 2015 **Organizational Ethnographer / Programme Intern**—*UN Environment Programme*  
3 months participant observation inside IPBES Secretariat in Bonn, Germany; supported UNEP personnel with various elements of first IPBES work programme
- 2013-15 **Graduate Researcher**—*University of British Columbia*  
Investigated patterns of international profit-driven finance in biodiversity conservation for SSHRC-funded project; published findings in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*
- 2014 **Research Fellow**—*International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis*  
3-month IIASA summer fellowship in Vienna analyzing market-based instruments in ecosystem services; produced IIASA working paper & presented findings at IIASA summer symposium
- 2013 **Graduate Researcher**—*UC Berkeley*  
Analyzed politics of natural capital accounting at Rio+20; supervised 2 research assistants who supported data analysis; presented findings at AAG Annual Meeting; publication in *Conservation & Society*
- 2011-12 **Graduate Researcher**—*UC Berkeley*  
Analyzed ecosystem services policy discourse at 10<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity; published findings in *Human Geography & Global Environmental Change*
- 2009-11 **Master's Thesis in Geography & Environmental Studies**—*University of Toronto*  
Key informant interviews w/ environmental practitioners in British Columbia; participant observation for NSF-funded collaborative event ethnography  
*Committee: Scott Prudham, Ken MacDonald, Alana Boland*
- 2009-10 **Graduate Researcher**—*University of Toronto*  
SSHRC-funded project examining political, economic, and cultural dynamics of commodified labour and land in British Columbia's forest economy
- 2008-09 **Senior Biologist**—*UBC Fisheries Centre / Project Seahorse Foundation*  
Led marine research & monitoring programs in Philippines, supervised 4-person team of Filipino field biologists, managed technical & scientific tasks across PSF activities
- 2008 **Field Biologist**—*UBC Fisheries Centre*  
Research assistantship studying rainbow trout population dynamics in central BC

## Teaching Experience

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### 2018-26 **Instructor**—*Middlebury College*

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|-------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Environmental Justice in the Anthropocene | 2018-2027       |
| Global Political Ecology                  | 2018-2027       |
| Theories of Change                        | 2019-2021, 2026 |
| Community-Engaged Environmental Practicum | 2018, 2024-2026 |
| Conservation & Environmental Policy       | 2019-2022, 2025 |
| What on Earth is ES Teaching You?         | 2025            |
| The Politics of Hope                      | 2020-2021, 2023 |

### 2012-17 **Graduate Student Instructor**—*UC Berkeley*

|                                      |                          |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Food & Environment                   | 2017, 2013—Spring / Fall |
| International Environmental Politics | 2015—Summer              |
| Bioethics                            | 2013—Fall                |
| Political Ecology                    | 2012—Fall                |

### 2017 **Teaching Aide**—*UC Berkeley*

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|--------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Environmental Policy, Administration & Law | 2017—Fall |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------|

### 2014-15 **Berkeley Connect Fellow**—*UC Berkeley*

Designed & delivered two-semester environmental undergraduate curriculum involving small-group discussions, peer-to-peer learning, and mentoring

### 2013 **URAP Mentor**—*UC Berkeley*

Supervised two Undergraduate Research Apprentice Program students, who assisted qualitative data analysis of Rio+20 event ethnography materials

### 2009-11 **Teaching Assistant**—*University of Toronto*

|                                         |             |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------|
| Interdisciplinary Environmental Studies | 2011—Spring |
| Resource & Environmental Theory         | 2010—Fall   |
| Urban Waste Management                  | 2010—Spring |
| Resource & Environmental Theory         | 2009—Fall   |

## Student Work

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### *Theses*

- 2026 Changchang Ma—*Contingency & Contradictions of Narratives: Tangerines, Spirituality & Development in Songxi Community, Sichuan, China* (w/ Mike Sheridan & Ellen Oxfeld)
- 2025 Swara Douglas—*A Market for Transformation? The Politics & Progress of Building Retrofits for Decarbonization & Climate Adaptation in Boston, Massachusetts* (w/ Erin Sassin)

- Windsor Smith—*Contemporary Agrarian Dispossession: A Critical Analysis of Consolidated Agricultural Power & the Path Toward Fair Market Farmland Access* (w/ Molly Anderson & Dan Brayton)
- Cara Fritz—*The Role of Public Opinion in Large-Scale Decarbonization* (w/ Chris Klyza)
- Maya Teiman—*On Solutions to the Climate Crisis: Understanding Student Perceptions of Climate Interventions at Middlebury College* (w/ Julia Berazneva)
- 2024 Brett Gilman—*Plants, People, Aesthetics & Culture: A Socio-Ecological Theory of Designed Landscapes* (w/ Eddie Vazquez & Dave Allen)
- Ellie Hughes—*American Militarism & Climate Change: A Blueprint for Bad Adaptation* (w/ Chris Klyza)
- Emily Kuperstein—*Winds of Change: A Comparison of the Cape Wind and Vineyard Wind Offshore Developments in Massachusetts* (w/ Chris Klyza)
- Lily McGovern—*Cutting “Forever” Short: The Impact & Limitations of the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants* (w/ Kate Crawford)
- Yi-Lan Tseo—*Burning for Sovereignty: Tracing Colonial Roots of Indigenous Wildfire Vulnerability & the Path to True Fire Governance Transformation* (w/ Kemi Fuentes-George)
- 2023 Ivonne Juarez Serna—*Green Gold: The Political Ecology of the Avocado Agribusiness in Mexico* (w/ Kemi Fuentes-George)
- 2022 Connor Wertz—*Sacralising Sunrise: Examining the Sunrise Movement’s Constructed Culture Through Its Metanarrative & Ritualized Practices* (w/ Becky Gould)
- Oliva Sommers—*Imagining Beyond Apocalypse: Climate Futures, Religion & Art in the Modern Environmental Movement* (w/ Becky Gould)
- Sidra Pierson—*Justice in Urban Climate Action Plans: Lessons from Baltimore & Oakland in Forming Equitable Climate Change Policy* (w/ Joe Holler)
- 2021 Arielle Landau—*A Uniquely Destructive Injustice: US Nuclear Testing on Indigenous Lands* (w/ Joe Holler & Kate Crawford)
- Jacob Freedman—*Encouraged to Ignore: Critical Education, Cartography, and Making More Inclusive Maps for Environmental Conservation* (w/ Jeff Howarth, Tara Affolter, & Marc Lapin)
- 2020 Alec Fleischer—*Capitalism’s Response to Economic Growth Amidst Climate Crisis* (w/ Jon Isham & Rebecca Mitchell)
- 2019 Caroline Wolfe—*The Mantra of the Moment: What Is the Future of Resilience?* (w/ Mike Sheridan)

Tara Santi—*Lemonfair & Purple Haze: Farmers, Landscape Perception & Vermont*  
(w/ Mike Sheridan)

Catherine Pollack—*The Pen Is Mightier Than the Sword: Climate Change Literature  
and Its Capacity to Change the World* (w/ Dan Brayton)

### **Research Assistants**

|               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| Shelly Zhou   | 2026      |
| June Su       | 2026      |
| Graham Gordon | 2026      |
| Grady Boss    | 2026      |
| Ellie Hughes  | 2024      |
| Molly Babbin  | 2022      |
| Zoe Grodsky   | 2019-2021 |
| Tara Santi    | 2020-2021 |
| Sidra Pierson | 2020-2021 |
| Cora Kircher  | 2020-2021 |

### **Independent Studies**

|                 |                               |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Katie Heo       | Spring 2025                   |
| Brett Gilman    | Winter 2024                   |
| Ivonne Serna    | Spring 2023                   |
| Katie Concannon | Winter 2022                   |
| Olivia Sommers  | Winter 2020                   |
| Zoe Grodsky     | Fall 2019 & 2020; Winter 2021 |
| Leif Taranta    | Spring 2019                   |

## **Conferences, Presentations, Workshops**

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2026     Organizer. Author Meets Critics: Biologists Unite: The Rise and Fall of Ecosystem Services. Panel session at *the Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in San Francisco.

Panelist. Author Meets Critics: Biologists Unite: The Rise and Fall of Ecosystem Services. Panel session at *the Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in San Francisco.

Invited Speaker. AESS Book Club: Biologists Unite. Sponsored by the Association for Environmental Studies and Sciences.

2025     **Suarez, D.C.** Biologists Unite? Conservation Scientists as Unfree Radicals. Paper presented at *the Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in Detroit.

Panelist. Author Meets Critics: Saving a Rainforest, Losing the World: Conservation and Displacement in the Global Tropics, by Gregory Thaler. Panel session at *the Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in Detroit.

Moderator. Author Meets Critics: Feminist Conservation: Politics and Power in Madagascar's Marine Commons, by Merrill Baker-Medard. Panel session at *the Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in Detroit.

**Suarez, D.C.** Politicization and Planetary Crisis. Carol Rifelj Lecture, hosted by Middlebury College.

- Panelist. Educating for (Climate) Change. Panel session for *What Works Now? Climate Action at Middlebury & Beyond* at Middlebury College.
- Panelist. Success & Failure. Environmental Studies Colloquium: Core Conversations hosted by the Program in Environmental Studies at Middlebury College
- 2024 **Suarez, D.C.** Biologists of the World Unite? Politicization in IPBES. Paper presented at the 2024 Political Ecology Network Conference (POLLEN24) hosted by Lund University in Sweden.
- Suarez, D.C.** Politicization & Planetary Ecological Crisis. Invited seminar delivered to the Environmental Studies Program at the University of Vermont.
- 2023 **Suarez, D.C.** Radical Implications: Teaching About Planetary Crisis (When You're in a Planetary Crisis). Paper presented to the *Symposium on Environmental Justice and the Politics of Emotions*, hosted by UC Riverside.
- Suarez, D.C.** Theories of Change for Climate Justice: How They Change (and How They Don't). Paper presented at *the Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in Denver.
- Panelist. Author Meets Critics: Failing Forward: The Rise and Fall of Neoliberal Conservation, by Robert Fletcher. Panel session at *the Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in Denver.
- 2021 Lead Organizer. Radical Implications: Facing a Planetary Emergency. 2021 Clifford Symposium at Middlebury College.
- Moderator. Radical Implications: Faculty Perspectives. 2021 Clifford Symposium at Middlebury.
- Participant. Race & Affect. 4-month writing workshop and environmental justice colloquium series hosted by UC Riverside.
- 2020 Moderator. Climate, Justice & Hope: A Conversation with Naomi Klein. Scott A. Margolin Lecture sponsored by the Franklin Environmental Center and Program in Environmental Studies at Middlebury College.
- Panelist. A Clear and Present Pedagogy: College in an Age of Climate Crisis. Sponsored by the Franklin Environmental Center and Program in Environmental Studies at Middlebury College.
- Organizer. Coming of Age in an Age of Climate Crisis. Sponsored by the Franklin Environmental Center and Program in Environmental Studies at Middlebury College.
- 2019 **Suarez, D.C.** A Clear and Present Pedagogy. Paper presented to the *Royal Geographical Society and Institute of British Geographers Annual International Conference* in London.



- Suarez, D.C.** The Amazon Is on Fire! Diagnosing the Anthropocene. Seminar sponsored by the Rohatyn Center for International and Global Studies at Middlebury College.
- Panelist. Common Ground Symposium: Justice, Diversity & Inclusivity in the Environment. Sponsored by the Franklin Environmental Center at Middlebury College.
- Panelist. Climate Ethics. Sponsored by the Department of Philosophy and Program in Environmental Studies at Middlebury College
- Panelist. Fossil Fuel Divestment at Middlebury and Beyond. Sponsored by Divest Midd at Middlebury College.
- Panelist. Time: Past, Present Future. Environmental Studies Colloquium: Core Conversations hosted by the Program in Environmental Studies at Middlebury College.
- 2018 **Suarez, D.C.** Transmutations at the Frontier of Ecosystem Services. Paper presented at the *Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in New Orleans.
- Suarez, D.C.** Biologists of the World Unite! Paper presented at *Dimensions of Political Ecology* in Lexington.
- Suarez, D.C.** Unmainstreaming Natural Capital. Paper presented at *Political Ecology, the Green Economy, and Alternative Sustainabilities (POLLEN18)* in Oslo
- Suarez, D.C.** Occupy Ecosystem Services. Presentation to the *Fall Faculty Forum* at Middlebury College.
- Panelist. Politics in Apocalyptic Times. Sponsored by the Department of Classics and Program in Classical Studies at Middlebury College.
- Panelist. Environmentalism and Diversity. Sponsored by the Anderson Freeman Center and Environmental Studies Student Advisory Council at Middlebury College.
- 2017 **Suarez, D.C.** Mainstreaming Natural Capital: The Rise of Ecosystem Services in Biodiversity Conservation. Paper presented at the *Environmental Science, Policy & Management Graduate Research Symposium* at UC Berkeley.
- Panelist. Hildebrand Roundtable. Sponsored by the Center for Canadian Studies at UC Berkeley.
- 2016 **Suarez, D.C.** Occupy IPBES: Epistemic Struggle in the Intergovernmental Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. Paper presented at the *Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in San Francisco.
- Workshop participant. A Climate for Change. Sponsored by Hollyhock on Cortes Island, British Columbia.

- Workshop participant. Social Change Institute. Sponsored by Hollyhock on Cortes Island, British Columbia.
- Workshop participant. Pathways to Impact. Sponsored by the Natural Capital Project at Stanford University.
- 2015 Dempsey, J. & **Suarez, D.C.** Arrested Development? The Promises and Paradoxes of “Selling Nature to Save It.” Paper presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> *Global Economic Geography Conference* in Oxford.
- 2014 **Suarez, D.C.** & Dempsey, J. Green Finance for Conservation? Mapping Economic-Environmental Geographies of “For-Profit Conservation.” Paper presented at the *Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in Tampa.
- Suarez, D.C.** The Institutionalization of Ecosystem Services in Transnational Policy Networks. Paper presented at *The International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis Summer Workshop* in Laxenburg, Austria.
- Suarez, D.C.** The Rise of Ecosystem Services. Invited lecture presented at the *Global Environments Summer Academy* at the University of Bern in Switzerland.
- Dempsey, J. & **Suarez, D.C.** Illiquid Natures: The Character of International “For-Profit” Biodiversity Conservation. Paper presented at *Political Ecologies of the Green Economy* in Oslo, Norway.
- Session organizer. More Than Talk: Tracing Emergent Manifestations of Market-Environmentalist Discourse. Paper session series at the *Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in Tampa.
- Panelist & workshop participant. Berkeley-Oslo Valuation Studies Initiative Workshop. Sponsored by the Berkeley Center for Science, Technology, Medicine & Society (CSTMS) and University of Oslo’s Centre for Technology, Innovation & Culture (TIK) at UC Berkeley.
- 2013 **Suarez, D.C.** “You Cannot Manage What You Do Not Measure”: Natural Capital Accounting at Rio+20. Paper presented at the *Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in Los Angeles.
- Suarez, D.C.** Conservation Governance: New Financing and Market-Oriented Conservation. Session panelist at the *Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in Los Angeles.
- Workshop participant. California Science & Technology Studies Retreat. Sponsored by UC Davis & California STS Network in Sausalito, California.
- Workshop participant. Complex Transboundary Problems: EU and US Perspectives. Sponsored by EU Centre of Excellence, UC Berkeley & Utrecht University in Berkeley.
- Workshop participant. Global Environments Summer Academy. Sponsored by Global Diversity Foundation & University of Bern in Switzerland

- 2012     **Suarez, D.C.** Re-articulating Nature in British Columbia and the Convention on Biological Diversity. Paper presented at the *Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting* in New York.
- 2011     **Suarez, D.C.** How Much Is That Tiger in the Jungle? CBD/COP-10 as a Site of Association. Paper presented at the *American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting* in Montreal.
- 2008     **Suarez, D.C.** The Vagaries of the Tip. Paper presented at *Voices: Engaging Local and Global Discourses*, UBC Anthropology Graduate Student Conference in Vancouver.

## Peer Reviewer

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- Annals of the Association of American Geographers
- Antipode
- Conservation and Society
- Ecology and Society
- Environment and Planning D: Society and Space
- Environmental Politics
- Geoforum
- Global Environmental Politics
- One Earth
- Progress in Environmental Geography
- World Development