



12

Marketing and Conservation: How to Lose Friends and Influence People

*Robert J. Smith, Diogo Veríssimo
and Douglas C. MacMillan*

Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology, University of Kent,
Canterbury, UK

Introduction

A major challenge in conservation is influencing people's behaviour. Whether encouraging the public to feed garden birds or lobbying governments to tax carbon emissions, conservationists seek to maintain biodiversity by modifying human actions. This work has parallels in the private sector, where companies increase profits by influencing the purchasing behaviour of their customers (Kotler *et al.*, 1999), and this is why many conservation groups use marketing techniques pioneered in the commercial world. One such development is social marketing, which is defined as '*the systematic application of marketing along with other concepts and techniques to achieve specific behavioural goals for a social good*' (French & Blair-Stevens, 2006). However, conservation groups also use marketing in a more traditional sense, and this will be the focus of our chapter. Such marketing campaigns may have little effect on individuals' behaviour, but their impact on fundraising and setting the conservation agenda can be profound (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

When considering such campaigns, it is worth noting that many conservationists are uneasy about relying on those 'dark arts' that are also used to

Trade-offs in Conservation: Deciding What to Save, 1st edition. Edited by N. Leader-Williams, W.M. Adams and R.J. Smith. © 2010 Blackwell Publishing Ltd.



sell cigarettes and soap (Schwartz, 2006). Moreover, some may feel that the conservation ethic is powerful enough without relying on glossy brochures or celebrity-endorsed campaigns. The current extinction crisis suggests otherwise. Therefore, in this chapter we will discuss the role of marketing in the conservation movement, based on the assumption that is vital both for raising funds and for publicizing issues that would otherwise be ignored by a public bombarded with conflicting messages (Foxall *et al.*, 1998). However, we recognize that these marketing campaigns can have negative effects, which partly arise because of the weak links between marketing and conservation success. So, we will also discuss these problems and the trade-offs involved when using marketing in conservation, finishing with some suggestions on how these limitations can be reduced.

Introduction to marketing

Marketing is defined as ‘*a social and managerial process by which individuals and groups obtain what they want and need through creating, offering and exchanging products of value with others*’ (Kotler *et al.*, 1999). This process is an integral part of commerce but its importance grew in the 1960s when demand in developed countries for standardized and undifferentiated products became saturated (Baker, 2008). Companies responded by producing goods and services that were more customer oriented and developed a range of techniques to develop and advertize these products. These techniques vary and so the broad approach is often known as the ‘marketing mix’, which was originally summarized as the ‘4 Ps’ of product, price, place and promotion. However, this has subsequently been expanded to the ‘7 Ps’ by adding people, process and physical evidence, so that it better covers marketing in service industries. Most of these terms are self-evident, although ‘place’ refers to the distribution of the product so that it is available to potential customers and ‘physical evidence’ refers to the physical signs, such as the appearance and behaviour of staff, which customers use to reassure themselves about the quality of the services that they will receive (Drummond & Ensor, 2005).

Marketing and conservation

Many people are keen to conserve biodiversity but lack the time or capacity to get involved directly. Instead, they often provide financial support to

conservation non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that then act as their service providers. Sometimes these organizations provide their services directly, for example by buying and managing land or organizing workshops, and sometimes they subcontract projects to local offices or other groups with specific expertise or local knowledge. In this way, they are similar to private companies in the service industry and they generally adopt similar marketing strategies. For example, they adopt conventional promotional techniques based on strong, simple messages that appeal to the target audience. In addition, they focus on developing distinct brand identities (de Chernatony, 2008), as this ensures that they capture most of the benefits of a campaign, rather than incidentally favouring other conservation groups. Such benefits vary but can include attracting new supporters or building influence with donors (Figure 12.1).



Figure 12.1 Advertising hoarding outside Maputo International Airport, Mozambique in 2008. The poster uses an English message in a Portuguese-speaking country to stress the financial value of wildlife and highlight the role of the international conservation NGO, the African Wildlife Foundation, in conserving it. (Photograph by Bob Smith.)

There are, however, key differences between commercial and conservation marketing strategies that stem from the type of service being sold. First, the service cannot be designed based on customer preference alone: the conservation value of a campaign has to be considered. In contrast, commercial campaigns are designed to unlock some existing preference in the consumer, although they can create demand for a previously ignored service. Second, people responding to commercial campaigns receive services that benefit their lives directly. Thus, their purchasing decisions are based both on price and the benefits, whether physical or social, that they expect to gain. In contrast, conservation donors are often inspired by less tangible factors, such as the ‘warm glow effect’ that derives from moral satisfaction or praise from their peers (Andreoni, 1990). Thus, unless they fund services in their local area, they will generally receive little direct benefit from their donation and this produces two key aspects of conservation campaigns that are discussed further below.

Low cost campaigns

Consumers of commercial services accept that companies will profit from their purchase, so companies include their marketing costs within the price. These businesses may also decide to spend large sums on marketing if it raises sales or allows higher pricing of the product. In contrast, few donors are willing to contribute towards marketing costs, preferring their money to be spent directly on conservation activities. Such costs can be covered through project overheads but these also tend to be kept low because of pressures to reduce bureaucracy. Thus, conservation organizations, and NGOs more generally, spend relatively small amounts on marketing (Pallotta, 2009).

Building trust

Consumers can use a range of approaches to check product value before purchasing and a number of national laws protect them from mis-selling (Drummond & Ensor, 2005). In contrast, it is difficult for people to check whether a marketed conservation project is a genuine priority and most donors have no way of checking whether their money was used wisely. Thus,

conservation organizations place a huge emphasis on building trust, as most donors rely on trusted organizations to highlight important projects and make sure their money is well spent. This is part of the reason why international NGOs continue to play such an important role in conservation, even when their involvement is limited to processing and disbursing funds to other organizations, a process that increases bureaucratic costs.

Types of campaign

There are several ways that conservation organizations aim to overcome the constraints described above. The most well known is to base campaigns on flagship species, which are ‘popular, charismatic species that serve as symbols and rallying points to stimulate conservation awareness and action’ (Heywood, 1995). In this way, they reduce costs by building on existing awareness of these species and support for their conservation. These species may be threatened, have restricted ranges or fulfil important ecological roles, but they can also be selected for purely strategic reasons to maximize their impact with the target audience (Leader-Williams & Dublin, 2000). The key element is that campaigns must convey a simple message that links positive attitudes towards the flagship species with the desirability of conservation action. Thus, charismatic but potentially dangerous animals, such as elephants, *Loxodonta africana* and *Elephas maximus*, and tigers, *Panthera tigris*, may not be effective flagship species within their range countries, despite their success in raising funds from elsewhere (Kaltenborn *et al.*, 2006). Instead, local campaigns often choose more popular and relatively abundant species as flagships, as these have a higher positive profile with target communities (Bowen-Jones & Entwistle, 2002).

Another important strategy for conservation organizations is to use the news media in the campaigns. Many people are interested in conservation and so it is relatively easy to get such stories publicized (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2007), which has two main advantages. First, it uses the existing infrastructure of the news media and so is a very cheap way of spreading a message widely. Second, it builds trust in the organization by showing that independent news media consider the story important and reliable enough to be broadcast (Ladle *et al.*, 2005). This publicity can be further enhanced by using independent experts, who add authority, or celebrities, who can add credibility, if the public assume

that these people would not support causes that could affect their reputation (Brockington, 2008).

All marketing campaigns must also allow for differing levels of donor knowledge and interest. This can vary widely, with some people having little initial knowledge and interest, especially when dealing with projects far from home. Thus, NGOs follow three main strategies: (i) they target a broad audience with a mass appeal campaign; (ii) they establish membership schemes and develop campaigns with an awareness-raising component; and (iii) they target wealthy individuals or organizations and tailor their campaigns accordingly.

Problems with marketing conservation

We have shown above that there are various constraints to designing an effective marketing campaign and these are compounded by conservation-specific limitations. Therefore, it is to be expected that any conservation marketing campaign can produce problems and some of these are reviewed below.

Simplification and audience validation

Most conservation issues are complicated but successful marketing campaigns are simple and appealing. Simplification is not inherently problematic: fundraising around a slogan like ‘Save the rainforest!’ allows organizations a great deal of freedom in designing their initiatives. However, problems can occur when campaigns simplify the project background and downplay the range of actors and their conflicting demands, aspirations and views (Brockington, 2008). It is tempting to market a project as involving conservation heroes, conservation villains and bystanders (Moore, 2010), without considering whether this portrayal may trivialize the role of some stakeholders and affect decision making (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2007). Perhaps more dangerous is when campaigns focus on how such issues can be resolved, as this leads to the implementation of simple or generic solutions that are appealing to donors but lack input from people with local experience (Brosius, this volume, Chapter 17). Similar issues can occur when producing appealing campaigns, as these must resonate with the wishes or beliefs of the target audience

(Bradshaw *et al.*, 2007). This is particularly problematic when dealing with international audiences, as the cultural norms of the potential donors often conflict with those of the recipient countries (Doherty & Doyle, 2006).

Glamour, novelty and access

Project appeal is not just based on the views of the target audience, it also relates to the type of species and projects involved, leaving less charismatic species and more mundane projects largely ignored (Box 12.1). This has obvious funding implications but it also affects how conservation is represented and perceived. While local campaigns in developed countries focus more on people's relationship with the biodiversity that surrounds them, international campaigns often depict individuals handling, translocating or tracking charismatic species. Mundane fieldwork, like clearing alien vegetation, is ignored and there is little focus on the more quotidian activities, such as meeting with stakeholders or policy development. Thus, international conservation can be perceived by donors as a glamorous activity that has little to do with everyday life. In addition, the rise of the internet means that many people in the recipient countries are more aware of these international campaigns, which may strengthen the perception that conservationists are not interested in their lives.

Box 12.1 Conservation news stories: what's missing?

The news media are frequently used by conservation organizations to raise the profile of different issues, so we undertook a preliminary study to investigate the type of information publicized. We used the Google search engine to identify web pages on the BBC website in the international version of the science/nature section, using the keywords 'conservation', 'endangered' and 'threatened' and selecting the 200 web pages with the highest Google ranking. We then described each page based on its content, recording the organizations, conservation issues and taxonomic groups mentioned. We also recorded whether the organization provided the photographs used in the article, as the news

media may be more likely to publish stories illustrated with attractive photographs or videos.

We found that 59 species were mentioned in the 200 articles. Twenty-one of these belonged to mammal groups that are traditionally used as flagship species, such as apes, large carnivores, elephants and rhinos. Fifteen species were mentioned more than once and 11 of these belonged to the traditional flagship groups. Some articles focused on groups of species and 27 of these groups were mentioned and they tended to cover a broader range of taxonomic groups (Table 12.1). Thus, the news media seem to discuss a wider range of species than those used in flagship species campaigns. The news stories also mentioned a range of topics, most of which either focused on a call for action or publicizing new results and discoveries (Figure 12.2). Specific conservation issues were mentioned less frequently, although many of these articles highlighted controversial issues such as whaling, international trade and trophy hunting.

Table 12.1 Species groups mentioned in conservation news articles

Group name	Frequency	Group name	Frequency	Group name	Frequency
Bears	1	Invertebrates	1	Primates	3
Cedar	1	Magnolias	1	Amphibians	4
Cetaceans	1	Moths	1	Butterflies	4
Chelonians	1	Vultures	1	Corals	4
Cycads	1	Bats	2	Sea turtles	4
Deep sea fish	1	Frogs	2	Birds	7
Dolphins	1	Great apes	2	Plants	8
Equids	1	Rhino	2	Albatrosses	10
Hardwood trees	1	Sharks	2	Whales	13

We found that 66 different institutions were mentioned on the 200 pages, and that 51.6% were international conservation NGOs, 21.6% were multilateral agencies, 17% were universities and 9.8% were government organizations. There were 117 articles illustrated with photographs provided by the organization mentioned in the article

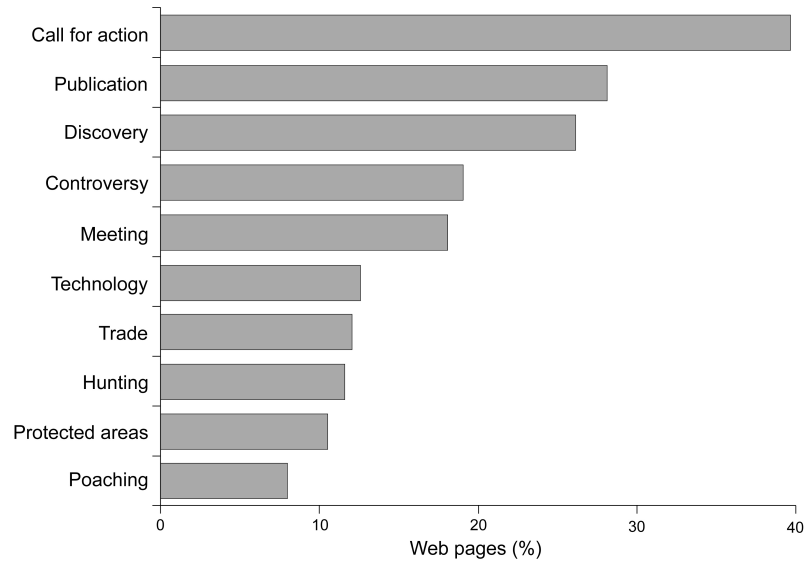


Figure 12.2 Percentage of conservation news articles mentioning different topics (some articles mentioned more than one topic.)

and 68% of these were provided by NGOs. The pattern of organizations probably both shows that NGOs are much more interested in publicizing their work and that the stories NGOs produce are more newsworthy. The pattern of articles provided with photographs is probably a stronger reflection of NGOs being better at providing information that will help publicize their story. Both sets of results illustrate the extent to which some groups dominate the conservation news agenda and how groups from developing countries can be excluded from such debates.

Additional problems can occur through the reliance of conservation organizations on the media to publicize their work. First, there are some issues that are much more attractive to the media because they are controversial (Webb & Raffaelli, 2008), so that strategies with near-universal support get less coverage. Second, the media are most interested in novelty (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2007). Thus, new ideas get over-promoted and old ones ignored. This is

especially regrettable, given that successful conservation tends to result from the effective implementation of a suite of activities, rather than a succession of hastily conceived and implemented ‘win–wins’ and ‘silver bullets’ (McShane, 2003). Problems also occur because the growth in the news media and the fall in cost of content production have made it easy for media-savvy organizations to publicize their work (Davies, 2008). This allows groups with a minority view to have a high media profile, as long as they have sufficient support to cover their running costs. In contrast, many groups lack the capacity or connections to conduct a successful media campaign, leaving them without a voice. Thus, it is possible for small but vocal organizations to dominate the conservation agenda (Norton-Griffiths, 2007).

Distracting with doom, maintaining credibility

Conservation organizations have played an important role by publicizing the current extinction crises, so that many people appreciate the scale of the problem. However, part of this success may relate to the way in which messages about environmental collapse resonate with the general public (Brockington, 2003). Moreover, those organizations that stress the severity of the problem most effectively are likely to receive the most publicity and funding, creating conditions that favour exaggerated pessimism (Ladle & Jepson, 2008). Whilst factual errors are rare because they risk losing trust, conservation campaigns often inaccurately predict the imminent extinction of species and habitats (Ladle *et al.*, 2005; Koh *et al.*, 2010). This could be seen as a precautionary approach or a necessary tactic, given the size of the problem and the power of those supporting the status quo, but it can have three negative consequences: (i) questioning voices tend to be ignored in the face of such apparently serious problems; (ii) inappropriate strategies may be developed based on overly pessimistic assumptions; and (iii) project failure can be blamed on worsening conditions, so that poor planning or implementation are overlooked. Just as importantly, a reliance on marketing discourages organizations from publicizing such problems, discouraging them from learning from their mistakes and sharing solutions (Knight, 2006). Moreover, this status quo is maintained because poor conservation projects can still be successfully marketed, as long as they do not involve cheating the donors by diverting funds to other areas.

Reducing the limitations

There are obvious trade-offs when using marketing in conservation. One solution is to avoid marketing altogether by developing income sources that do not rely on donor funding. The opportunities for developing such schemes through taxation, trust funds, sustainable harvesting or payments for ecosystem services are expanding, but the current conservation funding gap means that donor marketing will continue to play a large role (Balmford & Whitten, 2003). Therefore, we need to develop methods and approaches that recognize the limitations and aim to reduce them. In this section we suggest three broad approaches that would help improve the impacts of conservation marketing.

First do no harm

Conservation marketing campaigns are generally viewed as benign: they raise funds and awareness for good causes. However, we have illustrated above some of the potentially negative effects such campaigns could have. Evidence for such negative effects is very limited, being largely restricted to discussions of the conservation of flagship species. For example, raising the profile of the Zanzibar red colobus monkey *Ptilocolobus kirkii* is thought to have increased the blame local farmers gave to this species for crop raiding (Siex & Struhsaker, 1999). There are also suggestions that some protected areas are managed to benefit flagship species to the detriment of other species or habitats (Walpole & Leader-Williams, 2002). Thus, one could imagine similar situations where marketing campaigns have inflamed sensitive issues, creating divisions between different groups and leading to negative conservation outcomes.

There are several ways around this problem: (i) conservation marketing teams need to be more aware that their campaigns could have negative impacts; (ii) conservation groups need to make a clear distinction between what is needed for an effective marketing campaign and what is needed for effective conservation; without such clear thinking there is a danger that marketing ideas start influencing policy; (iii) when discussing marketing strategies, organizations should include input from field staff and stakeholders to develop more appropriate campaigns; and (iv) conservation groups should document the impacts of their marketing process more thoroughly, as little

information is currently available. Marketing teams often assess campaigns in terms of their fundraising success but they should also consider changes to donor perception and stakeholder reaction.

Hypothecation and the benefits of being vague

Most conservation campaigns are based on the idea of hypothecation, where money raised through a campaign is used to fund the activities that address the issues mentioned. It might seem tempting to design the most appealing campaign and then spend the money on something more appropriate but this would be unethical and risks breaking the trust between donor and recipient. However, many organizations adopt half-way measures, where they make it clear that if a campaign brings in more than a specified amount then the surplus will be spent on different projects identified by the organization. This helps ensure that other less appealing projects are funded, although it does little to highlight the importance of such projects or change donor opinion in the future. Another way to reduce these impacts is to ensure that marketing campaigns are as unspecific as possible, as these campaigns allow projects to be tailored to local conditions.

Creativity in a creative industry

Many of the marketing campaigns used in conservation rely on the same old litanies about a handful of well-known species. Such a campaigning style will probably always be important because it minimizes costs by building on existing support and because it has a great appeal to some donors. These donors face requests from a range of sectors, so choose the one that appears to be most urgent and appealing. However, we would argue that more creativity is needed to broaden the appeal and impact of conservation issues and that conservationists should first think about what they want to fund and then develop an appropriate campaign. Fortunately, there are already some examples of such creativity being used in conservation. At its simplest, campaigns can use flagship species to raise funds for the broader issues that affect them. Thus, polar bears are used to raise funds for political lobbying to reduce climate change and African elephants to raise money to reduce crop raiding.

Other campaigns have gone further by focusing on species or regions that have been identified for their conservation value rather than their immediate appeal (Box 12.2). These projects are particularly exciting because they were developed with both science and marketing in mind, producing successful campaigns that overcome some traditional limitations. Such campaigns may also help widen the appeal of conservation in general, although it should be noted that some organizations have already successfully broadened their funding base. Thus, projects like Biodiversity Hotspots and the Global 200 Ecoregions have been effective at raising money from wealthy business people who are more interested in projects that stress efficiency, while other campaigns have formed alliances with big business to increase their profile and fundraising opportunities (Goldman *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 4). However, we would suggest more aspirational approaches have been generally neglected, which is perhaps surprising given that most commercial campaigns recognize the importance of this approach. Making people who support conservation feel good about themselves may work in the same way and increase funding levels from the groups who are put off by campaigns that they perceive as supporting hopeless or depressing causes.

Box 12.2 EDGE and Biodiversity Hotspots: beyond traditional flagships

The EDGE project

Flagship species campaigns aimed at international donors have traditionally been based on popular charismatic species, neglecting the many threatened species that are either poorly known and/or less attractive (Sitas *et al.*, 2009). The Zoological Society of London (ZSL) have overcome some of these limitations by launching the Evolutionarily Distinct and Globally Endangered (EDGE) project, identifying 100 mammal and 100 amphibian species that are conservation priorities based on their threat status and unique evolutionary history (Isaac *et al.*, 2007). ZSL have used a number of techniques to make this campaign more attractive to donors. First, they created the EDGE brand and emphasized that this is a novel approach that helps conserve important but neglected species. They also emphasized that the species are selected using a scientifically

defensible system, helping to build trust. Second, they have given a higher profile to EDGE species that are highly charismatic, like the red panda *Ailurus fulgens*, or have an appealing but unusual appearance, like the long-eared jerboa *Euchoreutes naso*. In doing so, they help fundraise for the less appealing EDGE species. Third, the project only highlights 10 mammal and 10 amphibian species each year, allowing them to publicize new stories annually and maintain interest in the whole project. The EDGE project also fits within the institutional framework at ZSL, which is a membership organization that focuses on species conservation and scientific research.

Biodiversity Hotspots

Another approach that overcomes even more of the limitations of the traditional campaigns for flagship species is to focus on important regions. The best known example is probably the Biodiversity Hotspot scheme developed by Conservation International (CI), which has identified 34 important regions based on their high levels of plant endemism and habitat loss (Mittermeier *et al.*, 2004; Murdoch *et al.*, this volume, Chapter 3). It could be argued that CI pioneered the approach used by EDGE, in that hotspots are also marketed based on their scientific credentials and their campaigns highlight those appealing species found in hotspots, helping to fundraise for projects for other less charismatic species. The hotspot scheme also allowed for institutional factors as: (i) CI was a relatively new organization, which needed to identify a relatively small number of countries in which to work; and (ii) CI saw the opportunity to fundraise by targeting wealthy philanthropists and organizations like the World Bank, who are interested in projects that emphasize efficiency and maximizing conservation gains.

Creating new types of flagship

When it comes to designing a campaign, conservation NGOs have traditionally marketed themselves as an individual brand. The schemes described above are a radical departure from this approach, as the projects themselves are marketed as brands: each one is described as

having independent value, with Biodiversity Hotspots in particular being marketed as the best system for conserving biodiversity, so that other individuals and organizations are encouraged to help conserve these species and regions (Myers *et al.*, 2000). This approach is important because it allows these schemes to be marketed in the same way as traditional species campaigns, with the main differences being that each flagship is a group of species or regions, rather than an individual species, and their appeal is based on their objectively measured conservation importance, rather than their popularity or charisma. Thus, we would argue that these schemes could be seen as a new type of flagship, as they also fulfil the criteria of serving as 'symbols and rallying points to stimulate conservation awareness and action'. Donors may choose to spend money on particular EDGE species or hotspots but the key aspect is that the marketing campaigns focus on the value of conserving the group.

Such an approach is initially more difficult because it involves building brand awareness from scratch. However, creating new flagships also has significant benefits for the organizations that develop them. First, marketing these schemes helps raise the profile of the associated organization and portrays them as being objective and efficient. Second, these flagships are linked with the organization, so they can then act as gatekeepers for dispersing funds: donors interested in tigers send money to a range of organizations; donors interested in EDGE species or hotspots generally send money to ZSL and CI (Ellison, 2008). This is obviously beneficial for the organizations involved but it also creates tensions, especially in the case of Biodiversity Hotspots that have been marketed as the most effective way of conserving biodiversity. The criticisms of hotspots have also been more vocal because the scheme was based on research published in high-profile scientific publications, leading to a lively debate in a number of conservation journals (Smith *et al.*, 2009). In particular, authors have questioned whether hotspots are as scientifically valid as claimed by their developers (Whittaker *et al.*, 2005) and expressing unease over the role of marketing (McShane, 2003).

Conclusions

Biodiversity conservation is seen by many people as a luxury, an irrelevance or a threat, despite the many benefits that it provides mankind. This has led to calls for the mainstreaming of conservation, so that different groups from all countries and sectors combine to promote conservation activities (Balmford & Cowling, 2006). Unfortunately, marketing campaigns often work against this trend because they identify the groups within society that would provide the most benefits and target their actions accordingly, often alienating other stakeholders. In this chapter, we have described the often tenuous relationship between marketing and conservation success and suggested some ways to reduce the negative aspects of marketing in conservation. These aspects are little discussed in the literature and we would argue that there needs to be greater debate about the impacts of marketing in driving funding patterns and policy development. Moreover, we think that conservation organizations need to think carefully when designing their activities, so that they explicitly consider these problems. Marketing campaigns play a key role in conservation and have the potential to play an even more important funding role in the future. However, this will depend on recognizing the trade-offs involved and developing new approaches that broaden both involvement and appeal.

References

- Adams, W.M. & Hutton, J. (2007) People, parks and poverty: political ecology and biodiversity conservation. *Conservation and Society*, 5, 147–183.
- Andreoni, J. (1990) Impure altruism and donations to public-goods: a theory of warm-glow giving. *Economic Journal*, 100, 464–477.
- Baker, M. (2008) One more time: what is marketing? In *The Marketing Book*, eds M. Baker & S. Hart, pp. 3–18. Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford.
- Balmford, A. & Cowling, R. M. (2006) Fusion or failure? The future of conservation biology. *Conservation Biology*, 20, 692–695.
- Balmford, A. & Whitten, T. (2003) Who should pay for tropical conservation, and how could the costs be met? *Oryx*, 37, 238–250.
- Bowen-Jones, E. & Entwistle, A. (2002) Identifying appropriate flagship species: the importance of culture and local contexts. *Oryx*, 36, 189–195.
- Bradshaw, C.J.A., Brook, B.W. & McMahon, C.R. (2007) Dangers of sensationalizing conservation biology. *Conservation Biology*, 21, 570–571.
- Brockington, D. (2003) Myths of skeptical environmentalism. *Environmental Science and Policy*, 6, 543–546.

- Brockington, D. (2008) Powerful environmentalisms: conservation, celebrity and capitalism. *Media Culture and Society*, 30, 551–568.
- Davies, N. (2008) *Flat Earth News: an award-winning reporter exposes falsehood, distortion and propaganda in the global media*. Vintage, London.
- de Chernatony, L. (2008) Brand building. In *The Marketing Book*, eds M. Baker & S. Hart, pp. 306–326. Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford.
- Doherty, B. & Doyle, T. (2006) Beyond borders: transnational politics, social movements and modern environmentalisms. *Environmental Politics*, 15, 697–712.
- Drummond, G. & Ensor, J. (2005) *Introduction to Marketing Concepts*. Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford.
- Ellison, K. (2008) Business, as usual. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment*, 6, 512–512.
- Foxall, G.R., Goldsmith, R.E. & Brown, S. (1998). *Consumer Psychology for Marketing*, 2nd edn. International Thomson Business Press, London.
- French, J. & Blair-Stevens, C. (2006) From snake oil salesmen to trusted policy advisors: the development of a strategic approach to the application of social marketing in England. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 12, 29–40.
- Heywood, V.H. (ed.) (1995) *Global Biodiversity Assessment*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Isaac, N.J.B., Turvey, S.T., Collen, B., Waterman, C. & Baillie, J.E.M. (2007) Mammals on the EDGE: conservation priorities based on threat and phylogeny. *PLoS One*, 2, e296.
- Kaltenborn, B.P., Bjerke, T., Nyahongo, J.W. & Williams, D.R. (2006) Animal preferences and acceptability of wildlife management actions around Serengeti National Park, Tanzania. *Biodiversity and Conservation*, 15, 4633–4649.
- Knight, A.T. (2006) Failing but learning: writing the wrongs after Redford and Taber. *Conservation Biology*, 20, 1312–1314.
- Koh, L.P., Ghazoul, J., Butler, R.A. *et al.* (2010) Wash and spin cycle threats to tropical biodiversity. *Biotropica*, 42, 67–71.
- Kotler, P., Armstrong, G., Saunders, J. & Wong, V. (1999) *Principles of Marketing*, 2nd European edn. Prentice Hall, Harlow, UK.
- Ladle, R. & Jepson, P. (2008) Towards a biocultural theory of avoided extinction. *Conservation Letters*, 1, 111–118.
- Ladle, R.J., Jepson, P. & Whittaker, R.J. (2005) Scientists and the media: the struggle for legitimacy in climate change and conservation science. *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, 30, 231–240.
- Leader-Williams, N. & Dublin, H. (2000) Charismatic megafauna as ‘flagship species’. In *Priorities for the Conservation of Mammalian Diversity: has the panda had its day?*, eds A. Entwistle & N. Dunstone, pp. 53–81. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- McShane, T.O. (2003) The devil in the detail of biodiversity conservation. *Conservation Biology*, 17, 1–3.
- Mittermeier, R.A., Robles-Gil, P., Hoffmann, M. *et al.* (2004) *Hotspots Revisited: Earth's biologically richest and most endangered ecoregions*. Cemex, Mexico City.
- Moore, L.E. (2010) Conservation heroes versus environmental villains: perceiving elephants in Caprivi, Namibia. *Human Ecology*, 38, 19–29.
- Myers, N., Mittermeier, R. A., Mittermeier, C. G., da Fonseca, G.A.B. & Kent, J. (2000) Biodiversity hotspots for conservation priorities. *Nature*, 403, 853–858.
- Norton-Griffiths, M. (2007) How many wildebeest do you need? *World Economics*, 8, 41–64.
- Pallotta, D. (2009) *Uncharitable: how restraints on nonprofits undermine their potential*. Tufts University Press, Medford, MA.
- Schwartz, M. W. (2006) How conservation scientists can help develop social capital for biodiversity. *Conservation Biology*, 2, 1550–1552.
- Siex, K.S. & Struhsaker, T.T. (1999) Colobus monkeys and coconuts: a study of perceived human–wildlife conflicts. *Journal of Applied Ecology*, 36, 1009–1020.
- Sitas, N., Baillie, J.E.M. & Isaac, N.J.B. (2009) What are we saving? Developing a standardized approach for conservation action. *Animal Conservation*, 12, 231–237.
- Smith, R.J., Veríssimo, D., Leader-Williams, N., Cowling, R.M. & Knight, A.T. (2009). Let the locals lead. *Nature*, 462, 280–281.
- Walpole, M.J. & Leader-Williams, N. (2002) Tourism and flagship species in conservation. *Biodiversity and Conservation*, 11, 543–547.
- Webb, T.J. & Raffaelli, D. (2008) Conversations in conservation: revealing and dealing with language differences in environmental conflicts. *Journal of Applied Ecology*, 45, 1198–1204.
- Whittaker, R.J., Araújo, M.B., Paul, J. *et al.* (2005) Conservation biogeography: assessment and prospect. *Diversity and Distributions*, 11, 3–23.