

Conservation Marketing As a Tool to Promote Human–Wildlife Coexistence

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Ensuring the coexistence between humans and wildlife is a common concern within conservation science. This is however an inherently complex goal because it frequently involves both disputes between groups of people about wildlife, and undesirable interactions between people and wildlife. As the human footprint expands and the extent and quality of natural habitats decreases, new ways of facilitating the coexistence between wildlife and humans (*sensu* Carter & Linnell 2016) become increasingly important, requiring non-traditional methods of understanding and managing human–wildlife interactions. Conservationists have gone about this in a myriad of ways, with most emphasis historically being placed on interventions focused on the behaviour of the animals (e.g. erecting fences to limit movement). These early interventions were largely top-down and overly technical in focus, commonly paying little attention to the role of human perceptions, culture and behaviour (Dickman 2010). However, there is a growing body of work that has focused on the human side of human–wildlife coexistence (Gandiwa et al. 2013; Hazzah et al. 2014). This shift in scope has led to the implementation of interventions to change human behaviour: from legislation to control the effects of people on wildlife, which has perhaps been the most common measure (Redpath et al. 2013), to other less coercive activities such as education programmes (Espinosa & Jacobson 2012; Heberlein 2012; Sakurai et al. 2015) and conservation marketing initiatives (Saypanya et al. 2013; Booker & Maycock 2015).

Education-based interventions emphasize goals around learning and knowledge (Jacobson et al. 2015) and are more likely to be successful where the target audience is motivated (i.e. believes that change is in their best interest) and able to change (i.e. has the capacity to change in



Figure 16.1 Types of behaviour change interventions suited to different contexts, defined by the ability, opportunity and motivation of the target audience to change.

Adapted from Rothschild (1999), Santos et al. (2011) and Smith et al. (2019).

the face of factors such as inertia, social norms, peer pressure, etc.). On the other hand, law-based interventions could be implemented where the target audience has no motivation to change (Figure 16.1). Yet these paradigms in isolation can only cover a portion of the different contexts where behaviour change may be needed (Rothschild 1999). This is why technical interventions¹ can be a vital part of behaviour change interventions (Figure 16.1), especially when there are physical or environmental barriers to change that may deny the target audience the opportunity to change (e.g. logistical challenge or lack of access to technology). Marketing can thus fill an important gap, both by itself and by working with other approaches (Figure 16.1).

¹ Technical interventions are defined as those aspects such as technology, infrastructure or equipment, that while material in nature can be critical to enable behaviour change to take place.

16.1 CONSERVATION MARKETING AND HUMAN–WILDLIFE COEXISTENCE

Conservation marketing, a subfield of social marketing,² is the ethical use of marketing concepts and principles to influence a target audience towards the adoption of more environmentally sustainable behaviours that benefit the individual as well as society (Wright et al. 2015; Veríssimo & McKinley 2016). Social marketing approaches are heavily based on commercial marketing, which employs a customer-oriented approach guided by a core set of factors called the *marketing mix* or *4Ps* (Product, Price, Place and Promotion). These factors are used to design and describe new behaviour change interventions.

Conservation marketing interventions are set out explicitly to influence behaviour as the ultimate objective of transforming relationships between people and nature. This is a critical difference as changes in knowledge or attitudes tend to be poor proxies for changes in behaviour (Heberlein 2012; Kollmuss & Agyeman 2002). The use of marketing concepts and principles towards social good had its beginning in the late 1960s (Kotler & Levy 1969) with marketing professionals starting to develop strategies to deal with public health concerns around sexually transmitted diseases, smoking and road safety. This led to the creation of the field of social marketing, which eventually expanded to consider environmental issues. For example, DeWan et al. (2013) used conservation marketing coupled with a technical intervention in the form of fuel-efficient stoves to limit competition between human and snub-nosed monkey populations in China, while Saypanya et al. (2013) used marketing and enforcement to reduce bushmeat hunting in Laos. In view of this, and the growing awareness of the potential of marketing to contribute towards conservation science (Wright et al. 2015; Veríssimo & McKinley 2016; Bennett et al. 2017), conservation marketing is increasingly considered an important tool to promote human wildlife coexistence (Carter & Linnell 2016). By emphasizing common interests and benefits for both humans and wild species, conservation marketing can help shift mental dispositions and behaviours from the negative to the neutral/positive side of the conflict-to-coexistence continuum.

² According to the International Social Marketing Association, social marketing seeks to develop and integrate marketing concepts with other approaches to influence behaviours that benefit individuals and communities for the greater social good.

Although marketing-based approaches have been used in a diversity of sensitive or contentious social contexts, such as sexually transmitted diseases (Pfeiffer 2004), teenage pregnancy (Marsiglio 1985) and even armed conflicts (Fattal 2014), there are surprisingly few documented interventions that have explicitly addressed conservation conflicts (notable exceptions include Saypanya et al. 2013; Booker & Maycock 2015). This is perhaps a sign of how recently marketing concepts and principles have arrived to the biodiversity conservation field. Based on the experience harnessed in other sectors, we expect conservation marketing to be able to play a vital role in moving humans towards coexistence at multiple levels, from addressing disputes over material damages caused by wildlife, to deep-rooted conflict that overwhelmingly focuses on interactions between stakeholders about wildlife management (see Madden & McQuinn 2014). In the first instance, conservation marketing can increase community buy-in and ownership of technical solutions used to address impacts caused by wildlife. In the second instance, conservation marketing can influence social norms that can drive behaviour. Conservation marketing can help reframe how issues and stakeholders are perceived and open the door to dialogue, which can support, for example, bottom-up conflict transformation paradigms (Madden & McQuinn 2014).

16.2 WHAT CONSERVATION MARKETING CAN OFFER

As a subfield of social marketing, conservation marketing interventions follow the same six defining benchmarks described by Andreasen (2002), namely:

1. Use of a Marketing Mix
2. Behavioural Focus
3. Audience Research
4. Audience Segmentation
5. Attractive Exchanges with Target Audience
6. Attention to Competition.

While not every intervention will have these elements in equal measure, they are a requirement for an intervention to have the label of conservation marketing. Below we link each benchmark with its role in addressing human–wildlife coexistence. Additionally, we illustrate these benchmarks by reflecting on the case of the *Share a place to live* behaviour change campaign (Text Box 16.1) in which the Philippine cockatoo was perceived by some stakeholders as an agricultural pest.

Text Box 16.1 Conservation Marketing Inspires Coexistence between Local Farmers and the Philippine Cockatoo

The Coexistence Challenge

The Philippine cockatoo (*Cacatua haematuropygia*), known locally as *Katala*, is endemic to the Philippines. The species is listed as Critically Endangered, largely due to the fast population reduction that has taken place since the 1980s. This decline has been caused by loss of the bird's lowland habitat, trapping for the cage trade and persecution as a crop pest (BirdLife International 2016). One of the last species strongholds include the municipality of Dumaran, Palawan Island. However, most farmers on Dumaran still use slash-and-burn agricultural practices in upland areas, which affect an increasing amount of forested areas on steeper slopes. This farming practice was identified by local stakeholders as one of the primary threats facing the Philippine cockatoo (Lacerna-Widmann 2005).

Programme Objectives

- Increase perception among Dumaran population that cockatoos and people can live together in harmony to increase support for forest protection and more sustainable behaviours.
- Formally protect two of the remaining cockatoo habitats under municipal laws.
- Shift farming practices away from traditional slash-and-burn methods towards alternative farming techniques that do not cause forest habitat destruction.

Conservation Marketing Strategy

The strategy was to promote the conservation of resources that both people and the cockatoo rely upon (i.e. forests, water, space to live) and create a stronger connection between humans protecting their own home and protecting the cockatoo's home. The following campaign slogan was created for this purpose: *Share a place to live* (Lacerna-Widmann 2005) (see Table 16.1 for targeted audience).

Implementation Activities

The campaign used a total of fifteen marketing materials (i.e. posters, billboards, songs with key messages) and implemented twenty-two activities (i.e. week-long Katala festival, vegetable farming trainings) over an 18-month period (Lacerna-Widmann 2005). Engaging the press was key to reaching a wider audience: the Palawan residents. The press was instrumental in disseminating information, broadcasting the Katala festival, conducting live interviews and playing the song conceived as the campaign anthem on both radio and TV stations. In Palawan, the press is a trustworthy source of information, so its coverage added legitimacy to the campaign.

Methods

To measure changes in knowledge, attitudes and practices among the primary target audience of farmers and the wider community (Table 16.1),

Table 16.1 Target audiences for the conservation marketing campaign
Share a place to live in the Philippines

Audiences	Desired behaviour
<p>Primary target audience: Farmers of Dumarán Municipality</p> <p>Secondary audience: Wider Dumarán community (all citizens, including school children)</p>	<p>Adopt more sustainable farming practices instead of slash-and-burn.</p> <p>Support the protection of Katala by applying social pressure to farmers to adopt more sustainable practices and positively support measures that legally protect Katala and its habitat.</p>
<p>Enforcers: Wildlife wardens, local police, local government officials</p>	<p>Effectively enforce and implement laws and regulations without fear or apprehension.</p>
<p>Influencers: Priests, teachers</p>	<p>Include mention of environmental laws in sermons and classroom lectures to both farmers and the wider community.</p>
<p>Policy-makers: Municipal government officials</p>	<p>Formally protect remaining cockatoo habitats under municipal law.</p>

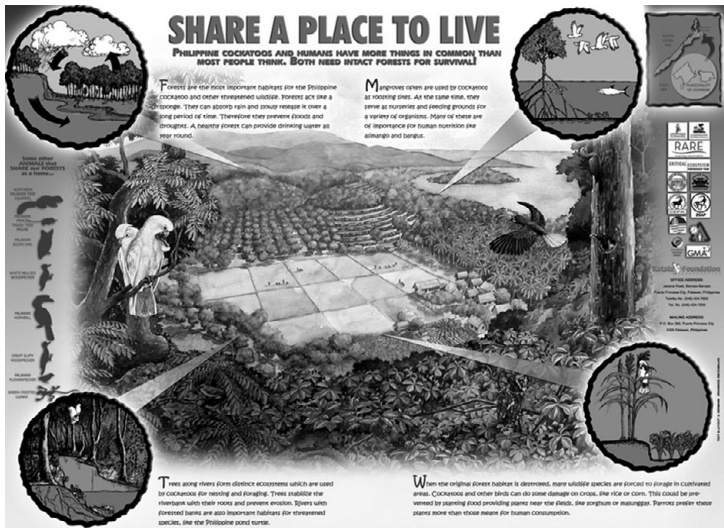


Figure 16.2 Poster used in the conservation marketing campaign promoting coexistence with the Philippine cockatoo, in Dumarán, Palawan Island, Philippines.

a pre- (before campaign activities began) and post-campaign (after campaign activities were completed) quantitative survey was conducted. Surveys were conducted in all sixteen villages (known locally as *barangays*) of Dumaran through the support of nineteen trained enumerators. Both the pre- and post-campaign survey included 638 respondents.

Results

- After the campaign, farmers believing that coexistence with the Katala was possible increased from 42% (n = 198) to 75% (n = 199).
- The Municipality of Dumaran secured two forest areas as formal protected areas under municipal legislation. Six volunteer wardens were trained to monitor the protected areas, with special attention given to the cockatoo's breeding season.
- In the two areas where the local protected areas were to be established, the number of community members that have reported illegal activities relative to the environment and wildlife increased from 8.5% (n = 47) and 3.2% (n = 31) pre-campaign, to 17.8% (n = 45) and 45.2% (n = 31) respectively.

Conclusion

This conservation marketing programme leveraged the Philippine cockatoo, a species historically involved in human-wildlife conflict, as a conservation flagship to increase community support in protecting the species through new legislation and shifts in behavioural practices around farming. Although conservation can often be received with scepticism and concern by local communities, as it typically represents obstacles and sacrifices, conservation marketing approaches can communicate positive benefits to the target audience for taking action. As seen in the Palawan case study, deeply understanding audiences and what they perceive to be attractive exchanges can help to accelerate adoption of other conservation interventions (legislation, adoption of alternative farming methods, etc.)

16.2.1 Marketing Mix

The marketing mix is a concept originally developed in commercial marketing that gives structure to the way a marketing intervention is planned. Although many variations exist, the most used format includes place, price, product and promotion (4 Ps). In the context of conservation marketing it is defined as follows:

- Product includes the desired behaviour and the products and services needed to help the target adopt it. This includes also the brand dimension of the product, which acts as an identity that summarizes

the key features of the conservation marketing effort (Veríssimo et al. 2014).

- Price is the cost that the target audience associates with adopting the new behaviour. This cost most frequently is not monetary but measured in time, effort or social capital.
- Place is where and when the target audience will perform the desired behaviour and receive any associated services. This is important in terms of identifying the most opportune locations and times to reach your intended audience with conservation marketing messages.
- Promotion comprises the communication activities used to communicate the product benefits, its value in relation to the competitors and the place where it is available.

The marketing mix will aid human–wildlife coexistence programmes by providing an overall framework around which a comprehensive behaviour change intervention can be designed. This is particularly helpful in the context of social marketing where often the product being promoted is more abstract than in commercial marketing, where the focus is most often in tangible products.

16.2.2 Behavioural Focus

Conservation marketing interventions are built on the conviction that only through changes in behaviour can threats to biodiversity be mitigated. This focus on human behaviour means that conservation marketing interventions are built on a few key principles that define how these interventions are designed and evaluated. Regarding design, the first principle is that human behaviour is dynamic and can change repeatedly and in different ways, not only across time and space but also across different social contexts, which means that behaviour change is a continuous process without a clear endpoint. The second principle is that human groups tend to be heterogeneous when it comes to behavioural patterns, which creates the need to tailor an intervention to the specific group it intends to target (and to the social and geographic context the group lives in). The third principle is that many of the behaviours we engage in daily are driven by habit or social norm and not by conscious judgement, which means that breaking with long-established behavioural patterns can be difficult. The fourth and last

Table 16.2 *Example of the marketing mix for the farmer target audience of the conservation marketing campaign Share a place to live*

Product	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adoption of more sustainable farming practices, instead of using slash-and-burn, that will keep farming area healthier for longer periods of time (farmers do not have to continually find new space). 2. A free training in alternative farming practices.
Price	<p>Time: Sustainable farming practices require more time and energy to complete, compared to the <i>quick fix</i> of slash-and-burn. Attending a training takes time away from work and family.</p> <p>Effort: New and different farming practices require acquiring new skills in farming, which takes longer to learn and develop efficiencies.</p> <p>Efficacy: Feeling confident in new farming skills comes after much practice, and not feeling confident at first is a cost and barrier to changing practices.</p> <p>Money: Loss of farming time and shifting practices may result in lower crop yield, which represents a loss of income for farmers.</p>
Place	Adoption of more sustainable practices to take place at each farmer's land area. Training done at a single farm near to the municipal nursery and market area.
Promotion	Materials and messages targeting farmers will be placed in locations and channels most frequently accessed by this audience segment (based on data gathered during pre-campaign surveys and qualitative research): posters, fact sheets, waterproof stickers handed out to farmers during site visits; songs and programmes on local radio; festival in the centre of the municipality; placing billboards and signposts on major roads travelled by farmers; and conducting site visits at each farm location.

principle is that much of the decision-making that drives our behaviour is driven by our emotions rather than rational decision-making, which is why marketing strategies have to go beyond filling information gaps to connect emotionally with their target audiences (Brenkert 2002). In terms of evaluation, the focus on behavioural outcomes, as opposed to others focused on knowledge or attitudes, is also critical to ensure that lessons learned are meaningful. This means that conservation marketing interventions avoid the common pitfall of using changes in knowledge or attitudes as proxies for changes in behaviour (Kollmuss & Agyeman 2002). This will help to build, over time, an evidence base of which interventions are effective in supporting coexistence and why (Pfeiffer 2004; Redpath et al. 2013).

The above insights mean that conservation programmes being designed for human–wildlife coexistence (including, but not restricted to, conservation marketing) should begin with a clear understanding of the drivers of the relevant behaviours and the behavioural shifts needed to achieve conservation goals. Additionally, desired behaviours (e.g. not killing wildlife) must be clearly identified, along with motivators of why local stakeholders would be interested in adopting alternatives. In the *Share a place to live* campaign (Text Box 16.1), the behaviours targeted for modification were forest destruction for farming, and the killing of the Philippine cockatoo. Alternative behaviours promoted were high-value vegetable farming, and encouraging local stakeholders to report illegal forest or wildlife activities (such as slash-and-burn agriculture or the killing of the Philippine cockatoo).

16.2.3 Audience Research

Audience research is a central tenet of marketing. Extensive qualitative and quantitative research, in addition to the use of secondary data sources such as popular media sources, is important to gain insights on the target audience’s existing beliefs, perceived benefits and barriers to change. Yet assigning enough time and resources to this initial stage is often a challenge for conservationists, who often are not trained in social science methods and tend to view conservation science as a crisis discipline demanding immediate action.

In conservation marketing, audience research serves three main purposes: (1) understand the target audience prior to the design of the intervention, (2) pre-test the intervention elements at the end of the design stage and (3) monitor the implementation of the intervention (Andreasen 2002). Audience research surrounding the *Share a place to live* (Text Box 16.1) campaign revealed the socio-cultural reasons for forest-depleting activities and the long-held belief that the existence of the Philippine cockatoo was incompatible with the local agrarian livelihoods. This research illustrated a lack of awareness about the cockatoo’s uniqueness, and highlighted how environmental changes such as forest destruction, water unavailability and soil quality reduction were threatening local lives and livelihoods.

The use of research to understand the values, social norms and behaviours of the target audience is critical to ensure that an intervention is adequately adapted to the local social, political and cultural context. Pre-testing is therefore a fundamental process, as it allows the

elements of a campaign to be tested and ensure that nothing is either missed or misinterpreted during the formative research states. This is crucial when dealing with sensitive subjects, as subtle changes in the elements of a campaign, such as the wording of a message or the aesthetics of a logo, can trigger wildly different interpretations, possibly conditioning the acceptance and impact of a campaign. One example that has received increasing attention is how the use of particular kinds of metaphors used to frame an issue determine how stakeholders may perceive each other (Campbell & Veríssimo 2015). Using military metaphors to describe the conflict around migratory bird hunting in Malta has largely reframed the issue as an animal welfare concern, thus made hunting in its entirety morally reproachable and further polarizing the issue (Campbell & Veríssimo 2015; Veríssimo & Campbell 2015). It should be noted that both pre-testing and formative research involve the use of qualitative research methods such as focus groups and multi-species ethnographies, which can be perceived as less reliable by conservation scientists (Bennett et al. 2017; Pooley et al. 2017). It is however crucial that this qualitative focus is maintained as only these methods allow for an in-depth exploration of how stakeholders relate to the complex issues surrounding coexistence. One example of this complexity is the symbolic nature that species and other stakeholder groups can assume, which reflects itself in the way stakeholders often redirect deeply rooted historical grievances towards local species and other stakeholders groups, even if those are not the drivers of the conflict (Douglas & Veríssimo 2013).

Lastly, in terms of implementation, audience research can help support the monitoring of the implementation of the intervention and ensure that a campaign is being adequately executed and well received. This is particularly important in interventions that are implemented over the medium or long term, since during conservation marketing efforts social, cultural and political conditions may change abruptly, something that a formal impact evaluation process would take too long to detect.

16.2.4 Audience Segmentation

Human groups tend to be heterogeneous in terms of their knowledge, values, attitudes and behaviours. When it comes to human-wildlife interactions, different groups are likely to have distinct probabilities of being affected by any given conflict and varying abilities to manage risk

Table 16.3 Audience research conducted during the conservation marketing *Share a place to live* campaign in the Philippines

Timing and purpose	Type of audience research	Summary of insights
Before campaign began: Formative research to better understand the audiences	Quantitative surveys (details on this included in case study introduction, Text Box 16.1). Focus group discussions with key stakeholders.	Community members and farmers did not believe that coexistence is possible, and are not sure why the Philippine cockatoo or its habitat should be protected. Major threat to the Philippine cockatoo is unsustainable farming practices.
Before launch of campaign materials and messages: Pre-testing of creative concepts	Focus groups and in-depth interviews with target audience members.	More accurate translation of slogan in local dialect. Enthusiasm around <i>Share a place to live</i> direction. High comprehension and understanding of messages and call-to-action.
During and after campaign implementation: Monitoring of campaign progress and evaluation of impact	In-depth interviews with all audience segments on perceptions of activities. Estimate of number of people reached by the campaign materials and post-campaign quantitative results on audience changes relative to baseline.	Most effective campaign activities were the Katala festival and poster/billboards, as they were easy to understand, relevant to the local context and surrounded the audiences with key messages. The least effective activity was the drawing contest and corresponding calendar, due to poor timing in implementation and low distribution after production. Percentage of community who had not heard anything about the Philippine cockatoo dropped from 41.2% (n = 263) at start of campaign to 16.1% (n = 90) after campaign.

and cope with potential damage (Pooley et al. 2017). Yet it is common to see conservation outreach efforts targeting either the *general public* or generic *local communities* as monolithic entities (Kanagavel et al. 2014). It is thus critical to realize that targeting everyone is targeting no one, as heterogeneity between groups precludes a campaign from being tailored to everyone's needs.

Conservation marketing interventions avoid the *one size fits all* fallacy by using the audience research described above to identify subgroups (or segments) of a population that share strategically important characteristics. This means audience segmentation should go beyond demographic variables (e.g. gender, age, income, education) or spatial data (e.g. nationality, postcode), since these rarely have a strong link to behavioural patterns. Thus, conservation marketing interventions should focus on behavioural variables, such as past behaviours and willingness to change, and psychographic variables, such as those relating to values, attitudes or belief systems. While it is true that there will always be a large number of ways to segment a group, the key will be to define the variables that are the most important to the conflict being considered, which will have to be done on a case-by-case basis.

Once a population is segmented, the next step is to prioritize these segments according to strategic criteria. These can be of a psychographic and/or behavioural nature, as described above, but can also be more geared towards implementation factors such as segment size, accessibility, openness, etc. One available approach to identifying the priority segments within a population is the TARPARE method (Donovan et al. 1999), which uses criteria such as accessibility, size and exposure to risk to inform prioritization (Table 16.4). The move from a highly heterogeneous population to more homogenous segments allows for a more effective tailoring of the intervention, therefore increasing the chances of success. At the same time, focusing only on the group or groups that are more strategically relevant for a given objective, makes it possible to avoid diluting the existing resources over a much larger group, therefore maximizing the effective reach of the available resources.

The *Share a place to live* campaign targeted mostly two audience segments: (1) farmers with messages about alternative farming practices, and (2) the wider community, including schoolchildren who could reinforce the developing social norm around sustainable farming practices that protect the Philippine cockatoo.

Table 16.4 *The TARPARE method of prioritizing audience segments.**Adapted from Hopwood & Merritt (2011).*

T	Total segment size: Is it large enough? Is it too large?
AR	At-risk: Proportion of those who would benefit
P	Persuasion: Is the segment easily persuaded? Is it likely to influence others?
A	Accessibility: How accessible is the segment?
R	Resources: What is required to influence behaviour?
E	Equity: What are the barriers for disadvantaged segments?

16.2.5 Attractive Exchanges with Target Audience

A critical conceptual aspect of marketing is the belief that a campaign is, in essence, a proposed exchange to the target audience, where the target audience is offered some benefits, tangible or intangible, for carrying out the desired behaviour. Framing outreach efforts in this way ensures that the perspective of the target audience is placed at the centre of the intervention design process.

The ultimate task of the conservation marketing intervention is to ensure that the benefits, both tangible and intangible, associated with the desired behaviour outweigh the costs. This can be achieved by increasing the benefits of adopting the new behaviour but also by reducing the barriers and costs of its adoption. Nevertheless, it is important that both alternatives are considered in the long term, as often the costs of maintaining a new behaviour, for example, can differ substantially from those associated with just its initial adoption. For example, in a behaviour change intervention designed to save natural habitats from deliberately set grass fires in Wales, the *Grass Is Green, Fire Is Mean* campaign offered effective alternative product-activities (graffiti, survival and CD recording classes) to offending youth. In the long term, however, these alternatives offered by the state proved to be too costly to maintain (McKenzie-Mohr et al. 2011). A final consideration in balancing cost and benefits of behavioural adoption, is to also understand the intangible benefits and costs. Those factors may differ substantially, and may be particularly salient, especially when they entail local stakeholder groups' concerns about or desire for identity, power or prestige. This is particularly the case when wildlife becomes a status symbol or iconic for the elite's power in local affairs (Peterson et al. 2002), or when wildlife-related conflicts cause significant psychological stresses or food insecurity (Peterson et al. 2002; Barua et al. 2013).

An underlying assumption is that the benefits of adopting the desired behaviour should accrue to the individual or group, making the change as compelling as possible. It is often an error in conservation interventions to emphasize how a change in behaviour will benefit wildlife, as for many stakeholder groups this is not compelling enough to motivate a change in behaviour. In the *Share a place to live* campaign, for example, programmes emphasized the common threats that both the cockatoos and farmers faced (i.e. unsustainable forest destruction, degradation of watersheds and agricultural soil). Additionally, research prior to intervention design identified that local residents were interested in putting their *island on the map*. Building on their desire for a more recognized identity, the campaign offered an attractive source of pride and rebranded the Philippine cockatoo as a symbol of national uniqueness.

16.2.6 Attention to Competition

Many conservationists often see themselves holding the moral high ground and in a position where, according to their personal values, there simply is no defensible alternative to the behaviour change they are promoting (Redford & Sanderson 2006; Macdonald et al. 2016). Yet the reality is that this is seldom true. Not only because conservationists tend to hold values that are not representative of the wider population, but also because habit or social norms impose heavy social costs on change, even if an individual is motivated to embrace it. This means that anyone attempting to influence human behaviour must have a clear idea of what other alternatives the target audience has to the desired behaviour, including continuing with the current behaviour (Buchanan et al. 1994). An important starting point in this process is to have a clear understanding of what compels the target audience to behave in the way they currently do as this will provide insights as to what factors are valued by the group. This information can then be used to gain competitive advantage over the current behaviour. The next step is to look for other potential behaviours that may compete with the alternative behaviour being promoted. It should be noted that these competitors may be direct or indirect and can be very different from the current behaviour or the proposed desirable behaviour.

To overcome the competition, conservation marketing interventions need to consider the costs and benefits described in the section above, and compare those to the costs and benefits (real and perceived) of the

behaviour the target audience currently engages in. In the *Share a place to live* campaign the cost of unsustainable hunting and forest destruction was made more salient by increasing the enforcement of environmental laws and using influential community members to reinforce the social norm around the unacceptability of hunting the cockatoo. The campaign also took into account the economic appeal of the slash-and-burn agricultural practices by actively promoting economically viable alternative behaviours, such as the planting of vegetable plots that did not require forest destruction.

16.3 ON THE LEGITIMACY OF INFLUENCING HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

Some agree that human behaviours that are harmful to wildlife conservation should be respectfully challenged, even if based on culture and tradition (Dickman et al. 2015). Yet conservation and social marketing interventions have been reproached for being paternalistic or even manipulative (Andreasen 2002). This criticism is most commonly centred around the fact that any intervention to influence behaviour assumes that the target group is not behaving according to its own self-interest and that someone external to the target audience knows what is best, not only for that group but also for society as a whole.

These critiques are somewhat ironic in the context of conservation marketing, as historically conservationists have favoured more coercive paths to influencing behaviour, such as fines and legislation (Redpath et al. 2013). Conservationists have a long history of lobbying governments to enact laws that dictate the terms of use of a given species, resource or area (West & Brockington 2006). While in theory it is easy to deflect any accusations using the legitimacy of a government mandate, the reality is that this lobbying has included many governments known for their lack of a democratic mandate (see e.g. Ho 2001).

Conservation marketing does not curtail the freedom of choice of the target audience. Yet it is true that in most instances the goals of a conservation behaviour change intervention (e.g. increase the population of a species, reduce the use of a natural resource) are set prior to consultation with local stakeholders, who are usually consulted only about the best way to achieve those goals (Brenkert 2002). Given that conservation marketers are not democratically elected, this raises issues around the legitimacy of conservation marketing interventions, as goal setting for conservation marketing requires value judgements around

what human behaviours should be changed and what coexistence should look like (Pielke Jr 2007). Conservationists should therefore acknowledge their role as stakeholders, not neutral arbiters (Redpath et al. 2015) and be transparent about the underlying values that motivate their goals. The most common option to overcome these obstacles is to work in partnership with democratic institutions (Fox & Kotler 1980), but in many contexts those may either not be available or suffer from governance weaknesses such as elite capture.³ As such, it is key that conservation marketing interventions include a wider and meaningful consultation of stakeholders and ensure that evidence is available about the needs being addressed by a particular intervention (Brenkert 2002).

Lastly, culture is dynamic and will inevitably change over time through the action of agents such as civil society and the media. Thus, all those involved in any intervention to influence human behaviour would be aware of the possibility that through some unexpected causal pathway, the conflict that was to be mitigated worsens, which is particularly an issue in protracted and complex challenges such as those that commonly surround human–wildlife coexistence. However, it means that if conservationists refrain from engaging as other agents of societal change do, then there is little hope for them to become agents of societal change.

16.4 FIRST DO NO HARM

The implementation of conservation marketing programmes entails several pitfalls that can undermine their impact. In many conservation contexts, the failure of an intervention represents the onerous loss of time and resources. However, in the case of human–wildlife coexistence, there are multiple ways through which interventions could even have unintended negative consequences, further fuelling or simply displacing the conflict conservationists were hoping to mitigate. It is thus worth understanding these pitfalls, and considering them when designing and implementing any behaviour change intervention aimed at promoting human–wildlife coexistence.

A potential challenge emerging from focusing on a specific human–wildlife interactions is hyper-saliency, where events that were previously

³ Elite capture is a process where a minority group of individuals of superior social, economic, political, educational or ethnic status misuse, usually for their own gain, resources designated for the benefit of the wider community.

perceived to be part of a livelihood are reinterpreted as unacceptable problems due to the focus placed on the issue by an outside actor (Pooley et al. 2017). This situation can be further intensified if the conflict becomes associated with those hoping to mitigate it, with for example problem animals becoming the responsibility of conservationists (Macdonald et al. 2010; Douglas & Veríssimo 2013). Conservation marketing can reduce this risk by avoiding top-down communication, and instead use more inclusive approaches that unite communities around a new norm.

Another pitfall that can fuel conflict is oversimplification, by for example reducing to material damage a conflict that may be predominately taking place in the psychosocial realm (Ginges et al. 2007). This fallacy tends to be driven by a belief in Maslow's *hierarchy of needs* (Maslow 1943) which posits that until one's physiological (e.g. food, water, shelter) and security (e.g. physical, employment, health) needs are met, people are less concerned with 'higher level' social and psychological needs (e.g. self-esteem, belonging). Despite seeming intuitive, Maslow's framework has been widely refuted (Madden & McQuinn 2014). Psychological drivers of belonging and self-efficacy are vitally important factors in motivating changes in behaviour, and should thus be explored when designing marketing messages for human-wildlife coexistence campaigns.

Lastly, there is a potential to displace conflict when the development of pro-conservation behaviours towards a species may reduce the importance given to other elements of biodiversity. For example, on the island of Dominica, a conservation marketing programme had the unintended consequence of reframing how local stakeholders perceived a wildlife conflict. While more favourable attitudes and behaviours developed towards the imperial parrot (*Amazona imperialis*), a species marketed as the conservation flagship, a sister species, the red-necked parrot (*Amazona arausiaca*) became socially marginalized, magnifying perceptions of the later species as a pest for crops (Douglas & Winkler 2014). These effects underscore the fact that in the long term effective behaviour change programmes require continual audience research to remain relevant to changing socio-cultural contexts (Andresean 2002).

16.5 OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

The uses of marketing in the environmental realm have so far taken place in contexts where the goals were broadly consensual (e.g.

recycling, transportation, energy conservation), which meant that push-back from stakeholders was less likely and any unintended consequences more modest in magnitude (Langford & Panter-Brick 2013; Pfeiffer 2004). Improving the way conservation marketing is used in the context of human–wildlife coexistence will require better impact evaluation as to improve the quality of the learning and avoid repeating mistakes that could have important social and political costs (Pfeiffer 2004; Verissimo et al. 2018).

Currently there is widespread reliance on self-reported behavioural indicators, which while easy and cheap to collect, have been proven to be poor proxies for actual behaviour even in situations where the behaviour is not contentious (Kormos & Gifford 2014). Given that when working on topics where conflicts exists, social biases are likely to provide strong incentives for respondents not to answer truthfully, it is clear that more accurate techniques are needed. Happily the use of specialized techniques for sensitive questions is growing in conservation (Nuno & St John 2015), something that conservation marketing interventions can draw from.

An additional key improvement when it comes to impact evaluation would be the wider use of qualitative data collection techniques to better understand the casual pathways followed in an intervention (Pfeiffer 2004). Qualitative research is most often used in marketing in the formative stages but it can also be used to avoid interventions becoming *black boxes* where the impacts are accurately measured but their drivers remain unknown (Pfeiffer 2004; Langford & Panter-Brick 2013). Another fundamental challenge for conservation marketing interventions will be ensuring that they do not deepen social inequality. For example, the process of segmentation and targeting can easily exclude those deemed out of reach due to their social status or geographic location (Laczniaik & Murphy 1994). At the same time even when included, there are segments of the population that may not be able to change their behaviour for reasons completely outside of their control (e.g. extreme poverty) (Brenkert 2002; Langford & Panter-Brick 2013). This can thus deepen inequality, with those who could most benefit from an intervention often being those least able to take advantage from it. To counter this, conservation marketing interventions will have to be designed bearing in mind the context-specific barriers that may stop groups from engaging in the desired behaviour. While frameworks such as TARPARE (Table 16.4), highlighted above, will likely help, ensuring conservation marketing interventions do not deepen social inequality will require a deeper integration of conservation marketing

interventions with public policy. This will create more demand for combining upstream (i.e. policy-makers) and downstream marketing (i.e. resource users) (Langford & Panter-Brick 2013; Lorenc et al. 2013).

Conflicts involving wildlife are an important concern within global conservation efforts. The behaviour change focus of conservation marketing will be an important tool to support the engagement of audiences and facilitate coexistence-oriented approaches. As the tool of conservation marketing gets applied towards more environmental challenges, the field will continue to learn, grow and expand the learning and possibilities of application, providing a new window of opportunity for human–wildlife coexistence.

16.6 RECOMMENDATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

- Conservation marketing has the potential to help mitigate a diverse set of conflicts with and about wildlife. By focusing on clear behavioural objectives, based on thorough audience research, by recognizing the heterogeneity within any human population and by looking at behaviour change programmes as meaningful exchanges, interventions that follow conservation marketing principles can avoid pitfalls that have undermined past outreach programmes.
- The use of marketing around biodiversity conservation has been limited and has mostly focused on relatively consensual issues where opposition from stakeholders was likely to be limited. To tackle the additional challenges around human–wildlife coexistence conservationists will need to improve their ability to both gain a deep understanding of stakeholders and to robustly evaluate the impact of their interventions. This first will allow for a better understanding of actual and perceived benefits and costs of different behaviours. The second will allow for better learning from past practices, avoid the dissemination of ineffective interventions and drive improvement over time.
- This additional social complexity also means that conservationists need to be aware of the potential for unintended consequences stemming from a behaviour change intervention. Where negative, these can be highly costly in social terms and raise ethical questions around the legitimacy of conservationists to define, for example, what human–wildlife coexistence should look like. These challenges will require full transparency towards stakeholders from those implementing conservation marketing interventions.

16.7 References

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