

Rare's Conservation Campaigns: Community Decision Making and Public Participation for Behavioral Change in Indonesia, China, and Latin America

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ABSTRACT: In this chapter we explore the ways in which Rare, an international non-profit organization, uses institutional, practical, and local knowledge as a symbolic resource to create environmental change. Rare's approach involves identifying human behaviors that cause threats to biodiversity, using social science research to identify community-based and public participation solutions to change these behaviors, launching a Pride campaign designed to instill pride within a local community and to facilitate the removal of barriers to conservation, and adapting conservation solutions on a broader scale. Such an approach enables Rare and its campaign managers to draw on expertise from all kinds of backgrounds, experiences, and different knowledge bases that allows for contextual and effective behavior change in conservation rooted in public participation and community empowerment. Rare partners with The University of Texas at El Paso to offer a master's degree program for Pride campaign managers, and we have collected data while supervising the coursework and assignments for this program through qualitative approaches, such as ethnography, interviews, and field site visits, and quantitative approaches, such as knowledge-attitude-practice (KAP) surveys implemented by our students (the Rare campaign managers). Based on these data, we offer case studies from three regions where Rare works: Indonesia, Latin America, and China. While conservation efforts often focus on tangible material resources, limiting the available options for change, we ultimately argue that Rare's focus on symbolic resources in Pride campaigns uses the paradigm of *constructed potentiality* (Foss & Foss, 2011), generating multiple options for creating change through public participation.

KEYWORDS: Rare, environmental campaigns, NGOs, conservation, public participation

1. INTRODUCTION

Rare is an international non-profit organization aimed at achieving conservation results by partnering with other environmental organizations to train local leaders to develop and manage Pride campaigns. For over 25 years, Rare has worked with local leaders, known as campaign managers, to design and implement Pride campaigns in over 50 countries. These Pride campaigns use social marketing to empower local communities and encourage conservation. Because the proposed behavioral change originates from local leaders, communities are able to cultivate a "sense of ownership, responsibility and pride in conservation" (Rare, 2016a). Rare's approach involves identifying human behaviors that cause threats to biodiversity, using social science research to identify community-based and public participation solutions to change these

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behaviors, and launching a Pride campaign, designed to instill pride within a local community and to facilitate the removal of barriers to conservation and the adaption of conservation solutions on a broader scale.

In this chapter, we explore the ways in which Rare uses knowledge as a symbolic resource to create stakeholders' behavioral changes which subsequently lead to environmental conservation. Rare partners with The University of Texas at El Paso to offer a master's degree program as part of their approach to implement behavior change in conservation related activities. As the authors of this chapter, each of us coordinates one of the language programs as part of our master's degree that is offered in Indonesia in Indonesian, China in Mandarin Chinese, and Latin America in Spanish. Methodologically, each of us has collected data while supervising the coursework and assignments for this program through qualitative approaches, such as ethnography, interviews, and field site visits, and quantitative approaches, such as knowledge-attitude-practice (KAP) surveys implemented by our students (the Rare campaign managers). We begin with an overview of change paradigms and a description of the three levels of organizational knowledge operating in Rare's approach to conservation that emphasizes public participation. We then offer case studies from three regions where Rare works: Indonesia, Latin America, and China. We ultimately argue that Rare's focus on symbolic resources approaches conservation through the paradigm of *constructed potentiality*, generating multiple options for creating change through public participation at international, national, regional, and local levels. Such an approach enables Rare and its campaign managers to draw on expertise from all kinds of backgrounds, experiences, and different knowledges that allows for contextual and effective behavioral change in conservation rooted in public participation and community empowerment.

2. CONSTRICTED AND CONSTRUCTED POTENTIALITY

Modern threats to ecosystems and biodiversity compel activists, scholars, practitioners, and politicians alike to advocate for environmental change. In order to understand how Rare's approach to creating change through Pride campaigns differs from other types of conservation efforts, we explore the change paradigms of constricted potentiality and constructed potentiality. Foss and Foss (2011) explain that actors go through a series of steps when seeking to create change, beginning with an initial choice to focus on either material conditions or symbols as resources. This initial choice determines the strategy for achieving change, the route to change, the focus of change efforts, and ultimately the outcomes that will result. Dominant theories of change, or constricted potentiality, limit the available options for creating change by focusing on tangible material conditions. This focus on tangible resources means that they are "fixed, limited, and capable of being depleted" (Foss & Foss, 2011, p. 208). A focus on material resources means that persuasion becomes the strategy for change, and change agents develop a prescribed route to change. The focus of change efforts is external, and the result is a change in material conditions. The current debate surrounding climate change illustrates the paradigm of constricted potentiality. To address climate change some politicians choose to focus on policy change as a material resource. Their strategy is to persuade other politicians, some who deny climate change, to support changes in environmental policy. The focus of these change efforts is external, involving an attempt to persuade others to pass laws and implement policies aimed at addressing climate change.

In addition to not always producing desired results, change efforts based in persuasion are often a desire to control others, and this desire to persuade and control means a devaluing of the life-worlds of others (Foss & Foss, 2012; Foss & Griffin, 1995). Persuasion is also about conquest and conversion (Foss & Foss, 2012; Ryan & Natalle, 2001), which makes it a colonizing force. This means that when there is an attempt to change or control another person, it is grounded in ideas of entitlement and superiority; the persuader assumes they have the right to change the other person in the interaction. This approach results in colonizing the life-worlds of others, much like the colonization of indigenous territories and ways of life perpetuated by the West. Gorsevski (2004) argues that this desire to control others is a violent form of rhetoric, as it can be viewed as an attack on individuals' ways of life.

In response to the paradigm of constricted potentiality, which uses persuasion as a change strategy, Foss and Foss (2011) offer an alternative change paradigm, constructed potentiality, in which the actor's initial choice is to focus on the symbols available for creating change. The focus on symbolic resources means that unlimited resources become available, because individuals "never run out of new ways to configure and construct symbols" (Foss & Foss, 2011, p. 213). A focus on symbolic resources leads to interpretation as the strategy for change and an unspecified route to change. The focus of change efforts is internal, and the result is self-change. We argue that Rare's approach to conservation through the creation of Pride campaigns illustrates the paradigm of constructed potentiality. Pride campaigns focus on knowledge as a symbolic resource which can be identified, cultivated, and shared to create change. Campaign managers use interpretation as a strategy for change, choosing to view local knowledge as an abundant resource in their campaigns. The focus of Rare's change efforts is internal, and the outcome of efforts is self-change (or at least within the community), as both campaign managers and community members choose how they use knowledge to evaluate and change practices in their own lives to contribute to local conservation efforts. Constructed potentiality exemplifies what Gorsevski (2004) calls "nonviolent rhetoric," which is creative, is positive, focusing on the strengths of social movement participants, is sustainable, and does not vilify the opposing side of the issue. Nonviolent rhetoric is characterized by respect for and awareness of culture, a reliance on community and mutual responsibility, a refusal to engage with unjust actions and systems, and an underdog ethos (Gorsevski, 2004). To this end, we conceptualize Rare's engagement with local publics as an exercise in defining, creating, and sustaining particular forms of knowledge that are utilized in conservation campaigns to achieve constructed potentialities that empower substantive social change.

In the following sections we conceptualize three levels of organizational knowledge in Rare's approach to conservation, and provide three regional case studies from Indonesia, Latin America, and China to further illustrate the ways in which knowledge is used as a symbolic resource through constructed potentiality in Pride campaigns.

3. RARE AND ORGANIZATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Organizational knowledge is an area of scholarship that has existed since the early days of organizational theorizing, although the term has changed according to the circumstances of its use and application (Canary & McPhee, 2011; Hodgkinson & Healey, 2008; Lam, 2000). Early organizational studies, dominated by social psychological perspectives, tended to understand knowledge as a type of currency that could be utilized in employee-employer relations to maximize productivity (Perrow, 1986). As Canary and McPhee (2011) explain, this trend

(Taylorism) assumed that knowledge was something that could tangibly be assessed and measured. By consequence, the prevailing idea in many of these early works was that organizational knowledge was something distinct from individual knowledge and scientifically based management practices could be used to harness knowledge for productive ends. Since that time, organizational scholars have broadened their conceptualization of knowledge processes and the complex ways in which knowledge is constituted, maintained, and transmitted to members of an organization (Barge & Schockley-Zalabak, 2008; Dulipovici & Baskerville, 2007; Kuhn & Porter, 2011; Leonardi, 2011).

We understand knowledge to be a relational accomplishment that includes both individual and collective components. McPhee, Corman, and Dooley (1999) note that organizational knowledge is “the symbolic and/or practical routines, resources, and affordances drawn on by organization members and social units as they maintain the institutional organization and/or coordinate their action and interaction” (p. 4). Organizational knowledge, then, can be understood as inherently communicative in nature and linked to a variety of issues such as organizational culture and organizational memory. Our analysis in this essay is predicated upon two prevailing assumptions about organizational knowledge. First, we understand knowledge to be a frame for structuring communicative practices and organizational reality (Lakoff, 2010). By frame, we mean that knowledge serves as a sort of filter that shapes and influences discourses in particular ways so as to create shared meanings amongst members of the organization. Because frames are not static, knowledge becomes something that is permeable and sometimes contested. Scholars such as Barley, Leonardi, and Bailey (2012) and Murphy and Eisenberg (2012) have argued that knowledge can be used productively as a resource for creating both clarity and ambiguity in ways that may be negotiated and politicized by members of the organization. Thus, our analysis is guided by the assumption that knowledge serves as a discursive frame of reference that can be apprehended by members of an organization to accomplish particular ends. Second, we understand knowledge to be process-oriented and something that can be done interactively. As Canary (2010) asserts, “Developing organizational knowledge does not occur as a singular event; rather, the process occurs iteratively during many different organizational activities that involve different goals” (p. 27). In contending that knowledge is something that is done or accomplished, we mean to suggest that knowledge is constitutively formed, and more importantly, maintained by adherence to particular forms of intelligibility in the organization. Knowledge, though collective, must be (re)performed in practice to cohere to prevailing standards and assumptions. In this sense, organizational knowledge can be understood through repeated acts and sustained discourses.

Knowledge serves as a structuring element that is used to maintain and coordinate meanings and actions within organizations. That is, knowledge must be learned by members of the organization before it can become useful. These messages are transmitted both within and across systems of activity. As Canary (2010) explains, “[By] focusing on communication within and between activity systems [we] might extend not only the model of activity systems, but...also change current conceptualizations of the process of constructing knowledge” (p. 36). This study, then, aims to explore the practices and discourses that are used to constitutively construct knowledge within Rare and the ways in which these knowledge creation and acquisition processes shape meanings and activity within the organization.

To this end, we conceptualize three distinct levels of organizational knowledge that serve as a schema for framing how Rare’s campaign managers use, coordinate, and build upon knowledge processes in practice. These levels – which we term institutional, practical, and local

– enable Rare’s campaign managers to use knowledge as a symbolic resource to structure their activities in the field. Institutional knowledge refers to organizational discourses and meanings that are standardized throughout Rare’s approach. Practical knowledge, by contrast, refers to knowledge that is acquired through practice and experience. As a departure from institutional knowledge, practical knowledge deals with the type of information that may be passed on from member-to-member in non-officially sanctioned ways. Finally, local knowledge refers to the processes in which campaign managers draw on specific cultural, geographic, or sociopolitical understandings that are endemic to their region to create adaptive and responsive campaigns. This emphasis on locality is a key element of Rare’s outreach strategy. Collectively, these levels of organizational knowledge enable members to more fully actualize participatory practices in ways that lead to more meaningful and sustained environmental change.

3.1 Institutional Knowledge in Rare’s Cohort Design

In order to achieve conservation results Rare draws on institutional knowledge as a symbolic resource in various forms including: the Rare-UTEP partnership’s curriculum, the Theory of Change (TOC) model, and barrier removal operation plans. As Rare launches each new cohort of campaign managers (6-14 students), the organization relies on a standardized nine-part process, drawing on important organizational discourses and meanings. The first step in designing a cohort is identifying a conservation bright spot or problem. This involves determining whether a Pride campaign could inspire conservation efforts in multiple communities. Once a problem area or bright spot is identified, the second step is to create a formula for replication based on “the factors, conditions, and sequence of events that led to positive change” (Rare, n.d.-b, p. 8). This formula is known as Rare’s Theory of Change (TOC), and while it is customized to meet the unique needs of each pride campaign, it always follows the same “general formula for success” (Rare, n.d.-b, p. 9). This model, which begins with knowledge as a symbolic resource, is detailed in Figure 1.



Fig. 1. Rare’s Theory of Change (Reprinted with permission from Rare)

The Theory of Change represents the institutional knowledge that Rare, as a global conservation organization, has developed as its organizational discourses and symbolic nomenclature to communicate with many domestic and international stakeholders (from its potential donors, interested applicants, government officials, the public, the press, local non-profit organizations, local communities, etc.). The development of TOC was a result of Rare's institutional knowledge generated from its past experiences with over 214 local campaign managers in its Pride campaigns (Rare, 2014).

The third step to creating a new Rare cohort involves the identification of partners who will support the design, execution, and monitoring of the Pride campaigns. Implementing partner organizations provide local leaders who develop Pride campaigns. Strategic partners, or experts working in conservation such as NGOs or government agencies, use their expertise to support the strategy, design, and sustainability of Pride campaigns. Technical partners provide technology or training, create policy, and/or conduct biological monitoring of Pride campaigns. Finally, funding partners not only provide funding to the cohort, but also participate in the design of the cohort's theory of change.

Once partners are identified, the fourth step in implementing a Rare cohort is selecting specific campaign sites, which are chosen in areas with high biodiversity and threatened ecosystems. Rare also selects sites in areas with high levels of biodiversity and conservation challenges in the tropical and subtropical regions of the world, to engage people in creating and sustaining solutions to conservation challenges. The fifth step for launching a new cohort is to select Rare conservation fellows, also known as campaign managers, from local implementing partners who choose a qualified staff member to enroll in Rare's training program and lead a Pride campaign. These campaign managers also become graduate students enrolled in the master of arts program in the department of communication at The University of Texas at El Paso. They complete their coursework in three university phases and three field phases over a 2-3 year period. Once a cohort of Rare Conservation Fellows is selected, the sixth step is to secure \$3-4 million dollars in funding for the cohort. Funding comes from donors, partners, and grants.

When sites and fellows have been selected, and funding has been secured, the seventh step is to implement the cohort. This means that Rare Fellows begin by attending an approximately nine week university session focused on behavior change. They will then return to their individual sites, obtain baseline survey data about barriers to change that exist in the community, and identify stakeholders to involve in planning for the Pride campaign. The fellows then return for a second five week university phase to finalize their Pride campaign strategy, aimed at promoting environmental Pride and the adoption of sustainable alternative behaviors in their communities. After this university phase campaign managers return to their sites and launch their Pride campaigns. Toward the end of the second year of their fellowship, campaign managers conduct community surveys to assess social and environmental change. With these data, fellows return for their third and final university phase to share their results and develop a plan for sustaining the impact they have made.

The eighth step is measuring impact, which involves tracking changes in awareness, attitudes, and behaviors. These changes will "demonstrate positive impact by year three in most campaigns" (Rare, n.d., p. 20). Finally, the ninth step is sustaining the impact. Campaign managers continue to apply techniques from their Pride campaigns to sustain and broaden their impact through the implementation of further campaign activities or the initiation of a new campaign in another (often nearby) community. This nine-step process exemplifies standardized

institutional knowledge, which functions as an unlimited symbolic resource for environmental conservation.

Rare's use of institutional knowledge as a symbolic resource demonstrates the nature of constructed potentiality and ultimately grants access to other symbolic resources such as partnerships with multiple types of stakeholders, pride in the natural environment that translates into protection, and spaces to communicate. Rare's choice to frame a problem area as a bright spot for conversation can be seen as a resource, as it shifts the mindset and opens new possibilities for change instead of treating these areas as problems that cannot be solved. The integration of TOC as an essential part of Rare curriculum is closely related to the underlying philosophy of the constructed potentiality paradigm when campaign managers and local residents "take pride in their nature resources – that alter the way their communities relate to nature" (Rare, 2014). The following case studies identify how institutional knowledge is used to train cohorts in Indonesia, Latin America, and China, with specific regional examples of practical and local knowledge as symbolic resources operating in regional Pride campaigns.

4. CASE STUDIES FROM INDONESIA

In addition to the Theory of Change approach and the Pride campaigns used to create such change, Rare in Indonesia works to adapt that global strategy to make it culturally relevant for conservation efforts in various locations, with their office based in Bogor (near Jakarta, Indonesia's capital). Rare's Indonesia program recruits students/campaign managers mostly from Indonesia, but also from Malaysia and Timor Leste, since the Malay language is very similar to Indonesian and many Timorese speak Indonesian (as Timor Leste only gained independence from Indonesia in 1999).

While the first Rare-UTEP cohort started in 2008 with a focus on forest conservation, Rare Indonesia has focused on marine ecosystems and their overarching theme of "Fish Forever" for the following three cohorts that started in 2010, 2012, and 2014 respectively. The Indonesian archipelago is part of the coral triangle, one of the most species rich and diverse areas in the world. In addition to the extensive coral reef and marine ecosystems found in Indonesia, millions of people depend on fish for their livelihoods and nutrition. As Rare Indonesia (2015) notes, 2.9 billion people in the world depend on fish as their major source of protein. Furthermore, 90% of the 120 million fishers in the world are small scale, many of whom are subsistence fishers. In other words, they depend on fish almost entirely for their food source and livelihoods (Rare Indonesia, 2015). The Fish Forever themed campaigns in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Timor Leste focus on the health of ocean ecosystems by establishing no-take zones and community only access areas that enable fish stock to replenish and serve local communities. A no-take zone is an area that has been determined to have biodiversity richness where a national, regional, provincial, local, or community law or agreement declares that no one will enter or use that zone. No-take zones or core zones are established and created through key stakeholder and community meetings in which local people determine where such zones should be located based on conservation principles and socio-economic needs. That is, these zones, in extensive conversation with international and national biologists, conservationists, and local people, are based not just on protecting the ecosystem, but also what will serve the people best. To that end, Rare Indonesia thus has established its 2015-2025 goals as: supporting and strengthening conservation area management and conservation minded fishing activities in more than 60 locations, helping to reduce fishing in core zones in conservation areas, helping to improve the

livelihoods of fishers, and supporting the development of sustainable fishing (Rare Indonesia, 2015). The institutional knowledge, then, is the way in which no-take zones and other conservation principles are used with social marketing techniques to protect marine ecosystems through constructed potentialities.

At this level of practical knowledge, Rare's office staff in Bogor, Indonesia work extensively with campaign managers to develop conservation strategies that have been known to work well in Indonesia. While previous campaigns focused on forest habitats, Rare's staff and the campaign managers chosen to participate in each cohort are all quite familiar with national, regional, and local level problems, ranging from food security, poverty, health care, and educational access to more immediate problems such as natural disasters, all issues connected directly or indirectly to environmental threats. Standardizing barrier removal strategies is common, with a few key approaches that have been proven to work either in other campaigns or other Indonesian contexts. The primary environmental concern for these three cohorts has been overfishing and marine ecosystem health. To prevent overfishing and to restore ecosystems, Rare has extensively trained campaign managers about no take zones and core zones (Rare Indonesia, 2015). Each campaign manager learns about how no take zones work best and how to implement them through community engagement.

During the field phase of the campaigns, extensive key stakeholder and community member meetings are held to encourage widespread participation and to generate community buy in for the no take zone. Community members and local leaders decide where to establish the no take zone and how to create awareness. For example, in campaigns in Karimunjawa National Park (implemented by Yusuf Syaifudin) and Kepulauan Seribu National Park (implemented by Yuniar Ardianti), community members developed and installed buoy markers so that everyone would know where the no take zone was located (Rare Indonesia, 2014). Problematically in Indonesia, national parks are often created without effectively informing the local communities so that they are unaware that they might be engaged in illegal logging, fishing, and/or other activities. Participatory mapping is another approach used to engage community members, particularly fishers, in understanding the importance and effectiveness of no take zones. Almost all of the campaigns use community patrols and monitor teams as a way to enforce the no take zone, comprised usually of volunteer teams (Wirawan, Kushardanto, & Tyas Nuhidayati, 2012). Such groups offer two benefits to the campaign's goal of behavior change. First, these volunteers buy into the idea of the no take zone. And second, they create a system of enforcement without requiring additional financial resources, demonstrating a move away from constricted potentiality. At the practical knowledge level, campaign managers have developed constructed potentiality by figuring out ways to work within the means that they have, often relying on community support and volunteers.

Another key strategy that campaign managers use is to develop a micro credit union within the local community of the campaign. Since the campaigns are almost always in rural and often isolated locations where fishers and their families subsist on the fish caught, finding ways to develop an income basis can be very valuable to community members. For example, in Komodo National Park, the campaign manager (Devi Opat) developed a credit cooperative in which community members agreed to participate in the no take zone approach to conservation as well as to develop community savings (Rare Indonesia, 2015; Rare Indonesia, 2014). By putting small amounts of money into a community managed credit cooperative, fishers were able to remove the need for middle men or fish bosses, who often supplied fishing equipment and other capital to the local fishers but also took a big cut of the profits. When community members

were able to save money and then purchase their own equipment, they were able to earn substantially more money without being in debt to these fish bosses (Rare Indonesia, 2014). Although the micro credit union relies on material resources for its success, the creative implementation of this strategy suggests a constructive potentiality in which the community members became empowered and freed from the constricted potentialities of the fish bosses.

Rare's Indonesia office has also developed some campaign strategies around local knowledge. The program and Pride campaign development requires extensive surveying of local community members to find out what social marketing strategies will work best in that particular community. While t-shirts with slogans and mascots and various school visits are successful in all campaigns, such materials are often locally produced. Slogans are often in local languages (there are more than 400 languages in Indonesia in addition to the primary Indonesian language that is taught in all public schools). As religion is a major part of life for almost all Indonesians, many campaign managers use local religious leaders, festivals, and ceremonies as a way to connect to communities. The role of traditional leaders and customs are also important in establishing community connection, participation and engagement. For example, in many Muslim areas, the campaign manager might involve the mosque and Friday prayers as part of the campaign strategy (Rare Indonesia, 2014). Boat races, using traditional long boats, are also popular in some campaigns, as are karaoke contests (Rare Indonesia, 2014; Wirawan, Kushardanto, & Tyas Nurhidayati, 2012). Many Indonesians also frequent food stalls known as warungs, so campaign managers have used stall and table banners as a way to connect with communities (Rare Indonesia, 2014). As cell phones are one of the key ways people communicate with each other in rural communities (and indeed, throughout the world), campaign managers have also implement text message blasts, in which they send out conservation messages to community members who have signed up to receive such texts (Rare Indonesia, 2015). While many of the campaign managers use similar approaches, they all make extensive efforts to make sure that the campaign includes, engages, and emphasizes local community preferences. As mentioned in the previous section, the system of volunteers has been instrumental for almost all the campaigns in Indonesia (and Malaysia and Timor Leste).

5. CASE STUDIES FROM LATIN AMERICA

Institutional knowledge is used extensively in the Latin American Pride campaigns. For each of their three university phases, campaign managers from Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Paraguay, and Argentina travel to Rare's Latin America headquarters in Guadalajara, Mexico. In these university phases, campaign managers receive formalized instruction guided by the Theory of Change, which is adapted to achieve the desired conservation result. For example, two of Rare's most recent cohorts to graduate in Guadalajara focused on using the Theory of Change to protect watersheds through the use of reciprocal water agreements. Based on the idea of reciprocity, these agreements "involve funding from downstream users that incentivizes [upstream] farmers to set aside part of their land for conservation" (Alger, 2014, p. 1). Farmers may receive materials and/or training to grow crops sustainably, or manage their cattle in ways that protect the ecosystem.

The Theory of Change facilitates the process of obtaining reciprocal water agreements by first using knowledge as a symbolic resource to create awareness around the role ecosystems play in protecting clean water sources. To address attitudes surrounding upstream land use,

campaign managers demonstrate the benefits of reciprocal water agreements, and the social, cultural, and economic value of protecting their environment. Campaign managers use interpersonal communication to start conversations about reciprocal water agreements among community stakeholders. To remove barriers, campaign managers introduce experts and technical support to help create and enforce these agreements. Behavior change involves ensuring conservation becomes a key factor in land management decisions for both farmers and municipal leaders. To demonstrate threat reduction and the conservation result, campaign managers monitor the reduction in damage to upstream ecosystems where reciprocal water agreements have been established, and ultimately demonstrate the protection of those ecosystems, reduction of endangerment to target species, and effective management of water resources. As these cohorts began their individual Pride campaigns aimed at watershed protection, Rare's institutional knowledge surrounding the use of the Theory of Change to create reciprocal water agreements was an important symbolic resource that made it possible to achieve significant conservation results.

While every Rare cohort makes use of practical knowledge, informally sharing what they have learned in their individual Pride campaigns with one another, each cohort serves as a unique example of how this level of knowledge functions as a symbolic resource within a Pride campaign. The cohort known as Guadalajara 12 is the result of an existing partnership between Rare and Corporación Autónoma Regional del Valle del Cauca (CVC), a regional water authority in Colombia, working towards the conservation of water-regulating ecosystems. This partnership began with Gina Julieta Marín Ospina, a campaign manager from an earlier cohort who worked to protect the Los Angeles watershed near Alcala, Colombia. Building from success and momentum of her campaign, Guadalajara 12 is the first cohort in Rare history to bring together members of the same organization who work in the same region with the goal of creating a unified Pride campaign.

In this cohort seven members of the CVC are working to obtain reciprocal water agreements in seven sub-water basins in Colombia's Cauca Valley region. As a cohort, they share practical knowledge as a symbolic resource by discussing what they have learned in their unique sub-water basins. For example, during the second university phase, these campaign managers identified finances and cultural practices as significant barriers to obtaining reciprocal water agreements. As a unified cohort working for the same organization in Colombia, campaign managers worked together to identify potential strategies for barrier removal they could implement once the university phase was over and they each returned to their field sites. Due to the proximity of their campaign sites, in addition to the three university phases, Guadalajara 12 is also able to meet once a month in the field to share knowledge gained in their individual campaigns and offer support to one another. Barriers and strategies may differ from site to site, but the knowledge gained through practice is able to inform the CVC in ways that a top-down organization-driven approach is not. This collaboration ultimately makes for a stronger overall campaign by combining the collective potential of practical knowledge each campaign manager brings to the table, and this practical knowledge will extend beyond these individual Pride campaigns in the CVC's future work.

Guadalajara 12 has also created opportunities for Rare Latin America to use practical knowledge to adapt university phases to meet the unique needs of the cohort's pride campaign. For example, during the third university phase program managers for the Latin American program found that campaign managers would benefit from further developing leadership in skills transference, or sharing what they have learned in their campaigns with different

stakeholders. To develop this skill, campaign managers took turns developing activities for the rest of the cohort to facilitating sharing knowledge, such as a game involving sharing accomplishments and challenges experienced during their campaigns. These activities created spaces for reflection and understanding, which translates to effectively sharing knowledge.

In Pride campaigns, campaign managers are able to draw on local knowledge as an important resource for planning and implementing their approaches to remove barriers and achieve conservation results. One significant way that Pride campaigns draw on local knowledge is through the use of campaign mascots based on local species specific to the geographic region. These mascots not only become the face of the campaign on promotional materials like t-shirts and stickers, but because they are designed based on feedback from local community members they often become significant community figures. For example, Rina Gamarra Tananta's Pride campaign, centered on the Yurcyacu subwatershed in Nueva Cajamarca, Peru, is home to the critically endangered yellow-tailed woolly monkey. Because of this, the local community chose a monkey as their pride campaign mascot and named him "Chorito." Chorito has become so popular that he has been invited to sit next to high level government officials during community celebrations, and children have even written poems about him. In Mónica Andrea Rivera Suárez's campaign in La Union, Colombia, local residents chose a sloth as their mascot. Because sloths used to live in a central park in the community, community members found it easy to generate sympathy for this species, and this local knowledge ultimately translated into support for the campaign.

The emphasis on local knowledge means that Pride campaigns are able to draw from the experiences of individuals and groups who are often not included in conservation efforts, and the knowledge they bring to the table becomes an important symbolic resource for achieving meaningful environmental change. For example, in Anselma Zumaeta Soplín's campaign to conserve the Rumiyacu and Mishquiyacu watersheds in Moyobama, Peru, local knowledge from housewives in the community proved to be an important resource for the creation of a local conservation fund. Soplín's campaign found that housewives were in charge of managing household bills, and so she worked with housewives to incorporate options for contributing to a conservation fund directly on the monthly water bill. In order to increase the visibility of these efforts, local housewives starred in television commercials encouraging their peers to contribute to the fund, and to be mindful about the ways they use water in their own homes. Marco Bustamante's campaign to protect the Yanuncay watershed in Cuenca, Ecuador faced difficulties because of a disconnect between the local community and the water company. A focus on local knowledge revealed that all the children in the community attending a school in Soldados. This knowledge turned out to be a significant symbolic resource, as the school became a central meeting place for Bustamante's pride campaign. His campaign held community events like puppet shows for the children at the school, and this site became an important place for parents to hear campaign messages.

Perhaps one of the most significant examples of local knowledge in Latin American Pride campaigns is the use of music at community events to raise awareness. Every Pride campaign composes a song as part of their social marketing strategy, but these songs have a special significance in Latin American campaigns. Campaign managers use popular dance music, like salsa, cumbia, and bachata, to enable campaign messages to be shared at community events where dancing plays a large role. Because Guadalajara 12 was the first collaborative campaign, the cohort created one song for the entire region. Two of the cohort members, Edgar Alfonso Largacha and Juan de Jesús Salazar Wagner, are musicians and worked together along with de

Jesús Salazar Wagner's family to produce the song, which was played at various community events. Largacha even performed a portion of the song during the final presentation of his campaign results. These examples of local knowledge demonstrate how thinking strategically and creatively about symbolic resources and constructed potentialities can have a big impact within a community, particularly when extensive efforts are made to use appropriate cultural values and symbols.

6. CASE STUDIES FROM CHINA

As of 2016, Rare has conducted 17 Pride conservation campaigns in China, ranging from endangered species protection, to wetland conservation, to sustainable agriculture (Rare, 2016) to respond to the growing number of environmental problems in China. Economic growth in China during the past three decades has severely affected its environment, which is likely to have global implications, in spite of their local characteristics (Yang, 2015). Some examples of these problems include air and water pollution, desertification, and erosion (Yang, 2015). The World Bank (2007) found that health costs of air and water pollution in China were equal to about 4.3 percent of its GDP. According to this report, premature mortality and morbidity associated with the air pollution had caused 157.3 billion RMB in 2003, or equivalent of 1.16% of China's GDP (The World Bank, 2007). Recent research has confirmed air pollution in China kills more than 1.5 million people every year, equivalent to 17% of the country's annual deaths (Worland, 2015). As stated in Rare's website, its conservation objectives in China aim to develop "proven, locally-led conservation solutions that inspire change so people and nature thrive. Rare and local partners in China help local communities tailor solutions to meet their needs so the change endures long after Rare's direct involvement ends" (Rare, 2015).

Pride campaigns in China demonstrate how knowledge is generated, disseminated, and applied to develop grass-root campaigns to change people's pro-environmental behaviors. As stated in Rare's sustainable agricultural campaign in China that was recently launched in 2015, Rare's pride campaigns are designed to train campaign managers "to inspire communities to adopt change through a Pride campaign...to canvas their communities to determine what barriers to sustainable behaviors exist and create pathways to change, [and].....to collect information throughout their campaign and adapt their plans based on constant data analysis" (Rare, 2015). This statement clearly indicates the essence of the constructed potentiality paradigm when the campaign managers collected local residents' attitudes, beliefs, and interpersonal communication channels to have a sense of what resources are available to them to create desirable changes. Once the campaign managers have interpreted local residents' pre-campaign state of mind (as measured by their attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge), their interpretation of the circumstance is situated within the ecological system of the community to identify cultural, economic, political, social, and technological factors that affect the success of pride campaigns. The removal of barriers to local residents' pro-environmental behaviors is critical to the success of pride campaigns by employing approaches that provide non-mainstream and alternative solutions that are not supported or endorsed in the existing economic structure in China. In the end, it is the ultimate objective of pride campaigns to initiate local residents' behavioral change, leading to the reduction of threats and the protection of the environment.

Rare has persuasively described its Theory of Change approach to represent its institutional strength in providing a consistent and standardized training of its campaign managers across the globe, despite potential variations in culture, environment, politics, and

society. In China, Rare has used TOC, along with other social marketing tools, techniques, and theories to protect endangered species (such as cranes, tigers, and monkeys) in different geographical locations in a vast country of 1.3 billion. As institutional knowledge, Rare has standardized its approach for Pride campaigns:

Marketing begins with understanding who you want to change and what is preventing them from changing. Rare works with local partners to identify target audiences, understand barriers to sustainable behavior and tailor a plan at every community site to help people and nature thrive. Every Pride campaign uses the same theory of change — a testable hypothesis that defines social and biological shifts needed for sustained conservation results — and rigorously measures results. (Rare, n.d.)

Each Pride campaign in China employs TOC, but does so in different ways to achieve conservation results. Approaches are culturally adapted to be suitable for different communities, ranging from farmers and rural communities to more urban environments.

In order to successfully plan and implement pride campaigns to address the unique characteristics of each location where Rare's institutional knowledge, such as how TOC is applied, campaign managers often rely on both qualitative and quantitative data collected on site to provide location-specific solutions. For example, in the Yang-Tze River Alligator Conservation Campaign, the campaign manager applied Rare's TOC framework to analyze many ecological factors affecting the conservation of endangered alligators in this area. The conservation of alligators was found to be contingent on whether or not community members are able to recognize the cultural importance of the protected species and if alternative solutions are made available. However, when scrutinizing what facilitates the dissemination of conservation knowledge, the campaign manager realized the indispensable role of interpersonal communication channels in the rural Chinese community where non-official channels are more effective than mass media. An unanticipated text-to-mobile campaign was used to examine how local residents receive conservation information from community committees. A total of 1256 mobile devices received the text. However, response rates ranged from 4.4% (location #1) and 3.7% (location #2). The campaign manager analyzed and speculated what caused the low response rate as local residents' distrust of text messaging. In the Rare university phase training when all campaign managers returned to the Southwestern Forest University at Kunming to receive programmatic training of Rare's curriculum, this campaign manager shared his experience and approach of responding to an unanticipated circumstance on site. Through sharing his practical knowledge of handling this challenge, the campaign manager has added to the institutional knowledge that other campaign managers will learn.

A thorough knowledge about the communities where Pride conservation campaigns will be implemented is critical to their success by offering solutions relevant to the cultural, geographical, and socio-political importance of local residents. However, as denoted in the TOC model, the introduction of these Pride campaigns, in many cases, entails radical modifications of local residents' ways of life as part of threat reduction efforts to create behavioral changes to protect the environment. For example, in the Dongting Lake Finless Porpoise Nature Reserve Campaign, the protection of finless porpoise requires local fishermen to alter their fishing practices, which would severely affect their living conditions. To plan a successful Pride campaign, the campaign manager relied on a fisherman-targeted ad that framed these threats with family-oriented values, using the slogan, "Protecting the Environment Will Protect our Descendants." The decision to make the best use of campaign manager's local knowledge about what local fishermen consider most important has proved useful. In comparison, the non-family-oriented ad for local villagers was framed as self-interest only. Several effectiveness metrics to

measure pre- (2011) and post-campaign (2012) differences confirmed that the family-oriented ad generated anticipated results such as: “Able to identify Finless Porpoise as one of the most representative species in the Dongting Lake,” “Able to identify at least one illegal or overfishing practice that affects the fishery resources in the Dongting Lake,” “Able to identify at least one benefit as a result of local community efforts,” and “Able to identify at least one individual responsibility in the local community efforts.”

Because of the conflicting cultural practices before and after the Pride campaign implementation, the effectiveness of Pride campaigns in China relies on whether campaign managers are able to take into consideration and to be adaptive to the cultural norms of their stakeholders in China. The above campaign examples clearly demonstrate how campaign managers’ understanding of local knowledge proves instrumental to the success of their campaigns.

7. CONCLUSION

Pride campaigns in Indonesia, Latin America, and China have successfully used institutional, practical, and local knowledge as a symbolic resource to achieve significant conservation results. This focus has allowed Pride campaigns to create change through the paradigm of constructed potentiality. Constructed potentiality creates multiple, unspecified, routes to change, and Pride campaigns have successfully used various strategies as routes to change. For example, in several of the Latin American campaigns discussed above, campaign managers worked with community members to create spaces where upstream land owners and downstream water users could make time to meet and communicate with one another. This was ultimately a simple, yet effective change strategy because it was the first time many residents were able to express their concerns and relate to one another over their shared use of water. In China, cultural norms proved to be an important part of the route to change as family-oriented values guided decision making processes for fishermen. Indonesian campaigns, for example, have used volunteer programs to create both buy in from local communities as well as reduce the need for economic resources.

Constructed potentiality achieves change by channeling efforts internally, and this leads to opportunities for self-change. Through public participation in Pride campaigns, the internal focus of change efforts has allowed stakeholders at multiple levels to engage in self-change, consistently redefining their relationship to the environment and their roles in their communities, and using self-reflection as a tool for growth. In Indonesia, key stakeholder meetings that created participatory mapping and volunteer community patrols are examples of internal change. Campaigns in Latin America, such as the women as water bill payers who got together to figure out how to address water conservation, illustrate public participation and opportunities for self-change. In China, the slogan “Protecting the Environment Will Protect our Descendants” allowed fishermen to see themselves as part of the process of environmental conservation, and choosing to change their behaviors became a way to practice family values.

In this essay, we have demonstrated Rare’s use of knowledge as a symbolic resource and constructed potentiality for environmental conservation through the creation, implementation, and monitoring of Pride campaigns. Through Rare’s reliance on institutional, practical, and local knowledge, these campaigns fall under the paradigm of constructed potentiality. This approach means that rather than experts coming in and relying on persuasion as a tool to demand change from community members, Rare’s efforts allow individuals to see themselves as part of the change process. Through their own choice to change their relationships to the surrounding

environment, local residents are empowered to take part in conservation. The resulting pride in local conservation means that campaigns can achieve lasting, sustainable solutions to conservation challenges.

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