in press Human-Wildlife Interactions: Turning Conflict into Coexistence eds. Frank, B., Marchini, S., Glikman, J. Cambridge University Press

1	12 The Twin Challenges of Preventing Real and Perceived Threats to Human Interests
2	Authors: Omar Ohrens ¹ , Francisco Santiago-Ávila ¹ & Adrian Treves ¹
3	
4	¹ Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Wisconsin, USA
5	
6 7	Humans and other species have historically competed over resources and space, resulting
8	many times in interspecies conflict. For example, humans have hunted or domesticated wild
9	herbivores for protein, which are also consumed by predators. This has led people to retaliatory
10	killing of carnivores, posing a major threat to their populations (Woodroffe & Ginsberg 1998;
11	Chapron et al. 2014). Although societies have developed mitigation strategies to reduce such
12	conflicts, the rise of social conflicts between people who value carnivores and those who do not
13	has sometimes affected the use of mitigation strategies, whether lethal or non-lethal (Treves &
14	Karanth 2003; Treves et al. 2006; Redpath et al. 2013; Treves & Bruskotter 2014; Woodroffe &
15	Redpath 2015). Differences in interests between people can lead to imposed solutions that
16	benefit some people over others, due to power relations or prevailing attitudes (Redpath et al.
17	2013; Treves et al. 2015). Because of this imbalanced decision making ability, a proposed
18	method may not be implemented as planned (Fishbein & Yzer 2003) or dismantled later
19	(Karanth & Madhusudan 2002), even when functionally effective.
20	Non-implementation highlights hidden cognitive mechanisms that have been described
21	by social psychologists' theories (e.g. Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behaviour (hereafter TPB); see
22	Text Box 12.1), in which a complex mix of social norms, emotions and external conditions can
23	influence people's decisions and actions (Fishbein & Yzer 2003; Wieckzorek Hudenko 2012;
24	Schlüter et al. 2017; Amit & Jacobson 2017). The cognitive dimensions of human behaviour

25 interact with both individual appraisals of effectiveness - which does not necessarily correlate with functional effectiveness - and uncertainty about effectiveness to alter implementation. We 26 use the term effective (powerful in effect; producing a notable effect, www.oed.com) and 27 effectiveness because these allow us to address both the potential of individual actors to achieve 28 coexistence and the efficacy of technical devices to attain that goal. We do not use the term 29 30 efficacy as it is more limited (not used as an attribute of personal agents www.oed.com) and avoid efficient because of its potential for confusion with feasible (capable of being done, 31 accomplished or carried out; possible, practicable). We also focus on evidence for effectiveness 32 33 of an intervention from actual experimental trials under working conditions (not under laboratory conditions), not idealized claims of effectiveness that have not yet been realized through real-34 world testing. 35

Text Box 12.1. Theory of Planned Behavior (adapted from Ajzen 1991)

This theoretical framework describes how intentions to perform certain behaviours are predicted by cognitive variables such as attitudes toward the behaviour (i.e. evaluation of the behaviour in question), subjective norms (i.e. social pressure to perform the behaviour), and perceived behavioural control (i.e. self-efficacy or perceived capacity to perform the behaviour).



37

38 Scientific research has shown that numerous methods of intervention can promote coexistence of 39 people and carnivores (Inskip & Zimmermann 2009; Treves et al. 2009; McManus et al. 2015). However, few have been scientifically evaluated along multiple criteria of effectiveness, cost-40 41 efficiency, environmental consequences, social acceptability (Shivik et al. 2003; Breitenmoser et al. 2005; Inskip & Zimmermann 2009; Treves et al. 2009; Zarco-González & Monroy-Vilchis; 42 2014; McManus et al. 2015) and adequacy of implementation. Here, we lay out an integrative 43 44 framework for understanding the implementation of interventions for coexistence and conflict, which includes both the effect in preventing future damages (functional effectiveness, 'FE' 45

hereafter) and the individual human perceptions of effectiveness of an intervention (perceived 46 47 effectiveness, 'PE' hereafter). In some cases, conflicting perceptions of effectiveness and 48 functional effectiveness can lead to negative outcomes for wildlife or property owners, where the goals of conservation and coexistence with wild animals may be jeopardized. We expose the 49 cause-and-effect logic underlying decisions to intervene or not, where both explicit and hidden 50 51 mechanisms are considered. By understanding better how FE and PE relate, we believe the field can avoid a sterile debate claiming that *people are irrational* on the one hand or that *technical* 52 53 *experts have no common sense* on the other hand. Avoiding such misunderstandings may 54 improve intervention design and implementation, conservation and coexistence efforts, policy, conflict resolution, and scientific analysis of human wildlife-coexistence and conflict (HWCC). 55

56

12.1 The theory behind FE and PE

Functional effectiveness (FE) in our context of HWCC measures whether the intervention 57 reduces future attacks by wildlife (Treves et al. 2016). Because empirical measurement of 58 59 wildlife damage and its attribution to wildlife is a technical skill with a measurable rate of errors (e.g. Plumer et al. 2018), FE differs markedly from human opinion of the effectiveness of an 60 intervention, to which we return below. Nevertheless, FE is difficult to evaluate rigorously. 61 62 Biomedical sciences have pioneered in experiments yielding strong inference about the FE of interventions. For instance, randomized control trials (gold-standard hereafter; see Text Box 63 64 12.2), are the most robust methods to estimate the effectiveness of an intervention (Grimshaw et 65 al. 2000; Mukherjee 2010). Avoiding biases at several stages and reducing the effect of 66 confounding variables are indispensable advantages of this method. For instance, there has been 67 four recent reviews on the FE of methods to reduce carnivore predation on livestock, which 68 revealed diverse interpretations and standards of evidence (Miller et al. 2016; Treves et al. 2016;

- 69 Eklund et al. 2017; van Eeden et al. 2018). One of the main results of all four reviews was the
- 70 high variability in the effectiveness of interventions. Moreover, all four reviews concurred that
- 71 strong inference was scarce because of a lack of experimental controls. Because there has been
- 72 little consensus until now on standards of evidence for FE, at least one of the above reviews used
- 73 measures of PE (did the livestock owner report satisfaction or perceive reduction in losses of
- 74 livestock?). In the next section, we define PE so future research will maintain a clear separation
- 75 between FE and PE.

Text Box 12.2 *Definition of gold, silver and platinum-standard experiments (see Treves et al. 2016)*

Gold-standard

Random assignment of treatments and controls, without detectable biases in sampling, treatment, measurement, or reporting. It produces the strongest inference and evidence of effectiveness of an intervention. Examples of this were reported in Treves et al. (2016).

Silver-standard

Non-random assignment of treatments. Includes quasi-experimental designs with haphazard assignment of treatments, such as case-control or Before-After Control-Impact (hereafter BACI) designs. Produces weaker inference because of potential pre-existing differences between treatment and control replicates, and because of confounding temporal effects coincident with the treatments.

Platinum standard

A gold-standard experiment in which 'blinding' prevents intervenors from influencing measurers and vice versa, and other recommendations from Ioannidis (2005) are put in place by researchers, such as registered reports in which the methods are peer-reviewed before the experiment begins.

- 77 Because strong inference depends on careful experiments that oppose hypotheses (Platt
- 1964), Treves et al. (2016) emphasized that only a handful of studies in North America and
- 79 Europe had ever produced strong inference about interventions to prevent predation on livestock.
- 80 Although their goal was to review studies that fulfilled the *gold-standard* criteria, only two tests

81 of non-lethal method met that standard between 1973 and 2016 and zero for lethal methods of 82 intervention. Therefore, they had to relax the criteria to include silver-standard studies (a total 10 83 studies under this criteria) (see Text Box 12.2 for definition). Furthermore, a 2018 re-evaluation of one of the tests of lethal methods led to its removal from the list of functionally effective 84 methods (Santiago-Ávila et al. 2018a), given concerns related to their identification of study 85 86 subjects (potential sampling bias) and the construction of their dependent variable (potential measurement bias). In summary, we highlight the importance of implementing rigorous and 87 robust designs that measure functional effectiveness with strong inference. This will prevent 88 implementation of ineffective interventions that would lead to wasted resources and harm to 89 animals (wild and domestic) and, therefore, not promote coexistence. We also conclude that after 90 more than 40 years of studies with weak inference or flawed designs, societies seeking evidence-91 based policy on wildlife control may find little certainty. That can lead to choices of 92 93 interventions based solely on PE.

94 By contrast with FE, PE is a cognitive state. Perceived effectiveness (PE) in the context of HWCC measures individual perceived reduction in damages of an intervention. For example, 95 96 most readers would accept that two individuals could perceive the same effect differently from 97 each other and, neither PE may be identical to the scientific measurement of a functional effect. The logical inference in both cases is that PE relies on subjective cues that can be accurate or 98 99 not. Human brains and senses are not scientific tools for unbiased measurement. For instance, 100 several studies have demonstrated the influence that factors like experience, context, cognition, 101 and perceptual biases (e.g. preconceived ideas about something) have on filtering individual 102 observations (Starr 1969; Kellert 1985; Slovic 1987; Finucane et al. 2000; Wieczoreck Hudenko 2012). In this section, we attempt to explain more precisely the conditions under which FE and 103

104 PE do and do not overlap, and the role that overlap plays in fostering or hindering coexistence105 with others, especially nonhuman others.

106 12.1.1 PE components and development of framework

Differences of perception between two persons relates both to physical constraints on 107 perceptual abilities (e.g. sensory and motor constraints) and to psychological factors that 108 109 influence appraisals (Starr 1969; Slovic 1987). The field of psychology has a long history of 110 investigating appraisals and two major conclusions have emerged. Human brains make rapid 111 appraisals on the order of milliseconds, using more ancient regions of the brain such as the 112 amygdala (Whalen et al. 1998; Morris et al. 1999). Rapid appraisals (e.g. emotions - fear of snakes) often have high survival value and are difficult to modulate by the slower, cortical 113 114 regions of the brain (Öhman & Mineka 2001; Barrett 2006; Lindquist et al. 2012). Fast 115 appraisals captured by the amygdala may even go unnoticed by the perceiver, who simply may 116 not be aware of the stimulus (i.e. unconscious pathway) (Esteves & Öhman 1993; Whalen et al. 117 1998). Human brains also make slower appraisals on the order of tenths of seconds, using more recently evolved regions of the brain such as the frontal cortex (Ajzen 1991; Treves & Pizzagalli 118 2002; Kahnemann 2003). For instance, when humans face obstacles or threats, their preferred 119 120 solutions reflect both the rapid-affective (as simple as like or dislike) and slower-cognitive 121 responses (should I like or dislike this?), which may integrate numerous criteria that reflect both 122 the characteristics of the obstacle or threat, and the perceiver's own attributes including 123 experiences and perceived social norms (e.g. how others perceive the situation and what they 124 expect from the subject) (Kahnemann 2003; Wieczorek Hudenko 2012). The way the different 125 appraisals replace each other or integrate is not yet well understood generally and largely 126 unknown for HWCC. In summary, there is a mixed route of decision making relevant to

behaviour based on a rapid, automatic pathway (e.g. affective) combined with a slower, reasonedone (e.g. conscious) (Kahnemann 2003).

129 Building on the above research into cognition and behaviour, investigators of HWC decision-making suggest that both cognitive (rational) and affective (emotional) components are 130 relevant and important in understanding human behaviour. This is significant given that 131 132 emotions (e.g. fear) will most likely predominate during these interactions and, therefore, would 133 influence human behaviour (Johansson & Karlsson 2011; Wieczorek Hudenko 2012; Frank et al. 134 2015; Sponarski et al. 2015). Thus, in our treatment of PE, we restrict ourselves to referring simplistically and similarly to a mixture of affect (rapid responses) and cognition (slower 135 136 responses) rather than the exclusive use of one or the other.

Observers or non-evaluators may disagree with scientific measurement of FE and will, 137 therefore, behave differently from evaluators. For instance, confirmation bias can be understood 138 139 loosely as a tendency to ignore information that conflicts with pre-existing beliefs, and to focus 140 on information that conforms to a person's beliefs (Dunwoody 2007; Wieczorek Hudenko 2012). 141 Related but sometimes acting separately, humans may change their perceptions, and behaviours that follow from those perceptions, if the bearer of the new message is familiar and trusted 142 143 versus unfamiliar or untrusted (Dunwoody 2007; Powell et al. 2007). For instance, trust and 144 familiarity have been addressed through research on social norms. Addressing HWCC explicitly, 145 Heberlein (2012) described norms as behavioural regularities and as being closely related to 146 one's role in a social group. Social norms can trump attitudes when it comes to shaping 147 behaviours and expectations (Kinzig et al. 2013). Further, norms of acceptable behaviour and 148 those enforced by social pressure can govern over alternate rules or motivations (e.g. laws or 149 mechanistic explanations for behaviour such as income needs), as in the case of illegal

150 behaviours (Jones et al. 2008; Marchini & Macdonald 2012). For example, social norms strongly 151 influenced the intention to kill jaguars in Brazil more so than retaliation due to livestock 152 predation. People's intention to kill carnivores was driven by the thought that peers kill carnivores more than wealth of the respondent (Marchini & Macdonald 2012). Furthermore, the 153 154 decision to act may depend on the individual's perceived behavioural control over that action or 155 the phenomenon being perceived (Ajzen 1991; Fishbein & Yzer 2003; Amit & Jacobson 2017). 156 Discriminating the two cognitive mechanisms (social norms or behavioural control) may be very 157 difficult because of the hidden nature of cognitive processing that precedes action or inaction. 158 Finally, perceptions might change following an intervention event or before, during and after an intervention took place. For example, a farmer may ask himself questions like: (1) Will this 159 160 intervention reduce damages or threats? (before implementation), (2): Is this reducing damages? 161 (during), (3) Do I like the outcome?, Were there any unexpected consequences? (immediately 162 after), and; (4) Would I try it again? (longer after; see PE in Fig. 12.1). Some authors (Ajzen 163 1991; Fishbein & Yzer 2003) predict that events may produce changes in intentions or in perceptions of behavioural control, with the effect that the original measures of these variables 164 165 no longer permit accurate prediction of behaviour.

Here, we build and expand on the TPB (Ajzen 1991) as well as more recent work on
behaviour change in the literature on human-environment interactions (Fishbein & Yzer 2003;
Wieczorek Hudenko 2012; Amit & Jacobson 2017; Schlüter et al. 2017;) to offer a schematic
figure both to illustrate the complexity of human cognition as it relates to PE, and as a heuristic
tool for partitioning the process of PE into more manageable components for analysis, as
discussed previously (Figure 12.1). For instance, Amit & Jacobson (2017) described an
expanded model adapted from Ajzen's TPB (1991) applied to human-carnivore conflict

mitigation strategies. This expanded model included additional factors such as emotions and
situational variables (i.e. livestock mortality rates by carnivores, income from livestock
production and size of the property) that may influence farmers' decision-making behaviour
related to the adoption of an intervention or not. Here we simplify intervention choice or
implementation down to the most important causal variables so that we can integrate FE and PE.
Integration of both will help us to identify and understand the circumstances when they do or do
not align and, therefore, focus on where and how we should put our efforts on interventions

aimed at coexistence.





182 Figure 12.1 Perceived effectiveness framework adapted from social-psychological decision-

183 making theories. In this adapted framework, human cognition variables are laid out

184	chronologically from the upper left running clockwise from pre-implementation of an
185	intervention to long-term post-implementation. The dashed arrow indicates the possibility of re-
186	starting the process adaptively if the implementers are not satisfied.
187	
188	12.1.2 Integrative Framework: Theory of Relationship between Functional and Perceived
189	Effectiveness
190	So far, we have described the theory behind FE and PE independently. Now, we want to
191	integrate the two concepts to propose a hypothesis. Our hypothesis is that, a scientifically-proven
192	functionally effective intervention (high FE) is more likely to be adopted if $PE \ge FE$, than if $PE <$
193	FE. Alternatively, an ineffective intervention (FE low) is more likely to be adopted if PE > FE,
194	than if PE is low (Figure 12.2).
195	

196 Figure 12.2. Hypothesis that integrates concepts of perceived and functional effectiveness

		Low	High
FF	Low	Least likely to be adopted	More likely to be adopted
FE	High	Less likely to be adopted	Most likely to be adopted

PE

This hypothesis highlights two cases of important conservation and coexistence concern. 198 199 We predict that (1), non-adoption of a functionally effective intervention, (high FE and low PE, 200 lower left in Figure 12.2) leads to political conflicts between researchers and stakeholders in addition to adoption of another intervention method, which might in turn lead to (2), the adoption 201 202 of an ineffective intervention (low FE and high PE, upper right in Figure 12.2). We predict 203 outcome (2) leads to wasted resources and harm to animals without improving coexistence. In 204 both cases, our goal is to predict the factors that are influencing the decisions and suggest 205 outcomes for coexistence.

206 Here, we propose three cognitive processes that may influence PE and the decision to 207 implement an intervention: (1) uncertainty about FE, (2) ecological and social side-effects and 208 outside interest groups influences (e.g. social norms), and (3) ability to implement (e.g. 209 feasability, behavioural control¹). These cognitive processes do not act separately, presenting 210 levels of overlap and correlation between them (Ajzen 1991; Fishbein & Yzer 2003; Amit & 211 Jacobson 2017). Nevertheless, all of the cognitive processes underlying PE might contribute to 212 the decision to act (implement an intervention), which we defined as an area where all three processes overlap in Figure 12.3. Because two of the three cognitive processes have nothing to 213 214 do with FE (social norms and perceived behavioural control), we predict in many instances $FE \neq i$ 215 PE. We predict that FE is more likely to equal PE and that appropriate action would follow when 216 a trusted messenger demonstrates the intervention or testifies to its usefulness (Dunwoody 2007) 217 (reducing uncertainty), when unintended side-effects are minimized or eliminated, and when 218 resource or technical aid is provided to improve perceived control over the intervention. 219

¹ the degree to which an individual perceives the behaviour under their volitional control



220



229 properly and measured appropriately. Our integrative framework helps to explain why an

implementer may decline or dismantle an intervention that shows evidence of FE, because FE
does not address side-effects, social norms, or feasibility. Likewise, our framework helps to
explain why technical experts often disapprove of the actual methods in use by lay persons. For
instance, the implementation was feasible and accepted by social norms but the technical expert
may see a design flaw that precludes FE. Our framework would improve future coexistence if it
exposes mismatches between PE and FE so that intervention designers and implementers can
include persuasive interventions if needed.

237 Below we explore some cases in which $PE \neq FE$ yet FE is high. Our first example 238 addresses a non-lethal intervention in which social norms are favourable and uncertainty is low but individuals seem to rate the feasibility (perceived control) as low. A proven intervention such 239 240 as Livestock Guarding Dogs (LGDs hereafter) can reduce livestock losses in a variety of 241 situations (Gehring et al. 2010; Treves et al. 2016), but many livestock owner's express concerns 242 about their ability to raise, maintain, and train such dogs or share the belief that these dogs do not 243 work on large, open pastures despite evidence of the contrary (Espuno et al. 2004). If we are 244 correct that other components of PE are moderate to highly conducive to adoption but a perceived lack of behavioural control or ability to implement an LGD is widespread (issues and 245 246 asisstance with proper training and caring for guarding dogs), then adoption might be promoted 247 by training and demonstration projects with owners.

Other methods of intervention seem to be perceived as feasible (high perceived
behavioural control) yet are not adopted widely. For example, in Sweden subsidized fencing to
protect livestock has not led to a widespread installation by farmers (Frank & Eklund 2017),
although individuals accepted the help initially and this intervention has substantial evidence of
FE (Karlsson & Sjöström 2011; Ängsteg et al. 2014). According to our hypotheses and its

predictive framework, some component of PE must be low or missing. We predict that a social
norm exists against the subsidized fencing or that after installation farmers are discovering sideeffects or infeasible aspects.

256 It is tempting for scholars to assume that when $PE \neq FE$, the lay person needs more 257 information (the information-deficit hypothesis). Our framework suggests instead that other 258 important cognitive processes may be blocking adoption and maintenance of the implemented 259 method. Uncertainty and novelty of methods can dampen adoption. For example, differences 260 between sites where FE experiments take place and the actual site of implementation could 261 elevate uncertainty. Small differences in livestock husbandry, carnivore species, or landscapes can raise doubts about FE in even the most willing adopter. Even after implementation, a person 262 263 might abandon the method if outcomes are not as promised. Slower appraisals that arise from 264 unexpected outcomes, as well as dynamic social norms might lead to dismantling or defection of 265 implementers. Moreover, the farmer may oppose the general view of effectiveness due to 266 disagreement over conservation goals and might, therefore, dismiss and contest research (Redpath et al. 2013; Woodroffe & Redpath 2015). Therefore, the presentation of information 267 268 and its acceptance by various audiences is best understood by studying the communication 269 process and participants, more than by the content of the communication.

It is widely believed that owners of domestic animals should be engaged actively in
decision-making to help build trust and meet PE criteria. For example, participant engagement
approaches have been described as helpful when promoting adoption of interventions (Treves et
al. 2006, 2009; Reed et al. 2008; Woodroffe & Redpath 2015). Nevertheless, it does not
necessarily follow that participants must be engaged in groups to decide on each other's
interventions. That might amplify social norm imposition (peer pressure) that could drive PE

further from FE. The ideal scenario for coexistence in HWCC is for both people and wildlife to
be protected with FE interventions that meet PE criteria. The ideal scenario would be researchers
measuring the cognitive components of PE before attempting an intervention. What we are
proposing here has not yet been fully tested but promising projects are underway (see Text Box
12.3 below).

281

288

282 12.2 Case Studies on Perceived Effectiveness of Methods to Reduce Damages to Livestock

We reviewed various case studies regarding PE of interventions with the goal of comparing them with the proposed integrative framework, and then give guidance on how to design a study to measure these components. We selected 3 studies where we addressed at least one of the cognitive processes or components described in our integrative framework (see Text Box 12.3).

289 [Start Text Box 12.3] 290 291 Case study 1: Integrating proposed framework to improve coexistence between pumas and people in Chile 292 Research began by measuring attitudes among Aymara indigenous people in northern Chile 293 294 towards pumas and perceptions of methods to protect livestock. These baseline data revealed low 295 perceived behavioural control (owners felt they needed help to implement any intervention), that 296 non-lethal methods were viewed as an option by respondents (i.e. permissive social norms) 297 (Ohrens et al. 2016). Furthermore, researchers had very weak evidence about FE of any method 298 for the predator, the livestock, or the region. Subsequently, authors offered help to intervenors 299 (owners) by attempting a participatory intervention planning workshop (see methods in Treves et 300 al. 2009) to select a non-lethal method of their preference. This participatory process (i.e. local 301 engagement) might have helped to overcome PE about what would be effective and what would

not, given equal uncertainty among methods. Besides, researchers attempted to improve
participants' perceptions of behavioural control. Only one of 12 participants in the experiment
abandoned the project midway, the remaining 11 accepted the placebo control in a cross-over
(reverse-treatment) design, and after the end of the experiment all 11 requested to keep the light
deterrent device they had tested. Although this example attempted to integrate several criteria of
PE, it did not measure social norms explicitly and does not yet demonstrate long-term adoption.

308 Case study 2: Lethal interventions against jaguars in Brazil

The second study, done in Amazonia and Pantanal, Brazil (Marchini & Macdonald 2012), 309 measured social norms regarding lethal control of jaguars. To gather specific variables that could 310 311 help to predict behaviour and intentions to use lethal methods, the authors followed the TPB (Ajzen 1991) and separated social norms into several components (e.g. descriptive norm, social 312 313 identity) to measure cognitive aspects of coexistence or illegal killing of jaguars. The authors 314 concluded that peer group pressures and other social norms (cultural beliefs about men and 315 jaguars) were important predictors of the intention to kill jaguars, independently from wealth or 316 economic losses, which did not predict that intention well. Apparently, respondents believed that 317 killing jaguars would save cattle despite lack of evidence of FE (low uncertainty about the 318 method), and that belief was amplified by social norms. Nevertheless, farmers who expressed an 319 intention to kill jaguars reported substantial variation in their ability to do so (Marchini & 320 Macdonald 2012). In sum, implementation (illegally killing a jaguar) was predicted strongly by 321 behavioural control and the expected positive social benefits of doing so. In such a situation, 322 measuring FE or intervening to raise uncertainty about the effectiveness of killing jaguars to 323 protect cattle may be irrelevant. Conservationists aiming at coexistence should address the social 324 norm affecting those individuals who intended to kill jaguars or report the ability of those 325 individuals to act on their beliefs.

326 Case study 3: Perceived effectiveness of interventions in South Africa

We combined two studies that similarly presented measurements on uncertainty of effectiveness, 327 and retention of interventions over time. The first study, from McManus et al. (2015), applied a 328 329 pseudo-control design to measure the effect of lethal interventions compared to subsequent non-330 lethal ones. The authors found that livestock losses and related costs declined after implementing a variety of different non-lethal methods. Therefore, FE of non-lethal was concluded to be higher 331 332 than FE of lethal methods. Follow-up interviews revealed that 6 of the 11 farmers continued the 333 effective non-lethal methods 12 months after the team stopped measuring livestock losses. However, after 36 months only 4 of 11 farmers continued the effective non-lethal interventions. 334 335 The reasons that 7 farmers abandoned the non-lethal methods included unexpected outcomes (dog that may have killed livestock was shot by neighbour), ability to implement (farmer found 336 337 easier to implement lethal method) and uncertainty of effectiveness (lethal method perceived 338 more effective). We infer that FE was not sufficient to assure long-term adoption of a non-lethal 339 method. Several components of PE resurfaced over time and a lower FE method supplanted the 340 method with higher FE (McManus et al. 2015).

341 The second study conducted by Rust et al. (2013) applied a quasi-experimental design 342 (before-and-after), without controls, to measure attitudes of farmers to the performance of LGDs in protecting livestock from cheetahs as well as costs associated with their implementation. 343 344 Researchers documented that LGDs were perceived as cost-effective in reducing livestock 345 predation by carnivores. Mean perceived annual predation for the total participating farms 346 (n=70) were reduced by 33 to 100% after LGD placement. The authors reported that from a total 347 of 97 LGDs, 22% (n=21 dogs) were removed from farms. Reasons for dog removal were mostly 348 reported to be related to farmer's perception of dog's behaviour and capacity (uncertainty of 349 effectiveness) followed by a few cases that were related to owner's capacity to implement dog

training or husbandry properly (ability to implement). Again, an FE method in the short-term
proved to have longer-term problems in a minority of cases or at least the PE of the method
diminished over time.

353 354

355

[End Text Box 12.3]

Our three examples have highlighted incongruities between PE and FE but do not serve to test our hypothesis rigorously. We lack a study of FE combined with measures of PE at the same site that are both focused on the same intervention, regardless of how many subjects benefited from the intervention (i.e. a continuous measure of FE). With a sufficient sample of respondents, such a study could test our hypothesis by correlating PE to each PE component and to individual experiences of FE across subjects.

362 Alternately, we would need a study across many sites that compares aggregated PE 363 measures for each site to the binary variable of FE (i.e. was it effective at that site or not?). 364 Under those conditions, the intervention does not need to be the same across sites because site-365 specific PE and FE are being compared to each other (within-subject correlation). Such a study would provide a more general test of our hypothesis, but would lack the specificity to reveal 366 367 clearly which component of PE was responsible for any observed mismatch because different 368 biophysical, socio-political, and intervention designs would cloud the interpretation of results. 369 Regardless, either type of study would help to advance research on preventing HWCC. We 370 expect coexistence would be promoted as a result.

371 12.3 Guidelines to Measure Perceived Effectiveness of Interventions

For this purpose, we present guidelines and steps in designing and conducting research regarding our PE criteria. We will focus on the intent of coexistence interventions, and how they affect PE, and each of its components. For example, we need to: (1) use the integrative framework to target and focus on components that have not been addressed in former studies
conducted in the same locations (e.g. define research questions), (2) select robust designs to
reduce all sorts of biases (e.g. design of studies), (3) develop methods to target research
questions (e.g. questionnaires, appropriate framing and design of questionnaires) (see Marchini
& Macdonald 2012; St. John et al. 2014), and (4) consider temporality within study design (e.g.
before, during, after and follow-up measurements) (see McManus et al. 2015) (see summary in
Table 12.1).

382 12.3.1 Study Design for PE

383 We propose the randomly apply questionnaires to farmers within a study area, a common method in social sciences, to measure our proposed components (Newing et al. 2011). The focus 384 385 of questionnaires may depend on the amount and type of existing information that is related to 386 our framework and available at the site. However, for our purposes we will target all components 387 described earlier (Figure 12.1 and 12.3). We recommend that questionnaires follow the time-388 scale presented in our PE framework; with questions that target information before, during, 389 immediately and long after implementation of interventions. At the same time, we suggest following the construct of our proposed integrative framework to design questions that measure 390 391 each component. For example, questions can be in the form of statements for each variable within components, using Likert scale answers (from strongly agree to strongly disagree) 392 393 (Newing et al. 2011). This is a commonly used method to measure latent constructs such as 394 attitudes and behaviours. Here are some examples of statements for each component: (1) I am 395 confident about continuing using the intervention (ability to implement), (2) I feel social 396 pressure to use a specific intervention (side-effects and outside group influences), (3) The 397 intervention has been very effective in reducing attacks on livestock (uncertainty of

effectiveness) (see Marchini & Macdonald 2012; St. John et al. 2014). To test, we can use a

399 general linear model (GLM) between integrative framework variables as predictors (e.g. ability

400 to implement, uncertainty of effectiveness, social norms) and the binary result of the intention or

401 not (0 or 1) to implement the proposed intervention as response variable.

402

403 Table 12.1 Guidelines to measure perceived effectiveness of interventions.

			Predictors	
Timing relative to implementation	Response Variable	Uncertainty of effectiveness	Social Norms (measured within participants and outside interest groups)	Ability to implement
Before	Intention to implement?	Measure the participant's appraisal of future effectiveness	 Measure the likely gain or loss of social status if they implement (based on perceptions relative to others) Measure side-effects from outside interest groups as perceived by participant and associates 	Measure anticipated feasibility (cost, skill, time, side- effects other than social ones)
During	Maintain implementation?	Measure the participant's appraisal of ongoing effectiveness	Measure the actual gain or loss of social status as perceived by participant, associates, and outside interest groups (based on perceptions relative to others)	Measure ongoing actualized feasibility (cost, skill, time, side- effects other than social ones)

Shortly after	Appraisal of outcomes?	Measure the participant's conclusion about effectiveness	Measure the actual gain or loss of social status as perceived by participant, associates, and outside interest groups (based on perceptions relative to others)	Measure final, actualized feasibility (cost, skill, time, side- effects other than social ones) and the benefits – costs of outcomes
Long after	Adopt and promote with others?	Measure the participant's willingness to continue use or communicate outcomes to others	Measure the actual gain or loss of social status as perceived by participant, associates, and outside interest groups (based on perceptions relative to others)	Measure long-term side-effects and the costs and the benefits – costs of outcomes

404

405 12.4 Conclusions: Tying Back to Coexistence

406	Interventions aim at reducing negative interactions between wildlife and humans,
407	promoting coexistence. Under our integrative framework, we hypothesize that the successful
408	adoption of proven effective interventions are more likely if functional and perceived
409	effectiveness align (PE \geq FE and FE is high), which in the long term should promote and foster
410	coexistence. Similarly, Heberlein (2012) argued that to approach environmental problems
411	successfully, more than one of his proposed fixes (e.g. technical, cognitive and structural) need
412	to be addressed. Analogously, our framework is proposing to address both technical (i.e.
413	technical solution to reduce livestock losses - functional effectiveness) and structural-cognitive
414	fixes (indirect solution that attempts to address peoples attitudes and behaviours towards wildlife
415	- perceived effectiveness, also see Treves et al. 2006, 2009) to improve coexistence. We

416 recommend interdisciplinary measurement of both human cognition and behaviour as well as 417 experimental tests of functional effectiveness. By promoting PE and FE alignment, we fall to the 418 right side of the conflict-to-coexistence continuum, aimed at improving positive attitudes/behaviours towards wildlife (Frank 2016). 419 420 Our framework (Figure 12.2) predicts that political conflicts will arise in two different 421 ways when $FE \neq PE$. When PE > FE and FE is low, technical experts will object to the 422 implementation of an ineffective intervention, and the political conflicts and disputes that ensue 423 will focus on trust in science, as well as legitimacy of unscientific decisions, among others. If 424 opposing interest groups are involved, the interest group that either ideologically prefers the intervention or prefers science-based decision-making will take sides. When PE < FE and FE is 425 426 high (case study 3), we predict technical experts will find themselves trying to persuade lay people to implement something they are resistant to try. If technical experts fail, then the likely 427 428 outcome would be the case where a lower FE method is implemented (PE > FE, FE is low). 429 Without evidence for high FE, PE tends to sway decisions and will determine which intervention is implemented. Confirming that FE is high before implementing an intervention is 430 431 especially important if decision-makers perceive that nonhuman animals do not deserve moral 432 consideration. If an intervention has low FE and is implemented nonetheless, nonhuman animals 433 - wild and domestic - are likely to suffer. Moreover, our inability to deliberate fairly with 434 nonhumans and the power asymmetry between parties will tend to undermine coexistence 435 between humans and nonhumans (Favre 1979; Hutchins & Wemmer 1986). Within this social 436 and structural context, the implementation of interventions with PE > FE that can be harmful or 437 lethal to nonhuman animals (e.g. lethal methods, translocation) should be viewed most 438 sceptically by youth and future generations and by current adults concerned with ethics,

439	legitimacy, and precautionary principles. Here, emerging fields such as compassionate
440	conservation and practices such as predator-friendly farming can help in providing principles and
441	guidance on the implementation of socially acceptable interventions that promote animal well-
442	being (Ramp & Bekoff 2015; Wallach et al. 2015; Johnson & Wallach 2016). By emphasizing
443	coexistence with individual nonhumans (not just species), these fields promote the moral
444	standing of nonhumans and attempt to equitably consider individual nonhuman interests when
445	deciding if and when to intervene in their lives (Santiago-Ávila et al. 2018b).
446	
447	12.5 Recommendations and Future Directions
448	• Strengthen the rigor of science for understanding adoption and maintenance of
449	interventions for coexistence.
450	• Collect both ecological (FE) and social-psychological (PE) variables when evaluating an
451	intervention aimed to reduce conflict. This would enable a more balanced
452	interdisciplinary understanding of social-ecological systems, such as human-wildlife
453	interactions.
454	• Test hypotheses of particular interventions in a rigorously designed study. This would
455	help in better design and implementation of interventions to reduce conflicts (see
456	guidelines in Table 12.1).
457	• Address current gaps in the use of gold-standard designs to evaluate both FE and PE of
458	methods and their implications for carnivore and wildlife conservation in general.
459	• Address current gaps in knowledge on possible unexpected effects of non-lethal
460	interventions on predators and other wildlife (e.g. disruption of behaviour and social
461	organization).

462	12.6	Refer	ences
-----	------	-------	-------

463

464 Ajzen I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational behavior and human decision*465 *processes*, **50**, 179–211

466

Amit R. & Jacobson S. K. (2017) Understanding rancher coexistence with jaguars and pumas: a
typology for conservation practice. *Biodiversity and Conservation*. DOI: 10.1007/s10531-0171304-1

470

471 Ängsteg I., Ängsteg R., Levin M., Karlsson J., Eklund A., & Råsberg A. (2014). *Stängsling mot*472 *stora rovdjur*. Sweden: Viltskadecenter, SLU.

473

474 Barrett L.F. (2006) Solving the emotion paradox: categorization and the experience of emotion.

475 *Personality and Social Psychology Review* **10:** 20–46

476

- 477 Breitenmoser U., Angst C., Landary J.-M., Breitenmoser-Wursten C., Linnell J.D.C. & Weber J.-
- 478 M. (2005) Non-lethal techniques for reducing depredation. In: *People & Wildlife: Conflict or*
- 479 *Coexistence?*, eds. Woodroffe R., Thirgood S. & Rabinowitz A., pp. 49–71. Cambridge, UK:
- 480 Cambridge University Press.

481

- 482 Chapron G., Kaczensky P., Linnell J. D. C., et al. (2014) Recovery of large carnivores in
- 483 Europe's modern human-dominated landscapes. *Science* **346**: 1517–1519

4	8	5
---	---	---

486	Dunwoody S. (2007) The challenge of trying to make a difference using media messages. In:
487	Creating a climate for change, eds. Moser S.C. & Dilling L., pp. 89-104. Cambridge, UK:
488	Cambridge University Press.
489	
490	Eklund A., López-Bao J.V., Tourani M., Chapron G. & Frank J. (2017) Limited evidence on the
491	effectiveness of interventions to reduce livestock predation by large carnivores. Scientific
492	Reports 7, 2097.
493	
494	Espuno N., Lequette B., Poulle M.L., Migot P., Lebreton J. D. (2004) Heterogeneous response to
495	preventive sheep husbandry during wolf recolonization of the French Alps. Wildlife Society
496	Bulletin 32 : 1195-1208
497	
498	Esteves F. & Öhman A. (1993) Masking the face: recognition of emotional facial expressions as
499	a function of the parameters of backward masking. Scandinavian Journal of Psychology 34: 1-
500	18.
501	
502	Favre D. S. (1979) Wildlife rights: the ever-widening circle. Environmental Law 9: 241-281
503	
504	Finucane M.L., Slovic P., Mertz C.K., Flynn J. & Satterfield T.A. (2000) Gender, race, and
505	perceived risk: the "white male" effect. Health, Risk & Society 2: 159-172
506	

508	Communication Theory: 164–183
509	
510	Frank B. (2016) Human-wildlife conflicts and the need to include tolerance and coexistence: an
511	introductory comment. Society & Natural Resources 29: 738-743
512	
513	Frank J., Johansson M. & Flykt A. (2015) Public attitude towards the implementation of
514	management actions aimed at reducing human fear of brown bears and wolves. Wildlife Biology
515	2 : 122-130
516	
517	Frank J. & Eklund A. (2017) Poor construction, not time, takes its toll on subsidised fences
518	designed to deter large carnivores. PloS one 12: e0175211
519	
520	Gehring T.M., VerCauteren K.C., Provost M.L., Cellar A.C. (2010) Utility of livestock-
521	protection dogs for deterring wildlife from cattle farms. Wildlife Research 37: 715-721
522	
523	Grimshaw J., Campbell M., Eccles M. & Steen N. (2000) Experimental and quasi-experimental
524	designs for evaluating guideline implementation strategies. Family Practice 17: 11-18
525	
526	Heberlein, T. (2012) Navigating Environmental Attitudes. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
527	

Fishbein M. & Yzer M.C. (2003) Using theory to design effective health behavior interventions.

528	Hutchins M. & Wemmer C. (1986) Wildlife conservation and animal rights: are they
529	compatible?. In: Advances in animal welfare science 1986/87, eds. Fox M.W. & Mickley L.D.,
530	pp. 111-137. Washington, DC: The Humane Society of the United States.
531	
532	Inskip C. & Zimmermann A. (2009) Human-felid conflict: a review of patterns and priorities
533	worldwide. Oryx 43: 18-34
534	
535	Ioannidis J.P.A. (2005) Why most published research findings are false. <i>PLoS Medicine</i> 2: 696-
536	701
537	
538	Johansson M. & Karlsson J. (2011) Subjective experience of fear and the cognitive interpretation
539	of large carnivores. Human Dimensions of Wildlife 16: 15-29
540	
541	Johnson C.N. & Wallach A.D. (2016) The virtuous circle: predator-friendly farming and
542	ecological restoration in Australia. Restoration Ecology 24: 821-826
543	
544	Jones J.P.G., Andriamarovololona M.M. & Hockley N. (2008) The importance of taboos and
545	social norms to conservation in Madagascar. Conservation Biology 22: 976-986
546	
547	Kahnemann D. (2003) A perspective on judgment and choice: mapping bounded rationality.
548	American Psychologist 58: 697–720
549	

- 550 Karanth K.U. & Madhusudan M.D. (2002) Mitigating human-wildlife conflicts in southern Asia.
- 551 In: Making Parks Work: Identifying Key Factors to Implementing Parks in the Tropics, eds.
- 552 Terborgh J., Van Schaik C.P., Rao M. & Davenport L.C., pp. 250-264. Covelo, CA: Island
- 553 Press.
- 554
- Karlsson J. & Sjöström M. (2011) Subsidized fencing of livestock as a means of increasing
 tolerance for wolves. *Ecology and Society* 16: 16.
- 557
- Kellert S.R. (1985) Public perceptions of predators, particulary the wolf and coyote. *Biological Conservation* 31: 167–189
- 560
- 561 Kinzig A.P., Ehrlich P.R., Alston L.J., Arrow K., Barrett S., Buchman T.G., Daily G.C., Levin
- 562 B., Levin S., Oppenheimer M., Ostrom E. & Saari D. (2013) Social norms and global
- 563 environmental challenges: the complex interaction of behaviors, values, and policy. *Bioscience*564 63: 164–175
- 565
- Lindquist K.A., Wager T.D., Kober H., Bliss-Moreau E. & Barrett L.F. (2012) The brain basis of
- 567 emotion: A meta-analytic review. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 35: 121–202
- 568
- 569 Marchini S. & Macdonald D.W. (2012) Predicting ranchers' intention to kill jaguars: case studies
- 570 in Amazonia. *Biological Conservation* **147**: 213–221
- 571

572	McManus J.S., Dickman A.J., Gaynor D., Smuts B.H. & Macdonald D.W. (2015) Dead or alive?
573	comparing costs and benefits of lethal and non-lethal human-wildlife conflict mitigation on
574	livestock farms. Oryx 49: 687–695
575	
576	Miller J.R.B., Stoner K.J., Cejtin M.R., Meyer T.K., Middleton A.D. & Schmitz O.J. (2016)
577	Effectiveness of contemporary techniques for reducing livestock depredations by large
578	carnivores. Wildlife Society Bulletin 40: 806–815
579	
580	Morris J.S., Öhman A. & Dolan R.J. (1999) A subcortical pathway to the right amygdala
581	mediating "unseen" fear. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 96: 1680-1685
582	
583	Mukherjee S. 2010. The emperor of all maladies: a biography of cancer. New York, NY:
584	Scribner.
585	
586	Newing H., Eagle C.M., Puri R.K. & Watson C.W. (2011) Conducting research in conservation:
587	social science methods and practice. London, UK: Routledge.
588	
589	Ohrens O., Treves A. & Bonacic C. (2016) Relationship between rural depopulation and puma-
590	human conflict in the high Andes of Chile. Environmental Conservation 43: 24–33
591	
592	Platt J.R. (1964) Strong inference. Science 146: 347-53
593	

- 594 Plumer L., Talvi T.N., Männil P. & Saarma U. (2018) Assessing the roles of wolves and dogs in
- 595 livestock predation and suggestions for mitigating human-wildlife conflict and conservation of
- 596 wolves. Conservation Genetics. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10592-017-1045-4
- 597
- 598 Powell M., Dunwoody S., Griffin R. & Neuwirth K. (2007) Exploring lay uncertainty about an
- 599 environmental health risk. *Public Understanding of Science* 16: 323-343
- 600
- Ramp D. & Bekoff M. (2015) Compassion as a practical and evolved ethic for conservation.
- 602 *Bioscience*. DOI: 10.1093/biosci/biu1223
- 603
- Reed M.S. (2008) Stakeholder participation for environmental management: a literature review. *Biological Conservation* 141: 2417–2431
- 606
- 607 Redpath S.M., Young J., Evely A., Adams W.M., Sutherland W.J., Whitehouse A., Amar A.,
- Lambert R.A., Linnell J.D.C., Watt A. & Gutiérrez R.J. (2013) Understanding and managing
- 609 conservation conflicts. *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* **28**: 100–109
- 610
- 611 Rust N.A., Whitehouse-Tedd K.M. & MacMillan D.C. (2013) Perceived efficacy of livestock-
- guarding dogs in South Africa: Implications for cheetah conservation. *Wildlife Society Bulletin*37: 690–697
- 614
- 615 Santiago-Ávila F., Cornman, A.M. & Treves A. (2018a) Killing wolves to prevent predation on
- 616 livestock may protect one farm but harm neighbours. *PLOS one* **13**: e0189729

618	Santiago-Ávila F., Lynn W. & Treves A. (2018b) Inappropriate consideration of animal interests
619	in predator management: towards a comprehensive moral code. In: Large Carnivore
620	Conservation and Management: Human Dimensions and Governance, ed. Tasos Hovardas. New
621	York, USA: Routledge. In press.
622	
623	Schlüter M., Baeza A., Dressler G., Frank K., Groeneveld J., Jager W., Janssen M.A., Mcallister
624	R.R.J., Müller B., Orach K., Schwarz N. & Wijermans N. (2017) A framework for mapping and
625	comparing behavioural theories in models of social-ecological systems. Ecological Economics
626	131: 21–35
627	
628	Shivik J., Treves A. & Callahan P. (2003) Nonlethal techniques for managing predation: primary
629	and secondary repellents. Conservation Biology 17: 1531–1537
630	
631	Slovic P. (1987) Perception of risk. Science 236: 280-285
632	
633	Sponarski C., Vaske J. & Bath A. (2015) The role of cognitions and emotions in human-coyote
634	interactions. Human Dimensions Wildlife 20: 238-254
635	
636	Starr C. (1969) Social benefit versus technological risk. Science 165: 1232–1238
637	

- 638 St. John F.A.V., Keane A.M., Jones J.P.G. & Milner-Gulland E.J. (2014) Robust study design is
- 639 as important on the social as it is on the ecological side of applied ecological research. *Journal of*

640 *Applied Ecology*. DOI: 10.1111/1365-2664.12352

641

642 Treves A. & Bruskotter J. (2014) Tolerance for predatory wildlife. Science 344: 476–7

643

- Treves A., Chapron G., López-Bao J.V., Shoemaker C., Goeckner A.R. & Bruskotter J.T. (2015)
- 645 Predators and the public trust. *Biological Reviews*. DOI: 10.1111/brv.12227

646

Treves A. & Karanth K.U. (2003) Human-carnivore conflict and perspectives on carnivore

648 management worldwide. *Conservation Biology* **17:** 1491–1499

649

650 Treves A., Krofel M. & Mcmanus J. (2016) Predator control should not be a shot in the dark.

651 *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* **14:** 380–388

652

- 653 Treves A. & Pizzagalli D. (2002) Vigilance and perception of social stimuli: Views from
- 654 ethology and social neuroscience. In: *The Cognitive Animal: Empirical and Theoretical*
- 655 Perspectives on Animal Cognition, eds. Bekoff M., Allen C. & Burghardt G., pp. 463-469.
- 656 Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

657

- 658 Treves A., Wallace R.B., Naughton-Treves L. & Morales A. (2006) Co-managing human-
- 659 wildlife conflicts: A review. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife* 11: 383–396

- 661 Treves A., Wallace R.B. & White S. (2009) Participatory planning of interventions to mitigate
 662 human-wildlife conflicts. *Conservation Biology* 23: 1577-1587
- 663
- van Eeden L.M., Crowther M.S., Dickman C.R., Macdonald D.W., Ripple W.J., Ritchie E.G. &
- 665 Newsome T.M. (2017) Managing conflict between large carnivores and livestock. *Conservation*
- 666 *Biology*. DOI: 10.1111/cobi.12959
- 667
- 668 Wallach A.D., Bekoff M., Nelson M.P. & Ramp D. (2015) Promoting predators and
- 669 compassionate conservation. *Conservation Biology* **29**: 1481-1484
- 670
- 671 Whalen P.J., Rauch S.L., Etcoff N.L., McInerney S.C., Lee M.B. & Jenike M.A. (1998) Masked
- 672 presentations of emotional facial expressions modulate amygdala activity without explicit
- 673 knowledge. Journal of Neuroscience 18: 411-418
- 674
- 675 Wieczorek Hudenko H. (2012) Exploring the influence of emotion on human decision making in
- 676 human-wildlife conflict. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife* 17: 16–28
- 677
- 678 Woodroffe R. & Ginsberg J.R. (1998) Edge effects and the extinction of populations inside
- 679 protected areas. *Science* **280**: 2126-2128
- 680
- Woodroffe R. & Redpath S.M. (2015) When the hunter becomes the hunted. *Science* 348: 1312–
 1314
- 683

- 684 Zarco-González M.M. & Monroy-Vilchis O. (2014) Effectiveness of low-cost deterrents in
- decreasing livestock predation by felids: A case in Central Mexico. *Animal Conservation* 17:
 371–378
- 687
- 688 Öhman A. & Mineka S. (2001) Fears, phobias, and preparedness: toward an evolved module of
- 689 fear and fear Learning. *Psychological Review* **108:** 483–522
- 690