## **CONTRIBUTED PAPER**

- 2 Prioritising cat-owner behaviours for a campaign to reduce wildlife depredation
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### Abstract

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Behavior prioritisation is underutilised but critical to the success of conservation campaigns. 28 It provides an understanding of the target audience's values to transcend conflict and informs 29 30 the design of achievable and effective advocacy campaigns. Depredation by domestic cats may depress wildlife populations, leading to conflict between cat owners and 31 conservationists. We surveyed veterinarians and cat owners at veterinary clinics to prioritise a 32 list of nine cat-management behaviours. Cat-owner behaviours were ranked by their (i) 33 likelihood of implementation and (ii) current adoption rate by cat owners, (iii) perceived 34 35 effectiveness at reducing predation on wildlife, and (iv) veterinarians' opinions about their impact on cat welfare. Bringing cats in at night, from before dusk until after dawn, was 36 revealed to be the behaviour most suited to a campaign to reduce cats' hunting. Behaviours 37 38 ranked as more effective for conservation (e.g., 24-hour cat confinement) were unlikely to be 39 adopted by cat owners or not supported by veterinarians, whose expert and normative support may be critical to a campaign. Although more conservation-effective behaviours received a 40 lower priority, we discuss the repeated use of behaviour prioritisation to achieve incremental 41

reductions in cat depredation by engaging with cat owners.

#### Introduction

The primary causes of environmental and biodiversity decline are anthropogenic: habitat destruction, pollution, over-population, and over-harvesting (Wilson 2003). Addressing the root causes of these problems requires that human behaviours change (Schultz 2011). Changing peoples' behaviour is challenging but the application of social science to conservation problems might mitigate human-caused biodiversity decline (Bennett et al. 2017a). Attempts to change behaviour should be guided by theoretical frameworks drawn from social marketing (Weinreich 1999; Kotler et al. 2002; McKenzie-Mohr et al. 2012, Michie et al. 2014), social psychology (Ajzen & Driver, 1992; Fishbein & Cappella 2006), and integrated systems for knowledge management (Allen *et al.* 1998). The body of literature where these concepts and methods have been applied to conservation challenges is growing

Fundamental to successful behaviour change is first identifying what behaviours (actions) to advocate to the target audience (e.g., the wider public). To conservationists the mitigation actions required can appear obvious (e.g., buying products sold with less packaging or reducing cats' opportunities to hunt wildlife). However, a trade-off often exists between an action's conservation impact and the likelihood that the target audience will implement the behaviour. Behaviours most likely advocated by conservationists are not necessarily those most likely to be widely adopted. An empirical and evidential strategy called behaviour prioritisation has been developed to resolve this trade-off (Schultz 2011). It should be the first stage of campaigns to change behaviour (McKenzie-Mohr et al. 2012).

but still small (Schultz 2014, Bennett et al. 2017b).

Behavioural prioritisation is founded on the principle of engaging with the target audience before, not after, mitigating actions are decided. Early engagement with the target audience helps to define the full spectrum of possible mitigation actions from the myriad

possible. It also quantifies which actions the target audience do not currently perform but are, nonetheless, able and most likely to adopt and implement. This information, when combined with information about the behaviours of conservation benefit, contributes to ranking behaviours and deciding which should be advocated (McKenzie-Mohr 2000). Behaviours that have a low likelihood of adoption, even though they may have a high conservation impact, will receive a low ranking. Advocacy campaigns, instead, prioritise behaviours that are likely to have a conservation impact and high likelihood of adoption, although those behaviours are currently uncommon (Hine et al. 2015). Following this process avoids wasting time and resources on behaviours that will not be adopted (Hine et al. 2015).

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Domestic cats (Felis catus) may pose a significant risk as predators to the conservation of wildlife in many parts of the world, particularly if they stray and re-wild to become feral (Brickner-Braun et al. 2007, Loss et al. 2013; Liberg, 1984; Blancher 2013, Dickman 2014, Loyd et al. 2013). While the hunting by feral cats is known to cause population declines in wildlife, it is not clear that pet cats are also so ubiquitously detrimental. The evidence is mixed (Barratt 1997, Barratt 1998, Sims et al. 2008, van Heezik et al. 2010, Calver et al. 2011, Kikillus et al. 2016). The impact of pet cats might be small or idiosyncratic in space, time and among prey species. Nonetheless, it is certain that they kill wildlife which conflicts with growing efforts to improve the biodiversity value of anthropogenic landscapes (i.e. reconciliation ecology) or ecological restoration projects around and within them (Hanmer 2017). Areas of high ecological value and biodiversity habitat are often, and increasingly, found adjacent or within urban landscapes, especially because they are supported by nature-loving urbanites (Aguilar et al. 2012). Yet, pet ownership, particularly of cats, is on the rise, and especially high in cities (Pet Food Manufacturers Association 2018; American Pet Products Association 2018). There has emerged, therefore, a growing and high-profile conflict between cat ownership and

biodiversity conservation (Loss et al. 2018; Walker et al. 2017). A precautionary approach to managing cat predation may be warranted.

In New Zealand, cats are a particularly serious biodiversity threat because much of its native fauna (i.e., birds and reptiles) evolved without mammalian predators (McCarthy 2005; McLennan et al. 1996; van Heezik et al. 2010). In New Zealand's cities around 35% of households have at least one cat – a rate similar to, or higher than, estimates from other countries (summarised and compared in van Heezik et al. 2010; see also Baldock et al. 2003 for Australia, 25%; Downes et al. 2009 for Ireland, 10.4%; and Murray et al. 2010 for the United Kingdom, 26%). Public opinions where biodiversity conservation and cat ownership and welfare intersect vary dramatically depending on both the beliefs and attitudes of the respondent (Farnworth et al. 2014; Peterson et al. 2012) and the lifestyle of the cat (i.e. companion, stray or feral; Farnworth et al. 2011; Walker et al. 2017). In New Zealand, like in other countries, there is a robust, ongoing and emotional debate about mitigating the biodiversity impact of domestic cats (Morgan Foundation 2013; Walker et al. 2017).

Research on the challenge cats pose to biodiversity conservation has, until now, largely focussed on understanding cat habitat-use and depredation (e.g. in New Zealand: Aguilar et al. 2015; Kikillus et al. 2016; UK: Hanmer et al. 2017; USA: Loyd et al. 2013; Australia: Lilith et al. 2008). Research dedicated to the human dimension of changing cat owner behaviour is comparatively uncommon but important (e.g., Gramza et al. 2016; McDonald et al. in press; McLeod et al. 2015; McLeod et al. 2017a; Peterson et al. 2012; Walker et al. 2017). Proposed solutions have largely focussed on changes to law and governance, gradually imposing greater constraints and obligations on cat ownership (Walker et al. 2017). However, these solutions do not resolve the conflict with cat owners, the risk of widespread non-compliance, and the costs of enforcement. More research to understand how

to engage with cat owners is required to resolve the conflict and mitigate cats' predatory impacts in ways that are motivated by, and motivating to, cat-owners (McLeod et al. 2017a).

The aim of our study was to identify and prioritise cat-owner behaviours for a future advocacy campaign that is effective amongst cat owners. Our objective is to evaluate what cat-owner behaviours are most likely to be adopted as well as reduce domestic cats' depredation of wildlife. Our expectation is that a behaviour's conservation benefit will need to be traded-off against its likelihood of adoption, especially perceptions about its negative consequences for cat welfare.

## Methods

Behaviours and behavioural prioritisation

Cat owners could take numerous actions to mitigate the impact of their cat on native wildlife, e.g., keep their cats inside, restrict them to an outdoor enclosure, or make them wear a collar with a bell. We selected nine behaviours that cat owners could implement to mitigate the impact of their domestic cat's predation on native species. The behaviours were selected based on a literature review (Table 1) and on the authors' knowledge of existing and potential behaviours that would limit cat wandering and hunting.

We adopted McKenzie-Mohr's (2000) formula for behavioural prioritisation that numerates the conservation gain of the behaviour, the current penetration rate of each behaviour, and the probability of each behaviour being adopted by the target audience (cat owners). Specific to our context and problem, we modified McKenzie-Mohr's (2000) formula by adding a fourth variable: veterinarians' ranking of the impact of the behaviour on cat welfare, because we were interested in delivering our future advocacy campaign from

- veterinary clinics. Veterinarians have a strong expert and normative influence over cat owners, particularly with respect to animal welfare (MacDonald et al. 2015; Harrod et al.
- 144 2016). Veterinarians have been successful advocates in previous owner-behaviour change initiatives (e.g., Byers et al. 2014 for improving owner and dog health) and could also be an
- important influence on cat owners. Thus, we wanted to ensure they would also support the prioritised behaviour. The likely effectiveness of a behaviour was calculated using the
- augmented prioritisation formula:
- Effectiveness = Conservation Impact \* Likelihood of Adoption \* (1-Current Penetration Rate) \* Cat Welfare.
- Conservation Impact is represented by the average score between 1 and 10. Likelihood of

  Adoption and Cat Welfare (based on veterinarians' opinions about the actions' impact) were
  an average Likert score (range 1 to 7). Current Penetration Rate was represented as a

  proportion of survey respondents (ranging from 0 to 1). Behaviours were then ranked based
  on their Effectiveness with higher scores being judged better subjects for an advocacy
  - Study population

campaign.

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- We quantified the variables for the behavioural prioritisation formula by surveying cat owners at 10 veterinary clinics and practices in three New Zealand cities: Wellington,
- Dunedin, and Palmerston North. Wellington is the nation's capital city and its second-largest metropolitan area. Approximately 191,000 residents live within the 290 km<sup>2</sup> city limits and an additional 280,000 residents live in the wider metropolitan area including smaller adjacent

cities. Dunedin has a population of 120,000 and Palmerston North 80,000 residents (Department of Statistics, New Zealand 2016).

A list of all veterinary clinics and practices in the three New Zealand cities was compiled from public listings. Clinics in each city were selected and contacted by telephone, informed of the study and its purpose, and asked if they would participate in the research.

Two attempts were made to contact the clinics and obtain participation. Two clinics in Palmerston North, three in Dunedin, and five in Wellington agreed and participated.

Surveying

During November and December 2014, customers in the 10 veterinary clinics were approached by a research assistant after they had checked into reception and were waiting for their appointment. A script was prepared to ensure consistency in the recruitment process and avoid bias. The research assistant identified themselves as being from the local university and conducting research on cat welfare. The customer was asked to self-complete a survey which took approximately five minutes to complete (Supplementary File 1).

The survey asked respondents to quantify how likely they would engage in the nine behaviours on a Likert scale from 1 to 7 (7 being highly likely). Respondents were also asked which of the nine behaviours they were already performing.

To calculate the conservation impact, we used a modified Delphi technique (Murry & Hammons 1995). This technique is used to develop consensus by a panel of experts on a particular topic and is widely used in public health (DeVillers et al. 2005). The authors, all animal and conservation biologists, were asked in an open-ended fashion to provide their input about the direct conservation impact of each owner behaviour based on the literature and their knowledge. A direct impact is one that reduces an individual and owned cat's ability

to hunt and kill native wildlife. Once this information was shared and discussed amongst them, all five authors individually ranked each behaviour on a scale of 1 to 10 (10 having the greatest impact). The indirect impacts of an owner's behaviour were not considered (Dickman 2007; Lilith et al. 2006). For example, de-sexing (sterilisation) may reduce the cat population over time to lower cats' hunting at a population level, but its impact is indirect because the de-sexed cat still hunts (Hall et al. 2016b). Furthermore, an owner's behaviour may directly reduce a cat's hunting (the direct impact) but increase hunting by other smaller introduced mammalian predators such as rats (an indirect impact) (as speculated in Wood et al. 2016). To date however, there have been few studies to look at the overall impact (cumulative effect of direct and indirect) of reduced cat predation on native species to inform cat management practices. Hence, we adopted the precautionary approach (Calver et al. 2011; Grayson & Calver 2004; Lilith et al. 2006) by assuming that domestic cats pose a direct risk to native wildlife (e.g., Morgan et al. 2009 found 11% of birds caught by cats were native and 18% of all prey species were skinks). However, it was accepted that the overall extent of the impact is unknown (direct plus indirect). The authors, therefore, were instructed to base their ranking on the direct impact of an individual cat and not the population of cats. The average ranking of each behaviour was shared with the group followed by a discussion until a consensus was reached.

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The impact of behaviours on cat welfare was determined by surveying veterinarians. A link to an electronic survey was sent out via the New Zealand Veterinarian e-newsletter (25 Sept to 26 Oct 2014) with a follow-up reminder email sent ten days before the survey closed. In that survey veterinarians were asked to rate on a scale of 1 to 7 (7 being the greatest positive impact) the impact of the nine behaviours on cat welfare (Supplementary Table 2). We also asked the veterinarians to rank the nine behaviours for their impact on wildlife on a scale of 1 to 7 (7 having the greatest positive impact) so that we could compare with the

animal welfare ranking. Veterinarians were also asked: what their primary interest/practice type was (companion animal, equine, large animal/livestock, or wildlife).

#### **Results**

One-hundred and fifty-nine surveys were completed (no missing data) by customers at veterinary clinics and 173 veterinarians completed their survey over a four-week period. Ninety-seven percent of those veterinarians identified as companion, small animal veterinarians.

The authors ranked "cats inside 24 hours" as likely to cause a greater direct reduction in cat depredation than other actions, while cat registration, micro-chipping, de-sexing and limiting the number of cats that could be owned were thought most likely to have a trivial benefit (Table 2). Limiting the roaming of the household cat(s) by containing inside at night, fencing them into the property or an enclosure, were considered to have a moderate to high biodiversity conservation benefit. Collaring cats was thought to have a moderate benefit too. The behaviours most likely to be adopted in descending order were de-sexing cats, limiting the number of cats per household, microchipping cats, and bringing them inside all night (Table 2). Registering cats (as is the practice for dogs in New Zealand), or putting a collar on them, were less likely to be adopted. Containing cats to the property via a fence, keeping cats inside 24 hours a day, and restricting cats to a run, were the actions that cat-owners thought they were least likely to implement.

Ninety-six percent of cat owners currently had less than four cats in their household and 96% of respondents had de-sexed their cat(s). Sixty-four percent of cats were microchipped. Twenty-nine percent of respondents locked their cat inside at night every night.

Twenty-six percent of cat owners used a cat collar. The other cat-owner behaviours: "Cats in 24 hours a day", "register cat like a dog", "contain cat to property via a fence", and "restrict cats to a run"; had a current penetration rate of 1% or less.

The behaviours ranked by veterinarians with the greatest positive impact on cat welfare was de-sexing, microchipping, limiting the number of cats per household, and cats kept inside at night, all having mean scores greater than five. "Registering a cat like a dog" and "containing cats to property via fence" received intermediate scores. "Cats wearing a collar", "restricting cats to a run", and "keeping cats inside 24 hours" received considerably lower scores for their positive impact on cat welfare.

Effectiveness was calculated using the augmented behavioural prioritisation formula. Behaviours were ranked based on their total score, with the greatest score aligning to the behaviour that should be the target of the future advocacy campaign (Table 2). "Keeping cats inside at night, from before dusk until after dawn" had the highest score and thus received a behavioural prioritisation rank of 1. This behaviour also had the highest probability of adoption, a moderate penetration rate, and a perceived robust impact on cat welfare and conservation outcomes (Table 2).

Discussion

Behavioural prioritisation techniques have been used much more widely and for substantially longer in fields such as public health (e.g., Booth 1992), but are under-utilised in biological conservation (Schultz 2011). Our work contributes to a small but growing number of examples where behavioural prioritisation has been conducted as a guide to behavioural

change interventions for species management (Please et al. 2017; Skoien et al. 2016, Verbeek et al. 2014), including a recent example with domestic cats (McLeod 2017).

Advocacy campaigns have a history of omitting the behavioural prioritisation stage (Weinreich, 1999), especially in conservation (Johnson et al. 2007; McKenzie-Mohr 2000; Novacek 2008). Instead, conservation experts can be inflexible about the action the target audience should take and believe their opinions superior (expert righteousness). Experts can also assume they know what the target audience thinks about the problem and possible solution, believing that their own knowledge and beliefs are representative of the target population (expert naiveté). As a result, the behaviour that conservationists select and advocate to the public, while having the potential to achieve substantial conservation gains, nonetheless fails because the public do not implement it (McKenzie-Mohr et al. 2012; Eisenhauer & Nicholson 2005; Lorenzoni, Nicholson-Cole, & Whitmarsh 2007). Behavioural prioritisation (Schultz 2011) is a systematic approach to avoid this mistake.

In New Zealand, as has occurred in Australia (e.g. Department of Local Government 1994), the first proposals to reduce cats' hunting of wildlife have been to first regulate cat ownership and legislate for cat confinement. However, reliance on voluntary compliance and problems with enforcement often result in less-than-effective adoption than anticipated by government agencies (McLeod et al. 2015). While some changes can be achieved this way, a significant number of cat owners may not be swayed by new rules and passively, or actively, flout them, allowing their cats to roam. Non-compliance poses uncertainties about the usefulness of policies and risks encouraging opposition. An alternative, or reinforcing, strategy would be to understand cat owners' experience and beliefs about cat husbandry and their implications for animal welfare and biodiversity impacts (McLeod et al. 2017c). Then, those can be used to identify cat-owner behaviours with both benefits for biodiversity and a high likelihood of adoption.

## Prioritising behaviours for a campaign

Identifying the values of cat owners and working within their current value system is essential for behaviour change, rather than implementing a top-down approach to change cat owner beliefs and values (Manfredo et al. 2017; McLeod et al. 2017b). By following the behavioural prioritisation process, we identified keeping cats inside at night as a behaviour for a future advocacy campaign. As expected, the prioritised behaviour was not the one with the greatest conservation value (i.e. maximum reduction in cat predation) nor did it have the greatest likelihood of adoption by cat owners. Instead, the behaviour identified optimises the trade-off between likely conservation impact and probability of adoption, with strong support from veterinarians.

Behavioural prioritisation, by integrating several critical considerations and viewpoints, and not exclusively the conservation benefit, also exposed and quantified particular values and beliefs that could significantly impact the success of a campaign. For example, 67% of veterinarians thought that keeping cats inside 24 hours a day would have a significant negative impact on cat welfare (a belief that might not be always true, e.g. Kasbaooui et al. 2016), although it would also reduce cats' hunting to zero. Moreover, 24-hour containment is a behaviour that cat owners identify as unlikely to be achievable. Thus, implementing an advocacy campaign for keeping cats inside 24 hours a day would more likely fail to motivate cat owners and lose the support of veterinarians who are a strong influence on cat owners.

While we have demonstrated the behaviour prioritisation process for the biodiversity conservation goal of reducing domestic cat depredation, it remains for us to demonstrate that the prioritised behaviour can be successfully advocated and adopted by the cat-owning

public. To achieve this, we need to understand (1) what values and beliefs drive cat owners when keeping their cat inside at night, (2) how to appeal to these drivers in an advocacy campaign, and then (3) conduct and evaluate an advocacy campaign that is guided by these. For example, cat owners are less likely to believe that cats kill wildlife or they under-estimate its magnitude. Thus, cat owners are less likely to be motivated to act to reduce cat depredation of wildlife (Lilith et al. 2006, MacDonald et al. 2015). Instead, cat owner's willingness to keep cats in at night is better motivated by owners' perceptions that cats are more likely to be injured at night (e.g., cat fighting and traffic). It therefore follows that the best course of action may be to appeal to cat owners to confine cats inside for their welfare (Toukhasti et al 2012). Campaigns around cat safety rather than their impact on wildlife may be more effective (McLeod et al. 2017a). Discovering and applying these understandings should be the subject of future work.

Lastly, we confined our study to cat owners visiting veterinary clinics. Those surveyed are likely to be particularly responsible cat owners who are more responsive to others', especially veterinarians', suggestions about how cats are cared for. Other cat owners who are less likely to seek the services, and act on the advice, of a veterinarian may behave differently. Understanding those cat owners would require a different survey method and we would expect the behaviour prioritisation to yield different, perhaps very different, results. Nonetheless, understanding and changing the behaviour of a community begins first with the people and actions that are most tractable and moves incrementally on to those that are more difficult to implement and survey, in order to harness the potential for normative social expectations to generate a behaviour-change cascade.

## **Incremental progress**

Our research found that 30% of cat owners bring their cat inside at night but less than 1% confined their cat inside or to their property 24 hours a day. This is a similar rate to Australians engaging in the same behaviour more than a decade ago (e.g., 34%, Van de Kuyt 2004; 38%, Lilith et al. 2006) at which time there was also very low support amongst Australian cat-owners for 24-hour confinement. In Australia, 24-hour cat confinement was also not considered an essential component of responsible pet ownership with some viewing all-day confinement as cruel and 'unnatural' (McCarthy 2005; Rochlitz 2005, McLeod et al. 2015). Lilith et al. (2006) also found only 6% of cat owners confined their cats to their property via an enclosure, but there was greater acceptance and implementation of bringing cats inside at night (Grayson & Calver 2004). However, starting in the late 1990s advocacy campaigns about cat owner behaviour began (McLeod et al 2015; Hall et al. 2016a) and many Australian towns and states (e.g., Western Australia: Cat Act 2011) adopted cat-confinement legislation at small scales, but avoided all-day confinement due to the public backlash (McCarthy 2005). As a result, cat owner behaviour changed over time. For example, more recently Toukhsati et al. (2012) found in the state of Victoria, Australia, 80% of cat owners contained their cat to their property during the night and 41% during the day too (i.e., 24-hour confinement), with 26% of owners having an enclosed yard or run. And, in Tasmania, those owners who were motivated to practice a nightly curfew became significantly more likely to state an intention to fully contain their cat(s) indoors (McLeod 2018).

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The incremental changes in cat-owner behaviour that have occurred in Australia were preceded by a large amount of research to understand cat owners' propensity to adopt new actions (Grayson & Calver 2004) that has led to successful government regulation of cats (Denny & Dickman 2010). Cat owner adoption of targeted behaviours (i.e., night time confinement) led to greater support for other, originally more challenging, management behaviours (e.g., cats inside 24-hours a day or confined to property). Once the first prioritised

behaviour has been embedded in the target audience, i.e., the penetration has greatly increased, another behaviour that has greater conservation gains but requires greater catowner commitment can be advocated (in our study this could be cats inside 24 hrs or confining cats to owners' property via fencing). Thus, asking people to keep cats inside at night may prime cat owners to adopt a future behaviour that is a larger commitment, i.e., a foot-in-door technique. This step-wise approach over time appears to have been successful because attitudes and beliefs among cat owners have shifted in Australia over the last decade (Toukhsati et al. 2012, Hall et al. 2016a).

## **Conclusions and recommendations**

Aspiring immediately to behaviour-change goals with greatest conservation benefit, but with little hope the targeted audience will adopt or engage in the behaviour, raises the risk of disengagement by cat owners. It may also polarise the debate, and even result in a reversal of progress. Focussing, instead, on achievable, smaller behaviour changes in the short term raises the possibility of on-going incremental change. Over longer periods of time it is possible to move towards other related behaviours and more aspirational goals, via the spill-over effect (Thøgersen & Crompton 2009) or foot-in-door technique (Burger 1999, Truelove et al. 2014). By designing and implementing an advocacy campaign that focuses, first, on a behaviour acceptable to cat owners (i.e., bringing cats inside at night in New Zealand) over time, there could be a more substantial shift in behaviour with greater conservation benefit. Although globally objectives may differ, we strongly suggest that engaging with cat-owners in this way may enable substantial change. Incremental changes through behaviour prioritisation may deliver longer-term and sustained reductions in the impact of domestic cats on native wildlife whilst not exacerbating conflicts and risks of non-compliance.

# Acknowledgements and data

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