Behaviour Change We Can Believe In: Towards A Global Demand Reduction Strategy for Tigers

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With populations of Tigers continuing to plummet in the wild over the past decades, it would appear that campaigns and other public awareness initiatives to reduce consumer demand for parts and derivatives from this and other endangered species have failed to stem the tide of illegal killing. This paper discusses why conservationists need to explore new approaches to understanding and influencing the behaviours that are driving consumer demand for these products, and examines tools and models that can address the underlying drivers of these behaviours. Various principles employed in the disciplines of social psychology, economics and behavioural economics (where the first two disciplines overlap) are outlined, as well as some key factors that are important to consider for anyone developing strategies that seek to influence the behaviour of consumers of wildlife products. Some strategic guidelines and a framework for applying these factors to the development of a global demand reduction strategy for Tigers are also outlined.

Background

At the Kathmandu Tiger Workshop in October 2009, a thematic session on demand reduction stressed the need to address demand issues across the trade chain and, in particular, gaining an understanding of and addressing behaviour of specific end-user markets. The meeting noted that there are good examples of effective approaches to address each of these groups, but that they were failing overall because they were not pursued at a scale large enough to have an impact. New approaches, particularly based on learning from other sectors of social/environmental cause campaigning and marketing provided some hopeful avenues for increased impact too.

Following that, the International Tiger Conservation Forum held in St Petersburg in November 2010 also recognised the importance of demand reduction work. The St Petersburg Declaration on Tiger Conservation made by the Heads of State of the Tiger range countries called for long-term national and global programmes to eliminate the illicit demand for Tigers and their parts. An Experts Roundtable on Public Awareness Campaigns in Support of Tiger Conservation held at the meeting also stressed the importance of large-scale, coordinated and targeted campaigns to change the behaviour of current consumers of Tiger parts and derivatives. The meeting also stressed the importance identifying specific target audiences for these awareness campaigns, developing appropriate messages for these target audience and determining appropriate delivery mechanisms for these messages and target audiences.

The Global Tiger Recovery Programme agreed to at the Forum also recognised the importance of this work and included in its portfolio of activities actions for building public awareness and education , building local community support for conservation and eliminating illicit demand for Tiger parts and their derivatives. It also recommended that a key study be done on demand elimination, the aim of which would be to launch a large-scale, co-ordinated, and targeted campaign to change the behaviour of current consumers of Tiger products. It recommended that an Expert workshop be held to gather currently available knowledge and plan this work.

TRAFFIC and WWF developed a proposal for such a workshop in 2011 and this was endorsed by the General Assembly of the Global Tiger Forum in March that year. With funding support from the WWF Tigers Alive Initiative and WWF-US, the workshop was held in Hong Kong in November 2011, attended by more than 20 participants from diverse professional backgrounds — including advertising and marketing, social research, behavioural economics, public health and wildlife trade. The meeting outlined designs for approaches to address the different motivations of various target groups such as businessmen, high-level government officials, youth and local village communities. Many of the concepts and approaches discussed at that workshop are outlined in this paper.

Introduction

Illegal killing, trade and use has been, and remains today, one of the main causes of the drastic and apparently continuing decline in the numbers in the wild of many of the world's most charismatic endangered species. Despite increased law enforcement efforts, the South African government announced in January 2012 that the country lost 448 rhinos to poaching in 2011 – almost four times the number killed in 2009. 2011 was also the worst year of large scale ivory seizures since records began. More than 13 large-scale ivory seizures, amounting to 23.7 tonnes, were recorded that year – the first year ever to record tonnage in double digits and more than double the tonnage compared to 2010. The situation is no better with Tigers, with parts of at least 1,069 Tigers having been seized in Tiger range countries from 2000-2010 – equivalent to potentially more than 100 wild Tigers killed each year.

There is little doubt that direct action to identify and apprehend poachers and illegal traders at the front line of stemming this tide of killing. However, without a complementary effort to effectively address the persistent market demand that drives this trade, enforcement action alone may be futile. The harsh economic reality is that criminals are raking in huge profits from this activity, at relatively little risk, because parts and products of dead elephants, rhinos and Tigers have a high market value – the desire for these products is persistently high, the supply is dwindling by the day and the ability of consumers to pay high prices for these products is increasing.

There have been in the past many efforts to dissuade demand for these products, primarily by generating greater awareness of the importance of the conservation of these species or highlighting the illegal nature of consuming products derived from them. Unfortunately, when examining the continuing evidence of illegal killing and illegal trade, the overall performance of these efforts must be called into question. If demand for these products is to be significantly reduced, there needs to be a paradigm shift in the design, planning and execution of these demand reduction strategies. A detailed focus should be applied to understanding clearly the underlying factors influencing the behaviour of these consumers, how we want to influence this behaviour and how we would want to accomplish that behaviour change.

Planning strategies for reducing demand for endangered species frequently jump immediately to message development and campaign ideas without thinking about the attitudes and behaviours that need to be changed and, most importantly, the drivers behind those attitudes and behaviours. Addressing the primary drivers of human behaviour must be at the heart of demand reduction efforts. The initial focus should not be on the specific users themselves but the attributes that drive their behaviours – whether characterised by ignorance, apathy or the lack of easy ways for them to take positive action.

Human behaviour is no doubt a very complex area of work and there is a wide palette of behavioural sciences that could inform conservation efforts. It is essential that conservationists, in partnership with experts from relevant fields, scientifically examine behavioural change processes as these will lay the foundation for more structured thinking about demand reduction efforts and how to apply the behavioural sciences to produce a measurable impact on reducing the demand for endangered species.

Information is only a first step

Awareness campaigns in the area of wildlife trade have focussed very much on the provision of information to the public – whether it is providing information on legislation forbidding trade and use in endangered species, or providing information on the impact of the use of these products on species in the wild. However, one of the weaknesses of this approach is that information does NOT always lead to action. People often make the mistake of equating behaviour change with awareness-raising, as if doing the latter would invariably lead to the former.

Sometimes – for example, when telling people about a new piece of legislation significantly restricting the use and trade in a particular Tiger product – it is indeed appropriate simply to give the target audience the relevant information. However, knowledge and awareness of this legislation alone are rarely enough by themselves to bring about behaviour change – in this case, stopping consumption of that wildlife product. People cannot always be relied upon to make what could be expected to be rational decisions based on the information provided and it cannot be assumed that providing the information will lead to a change in behaviour. Other more significant factors behind that consumption can be at play and these can override the proposed 'rational' arguments presented by simply providing people with information.

Providing information is therefore just a first step towards influencing behaviour change rather than an end point. Information can also be used to direct people to other communication channels or services – such as a website – that aim more directly at changing behaviour.

Factors influencing behaviour

Understanding all the factors that influence the behaviour you want to change is an essential starting point. Many factors influence consumer preferences and behaviours, including those in the wider and local environment (such as legislation, governmental policy, governance, law enforcement effort, supply and price) and those that are of a more social and personal nature (such as personal beliefs, peer pressures, group norms, trends and dynamics). Broadly speaking, the factors in most of them can be split into three levels:

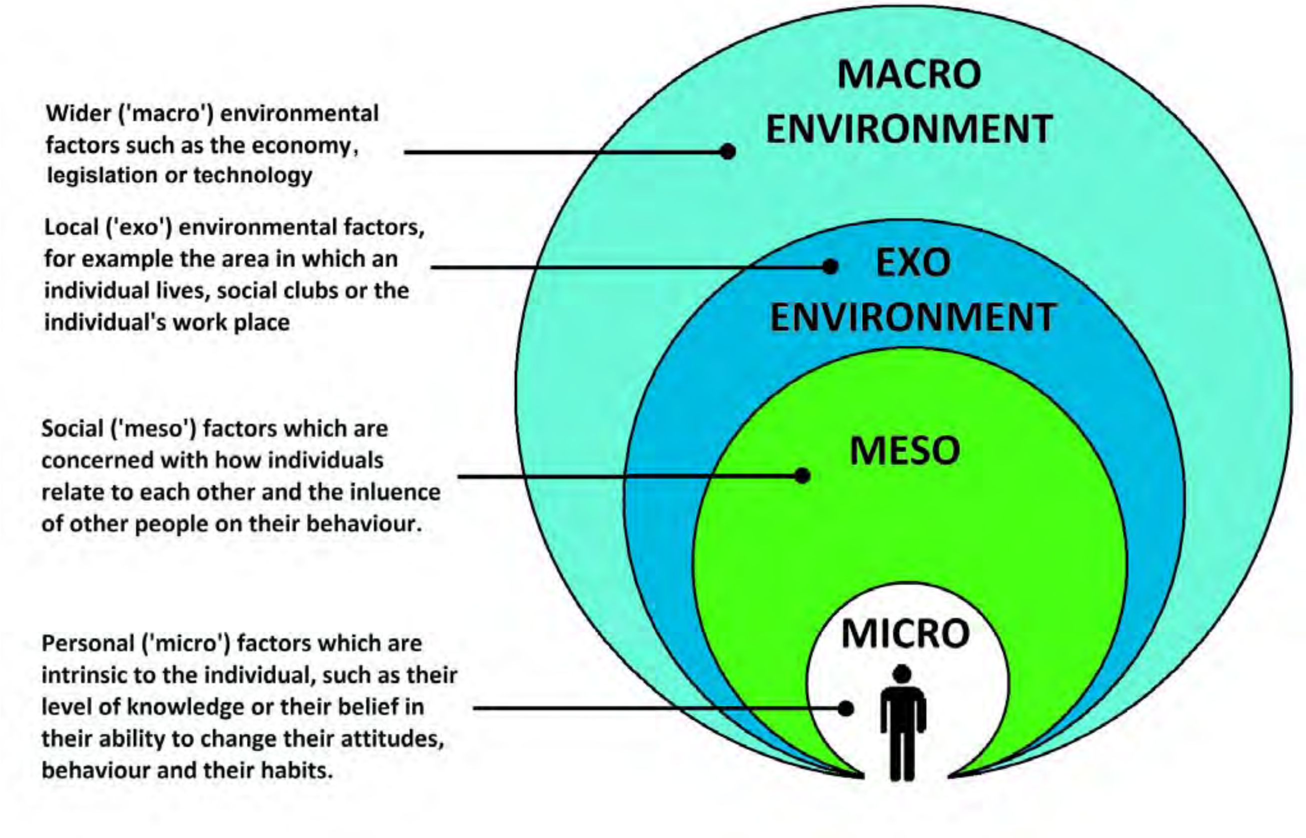
1. Personal ('micro') factors which are intrinsic to the individual, such as their level of knowledge or their belief in their ability to change their attitudes, behaviour and their habits.

2. Social ('meso') factors which are concerned with how individuals relate to each other and the influence of other people on their behaviour.

3. Environmental factors over which individuals have little control. These include both:

    a. local ('exo') environmental factors, for example the area in which an individual lives or his/her work environment, and

b. wider ('macro') environmental factors such as the economy. legislation or governmental policy.



It is essential to identify factors influencing behaviour at the personal, social and environmental levels. While much of the effort at demand reduction in the field of wildlife trade has been focussed at the macro-environmental level, it is the social and personal factors that are usually stronger influences of behaviour – and more challenging to address.

There are a number of reasons why it is so important to identify factors at all three levels. Seeking to understand and influence behaviour by addressing personal factors alone, for example, is unlikely to work, because it fails to take into account the complex and interrelated nature of the factors that influence what we do: we do not act in isolation, and most people are influenced to a very great extent by the people around them and the environment in which they live. Equally, it would be overly simplistic to focus on environmental factors, such as legislation or governmental policy, while ignoring the social and personal factors at play. An 'ecological' or 'systems' approach – one that takes account of and addresses factors at all three levels – is likely to be most effective in bringing about behaviour change.

Most behavioural models tend to focus on factors at the personal and social levels, with few explicitly referencing those at the environmental level. Social psychological models are therefore used primarily to identify personal and social factors and additional tools can then be used to identify the relevant external factors, such as systems mapping (mapping the key components of the model and its environment, and their broad inter-relationship at any point in time).

Perceived behavioural control, self-efficacy and agency

Perceived behavioural control, self-efficacy and **agency** (different terms are used in different models) all describe an individual's belief that he or she can successfully carry out a particular action and that action will bring about an expected outcome. This will determine whether the person will even attempt a change in behaviour and determine the degree of effort the person is prepared to put into this change. People's sense of agency can be driven by many things, including past experiences and their individual personalities – people who are naturally pessimistic are less likely to affect such change than people who are naturally optimistic, for example.

Lack of agency can be a strong barrier to behavioural change. This is particularly true of conservation issues, where a lack of agency will instil the sense that the problem is too large for an individual to make a difference.

Strategies must therefore be designed to help to increase the individual's sense of agency. This can be done by providing clear instructions that make a particular behaviour easy to do by the individual or seem more achievable. For example, testimonials from people who have used alternatives to Tiger products can show how a more positive change can be made, as well as its benefits. However, it is essential that such testimonials are seen as coming from trusted and credible sources, and that the behaviour change is depicted as achievable.

Demand reduction efforts must therefore avoid encouraging people to take vague, general, abstract or over-ambitious actions – such as 'Save the Planet' or even 'Save the Tiger'. We must offer to them smaller, concrete, 'do-able' and measurable actions, focussing on concrete behaviours rather than abstract goals. They must also be simple to do – simplicity and ease is a good motivator to action.

They must also be relevant to the lives and lifestyles of the individual. For example, a campaign should not just encourage people to 'reduce demand for endangered species' but encourage, for example, a change to the gifting culture of a businessman or a change to a person's food or medicinal consumption lifestyle.

We are therefore seeking to make the consumer achieve 'small' successes rather than aim for unattainable 'large' ones. Baby steps are easier to take than giant leaps. For these small successes to have an impact, however, the demand reduction approach must identify a series of successes, one after another, that will be able to have a measurable impact on the demand for the product. It is therefore essential that the approach consists of a series of such successes that can be sustained over a period of time. A short burst of activity alone is unlikely in shifting what was probably a life-long behaviour.

Behavioural economics: Making sense of the irrational

Behavioural economics applies psychological insights to economic models and help us understand why people so often deviate from assumed rational behaviour in the 'real' world. Behavioural economics, for example, reveals that the decisions we make are dependent on factors such as the context in which those decisions are framed and that our natural biases and mental 'shortcuts' we make can lead to 'imperfect' and 'irrational' decision-making by consumers. Understanding the natural biases and mental shortcuts that shape people's thinking should inform the nature and content of strategy. Mental accounting can allow consumers to compartmentalize their spending, encouraging them not to waste money on a product and spend it on a better alternative.

For example, people take 'mental shortcuts' (**heuristics**) or use 'rules of thumb' hundreds of times each day – particularly when they don't have the time or do not feel it worth to make the effort to make a decision by calculating the pros and cons of various options. More often than not, people make 'educated guesses' based on how easily they can imagine something happening or making reference to a similar experience that has happened before – and not necessarily by weighing up all the possibilities in a 'rational' way. Demand reduction strategies can harness this phenomenon by making it easier for people to imagine the consequences of a particular behaviour or reminding them of the negative consequences of a past action.

People also have **internal biases** - natural responses that are not always fully 'rational'. For example, people tend to prioritize short-term reward and immediate gain over significantly long-term gain but with little immediate pay-off – a phenomenon known as **hyperbolic discounting**. This is particularly true of nature conservation, where conservationists try to highlight to audiences the long-term, 'bigger' gain of supporting conservation efforts but offer little in terms of immediate gain. Conversely, consumers of endangered species may have the perception that the rare, exotic and exclusive nature of these products makes buying and gifting them a short-cut to gaining social currency, giving them an almost immediate pay-off that significantly outweighs any risk (such as illegality or stigmatization) that may be attached to the behaviour. Such perceptions can be countered by strengthening that element of risk to the behaviour, such as social stigmatization that will result in loss of that sought-after social currency.

It is therefore essential that demand reduction strategies attempt to offer that immediate 'pay-off' to their audiences. In the previous gifting example, for instance, that can be in the form of gaining social currency by being visibly associated with a corporate leader who has publicly denounced the use of endangered species products. Campaigns that aim to create movements of change to trigger national pride in a particular endangered species or nature conservation effort can give immediate 'pay-off' to audiences in the form of that shared national pride. Campaigns that are subtly marketed as 'cool' and 'trendy' can give an immediate 'pay off' to audiences that value that 'cool' factor, such as youth.

People also have a natural preference for the *status quo* – a principle called **inertia**. When faced with a complex choice, our tendency is to carry on doing what we've always done and avoid making a decision. Strategies for overcoming inertia can include making the behaviour seem easier to undertake than people perceive it to be, for example, by taking baby steps rather than the giant leap, as discussed earlier. Another strategy is to identify and directly counter the excuses people make to themselves for carrying on with and justifying their current behaviour. Inertia may also be addressed by introducing new behaviours – **creating new behaviours is much easier than stopping old ones**.

Many of the choices we make are hugely influenced by how they are presented to us or how they are framed. **Framing** such decisions as a loss or a gain for the individual is also a useful device in influencing their decisions. Humans tend to be loss-averse – we have a particularly strong dislike of losses and put more effort into avoiding a perceived loss than ensuring an expected gain. Strategies focusing on **loss aversion** – potential losses rather than gains – can therefore be more motivating and can be used to great advantage to manipulate demand. This principle can be used in campaigns that, for example, highlight how use of an endangered species product may result in adverse health impacts on a consumer, or result in loss of social status and capital with his or her association with its stigma.

Social factors

While most people will deny that they are influenced by others, other people's values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour have a strong social influence on our own behaviour. Social norms are the group 'rules' that determine what is deemed 'acceptable' behaviour. When we are unsure of how to act in social situations we often assume that others around us know more and look to them for pointers on how to behave – a phenomenon known as **social proof**.

Positive testimonials from others who have adopted a particular behaviour (thus showing that such behaviours are acceptable) can be a powerful form of social proof and be used to positive effect in demand reduction strategies. Testimonials can also help to boost the agency and self-efficacy discussed earlier. This can take the form of campaigns featuring well-respected, authoritative and iconic opinion leaders or engaging them as ‘ambassadors’ for the campaign. These people can help both to spread the message in the targeted consumer group and to provide social proof of the acceptability of a particular behaviour. Such role models can also help identify and recruit other icons and allies, some of whom may be engaged with other influencers and audiences.

Aside from these iconic leaders, a person's peers will also exert a strong degree of influence on his or her behaviour. Strategies should attempt to address peer-to-peer approaches, such as communities or online forums where peers connect with each other, where social proof and reassurance can be provided in a credible and 'safe' environment. In developing a demand reduction strategy, much can be learned from examining these communities, in particular how these communities interact and communicate with each other.

The critical importance of social norms cannot be over-emphasised. While most people will not freely admit that they are influenced by others, social factors are powerful, and social norms are deeply entrenched. If the norm within a peer group is that it is socially acceptable to consume endangered species, it is unlikely that lasting behaviour change will be achieved unless that norm is addressed. For the young people in that group, the views and behaviour of their peers will be a more powerful influence than information provided by other sources.

While there are instances of social norms changing rapidly (for example, as a result of significant legislative change), social norms normally change slowly. A long-term approach will be required as it will take time for any changes to filter through and become commonplace in society. In other words, a short burst of communications activity alone is unlikely to be effective in shifting a social norm permanently, and such communications must be sustained to be effective.

Consideration must also be given to audiences that may not currently represent a large group of direct consumers but may be important in influencing those consumers or be potential consumers in the future themselves. Young people, for example, fall in this category and, while they may be mostly aware of the problem, they are currently not motivated to act or do not understand how they can make a difference. The use of peer-to-peer approaches can be particularly effectively with youth, who particularly enjoy getting together in offline and online interest-based communities and 'virtual' worlds.

Audience Segmentation

The principles we have examined so far suggest that human behaviour can be predicted by measuring social and psychological factors and the external influences on them. However, not everyone is the same. An intervention about the highly illegal nature of consuming Tiger-bone products may convince 10% of its consumers to stop the practice. Another series of interventions about illegality will have much less effect, the reason being that all of the population segments suggestive to messages about illegality may be exhausted and another sub-group now needs to be targeted using a different kind of tactic – such as convincing consumers of Tiger bone wine that the product has no health-giving properties.

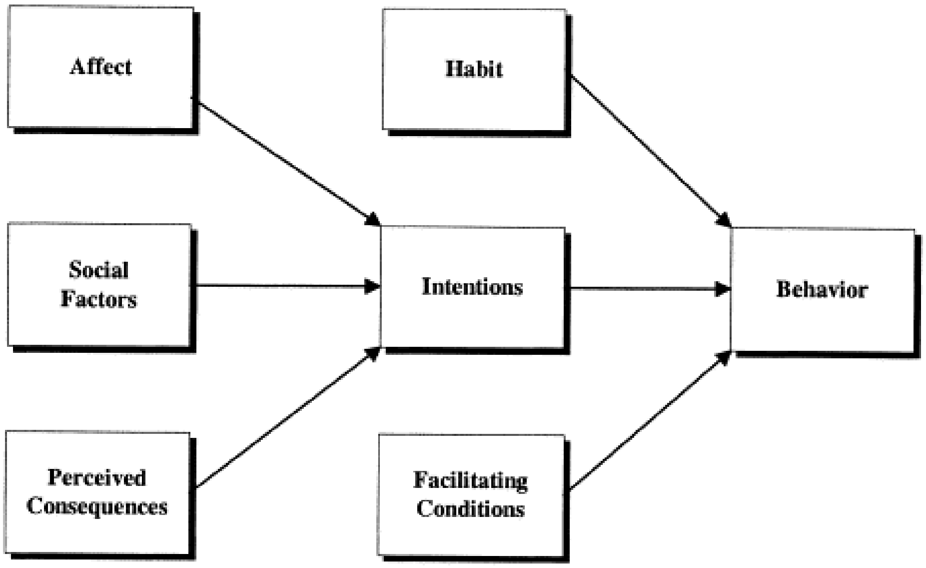
The core concept of segmentation is the idea that proposed actions will vary for different individuals, depending on which segment they are in, and the most effective intervention can be quite different from one segment to another. Different personalities and experiences can apply the desired behaviour, but perhaps for very different reasons.

With regard to products made from endangered species, the usual way of segmenting an audience is to associate that group with a particular use, such as targeting consumers of Tiger products used for food, or medicine or display of skins. But such segmentation must be carried on further. Even within a group of, for example, consumers of Tiger bone wine, there may be users from the rural older generation who use it as a tonic, users from the urban wealthy who use it to demonstrate their social status or users from the business middle glass who use it for gifting to clients and potential partners. Each of these groups will have different motivations for using the same product and the strategies needed to address these motivations will be different.

There may even be quite significant differences between what appears to be an homogenous target social group for our demand reduction activities and these will have to be identified and segmented at a very early stage. The changing demographics and geography of China's wealthy, for example, may reveal quite significant distinctions between the 'old' generation millionaires and the 'new' millionaires. Such a distinction may highlight the different approaches needed for both groups, with 'new' millionaires perhaps needing guidance and support to act in converting knowledge to behaviour, and the 'old' millionaires needing belief, as they may not seem convinced that it is important or critical for them to protect nature. Another approach could be to identify different portions of target populations which are at different likelihoods of changing their behaviour. In this case, for example, the ‘new’ millionaires may be the segment identified as the one most likely to respond to a positive behaviour change and the ‘old’ millionaires as the most difficult to reach out to.

Environmental factors

Environmental factors can be hugely significant in determining how an individual will behave. Wider or macro-environmental factors can include technology, the economy, governmental policy, taxation and legislation. Before behaviour change can occur, the right ‘facilitating conditions’ must be in place in both the individual’s local (exo) environment and the wider (macro) environment. Some behavioural models, such as the Triandis Model of Choice Behaviour, recognize the important role these ‘facilitating conditions’ play in influencing behaviour change. However motivated we are to behave in a certain way, if our local environment puts barriers in the way of that behaviour it is unlikely that we will succeed. For example, it would be extremely difficult to motivate an individual to stop using a product derived from an endangered species if the country’s legislation did not discourage its widespread sale and use, or if legal loopholes allowed for its use.



Some behavioural models, such as the Triandis Model of Choice Behaviour above, recognize the important role of 'facilitating conditions' in influencing behaviour change (H Triandis, 2001)

A systems approach to addressing demand reduction would have to take into account strongly these environmental factors, while crafting the interventions necessary to address the personal and social factors driving the behaviour we want to influence. The basic idea underpinning this systems thinking is that the whole is more than the sum of the parts, and that putting pressure on a single point will impact on the rest of the system.

For example, if seizures of illegal elephant ivory reduce supply but demand remains constant, the price of ivory will increase and other supply streams may open up. The marketing framework being developed to address the issue of demand for ivory will therefore need to show how all interventions – including, for example, legislation, enforcement and policy engagement as well as campaigning and communications – can work together to deliver change. In essence, awareness campaigns as components of holistic demand reduction strategies must ideally be supported by good regulations, implementation and enforcement.

High level political will and government action at the policy level, for example, can have a vital impact on catalyzing and steering behavioural change in society, with engagement at the highest level of government potentially providing major breakthroughs that would have otherwise been extremely difficult or even impossible to accomplish.

Behavioural models

Behavioural models are designed to help us better understand behaviour. These tend to be social and psychological models that explain behaviour by highlighting the underlying factors influencing the individual or group. These models help us to identify, understand, define, map out and prioritize the underlying factors that influence the behaviour we are seeking to change. These models should then be used in conjunction with primary research and other evidence to build up a full picture of the behaviour. This can then be used to develop an intervention, marketing framework or communications strategy.

Use of a model will provide a systematic way of utilizing the information derived from the various behavioural theories and principles mentioned earlier throughout the process. It will help share knowledge between all the different experts and stakeholders involved in developing demand reduction interventions. Identifying, translating and applying relevant behavioural theory from the outset will therefore help:

• ensure that the right questions are asked and the right people are involved at all stages of the development of the demand reduction strategy;

• identify the types of knowledge, expertise, organizations and agencies that should be involved in the process;

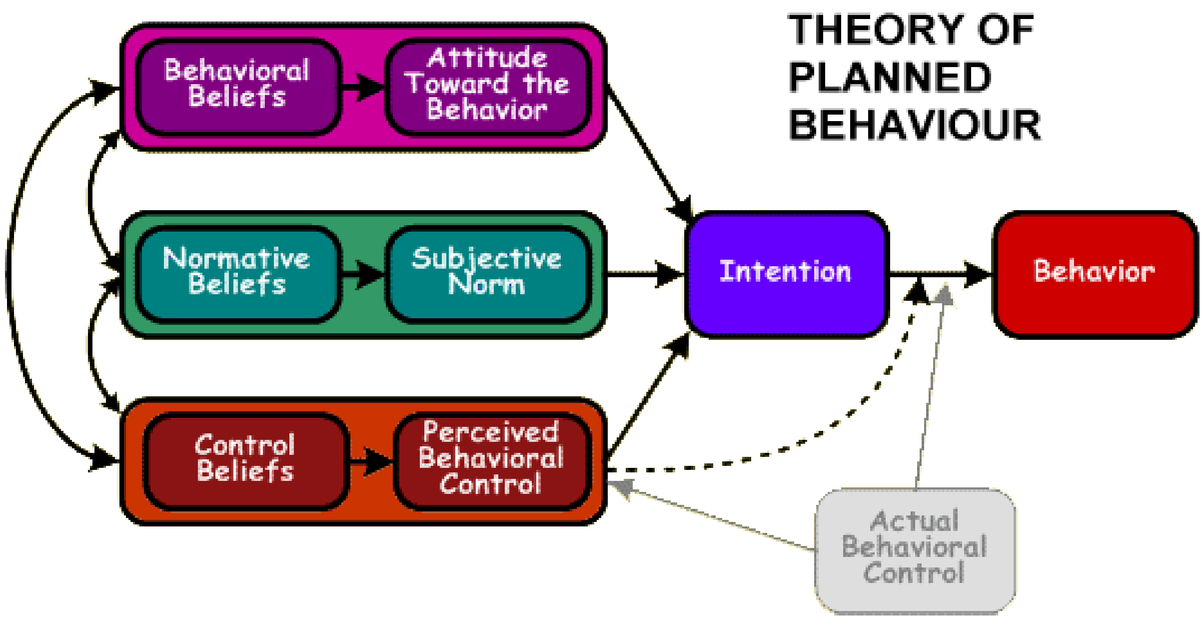
• build close working relationships between communications and policy teams and any external organizations and agencies that might be involved in development of the strategy;

• set clear expectations as to what communications, policy and the other relevant roles can achieve;

• support robust evaluation based on a clear, shared understanding of objectives and the role of communications in achieving them.

There may be a number of theoretical behaviour models that are relevant to the behaviour that needs to be influenced. The Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB), for example, is an example of an intention-based model and one of the best-known and widely used behavioural models (particularly in the health and environment sectors). This is due to its simplicity and ease of use. According to this model, the key factors influencing behavioural intention are:

- Attitudes towards the behaviour;
- Subjective norms (that is, how socially acceptable an individual believes their behaviour to be);
- Perceived behavioural control or agency (as explained earlier, the ease or otherwise of performing the behaviour in question.



(I. Ajzen, 1991. The theory of planned behavior)

It must be stressed that TPB is just one of a number of theoretical models available. Whichever model you choose to develop for your demand reduction strategy, it must be borne in mind that these are usually simplified models which need to be modified to suit the particular influencing factors, behaviours and interventions you wish to consider. Also, not all models include factors at the environmental level, but it is nevertheless critically important to identify these and build them into the planning for the approach and strategy.

THE FIVE STEPS TO BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

The various principles and models outlined earlier can be incorporated into a framework that can form the basis of the demand reduction strategy. This framework can be implemented in the following five specific steps:

- Step 1: Identifying behaviours
- Step 2: Understanding the influences by audience
- Step 3: Developing a practical model of influences on behaviour
- Step 4: Building a marketing strategy to trigger the desired behaviour
- Step 5: Developing a communications strategy and campaign to support that strategy

Step 1. Identifying behaviours

This step involves identifying the behaviour or behaviours that activities are seeking to influence. Some key questions to address at this stage would be:

- What is the issue, namely, what is the product or form of trade in and/or use of the endangered species that we want to address?
- How do we break down the issue into its component behaviours?
- Who do we want to undertake the behaviour?
- What is the desired and current behaviour?
- Does the behaviour involve people starting, stopping, maintaining or preventing?
- Are we addressing single or multiple behaviours?
- How do multiple behaviours relate or group?

It is at this stage of the process where we explore the market landscape and use the information available from market studies to determine exactly what endangered species product we are trying to address and what behaviours are encouraging the use of that product. Use of Tigers, for example, may involve consumption of a variety of products and for a variety of uses, ranging from use of skins for display or claws and teeth as curios or amulets, to consumption in the form of traditional medicine, tonics, wines or even meat. It is essential that market information is available to ensure that the behaviour you are targeting is in fact the behaviour that is having the most detrimental impact on the species in the wild. A demand reduction strategy aimed at use of Tigers in 'Tiger bone' tonic wine, for example, will be very different from a strategy aimed at the use of Tiger bone in formal traditional medicine, and a demand reduction strategy on the latter will probably be futile if the predominant use is the former.

That particular use or product will now need to be broken down to its component behaviours and the various groups engaging in those behaviours will need to be identified and segmented.

Looking at the example in Figure 1 below, consumption of an endangered species product by a businessman may be prompted by consumption for perceived health benefits, for gifting to corporate partners or clients, or even collection as a financial investment for the future.

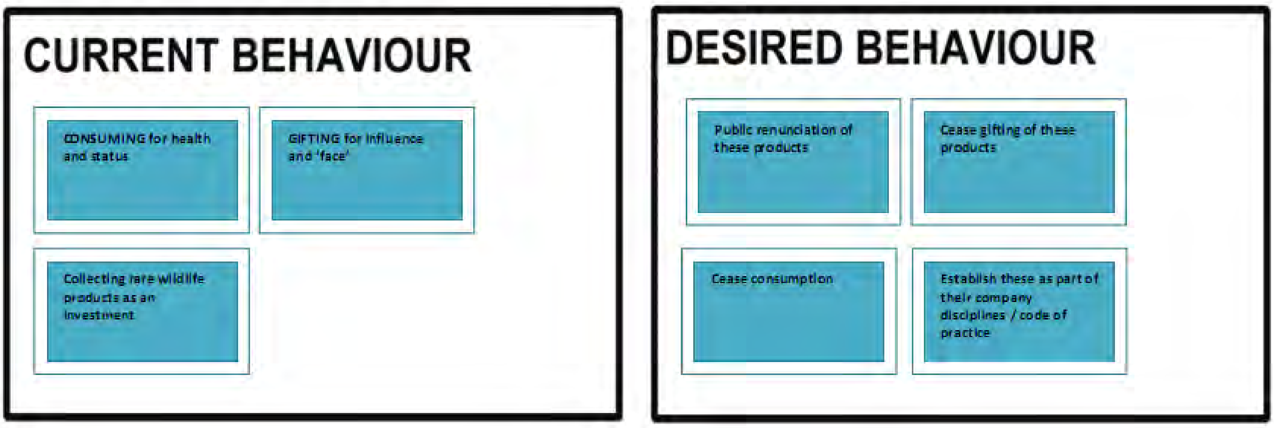


Figure 1: Example Current Behaviour and Desired Behaviour for a corporate target audience

If we look at other relevant audiences or stakeholders, these behaviours may be very different. With government officials, the behaviour we want to change may be the lack of seriousness that they give to illegal trade in the species. If we seek to target youths as potential influencers in our demand reduction efforts, the behaviours that we want to change may be apathy or lack of agency (see Figures 2 and 3 below).

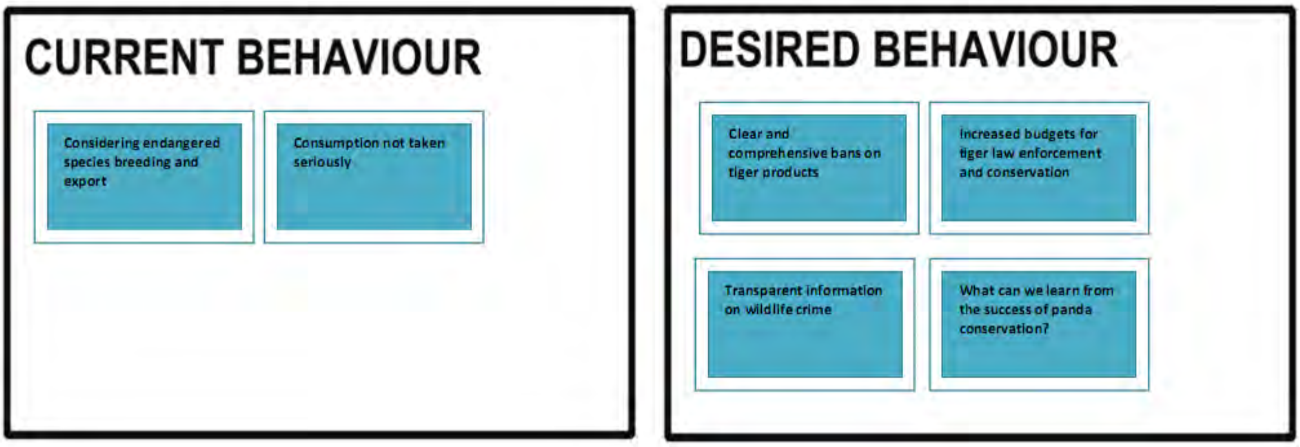


Figure 2: Example Current Behaviour and Desired Behaviour for a governmental target audience

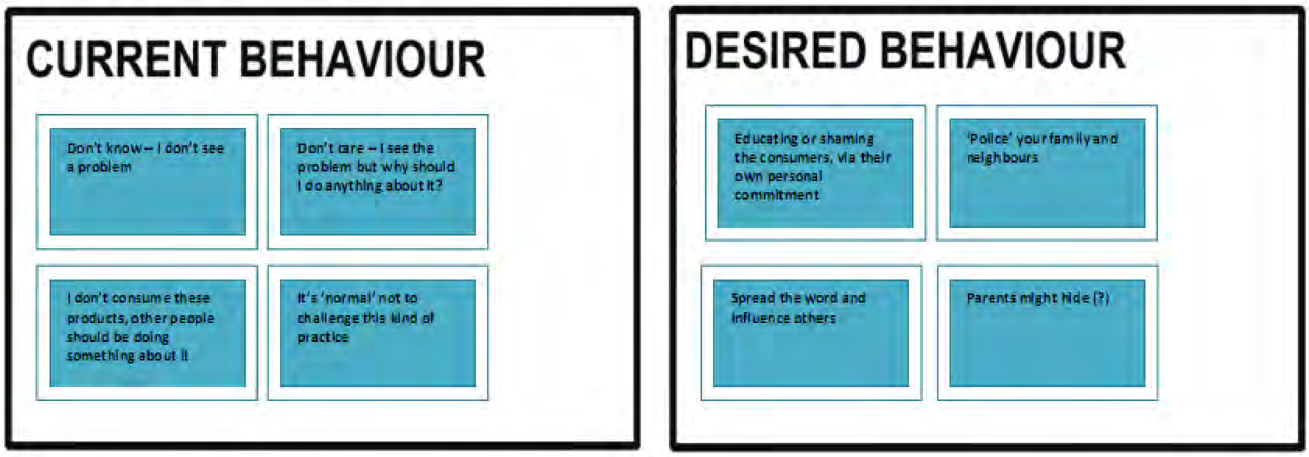


Figure 3: Example Current Behaviour and Desired Behaviour for a youth target audience

Step 2. Understanding the influences by audience

The next step is to identify all the factors influencing the behaviours which have been prioritized and agreed to in Step 1. As discussed earlier, these factors will vary among different audience groups, so these groups will need to be segmented and identified first. Behavioural theory should play an important role in this task.

Creating an accurate segmentation will mean exploring people's claimed behaviours; intentions; attitudes; physical, practical and psychological barriers; motivations; goals; and levels of self-efficacy.

Data and information from a range of sources will need to be combined in order to generate the behavioural insights needed to identify the most important influencing factors – that is, those that have the strongest influence on the behaviour or behaviours in question – affect different audience sub-groups.

This can be done by:

• drawing on the knowledge and experiences of key experts and stakeholders;

• reviewing and analyzing existing information (including relevant behavioural theory) and data through desk research;

• conducting new qualitative research through appropriate mechanisms such as interviews or focus groups.

Professional research is essential at this stage of the process to accurately map, explore and specifically identify the influences on the identified audiences and their behaviour. This research should go beyond vague or broad statements such as 'status' and 'culture' and develop new models of influences for positive behaviour change, e.g. transforming reasons for the current behaviours into new reasons for desired behaviours (see Figures 1, 2 and 3 above).

This will no doubt require a great deal of investment, as most past and current research in the area of wildlife consumption rarely examines the deep insights needed on the beliefs and attitude of many in the target audiences. This research would be difficult and a sound methodology for such research needs to be identified, bearing in mind that the consumers to be researched would likely be aware that what they are doing is illegal. Participatory questionnaires, for example, would perhaps be of very limited value for collecting objective information in such cases.

This kind of research will also need to involve different partners, agencies, research institutions and other actors who will be needed to fill knowledge gaps. This should include participants from a wide range of professional and institutional backgrounds, including representatives from various governmental departments, the corporate sector, advertising and marketing companies, universities, conservation organizations and inter-governmental organizations. This collaboration of this rich mix of expertise and experience is essential to the success of the process.

As explained earlier, factors at all levels need to be considered for each of the key audiences:

- What factors are at play at the personal level (for example habit, emotions, self-efficacy, knowledge, inertia, biases or mental shortcuts)?
- What are the influencing factors at the social level (for example is the behaviour with or against social norms, peer pressure, who can influence and how strongly)?
- What are the factors to consider in the local and wider environmental (for example governmental policy, price, or legislation)?
- How do all these factors differ across audiences? How does their importance vary across different audience groups?

In practice, Steps 1 and 2 are likely to be iterative. Exploring the factors that influence a particular behaviour may highlight another behaviour that could be easier to influence, or where more public communications can have a more obvious role to play. In this case, the process needs to go back to Step 1 and add the ‘new’ behaviour to the list before proceeding again to Step 2.

Step 3. Developing a practical model of influences on behaviour

While the work involved in Steps 1 and 2 are primarily exploratory and wide-ranging in thinking, Step 3 of the process is where the focus can be reduced down to a solution. The insights into behaviour developed at Step 2 can now be used to develop a practical model that brings together all the relevant behaviours and influencing factors, and which is based on a deep understanding of the relationship between current and desired behaviours and the key influencing factors involved. Sometimes, it will be appropriate to adapt an existing model; at other times, you will need to create a model specifically for the task in hand.

As in Step 2, developing a practical model will require input from people with a range of different skills, including experts in behaviour (who may well be academics) and experts in policy and communication. This will help ensure that the model works across all chosen interventions, ensuring consistency and coherence.

The model should be dynamic and have a temporal element to it so that it can adapt in line with changing circumstances. For example, a model developed two years ago might not take into account the economic downturn, and would need to be updated to reflect the impact of this factor on customers' attitudes, behaviours and intentions. The simplest solution is to schedule regular reviews into your planning process.

A practical model is essential. It will help to focus thinking about the behaviour(s) in question and the influencing factors, and can be used to develop a marketing framework (see Step 4 below).

Key question to ask at this stage would be:

• How do we prioritize the factors identified at Step 2?

• How do these factors influence current and desired behaviours?

• How strong is their influence and what is the relative importance of the factors?

• Do we have data to measure the factors? If we can't, what are the pragmatic hypotheses we can work with and test?

• What are our early hypotheses about how behaviour might change?

Step 4. Building a marketing framework

The model can now be used to construct a marketing framework that can be used to identify and set communications objectives. In practice, these objectives are often to change one or more of the factors that influence behaviour, rather than the end behaviour itself. For example, looking at the marketing brief outlined for a corporate audience (see Figure 4), addressing the gifting of endangered species products to attain social status would address the choices made in the gifting behaviour itself, rather than choice of a particular endangered species product. The communications objectives, mapped with the audience segmentation described earlier, can be used to generate a high-level monitoring and evaluation plan.

It is at this stage of the process where some thought must be given to how to measure the desired behaviour change over time, the indicators that can be used and the timeline over which activities need to take place. For the corporate audience in the example in Figure 4, for example, attitudinal surveys of primary or secondary target audiences can be used for this measurement against a baseline, as well as documenting the actual number of corporate role models and other entities that have committed themselves publicly to the desired behaviour changes.

It is important to remember that progress may need to be assessed in terms of their impact on influencing factors rather than on the actual behaviour itself. For example, if the behaviour of consuming Tiger bone wine is prompted by its perception as a way gaining social currency, the approach may be to stigmatize that behaviour and strengthen the perception that this behaviour leads to loss of social currency. Measurement of the effectiveness of this approach must therefore be based on that perception of loss of social currency, rather than the consumption of Tiger bone wine itself. Any evaluation must therefore form

FIGURE 4

CORPORATE

STRATEGIC APPROACH:

- Engage business elite to renounce and denigrate consumption and gifting of tiger products
- Focus on business-to-business gifting (not governmental)
- For tigers, but apply to ivory and rhino horn as well

AUDIENCES:

- Rich businessmen
CEOs (iconic figures)
Elite Clubs
Brands
- Baidu CEO
Taobao CEO
360 degrees CEO
QQ Tenent CEO
Sina Soho
- Other business icons
- MBA Students
- MBA Oath

CURRENT BEHAVIOUR

- CONSUMING for health and status
- GIFTING for influence and 'face'
- Collecting rare wildlife products as an investment

DESIRED BEHAVIOUR

- Public renunciation of these products
- Cease gifting of these products
- Cease consumption
- Establish these as part of their company disciplines / code of practice

CURRENT ATTITUDES

- Lack of shame using these products
- Unwillingness to publicly acknowledge the problem
- Indifference
It's not my job to save these animals
- Belief in TCM efficacy
Mythical beliefs
- Perception of enhanced social status by possessing rare animals

DESIRED ATTITUDES

- Awareness of the situation
- Care for the problem
- Perceive and acknowledge that the practice is not 'cool'
- Associate some risk to the practice
- Health doubts about the practice
- See national interests in stopping the practice

HOW TO MEASURE BEHAVIOUR CHANGE OVER TIME

- Track number of corporate renouncers of these products (individuals, corporations & organisations)
- Attitudinal surveys of primary and secondary target audiences (before and after campaign)

INDICATORS

PRIMARY
1. No. of renouncers
2. Percentage improvement in attitudes

SECONDARY
1. Tiger populations
2. Tigers farms closed
3. Public opinion on wildlife conservation

TIMELINE

- 1. In 6 months, one leader and one corporation supports initiative (catalyst)
- 2. In 12 months', a 'Gang of Five' of supporters recruited
- 3. 50% change from baseline in attitudinal survey of target audiences (3-year monitoring span)

part of a broader evaluation framework or at least attempt to separate out the effect of other influences and/or interventions.

Key questions to ask in this process would include:

• What influencing factors will marketing/interventions need to target?

• Where will communications play a role? What factors will they affect and how? Will they play a leading or supporting role?

• What are the communications objectives?

• What are our top-line evaluation metrics for these communications objectives?

Step 5. Developing a communications strategy and campaign

Once the communications objectives have been identified and agreed upon in Step 4 above, we arrive at the final stage of the demand reduction strategy development process with the development of the communications strategy and campaign. This is where the communications objectives identified in Step 4 need to be developed into communications messages, channels, tools and other activities and deliverables.

Towards A Global Demand Reduction Strategy for Tigers

The concepts discussed earlier and the strategic framework outlined in the previous section can be used to develop programme goals and programme components that can form the basis for a global support programme (GSP) on demand reduction that can assist Tiger Range Countries (TRCs) to develop and implement their own demand reduction strategies in a more targeted and effective manner.

PROGRAMME GOALS

To encourage and support efforts by key Tiger Range Countries to reduce the illicit demand for and consumption of Tigers and their parts by:

1) **Behaviour identification:** Identifying consumer behaviours and groups that are encouraging the use of illicit Tiger products

2) **Audience segmentation:** Identifying the factors needed to influence the behaviours of key target consumer market segments

3) **Behaviour modeling:** Develop practical behavioural models that address the behaviours and influencing factors of key target audiences (consumers and influencers)

4) **Marketing framework development:** Develop marketing briefs and approaches that can be used to identify and set campaign and communications objectives for demand reduction campaigns in key TRCs

5) **Campaign development and implementation:** Develop demand reduction campaign 'packages' that can be implemented by the relevant stakeholders in TRCs

PROGRAMME COMPONENTS

1) **Behaviour identification:** Identifying consumer behaviours and groups that are encouraging the use of illicit Tiger products. Using market surveys and desk research, this component of the programme will explore the global market landscape and document exactly what Tiger products are in prevalent use, what groups of people are using these products and what behaviours are encouraging their use. This may involve consumption of a variety of products and for a variety of uses, ranging from use of skins for display or claws and teeth as curios or amulets, to consumption in the form of traditional medicine, tonics, wines or meat. Products and uses having the most detrimental impact on the species in the wild will be identified and broken down to its component behaviours and the various groups engaging in this use.

Duration: 6 Months

Ref.	Activity
1.1	Devise, develop and deliver desk based and market research (including honing baseline attitudinal surveys). This will include defining the research scope, parameters and methodology and recruiting and appointing an appropriate agency to undertake the work.
1.2	Data analysis and synthesis of headline findings, including identification of three key range or consumers countries central to accomplishing the programme goal.
1.3	Country Workshop series to introduce the demand reduction initiative and present research findings to key stakeholders in the three countries concerned. These are likely to represent diverse interests such as behavioural science, social research, behavioural economics, advertising, marketing, communications, public relations, governmental policy and wildlife conservation. The workshops will facilitate an 'enabling environment' for initiative delivery and empower high level government officials to take a leadership role in driving forward elements. Workshop discussion will confirm the most appropriate approach and initiative implementation process.
1.4	Identify and convene a 'virtual' consortium of interested experts and establish expert groups in the fields of behavioural science, social research, behavioural economics, advertising and marketing, communications and public relations, governmental policy and wildlife conservation to advise on the implementation of the programme. Discussion would be convened and co-ordinated by a campaign leader.
1.5	Report preparation and publication. Report will also be distributed to key stakeholders planning or implementing on-going demand reduction activities to assist them in their work.

2) **Audience segmentation**: Analysing socio-demographic, attitudinal and other aspects of target audience profile in the three countries concerned, in order to gain insight into the specific triggers and drivers for this behaviour

Duration: 6 months

Ref.	Activity
2.1	Devise, develop and deliver desk research, survey and focus groups to clarify candidate audience segmentation in each of the three countries. This will include defining the research

	scope, parameters and methodology and identifying the team of experts that will deliver it.
2.2	Data analysis and synthesis of headline findings.
2.3	Workshop series to present report findings to government and other stakeholders (e.g. those engaged through stage 1 of the process). Workshop discussion will confirm the most appropriate audience segmentation approach and initiative implementation process.
2.4	Report preparation and publication. Report will also be distributed to key stakeholders planning or implementing on-going demand reduction activities to assist them in their work.

3) **Behaviour modeling***:* In each of the three countries concerned, identifying which behavioural change models can be practically applied to tackle these specific triggers and drivers effectively, through highly targeted campaign messages. This would involve prioritizing which of the behaviours, influencing factors, segmented audiences and key influencers that were identified earlier to concentrate on; developing behaviour models to show how these interact and the outcomes of these interactions; and outcomes most likely to deliver the key behaviour changes sought.

Duration: 6 months

Ref.	**Activity**
3.1	Working in collaboration with selected experts, analyse the behaviour identification and audience segmentation research in order to identify which behaviour change models which can be practically applied to tackle target triggers and drivers
3.2.	Preparation of proposed behavioural change models. Models developed will be shared with key stakeholders planning or implementing on-going demand reduction activities to assist them in their work.

4) **Marketing framework development:** Using the behaviour models developed earlier, develop marketing briefs and behaviour change approaches that can be used to identify and set campaign and communications objectives for effective demand reduction campaigns in the three countries concerned. This includes conceptualising approaches to shift target audiences from current attitudes and behaviours to desired attitudes and behaviours (e.g. public renunciation of products from endangered species; ceasing the corporate gifting of these products; the promotion of national interests in stopping such practices, etc)

Delivery period: 6 months

Ref.	**Activity**
4.1	Identify and recruit relevant marketing experts to develop marketing brief and, where appropriate, behaviour change action plans for "Influencing the Influencers"
4.2	Where appropriate, identify key influencers and 'champions' to advise and assist in developing and implementing the marketing briefs and behaviour change action plans
4.2	Develop marketing brief or behaviour change action plan for each of the agreed behaviour models
4.3	Review of proposed marketing briefs or behaviour change action plans by expert groups
4.4	Preparation and publication of proposed marketing briefs or behaviour change action plans

5) **Campaign development and implementation:** From the campaign objectives identified earlier in 4), develop demand reduction campaign 'packages' for the that can be implemented by the relevant stakeholders in the three countries concerned. Each package would include identifying the relevant media, advertising and advocacy activities needed; identifying and developing the appropriate mix of tools and products, such as media releases and opinion editorials, social media, television advertising, print advertising and other print material; and significant events, meetings, conferences and other intervention

opportunities to target during the campaign period.

Duration: 6 months for the development phase, followed by ongoing campaign implementation and monitoring & evaluation

Ref.	Activity
5.1	Identify and recruit relevant communications and campaigning experts for campaign teams to develop campaign ‘packages’
5.2	Design and develop campaign ‘packages’ based on the marketing briefs
5.3	Workshops to present campaign proposals to government and other stakeholders and decide on agreed campaign ‘packages’
5.4	Identify and convene campaign teams for each of the agreed campaign packages
5.5	Develop communications tools and products to support implementation of the campaign ‘packages’
5.6	Public launch of the first campaign packages
5.7	Implementation of campaign packages

PROGRAMME PERFORMANCE INDICATORS

In order to evaluate the impacts of the campaign packages developed and the effectiveness of its communications activities, the Expert Groups and campaigns team will meet to review campaign implementation 3 months after launch to review implementation, identify gaps and weaknesses and recommend remedial actions. Focus group studies may also be conducted to provide information on any changes to initial survey baselines.

Six months into campaign implementation, an independent consultant will be recruited to monitor impact and effectiveness of implementation of campaign packages and provide recommendations for adaptive management of implementation. Attitudinal surveys will also be conducted to provide information on any changes to initial survey baselines.

Key performance indicators will be developed based the effectiveness of the dissemination of the communications messages developed, the reach achieved with the target segmented audiences and, most critically, the change to the factors that the campaigns are seeking to influence as identified in the selected behaviour change models. The key performance indicators should form part of the overall performance evaluation for the Global Tiger Recovery Programme to ensure that its contribution to the GTRP’s overarching goal of doubling the number wild tigers across their range by 2022 can be evaluated.

PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

While it is envisaged that this demand reduction global support programme could be initiated and co-ordinated in its initial phases by international partners, it is essential that 'ownership' and implementation must be with the countries concerned. The process in these countries must be driven by the governments concerned - rather than by international or non-governmental organizations. The country stakeholder workshops and meetings outlined above would therefore be critical to the successful implementation of this programme. International partners could provide support in the form of international coordination and technical expertise and facilitation.

To advise and support the implementation of this process, a community of interest will need to be created, bringing together relevant expertise, knowledge and experience in the fields of behavioural science, social research, behavioural economics, advertising and marketing, communications and public relations, governmental policy and wildlife conservation. The commitment of these sectoral experts must be secured and their active engagement throughout the process must be encouraged and supported.

Ultimately, demand reduction strategies must be very much a close partnership between government, international organizations, NGOs, the corporate sector, research institutions and other sectoral experts. It is only with this rich convergence of knowledge, expertise and experience can we effectively address the primary drivers of human behaviour that is at the heart of demand reduction efforts.

Long-term investment in such a comprehensive approach to demand reduction is essential if it is to be effective and sustainable over the period needed to accomplish its objectives. If the devastating impact of the consumption of tiger parts and derivatives is to be reduced and eventually eliminated in the future, it requires a significant paradigm shift in behaviour from those responsible and a paradigm shift in the thinking and approaches we take in influencing that behaviour. Such a paradigm shift can only be accomplished with a renewed, scaled-up and sustained commitment from both the international community and the national governments concerned.

It is therefore recommended that:

(i) the partners of the Global Tiger Initiative utilise the programme presented in this paper as guidance for the development of a Global Support Programme on Demand Reduction and further develop it into a detailed programme of work that can be adopted by the Global Tiger Recovery Programme

(ii) the World Bank and other partners of Global Tiger Initiative seek funding for the development and implementation of the Global Support Programme on Demand Reduction to ensure that adequate resources for the programme can be sustained during the programme period.

(iii) TRCs endorse the Global Support Programme on Demand Reduction and commit to its effective implementation

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