CITES and the value of wildlife: On the visibility and victimisation of the minke whale, queen conch and Atlantic bluefin tuna

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CITES and the value of wildlife: On the visibility and victimisation of the minke whale, queen conch and Atlantic bluefin tuna

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Abstract

With the mounting pressures of biodiversity loss, ecological destruction, and species extinction, the protection of life on Earth is arguably the greatest challenge of the twenty-first century. As a critical perspective, green criminology is in the prime position to confront these emerging issues and broaden the recognition towards the harmful – yet not currently criminalised – impacts on the environment and living beings. This thesis advances a nonspeciesist green criminological position by incorporating cultural and Southern criminological perspectives to investigate how attitudes towards marine species shape the recognition of harm and victimhood for marine species listed on the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES).

To achieve this objective, this thesis presents three case studies of marine species who are commercially exploited: the minke whale, the queen conch, and the Atlantic bluefin tuna. The conservation management and state of trade for each species has been assessed through a mixed method qualitative/quantitative survey (162 respondents) and interviews with 35 expert stakeholders grouped by: governing body (management), socio-cultural (local interest), fishery (industry), and conservation (research) sectors. I have also conducted a review of trade data, fishery statistics, and CITES documents.

Together, these cases enable a narrow and specific examination of how socially defined perceptions surrounding each species relate to their treatment within CITES. The findings demonstrate how legal and moral perspectives diverge and are influenced by power asymmetries underlying the political, cultural, and economic value of each species. I develop on themes around cultures of consumption, and the combined yet conflicting motivations for economic growth and sustainable exploitation. In doing so, I demonstrate how these motivations have significant implications for species and environmental justice. Firstly, by devaluing and harming individual wildlife, and then through the joint victimisation and marginalisation of the people involved within these exploitative relationships.

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List of Abbreviations

ABFT	Atlantic bluefin tuna
CITES:	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CoP:	Conference of Parties (CITES)
EEZ:	Exclusive economic zone (fisheries)
FAO:	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
ICCAT:	The International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas
IPBES:	Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services
IUCN:	International Union for Conservation of Nature
IUU:	Illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing
IWC:	International Whaling Commission
MSY:	Maximum sustainable yield (fisheries)
NAMMCO:	North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NOAA	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
RFMO:	Regional Fishery Management Organisation
SCRS	Standing Committee Research and Statistics (ICCAT advisory committee)
STR	Significant trade review (CITES)
TAC	Total Allowable Catch (fisheries)
UCT	Unmatched count technique
UNCLOS:	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNEP-WCMC:	United Nations Environment Programme-World Conservation Monitoring Centre

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Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas, and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted through the researcher's submission to Northumbria University's Ethics Online System (approval date: May 2020, reference: 18001).

I declare that the Word Count of this Thesis is 84,858 words.

Name: Alison Hutchinson

Signature:

Date: 23.12.2021

Chapter 1. Introduction

The Earth, its inhabitants, and ecological systems, are currently in a state of crisis (O'Connor *et al.*, 2020). The twenty-first century has seen the escalation of rapid biodiversity loss, degradation of ecosystems, un-paralleled climate change, and accelerating threats of species extinction (IPBES, 2019). An advancing milestone of this era is the recognition, and gradual acceptance, of the sixth mass extinction event (Barnosky *et al*., 2011; Ceballos, Ehrlich & Dirzo, 2017). This loss of life, of both plants and animals, is predominantly being caused by human activity. Consequently, the increasing overexploitation of nature and 'wildlife'[1] is recognised as one of the leading threats behind the potential extinction of around one million species (IPBES, 2019). It is becoming increasingly clear that extractive capitalism and our industrial relationships with nature and wildlife (which value both as exploitable commodities) are unsustainable and increasingly incompatible with life (Dobson, 2007; Feola, Koretskaya & Moore, 2021). Demonstrably, the Covid-19 pandemic – which has been linked to the trade and treatment of wildlife – calls for a fundamental reassessment of our exploitative practises towards wild species (Beirne, 2021; Scanlon, 2021). It is within this landscape that my thesis seeks to question current practices surrounding wildlife trade and the widespread predilection to value wildlife as *resources*, rather than recognising them as intrinsically valuable beings.

Marine species are an often overlooked yet substantial component of wildlife trade. Overall, fishes[2] and other marine species are the second largest legally exploited 'natural resource' after timber (Cooney *et al*. 2015). They also remain the only major wild-sourced food commodity on a global scale. In 2018 alone it was estimated that around 179 million tonnes of fishes were caught and killed for human consumption (FAO 2020). In recognition of the mounting threats surrounding marine species (including their exploitation and additional threats from climate change, pollution, ocean acidification, invasive species, etc.) the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES, 2019, p. 805) stated that safeguarding ocean biodiversity would require 'reducing [the] intensity of seafood production' to levels that are sustainable. Despite this acknowledgement of the threats toward marine life and ecosystems, enhancing marine industries and developing the 'blue economy' remains hailed by

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1 As Sollund (2011, 2017) and Beirne (2013) have discussed, the use of *wildlife* implies a wild or destructive nature. This is challenging as choice of language (e.g. non-human, wildlife, fisheries, livestock) can perpetuate and entrench marginalisation and oppression (Vialles, 1994; Joy, 2011; Dunayer, 2001). While I acknowledge the difficulties with these terms, to limit distraction within the text, I only highlight 'wildlife' within quotations marks in this first instance.

2 The term 'fish' often encompasses numerous fishes. I prefer, and use, 'fishes' (for many fish) as this emphasises the multiplicity of individuals and species involved.

governments and industry groups around the globe as a solution for jointly achieving economic growth, sustainable food production, and environmental sustainability (European Commission, 2021; FAO, 2017). Yet, this illusion of blue (economic) growth and simultaneous sustainable exploitation is proving to be problematic. As dependence on fisheries for nutrition and employment are increasing globally (Costello *et al*., 2020), so too is the proportion of unsustainable fishing practices (FAO, 2020; Guillen *et al*., 2019). With pressures on marine species escalating, many are suffering from over-exploitation and are increasingly fished at unsustainable levels (FAO, 2020).

Despite these noted pressures, marine species who are both threatened and commercially exploited have received minimal attention from the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (hereafter CITES, or the Convention), which is tasked with ensuring sustainability in international trade (Sellar 2019; UNODC 2020). That they (marine species) remain principally defined as *food* and profitable *commodities* rather than as wild animals is testament to their position within global governance structures (Wadewitz, 2011; Wyatt, Friedman & Hutchinson, 2021). Building from this recognition, this thesis hopes to contribute to an understanding of the challenges facing marine species in governance and conservation circles. In doing so, I additionally seek to challenge the prevailing belief in technocratic fixes for sustainability and wellbeing that remain framed around models for economic (blue) growth, while continuing to exploit and commodify non-human life.

Marine wildlife trade: criminological focus

Despite the clear criminal elements surrounding the exploitation of marine species (e.g., illegal fishing, bycatch, and noise and water pollution), these issues have received limited criminological attention compared to terrestrial wildlife crimes (some relevant examples include: Hauck, 2009, 2013; Raemaekers *et al*., 2011, and van Uhm & Siegel, 2016). The majority of scholarly attention towards marine wildlife crime originates from marine scientists, conservationists, and marketing researchers (see: Agnew *et al*., 2009; Clarke *et al*., 2006; Keel & Wolf, 2020). Although the laundering and transhipment of fishes has received attention from economic and marine policy scholars, much of the focus has been towards the crimes associated with illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing (see: Daniels *et al*., 2016; Sumaila, Alder & Keith, 2006). Additionally, there has often been an emphasis on the crimes facilitated through maritime activity (i.e., human trafficking, modern slavery, and forced labour) and the 'serious' crimes of drug and arms trafficking (Chapsos & Hamilton, 2018; Liddick, 2014; Simmons & Stringer, 2014; Tickler *et al*., 2018). Subsequently, the identification of wildlife-centred harms and crimes (e.g., wildlife trafficking, abuse, and killing) remains under-represented within mainstream criminological attention. This limited criminological scholarship into marine wildlife crimes and harms leaves

an incomplete understanding of the scope of victims and the mechanisms motivating and perpetuating offending. A broader, critical, and green criminological position will fill this knowledge gap.

Green criminological underpinning

In recognition of the need to bring the natural world under criminological attention, green criminology has emerged as a timely and necessary discipline to challenge a multitude of environmental and wildlife harms and crimes (see: Maher & Wyatt, 2017; Nurse & Wyatt, 2020; Sollund, 2016; van Uhm, 2016a). While IUU fishing has received some attention from criminologists, harms towards marine species and the environment remain somewhat under-prioritised and overlooked (see: Marteache, Sosnowski & Petrossian, 2020; Petrossian, 2015; Stefanus & Vervaele, 2021). Although recent work by Ruiz, South, and Brisman (2020) promotes an ethical and sustainable approach to fisheries (arguing that both legal and illegal over-exploitation should be considered an eco-crime), sustainability and sustainable use remains central to their discussion and the wildlife victims themselves are not made prominent. In recognition of this apparent oversight toward wildlife victims, this study is informed by a nonspeciesist green criminological position. This understands the victimisation of animals to be seated within a speciesist logic which discriminates individuals based upon species membership (Beirne, 1999; Ryder, 2010).

While green criminology provides an avenue to address the issue of legally perpetuated harms toward marine species (broadening the scope of recognised victims), the research position is also supported by the inclusion of cultural and Southern criminological perspectives. This combined conceptual framework is described more thoroughly in the third chapter. In brief, these additional perspectives add an attentiveness to the situated meanings and geo-political disparities that exist within power, wealth, and privilege divides – and are necessary additions considering the numerous motivations for and dependency on marine species (by humans) globally. Through this combined approach I seek to contribute to the contextual understanding of legally perpetuated harms towards wildlife victims, whilst being receptive to the cultural constructions of harm and broader Southern epistemologies. By focusing on perceptions of harm and victimhood surrounding three marine species (1. the minke whale, 2. the queen conch, and 3. the Atlantic bluefin tuna – introduced more thoroughly in Chapter 2), my thesis advances a criminological understanding of how perceptions towards different species influence and reinforce species injustices and furthers the discussion on our legal and moral responsibilities towards those wildlife who we choose (and continue) to exploit.

Now that the criminological underpinning has been introduced, the chapter elaborates on the status of marine species to provide further context on the focus of this thesis. I first describe the

visibility of marine species in conservation and global governance structures and then introduce CITES as an additional mechanism with which to navigate trade and conservation issues. Following this, I elaborate on the definition for 'sustainable' exploitation and discuss how this can be harmful for marine species. Once this backdrop has been established, I then define the research objective and formulate the research questions. The chapter concludes with an overview of the thesis structure.

Fishy business: harming marine species

The (in)visibility of marine species

The United Nations 'World Ocean Assessment' (2021: foreword) describes the Earth's oceans as the planet's 'life support system'. Yet, as described above, there has been limited attention towards the harms and crimes affecting marine species and the marine environment. That they remain somewhat overlooked within criminology is no surprise considering the bias in attention toward the more visible (terrestrial or vertebrate) species often prevalent throughout much of conservation research (Mammola *et al.*, 2020). However, this omission is particularly remarkable considering that fish species far outnumber other vertebrate groups. Currently, around 35,000 fish species have been scientifically described compared to just under 37,000 mammals, birds, reptiles, and amphibians combined (IUCN, 2019). Despite their number, far fewer of these fishes have been assessed by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature's (IUCN) Red List (a database of species and their conservation status). Only 54% of known fish species have been evaluated by the IUCN, whereas 70% of vertebrate groups, 90% of mammals, and all bird groups are believed to have been assessed (IUCN, 2019). Despite having just 54% of fishes assessed by the IUCN Red List, they remain the second most threatened species group (including invertebrates, plants, and fungi), second only to flowering plants[3] (IUCN, 2019). This demonstrates that while fishes are poorly represented within conservation assessments, they are also additionally some of the most threatened species (numerically).

3 The IUCN currently recognises 2,674 fishes as threatened (of an evaluated 19,199), whereas 14,938 species of flowering plants have been recognised as threatened (of an evaluated 36,623) see: IUCN (2019 Table 1a).

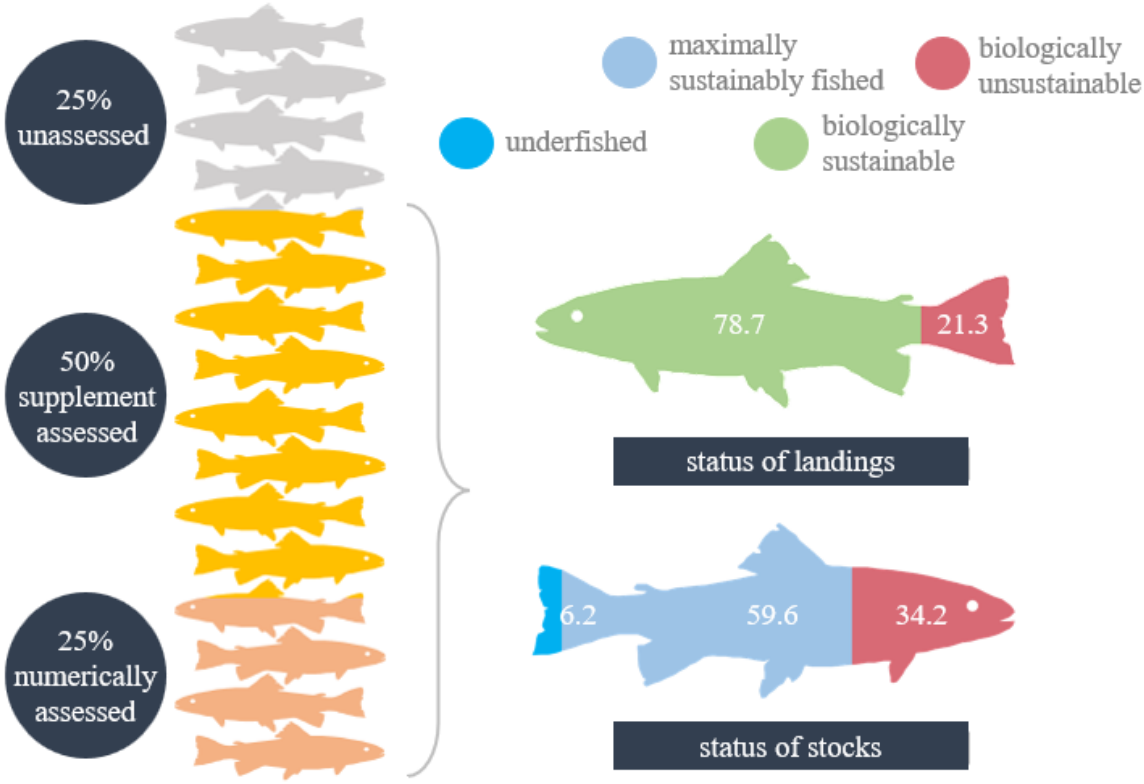

Figure 1. Proportion and status (%) of fish stocks assessed by the FAO by mode of assessment. Note: 'supplement assessed' includes surrogate measures of abundance (extrapolated from fishery data) and expert opinions. Maximally sustainably fished and underfished groups are considered 'biologically sustainable' (data from: FAO, 2020).

In addition to the unknown population status of many fish s pecies, the abundance and sustainability of fishes who are commercially exploited is also uncertain. Although the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reports that 78.7% of the fishes who are caught (killed) come from biologically sustainable populations, the outlook for marine species who are commercially exploited remains worrisome. The FAO currently state that they have assessed the abundance of species accounting for 75% of the global catch, however these assessments are considerably data-limited and reliable stock assessments are not available for many exploited marine species (FAO, 2020). Of the 75% of stocks assessed, just 17-25% come from *numerical* abundance assessments which are based upon detailed evaluation and modelling of catch statistics, fishing effort, life history, and vessel specifics. The remainder have been assessed through a combination of *surrogate* abundance data and expert opinion – see Figure 1 (FAO, 2011, 2020). As such, many exploited marine species have not had the impacts of fishing pressure on their abundance scientifically evaluated or modelled (Melnychuk *et al*., 2020).

In addition to the above, long-term monitoring by the FAO has also shown a decline in the level of sustainably fished populations. Currently around 65.8% of fish 'stocks'[4] are believed to be sustainably fished; however, this is a decreasing trend. Of these, 59.6% are believed to be 'maximally sustainably fished' indicating that their 'biologically sustainable limit' (the ability for populations to recover) has been reached. In addition, approximately 35% of fish 'stocks' are thought to be overfished and fishing pressure is believed to be unsustainable (see Figure 1). While these assessments describe a deteriorating trend, Crespo and colleagues (2019, p.1276) additionally caution that the focus toward evaluating and monitoring commercially exploited stocks has created a 'governance vacuum', potentially leaving 95% of fish species who are living in the high-seas (beyond national jurisdiction) unassessed and unmonitored, despite also being vulnerable to the impacts of fishing.

Now that the uncertain population status of marine species has been described, I will next elaborate on the existing global governance structures that seek to manage the commercial exploitation of marine species.

Governance of marine species

Numerous international legal frameworks exist to manage the equitable distribution, utilisation, and conservation of marine wildlife. The most notable legal treaty governing fisheries is the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Measures under UNCLOS include the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) model for states (i.e., fishing within territorial waters and the distinction for 'high seas'). In addition, the United Nations 'Fish Stocks Agreement' (UNFSA) seeks to improve cooperation and conservation measures for migratory species that move between EEZs and the high seas. These regulations are implemented with the aid of Regional Fishery Management Organisations (RFMOs) of which there are around twenty-two[5] operating globally (Løbach *et al*., 2020). Moreover, the FAO has been instrumental in the development of fishery management measures, including the 'Port State Measures Agreement' (to combat IUU fishing) (Young, 2011).

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4 Exploitation of commercially exploited marine species typically describes populations as 'stocks'. This is a challenging term as it immediately commodifies those species who are exploited (Vialles, 1994; Joy, 2011). While acknowledging this conflict, I continue to use the term (when describing research that uses the term) without the added emphasis shown here.

5 Of the twenty-two RMFOs, twelve are general or 'generic' RMFOs responsible for all fishery resources within their scope and ten are 'specialised' focussing on specific species (five for tuna and tuna-like species, three for anadromous fishes, one for halibut, and one specifically for cetaceans (Løbach et al., 2020)).

Although these legal frameworks discuss the conservation of marine species, they remain primarily driven by ensuing food security and industry development. For example, the 'Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas' (established at UNCLOS I) defines the 'conservation of living resources' as:

> '…the aggregate of the measures rendering possible the optimum sustainable yield from those resources so as *to secure a maximum supply of food and other marine products*. Conservation programmes should be formulated with a view to securing *in the first place* a supply of food for human consumption' (Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas, 1958, p. 2, emphasis added).

More recently, the FAO 'Committee of Fisheries' (COFI) established a 'Compliance Agreement' and 'Code of Conduct' to monitor vessels and fishing activities. The agreement is founded on an objective to 'ensure sustainable exploitation of aquatic living resources in harmony with the environment' (FAO, 1995, p.vi). While this is a marked transition from the 'maximum supply of food' approach taken in UNCLOS I, management remains focussed on realising *sustainable exploitation*. Despite this shift in focus these legislative interventions have not prevented the over-exploitative fishing practices and biologically unsustainable fish populations (described above). In light of this, I now introduce CITES and highlight the potential for the Convention to oversee trade in commercially exploited marine species.

Spotlight on CITES

The central purpose of CITES is to ensure that international commercial trade of listed species does not threaten a species' survival (Reeve, 2002). As such, the Convention adopts a somewhat protectionist approach, stating that:

> '…wild fauna and flora in their many beautiful and varied forms are an irreplaceable part of the natural systems of the earth which must be protected for this and the generations to come' (CITES, 1973, np.).

While the approach of the Convention focusses on the protection of *select* species, to state that it is governed by a protectionist or conservationist philosophy is slightly misleading, as the Convention itself (like the fishery mechanisms described above) acts to support the sustainable use of wildlife (Bowman, 2013). The Convention operates by categorising wildlife into three Appendices according to the level of risk that international commercial trade poses to the species' survival. For those species listed on Appendix I, international commercial trade is prohibited, although exceptions can be made through the use of import and export permits (CITES, 1973). Species listed on Appendix II are recognised to be potentially threatened by trade, and as such trade *should* be closely controlled through the use of export permits and possibly trade quotas. Species listed on Appendix III are typically those recognised by member states as a concern.

These listings allow for additional support for implementing domestic trade legislation and monitoring the scale of trade (Reeve, 2002).

The specific concern underlying this thesis is the lack of attention from CITES toward marine species who are commercially exploited. To date, CITES has identified and listed just under 39,000 species and sub-species (CITES, 2019a). Of these, about 85% are plants, 10% are terrestrial species, and 6% are marine species. This lack of representation for marine species appears inconsistent with the global scale of their exploitation and the potential (and unknown) threat arising from their over-exploitation. One of the main barriers towards CITES listing marine species has been a conceptual (and political) conflict between the objectives for fishery management and fishery conservation – namely the opposing interests between commercial and non-commercial interest groups (Cochrane, 2015; Friedman *et al*., 2020; Young, 2010). In addition, a marine species listing within CITES would require parties to either ban (Appendix I) or impose regulations (Appendix II and III) on international trade. This is potentially problematic as it could conflict with UNCLOS, which states that nations have 'freedom to fish' in international waters providing that conservation and management measures have been established (see Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, Article: 116). Furthermore, listing marine species within CITES is made additionally convoluted through the use of specific listing criteria for commercially exploited marine species[6]. These criteria effectively narrow the limits for recognising population decline. Despite these difficulties with integration, from a species protectionist perspective, it is certainly within the remit of CITES to include marine wildlife who meet the listing criteria (Vincent *et al*., 2014). The involvement of CITES for the management of marine species is discussed in further detail in Chapter 2, along with an introduction to the three case study species.

From the above discussion, I have demonstrated how conservation efforts focussing on marine species (both within UNCLOS and CITES) are formulated on the concept of sustainability and sustainable exploitation. Before refining the research objective, I will first elaborate on the underlying concepts that support these terms and describe how they can be harmful for marine species.

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6 Criteria for listing marine species can be found in: Resolution Conf. 9.24 Rev. CoP-17 (CITES, 2016). General guidelines for listing a species define a 'marked population decline' as between 5% and 30% of the population baseline. However, recognising the productivity and vulnerability of marine species the range of decline for marine species is narrower – between 5% and 20%, with different ranges for 'high productive' and 'low productive' species.

The problem with 'sustainability'

Within fishery management the concepts of 'sustainability' and 'biologically sustainable limits' (discussed above) rest on a complex interplay between population abundance and maximum sustainable yield[7] (MSY). When fish populations are larger than the level of MSY they are described as 'biologically sustainable', and exploitation (killing) should not impact the productivity of the population. Under this definition, 'sustainability' is understood as the maximum level of exploitation possible without impacting the ability of the population to recover. However, under this guide, targets for MSY may still be damaging for certain species – potentially leading to the over-exploitation of populations that are less productive, or victims of bycatch (Butchart *et al.* 2019). Framing sustainability in this way is additionally problematic as it does not consider which individuals are killed (for instance the impact on genetic diversity and population health), or how exploitation might impact a species' cultural knowledge and cultural diversity (for example the loss of socially learnt behaviours that aid survival) (Brakes *et al.*, 2021; Whitehead *et al*., 2004; Whitehead, 2010). In addition, this definition for sustainability does not consider interspecies relationships (predator-prey dynamics) or overall ecosystem functioning. By these means, even in apparently sustainably exploited systems, the full extent of potential harms from exploitation are not captured.

Despite the above issues, this definition of sustainable exploitation is central to the way in which fishes who are commercially exploited are regarded. For instance in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development a vision for the future where 'all life can thrive' is described (United Nations, 2015, p.3). This is a vision in which the planet and its 'natural resources' are protected, while also ensuring that economic growth is both 'sustainable, inclusive and sustained' (United Nations, 2015, p.3) – a concept reminiscent of the 'blue growth' discussion at the onset of this chapter. However, this combined focus towards environmental protection and economic growth is demonstrably contradictory. For instance, both Heydon (2019) and McDonnell, Abelvik-Lawson and Short (2020) have shown this to be particularly apparent within the energy industry, whereby seemingly *sustainable development* initiatives (motivated by the pursuit of economic growth) have been responsible for significant environmental destruction. When discussing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Blaustein and colleagues (2020, p.9) additionally caution that aspirations toward environmental protection are compromised by the 'international community's enduring addiction to economic growth'.

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7 MSY is a calculation of the number of fish in a population who can be killed without impacting the long-term productivity of that population. Productivity is a measure of the population dynamics including the size of the fishes, their age, and their reproductive and mortality rates (UNSD, 2021).

This above conflict is apparent within SDG 14 (life below water), where marine conservation is situated within the context of sustainable management (Target 14.4) and sustained economic growth (Target 14.7). As such, the concept of sustainability is positioned within the greater nexus of human development needs. This highlights a fundamental tension within international conservation and management regimes, as conservation effort becomes framed by social and economic interests (see: Blaustein, Fitz-Gibbon & White, 2018; Blaustein *et al.*, 2020a). In this case, although 'natural resources' (fishes) are deemed worthy of protection, only those who can be *commercially exploited* are of interest within existing governance structures, and the lives of individuals are reduced to either *abundant* and *productive*, or *unsustainable* and *non-productive*. This concept of sustainability (also replicated within CITES) is inherently anthropocentric (whereby humans are the primary focus) and decisions are influenced by political, economic, and social judgements on the *value* of nature, and the 'resources' nature can provide to humans (Kotzé & French, 2018). From a nonspeciesist green criminological position this definition of sustainability is unacceptable as it avoids a dedicated recognition for wildlife victims.

Research Aims

As discussed throughout this chapter, marine species are facing numerous and increasing threats. However, under the guise of sustainable exploitation, many marine species continue to be commercially exploited despite uncertainties surrounding the stability of their populations. Institutions such as CITES (which have been established to regulate wildlife trade) have remained somewhat distant from issues relating to the commercial exploitation of marine species (who are typically regarded as food – and not as wildlife). In light of this, and focussing specifically on the role of CITES, this research seeks to question how perceptions of value, harm, and victimhood influence conservation decision-making policies for marine species. The research objective and guiding questions are defined below.

Research objective:

To investigate how social and cultural notions of harm and victimhood influence value perceptions guiding CITES trade regulations for marine species.

Research questions:

To address the research objective, the following questions aim to examine how harm and victimhood are perceived, and how these perceptions may influence the perceived value of different species. The research questions centre on three points: legal and moral standing, trade motivation, and harm recognition – detailed below.

1. **Legal & moral standing:** how is consumption and trade of the species perceived in a legal and moral context (visibility and value recognition)?

2. **Trade and consumption motivation:** what motivates trade and consumption of the species (social, cultural, political, economic contexts)?

3. **Harm recognition:** how are harms relating to the trade and consumption of the species contextualised (visibility and victimisation)?

Building on the idea that value systems prioritise the preservation of some wildlife over others (Leader-Williams, Adams & Smith, 2010), the first research question seeks to examine the relationship between legally perpetuated wildlife harms and crimes. Ultimately, what is established within CITES becomes a reflection of the dominant moral attitudes of the time. As such, this first research question prompts a reflection on the variable visibility of marine species within both moral consideration and legal spheres. The second research question builds on a cultural criminological position and seeks to shine a light on the lived realities, situated meanings, and emotional factors that motivate the consumption (or not) of marine species. The third research question returns to focus on the issue of *harm.* To contextualise harm, I bring together a reflection on harms toward the individual animal victim (drawing from a nonspeciesist position), as well those wider social, environmental, and institutionalised harms that run in parallel to the exploitation of wildlife (drawing from Southern and green criminological perspectives).

Research overview:

To address this objective, this thesis offers three case studies on marine species who are commercially exploited and have either been included or debated within CITES. Each are introduced more thoroughly in the following chapter:

1. The minke whale, *Balaenoptera spp*. (CITES Appendix I – illegal wildlife market)
2. The queen conch, *Strombus gigas* (CITES Appendix II – legal wildlife market)
3. The Atlantic bluefin tuna, *Thunnus thynnus* (CITES proposals rejected – legal market)

Through this combination of research questions and case studies this thesis seeks to describe how each of these species are valued, and in doing so continue a moral discourse on how culturally

derived value systems prioritise the preservation of some species while perpetuating the commodification of others. I further investigate the role of both species bias and cultural norms in defining what is considered criminal or harmful (and what is made invisible) when it comes to wildlife exploitation. Together, the case studies contribute to the broader arch of the research objective to apply a green-cultural and Southern criminological lens to the investigation of perceptions surrounding the victimisation and harm toward marine species who are commercially exploited (both within public perception and institutionally). By focussing on *whose* voices and values shape the formation of protections for wildlife, and *which* harms (and to *whom*) are recognised on the global stage, this thesis is a valuable addition to the fields of green-cultural and Southern criminology (described more thoroughly Chapter 3). This chapter now concludes with an overview of the thesis' chapters.

Thesis outline

Chapter 2. CITES and case study context

The second chapter presents a broader discussion on the role of CITES and the governance of marine species who are threatened by trade. I discuss potential issues arising within CITES, including the issue of power asymmetries and the imposition of Western neo-colonial logics. I then suggest how these issues might create tensions within the Convention. An introduction to each of the case studies is then given (1. the minke whale, 2. the queen conch, and 3. the Atlantic bluefin tuna), detailing their involvement within CITES and the reasons for their inclusion within this study.

Chapter 3. Conceptual framework development

This chapter develops the conceptual framework that forms the backbone of the study. As mentioned at the onset of this chapter, green, cultural, and Southern criminological perspectives are central to this project. Each are introduced in turn. I first consider the various eco-philosophical positions that support relationships towards nature and then expand on a nature-centred nonspeciesist position. Following this, I discuss how cultural criminology's attention towards the social construction of violence and harm (as well as its attentiveness toward the nuanced emotional motivating factors influencing consumptive habits) further compliments a green-criminological approach. Adding to this, I then explore how a Southern criminological perspective can expand on the understanding of the marginalisation of wildlife and amplify the thesis' focus on the damaging inconsistencies arising from Western (Global North) conservation concern. The chapter concludes with a synthesised conceptual framework of green-cultural and Southern criminology that centralises the animal victim and is attuned to the politicised and mediated constructions surrounding human-animal relationships.

Chapter 4. Methodology

This chapter illustrates the methodological approach supporting the research design. I begin by outlining the constructionist ontology and interpretivist epistemology that frame the research. I then describe how a mixed methods approach can be recognised under these philosophical perspectives. I also consider my own positionality and the potential conflict arising from a nonspeciesist approach. Following from this, I present the approach towards data collection and outline the (1) primary and (2) secondary data supporting this research (1. an online survey with 162 responses and 35 semi-structured interviews, and 2. CITES trade database and fishery catch records). I then provide an overview of the fictional empathetic narratives used to introduce each of the case study chapters before discussing the approaches taken within the survey including the use of sensitive questioning and the unmatched count technique. Next, I elaborate on the interview process and describe how interview participants have been grouped into different sectors to maximise the range of voices that are represented within the study. I also detail the data analysis process which includes a combination of thematic content analysis and descriptive statistical analysis. The chapter concludes with a reflection on potential ethical issues to be aware of throughout the study.

Chapter 5. The minke whale

This chapter presents the findings from the minke whale case study. Focussing first on the legal and moral standing of the minke whale, I demonstrate how participants generally agreed with the CITES Appendix I listing (highest level of protection) while also acknowledging local, subsistence-based exploitation. In addition, I demonstrate how both survey and interview respondents expand on the moral standing of the minke whale (beyond the legalistic boundaries set by CITES and the IWC) by focussing on the species' individuality, intelligence, and inherent value. I describe how such movements in moral consideration present an issue of speciesism, as moral judgements appear structured around the aesthetic qualities of the species. Next, focussing on trade and consumption motivation, I demonstrate how consumption of the species is marketed around concepts of freshness, quality, delicacy, novelty, and tradition. In this case, harm becomes constructed unequally: with local consumption generally tolerated whereas large, industrialised exploitation for luxury markets becomes viewed more harshly. I show how this is problematic regarding the legitimisation of harm and manipulation of meaning (surrounding who can perpetuate harms and what it means to be harmed). In the final section of the chapter, I reflect on the recognition of harms at different levels including towards populations, individuals (people and whales), and the wider environment. Through this discussion I demonstrate how speciesist hierarchies of value have potentially elevated the consideration of the minke whale as victims of harm. I conclude by raising concerns over the construction of value surrounding the species,

including the above noted potential for speciesism as well as the differential treatment (and condemnation) of consumers.

Chapter 6. The queen conch

The findings from the second case study on the queen conch are presented in this chapter. Beginning with the first research question, I demonstrate how the CITES Appendix II listing for the species is supported by a pervasive and anthropocentric worldview that positions the queen conch as food resources to be valued solely as commodities. While these perceptions limit any expansion of moral consideration toward the species themselves, I highlight how participants often also reflected on the marginalisation and exploitation of people. This ties to a wider recognition of the social and environmental harms associated with the species' exploitation, encompassing issues including the differential access to food resources, exploitation of human labour, and environmental degradation (involving species decline and ecosystem impacts). Turning to the second research question, I demonstrate how exploitation of the queen conch is socially constructed as valid, marketed around collective and potentially exaggerated concepts of festivity and tradition. In addition, I highlight concerns surrounding the neo-colonial nature of trade management for the species and evidence a trend for the superficial implementation of CITES regulations as an act of resistance to trade controls. I demonstrate how the species' commodity value exceeds conservation action (despite appeals from conservationists, scientists, and fishers themselves for CITES to do more to protect the species from over-exploitation). Building from this, I demonstrate how harms exist on multiple scales and are interconnected, maintained by market interests in the commercial and commodity value of the species. I also demonstrate how running parallel to the exploitation of the queen conch lies the exploitation and marginalisation of fishers, further perpetuating social inequalities and degradation. I conclude by highlighting how individual queen conchs are made invisible within trade and conservation discussions. I emphasise how this diminishment of harm (toward the queen conch) is reinforced by a market-orientated and profit-driven model for trade, that simultaneously harms people and the wider environment, and is maintained by structural abuses of power and social inequalities.

Chapter 7. The Atlantic bluefin tuna

This chapter presents the findings from the third case study on the Atlantic bluefin tuna (ABFT). I demonstrate how the proposed CITES listing for the species has been constrained by overwhelming commercial interests in the species, reinforced by the political and economic interests of nation states. Within the survey and interview discussions I evidence a trend for the moral consideration of the species to encompass sustainability concerns more broadly, however these too are constrained by perceptions of the species as instrumentally valuable 'food-resources'. Moving towards trade and consumption motivation for the species, I demonstrate how

the majority of participants framed exploitation within an anthropocentric (instrumental use) worldview. This establishes the species' consumption firmly as a normal and acceptable practice, with additional elements of luxury and status appeal. I demonstrate how this normalisation of consumption, when combined with economic incentives to exploit the species, leads to the marginalisation of small-scale fishers as the industrialisation of the fishery expands. Following this, I demonstrate how harms are constructed and experienced. While many survey respondents were concerned for the species' population status, the focus within interviews was situated around concerns for inequalities within industry and trade groups. I then reflect on the packaging of meaning surrounding the species, highlighting how they are framed as charismatic, endangered, and in need of protection, whilst simultaneously also central to the political and economic interests of nation states. The protection of market interests (particularly from wealthy nations that have invested heavily in the industrial development of the fishery) illustrates the power imbalance within international fishery governance structures. I conclude the chapter by highlighting how an anthropocentric outlook toward the species (focussed on commercial viability) has diminished the recognition of harms toward the individual, rendering populations as stocks to be exploited to the maximum possible level.

Chapter 8. Discussion

This chapter presents a comparative discussion of the three case studies. The findings are examined according to the three research questions. I first focus on the issue of power inequalities and the influence of economic interests in the conservation decision making for marine species. Then, I describe how consumption and trade becomes mediated and constructed as ordinary (minimising the recognition of harms). Finally, I consider how marine species are made invisible in international governance and further critique the issue of sustainability and the concurrent marginalisation of people within extractive wildlife markets.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The final chapter of this thesis revisits the findings from each of the chapters and highlights my original contributions to knowledge. I specifically focus on the socio-cultural context of harm and the impact of these perceptions and judgements on CITES legislation. I then discuss potential ways to rethink and reconceptualise the value of marine wildlife (and thus re-evaluate how harms are victimhood are socially and culturally defined). Finally, cognisant of the limitations arising within this study I suggest areas for future research.

Chapter 2. CITES and case study context

Chapter overview

To understand how marine wildlife is valued, both within CITES and more broadly, this research sets out to question how social and cultural constructs of harm and victimhood influence the visibility of marine species and whether they are regarded as *victims* of exploitation. To establish the context for focussing on each of the three case study species, I first discuss two underlying concerns surrounding CITES. First, I examine the potential for CITES to reflect Western derived cultural norms, unperceptive to the victims and harms resulting from legalised wildlife exploitation. I then describe the potential for a speciesist driven bias within CITES and highlight the Convention's progress in the listing of marine species. Following this, I discuss the role of CITES for the management of commercially exploited marine species. This is followed by the introduction of the three case study species (the minke whale, the queen conch, and the Atlantic bluefin tuna), who, while all targets of commercial exploitation, have received varying levels of attention within CITES. I provide additional context as to their population and conservation status as well as the involvement of CITES (or other trade interventions) in their management. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the combined case study approach and discussion of how the focus on each species will help to address the research objective.

CITES: conservation versus commodification

Power asymmetries and Western demand for wildlife

CITES is ultimately responsible for determining the regulations for the international trade in wild species (should a species become threatened by trade). It is a legally binding agreement between signatory countries and to date 183 parties have ratified the Convention, with just thirteen countries remaining non-members[8] (CITES, 2019b). However, in formulating CITES regulations, neither all voices and perspectives nor all species are equal. While all member states vote on listing proposals, there is the potential for power inequalities here as member states are not equally represented within CITES (due to funding support and the size of delegations). Additionally, some delegations have more experience and influence within the Convention than others. Furthermore, the obligation for member parties to implement CITES decisions into national legislation has been criticised (especially from actors in the Global South) as a form of neo-colonial domination

8 These include – **Europe (2):** Andorra, Holy See; **Caribbean (1):** Haiti; **Asia (4):** North Korea, State of Palestine, Timor-Leste, Turkmenistan; **Africa (1):** South Sudan; **Oceania (5):** Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Tuvalu, Kiribati.

(Dickson, 2003; Duffy, 2010; Epstein, 2006; Sollund & Runhovde, 2020). These criticisms highlight the potential for CITES to impose anthropocentric 'Western' driven conservation policies (that are not shared, applicable or culturally relevant) to the detriment of countries in the Global South, whilst also simultaneously preserving the image (conservation reputation) of those in the Global North (Garland, 2008; Gandhi-Besbes, 2018; Wyatt, 2021).

This potential for inequality was recently highlighted by Banos Ruiz (2017) who argues that when it comes to legal wildlife consumption we ought to look towards Western consumers as drivers of wildlife trade. Western societies, particularly the US and Europe, are large consumers of legally traded wildlife (UNEP-WCMC, 2018), and much of the market demand for illegal wildlife also stems from the Global North (Wyatt, 2013a; van Uhm, 2020). Broadly speaking (in terms of fish consumption), developed countries consume far greater quantities of marine species, as well as greater quantities of value-added species (more expensive, processed, or prepared *seafood*) (FAO, 2020). While wealthy countries consume and import large quantities of high-value marine species, much of the aquaculture and wild capture of marine species is carried out by workers in developing countries. Thus, while the exploitation of marine species is benefitting wealthy, Western consumers, it is also contributing to the exploitation and marginalisation of fishers in other countries. This dynamic was recently described by Okafor-Yarwood and colleagues (2021, p.1) as the 'Survival of the Richest, not the Fittest'. Here, fisheries governance and policy are seen to protect the interests of industry groups whilst simultaneously marginalising small-scale fisheries. Through these means, the current model of fisheries governance (which would include the minimal involvement within CITES) both negatively impacts on the sustainability of small-scale fisheries and also leads to nutritional and socio-economic inequalities (Okafor-Yarwood *et al.*, 2021).

Bias in representation

In addition to the potential power asymmetries and Northern-centric positioning of the Convention, CITES has also been criticised (from scholars in green criminology and environmental politics – among others) for perpetuating speciesist ideologies and allowing market factors and personal judgements on victimhood to influence listing decisions (Bowman, 1998; Epstein, 2006; Goyes & Sollund, 2016; Wyatt, 2021). While wildlife listings should be a judgment on the level of threat towards the species, they are also arguably a reflection of the political, economic, and cultural predispositions towards the perceived value of wildlife (Challender & MacMillan, 2019; Duffy, 2010; Hutchinson, Stephens-Griffin & Wyatt, 2021; Reeve, 2002; van Uhm, 2018;). Additionally, through the process of listing wildlife within the three appendices (rather than on just one), species are segregated by levels of protection (and

exploitability) and their status as exploitable commodities is maintained. Goyes and Sollund (2016, p.90) describe this tension further, adding:

> 'CITES conveys a mixed message because, according to its regulations, an act that results in the loss of freedom and even death of a trafficked individual can be lawful in one situation and unlawful in another; similar acts can be simultaneously legally justified or condemned'.

Concerns over speciesism are particularly relevant for *popularised* species. For instance, Epstein (2006, p.52) notes that – 'not all species qualify: the endangered great white shark, for one, has failed to garner much attention to its plight. Only those species that can move the public need apply; hence the privileged position of mammals or indeed "cute" reptiles.' On a similar note, Guggisberg (2016, p.222) suggests that the focus on protecting charismatic wildlife and impressive megafauna has 'never been put forward for animals such as fishes, which are consequently at risk of remaining unprotected'. Building on this recognition, IPBES (2019) notes that efforts to conserve marine species have tended to focus on a select few species at the expense of others. For instance, while whales are listed on CITES Appendix I (although many whale species are not classified as endangered), there is an absence of over-fished and overexploited species within the Convention (e.g., tuna, billfish, and sharks) (IPBES, 2019). This critique leads to the following section, which examines the listing of marine species within CITES.

Why marine species?

There has been much debate on the inclusion of marine species within the CITES Appendices (see: Shine *et al*., 2002; Vincent *et al*., 2014; Young, 2011). As stated in the first chapter, just 6% of the CITES listings are for marine species. However, the majority of these listings are for sea anemones and corals (see Figure 2), and very few represent commercially exploited marine species (Doukakis *et al*., 2009; CITES, 2021). In all, only around 155 fish species are CITES listed (making up less than 0.4% of the appendixes) (CITES, 2019a). Of these, only sixteen are held on Appendix I (Figure 2). These include: 6 swordfish, 2 sturgeons, 2 catfish, 2 ornamental fish, 2 endemic/restricted range species, and 2 coelacanth species (the only two in existence, not generally consumed by humans) (see Checklist of CITES species: CITES, 2020). As discussed in the previous chapter, a predisposition toward focussing on terrestrial species, and disagreements over the classification of fish as wildlife may be impacting the attention given to marine species within CITES (Wadewitz, 2011; Wyatt, Friedman & Hutchinson 2021).

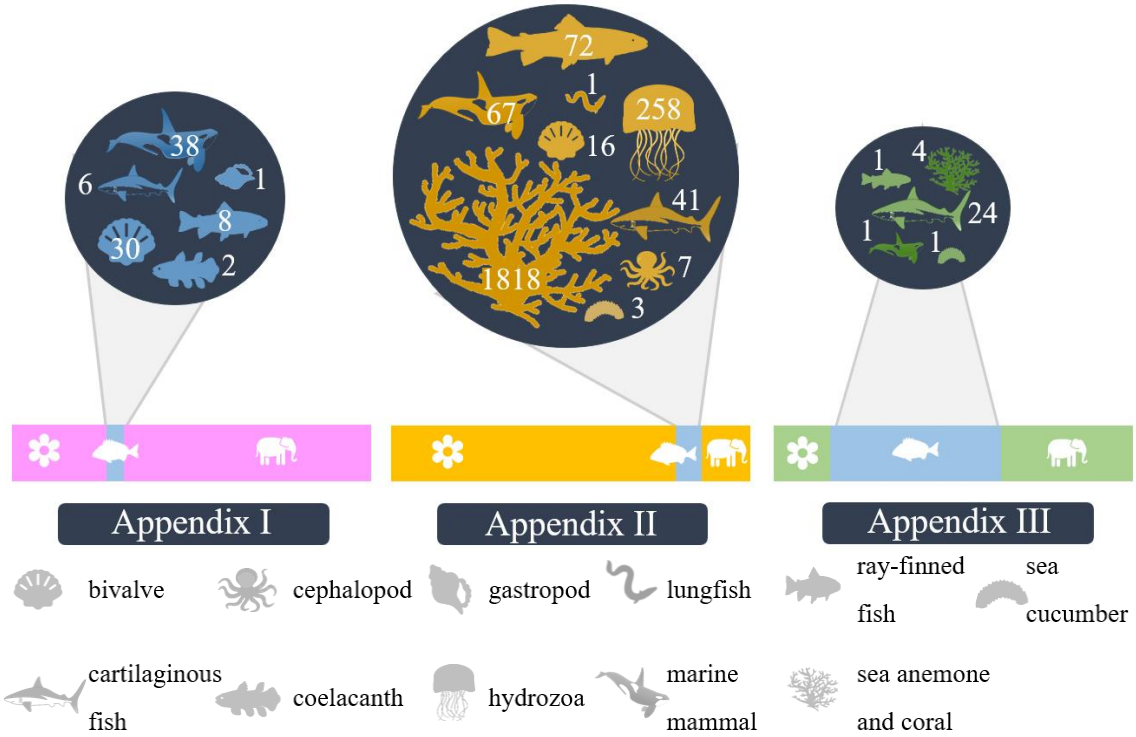

Figure 2. Number of marine species listed on CITES by the three Appendices. Proportions for terrestrial and plant species also shown. (UNEP-WCMC, 2021).

Case study focus

Now that a case for the limited representation of marine species within CITES has been made (in addition the potential for CITES listings to reflect the viewpoints of powerful and Western actors), the chapter introduces each of the three case study species – the minke whale, queen conch, and Atlantic bluefin tuna. Combined, these cases provide a broad species spectrum with which to address the three research questions.

Case Study 1: the minke whale

Background and context

The minke whale has been selected as the subject of the first case study as they provide a good example of an early-established Appendix I listing for a marine species. Of the 85 Appendix I listed marine species (Figure 2), 38 are marine mammals and 17 of these are whale species. Therefore, whales (as a group) represent 20% of the Appendix I listings for marine species, suggestive of a higher regard for their regulation and protection within CITES.

Focussing specifically on the minke whale, they are currently recognised as two separate species: the Antarctic (*Balaenoptera bonaerensis)* and the common (*B. acutorostrata*) minke whale. The Antarctic minke whale is classified as 'Near Threatened' by the IUCN Red List, and there are thought to be around 500,000 individuals in the Southern hemisphere (Cooke, Zerbini & Taylor, 2018; IWC, 2021a). Despite their name the common minke whale is estimated to be fewer in number, at around 200,000 individuals. In this case they are classified as 'Least Concern' by the IUCN (Cooke, 2018). While these population abundance estimates appear promising, there are considerable difficulties in estimating the size and stability of the minke whales' population. Their solitary nature combined with a lack of understanding of the species taxonomy, migratory routes, and seasonal behaviours (in addition to the logistical challenges in collecting population data), results in abundance estimates with high levels of uncertainty (Risch *et al.*, 2019; IWC, 2021a). Although populations in the North Atlantic appear to be recovering from past exploitation, populations in the western North Pacific are thought to be in decline (Cooke, 2018). The International Whaling Commission (IWC) population estimates also show that populations are declining. Recent estimates reveal that the Southern population has decreased by 205,000 compared to the previous best estimate (IWC,2021a). Similarly, North-eastern Atlantic populations, North-west Pacific populations, and West Greenland populations are each thought to have decreased by 22,000, 8,000, and 4,000 respectively (based on their most recent 'best' estimates – see: IWC, 2021a). Even with the above noted difficulties in estimating population abundance, there appears to be a downward trend in their abundance over time.

Governance of the minke whale

While whales, in general, have become a global conservation and environmental icon, the exploitation of the minke whale has remained somewhat overlooked. Minkes are one of the few whale species who are still hunted on a commercial scale[9], a practice that continues through legal loopholes and objections to international protections. The main mechanism concerning the protection of whales is the International Convention on the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW), implemented by the International Whaling Commission (IWC). The IWC is responsible for setting catch limits for Aboriginal and subsistence whaling, and since 1985 has instigated a complete ban on commercial whaling[10]. However, histories are important here. At the time of the

9 The sei, bryde's, and fin whale are also targets of commercial whaling, however minke whales are targeted in the highest numbers (for catch numbers see: IWC, 2021b).

10 Aboriginal 'subsistence' whaling is permitted by the IWC, although tightly controlled. Exceptions are made for subsistence killing of whales in Greenland and the Faroe Islands (under the Danish government), in the Chukotka region (Russia), in Bequia (St. Vincent and the Grenadines), and within Alaska and Washington State (United States) (IWC, 2019).

ICRW formation (in 1946), whaling was still widely practiced. While the IWC recognised it was 'essential to protect all species of whales from further over-fishing'; it also established that the role of the Convention was to 'provide for the proper conservation of whale stocks and thus make possible the orderly development of the whaling industry' (ICRW, 1946, p.1). With its founding principles structured around industry advancement, it has been argued that – at least in the early years of the Convention – *conservation* essentially meant the preservation of industry, and not the conservation of whales (Catalinac & Chan, 2010).

In 1982 discussions began surrounding a complete commercial whaling ban. Proponents for whaling argued that there was no scientific justification for a ban due to large numbers of some whale populations. However, those supporting the ban called on concerns surrounding the humane killing of whales and noted the 'strength of world public opinion…and ecological uncertainties' (Iglesias, 1982, p.21). Ultimately, the ban on whaling (moratorium) was passed with twenty-five votes for, seven against, and five abstentions. Coinciding with these IWC discussions, in 1983 at the fourth Conference of Parties (CoP-4), CITES took a truly precautionary approach and recognised that while:

> 'There is no positive evidence that any putative population of minke whales is endangered in terms of the literal interpretation of the Berne Criteria for CITES. On the other hand, given the total absence of scientific assessments for any minke whale stock we cannot reasonably assume that they are less endangered than are some of the stocks of other baleen whale species that now enjoy full protection by IWC and by inclusion on CITES Appendix I' (CITES, 1983, p.683).

Following this discussion, all whale species protected by the IWC (including the minke whale) were listed on CITES Appendix I (a decision that entered into force in 1986). The IWC whaling Moratorium is now in its thirty-sixth year, and while borne from concerns over sustainability – with intentions to resume whaling (when deemed appropriate to do so) – it has become a matter of increasing political and ethical conflict. The alluded to 'development of the whaling industry' has been effectively suppressed by the prevailing moral norms within the IWC and the aforementioned 'strength of world public opinion'.

Today, disagreements echo those concerns raised in 1982 and pivot between defining whales as a *resource* or as a species with a *right to life*. Notably, Norway, Japan, and (until recently) Iceland have continued to commercially hunt whales, semi-legally, through objections to the IWC Moratorium and the CITES listing. In 2018 the Japanese government announced plans to exit the IWC and resume commercial whaling and formally withdrew from the IWC in 2019 (Osaki, 2018). In their announcement, the Japanese government stated that while 'scientific evidence has confirmed that certain whale species/stocks…are abundant' the IWC member states focus on 'protection' rather than developing 'sustainable management' (Chief Cabinet Secretary, 2018,

para. 3). The Japanese government also contend that nations in defence of the Moratorium are unable to provide:

> '…clear scientific or legal reasons for their opposition...[this] clearly highlighted the fundamental differences of views between those who consider whales as one of fishery resources that can be utilized in a sustainable manner, and those who consider that all whales should be fully protected under any circumstances' (Delegation for the government of Japan, 2018, p.4).

This argument ultimately rests on disagreements between established legal parameters (which are protectionist in nature) and moral judgements around preservation or utilisation of the species. Of particular interest here (and linking to the potential Northern-centric bias within CITES), is the assertion that whale populations could be sustainably exploited if not for these legislative barriers. While the listing of the minke whale on Appendix I is in accordance with the IWC, the IUCN population status assessments conflict with the CITES listing criteria for Appendix I, which require that the species is believed to be threatened with extinction through international trade. As noted above, minke whales are only thought to be 'near threatened' or of 'least concern' by the IUCN. This draws into question how perceptions of harm and value influence a protectionist approach to species conservation, and in turn may influence CITES decision making.

Case Study 2: the queen conch

Background and context

The queen conch has been chosen as the subject of the second case study. While CITES currently lists approximately 2284 marine species on Appendix II, very few of these are exploited for human consumption. Over 90% of the marine listings on Appendix II are for Anthozoa (sea anemones and corals) and Hydrozoa (related to jellyfish) species. The remaining Appendix II marine listings are split between; fishes (5%), marine mammals (3%), bivalves (1%), and together cephalopods, sea cucumbers, and gastropods make up less than 1% of the Appendix II listings (see Figure 2). Notably, the queen conch is the only marine gastropod to be listed on CITES. Considering the comparatively small representation given to 'seafood' species, the listing of the queen conch is remarkable in the CITES context.

Although a relatively obscure species, the queen conch is one of the most important fishery species in the Caribbean, second only to the spiny lobster (Theile, 2001). They can be found inhabiting the shallow seagrass beds and sandflats of thirty-nine countries throughout the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico (Theile, 2001). The species has a long-entangled history with humans, having been used as a food resource for around five thousand years (Antczak & Antczak, 2005; Keegan *et al*., 2008). Testament to their long history of exploitation, centuries worth of discarded shells have led to the development of giant shell middens and sizeable

islands[11]. More recently, commercial exploitation (bordering industrial-scale levels) dates to the mid 1970's. During this period a growing commercial market was jointly driven by interest from tourism and an increasing international demand. In 1994 the species was recognised as 'Commercially Threatened' by the IUCN (Groombridge, Mace & Rabb, 1994). However, this is not the same as being recognised as 'Threatened', and despite being CITES listed the species has not yet had their assessment reviewed by the IUCN Red List.

Despite the ambiguity surrounding their population status, the species is currently believed to have been overfished in most areas (Doukakis *et al*., 2009). One of the leading concerns surrounding their ability to recover from exploitation is their requirement for a *critical breeding density* for spawning to be successful. The size requirement of spawning groups is uncertain, with some recommendations suggesting that fifty-six conch per hectare are needed for spawning success (Stoner, Davis & Booker 2012), while others suggest that two hundred conch per hectare are required (Delgado & Glazer, 2020; Farmer & Doerr, 2021). Critically though, many populations have declined past these critical breeding levels and as such are struggling to recover (see: Dulvy, Sadovy & Reynolds, 2003; Stoner & Ray-Culp, 2000). In response to concerns over their population decline and recruitment ability, a petition was raised in 2012 to list the queen conch on the US Endangered Species Act. While this was initially rejected, the proposal to list the species was resubmitted in 2018 and is currently under review with the National Marine Fisheries Service of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA, 2019). In addition, the Mexican Centre for Biological Diversity has also recently submitted a petition for the queen conch be listed under Mexico's 'NOM-059-Semarnat-2010' legislation (Olivera Bonilla, 2021). If listed, this legislation extends protection under the 'General Wildlife Law' (Ley General de Vida Silvestre, 2000) which restricts the level of allowable exploitation for listed 'at-risk' species.

Governance of the queen conch

Previous overfishing of the queen conch has led to the collapse and closure of numerous local fisheries. Complete closures have occurred in Bermuda (since 1978), Florida (since 1985), and Venezuela (near-continuous closures since 1991) (CITES, 2003a). Following concerns over the species' decline, the queen conch was listed on CITES Appendix II in 1992. However, populations continued to decline, leading to additional temporary or partial closures of fisheries in Cuba, St. Thomas and St. John (US Virgin Islands), and Mexico (CITES, 2003a). Following concerns that member States were not properly implementing CITES regulations (for instance

11 See for example: Anegada Conch Midden known as 'Conch Island', and 'Fisher' Island in Nassau.

issuing export permits and providing non-detriment findings), the queen conch has also been subject to two CITES Significant Trade Reviews (STR): the first in 1995 and the second in 2001 (CITES, 2003a).

STRs are intended to improve collaboration between range states, enable the implementation of better management systems, and solve any problems with the implementation of CITES. The queen conch is currently the only species to have been subject to two STRs, illustrative of the Convention's high level of involvement with the species. The outcome from the first STR recommended that countries should not accept any imports from Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Saint Lucia, and Trinidad and Tobago. Six years later, the second STR focussed on the level of implementation of CITES regulations for thirty-six (of the thirty-nine) range countries[12]. Ultimately, through this process, the second trade review resulted in just two trade suspensions – for Grenada and Haiti (a non-party to CITES) (CITES, 2003b, 2019c).

In terms of species visibility, the queen conch has had an unusual mix of recognition within CITES, with multiple attempts to coordinate implementation of trade management. Yet, despite the species well-recognised population declines, the queen conch does not have a current or complete assessment under the IUCN. This limits potential conservation funding and support. The overlap then, between legal representation and the visibility of harms has become a murky one, influenced undoubtedly by economic and political concerns for the management of the industry. As such, this second case study will seek to examine the visibility of harms along with the context behind trade and conservation motivation, to establish whether there is space to extend a moral consideration toward the species beyond a purely economic and trade focussed perspective.

Case Study 3: the Atlantic bluefin tuna

Background and context

Finally, a non-CITES protected species, the Atlantic bluefin tuna (ABFT) has been chosen as the focus of the third case study. As their name suggests, the Atlantic bluefin tuna is an ocean voyager, inhabiting the Earths' second largest ocean. Giant in range and giant in stature (fully grown they can reach 2000 pounds), they can be found inhabiting the colder waters of Norway and Newfoundland in the North, to the warmer waters off the coasts of Brazil and West Africa. For management convenience, the species is divided into Eastern and Western 'stocks' (populations).

12 Those that were not assessed in this review were: French Guiana, Suriname, and Guyana. It is not clear why these countries were not included in the review process as they were listed in the Technical Report presented to CITES for the review process (see: Theile, 2001).

This split recognises spawning grounds as divided between the Gulf of Mexico and the Mediterranean Sea, with individuals typically returning to the same spawning site year after year (Block *et al*., 2005). However, both of these populations intermingle freely within the Atlantic Ocean (Fromentin & Powers, 2005). ABFT are long-lived animals, with upper estimates suggesting they can reach the age of fifty (Santamaria *et al*., 2009), although it is more frequently reported that they live for around twenty to thirty years (Secor *et al*., 2014; Neilson & Campana, 2008). Consumption of the ABFT (in Japan in particular) is deeply associated with wealth and status. For instance, Tokyo's first tuna auction of the year is widely reported in the media. In 2019, a bluefin tuna famously sold for $3 million USD (CNBC, 2019). However, these hugely inflated prices are ceremonial in nature acting as something of an advertisement for showcasing wealth.

Fundamentally for the ABFT, while their bodies drive the global and lucrative 'sushi-economy'[13], management decisions, best practises, and even basic conservation science surrounding the species are hotly debated and controversial (Guggisberg, 2016; Saunders & Haward, 2016). For instance, the two-stock hypothesis (Eastern and Western populations) has been increasingly scrutinised and there is emerging evidence for additional spawning sites in the Slope Sea (Richardson *et al*., 2016). This highlights that despite being a highly valued and monitored species, there is still much that is not known or understood about their life histories, spawning behaviours, and population structures. This also has meaningful implications for the management of the species, which could potentially be based on a simplification of their population dynamics (Galuardi *et al*., 2010; Lutcavage *et al*., 2001).

At the onset of this thesis, the Atlantic bluefin tuna was recognised as endangered by the IUCN due to fears of population collapse across their range (Collette *et al*., 2011). However, in September 2021 their Global IUCN status was down-listed to 'Least Concern'. This has been due in a large part to the stability of the Eastern population (which makes up 78% of the global population). However, the strength of the Eastern population also acts to mask the status of the smaller, Western, population (22% of global population) which are thought to have declined by as much as 83% over three generations (Collette *et al*., 2021). Although, globally, the species is not thought to be at risk of extinction (by IUCN standards), on a population level the Western populations are indisputably in decline. While the Eastern population is apparently stable, it is also considerably depleted from historical levels. In addition to these population uncertainties, trade is also highly susceptible to laundering (Boerder *et al*. 2018), with some high-profile

13 An expansive overview of the 'Sushi Economy' is given by Issenberg (2007) in a book of the same name.

seizures of ABFT occurring in the Mediterranean in recent years. One notable example can be seen in 'Operation Tarantelo', where it was discovered that over 80,000 kilograms[14] of illegally caught ABFT were in trade. During this time, it was estimated that the illegal tuna trade had the capacity to traffic over 2.5 million kilograms of tuna per year – double the legal limit at the time (Adolf, 2019; EUROPOL, 2018).

Governance of the Atlantic bluefin tuna

Despite the apparent vulnerability of the species, and reports of illegal activity, both attempts to list the species on CITES have been unsuccessful. The first proposal in 1992 suggested a split listing between Appendix I and II, whereas the second proposal in 2010 called solely for an Appendix I listing (CITES, 1992a, 2010a). Similarly, an attempt to list the species on the US Endangered Species Act in 2011 was also rejected. In lieu of a CITES listing, ABFT populations are managed by the Convention for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (established in 1969). This Convention oversees the international Regional Fisheries Management Organisation (RMFO) the 'International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas' (ICCAT). To date, forty-eight parties have joined ICCAT, in total representing seventy-two countries (including EU members). All ABFT fishing (and farming) nations are members of ICCAT, and all parties to ICCAT are also signatories to CITES.

ICCAT management of ABFT has been heavily criticised for not following advice from their own scientific advisors (Galland *et al*., 2018). Their reputation for ever increasing quotas, against scientific advice, has led them to be critically dubbed the 'International Conspiracy to Catch All Tunas' (Safina, 2007). IUU fishing has also been a considerable problem surrounding the fishery. During the turn of the millennium (from around 1998 to 2007) IUU trade in ABFT was several times greater than the legal limits set by ICCAT (Fromentin *et al.*, 2014). Under-reporting was something of an open secret amongst fishery authorities, and some critics have even suggested under-reporting was encouraged by the fisheries' representative governments, thus enabling significant overexploitation to occur (Adolf, 2019). In 2010, increased scrutiny surrounding the Appendix I CITES proposal led ICCAT to drastically reduce their annual catch quota to align with scientific advice. Over the years ICCAT have initiated numerous additional management measures for the conservation of the ABFT, including minimum size requirements, total

14 Conventions for recording the magnitude of trade in marine species are typically given by weight (e.g., kg or tonnes). This acts to further disassociate from the individual – and the scale (likely in the millions if not billions) of fishes who are victimised is lost. Where possible, throughout this thesis I will attempt to estimate or give guidance on the numbers of individuals victimised, so that they are not described solely in abstract numerical accounts.

allowable catch (TAC) quotas, closed seasons (and areas), as well as a 'Catch Documentation Scheme' and Vessel Monitoring programmes (see: ICCAT, 2021).

The case of the ABFT provides an interesting focus on the intersections between a species' utility and value, and how the victimisation of marine species (who are commercially exploited) is established and perpetuated by regimes that otherwise should stand to protect them (from overexploitation at the very least). While the first two case studies enable an examination of how each species are valued within the context of CITES, the additional focus on the ABFT (with their highly exploitative past and history of controversial management), opens up the issue to question how conservation becomes politically and economically motivated, and in turn question the extent to which management may be influenced by speciesist and anthropocentric concerns.

Compatibility of cases

These three case studies complement each other to provide a comparative picture of consumer values and motivations behind both CITES and non-CITES wildlife trade. Together, each seek to bring broader attention to how marine species are viewed, and how attitudes towards them reinforce (or not) their commodification. However, the selection of the three case studies has drawn from cases within CITES which are already quite visible. The fact that all species of whale were listed during the early establishment of CITES, combined with their apparent unmovable position on Appendix I, showcases how people protectively perceive the species. Whilst international trade in whale meat continues in contravention to CITES, this is a very clear example of when CITES is not working. At the centre of this breakdown is a divergence of value beliefs toward the species.

The queen conch is also a prominent species within the development of CITES. With two STRs, CITES has been heavily involved in the management of the species' trade. There is also a similar story for the Atlantic bluefin tuna; whilst not listed on CITES, the two proposals to list the species generated fierce international debate over their management. The repeated denial to list the species on CITES is telling of how some marine wildlife (particularly commercially exploited ones) are viewed within the walls of CITES – and also more broadly speaking within the scope of wildlife conservation and management circles. Marine species who are commercially exploited do not easily fall under the purview of wildlife conservation narratives. Their fate typically falls to fishery management groups, which, as discussed in the first chapter, is more concerned with a continued supply of fish for consumers (under dubious definitions for sustainable exploitation). Despite the foundation of governance – and whether this is conservation or commodification orientated – it is necessary to scrutinise if the focus is on the security, safeguarding and protection of species (or the wellbeing of individuals), or rather is on the protection of nation states' socio-economic interests.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the role of CITES for marine species and the tension that arises between the exploitation and protection of marine species who are primarily regarded as 'food resources' whilst simultaneously – and I would argue also indisputably – are also *wildlife* deserving of protection from exploitation and harm. The chapter began by describing the potential for Western driven and speciesist bias within CITES and highlighted the lack of attention towards marine species within CITES listings. Following this, the three case study species have been introduced and their relationship with CITES described. Together, each case study will enable a deeper reflection on how harms are recognised and prioritised both by expert stakeholders (in the fishery, conservation, governmental, and sociocultural sectors) and by a broader range of self-selecting participants from the public (this methodology is described in Chapter 4). Now that the context for the study has been established, the following chapter will introduce the interlinkages between green, cultural, and Southern criminological traditions that are used to support the research objective.

Chapter 3. Conceptual framework development

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to develop an overarching conceptual framework with which to underpin the studies' focus and orientate the methodological approach to data collection and analysis. As described in the first chapter, the driving objective of this thesis is to investigate how social and cultural notions of harm and victimhood influence value perceptions guiding CITES trade regulations for the minke whale, the queen conch, and the Atlantic bluefin tuna. How each of these species become valued (and how their commodification is perceived and perpetuated) are central themes within each case study. To examine the tension between the conservation and commodification of each species in greater depth, my research draws from a green criminological tradition supported by cultural and Southern criminological perspectives. This three-fold approach primarily seeks to recognise and centre each species as the direct victims of human exploitation.

This chapter begins with an introduction to the conceptual underpinnings and eco-philosophical positions within green criminology. I present how a nonspeciesist nature-centred approach is best suited to reflect the research objective and guide the research progression. Following this, cultural criminological perspectives are introduced to broaden the focus and examine the cultural factors that may influence decisions surrounding the consumption or conservation of wildlife. I then describe the benefits of a joint green-cultural criminological perspective. Following this, I describe how the inclusion of, and sensitivity to, a Southern criminological perspective can support the nonspeciesist approach while also being attentive to the historical, cultural, political, and economic power constructs that perpetuate the exploitation of nature. Following each of these discussions the chapter then reflects on the potential challenges and limitations of the combined green-cultural and Southern criminological approach. The chapter concludes by clarifying and synthesising the conceptual framework, connecting the themes of speciesism, consumer culture, and criminalisation within wildlife trade. This framework will subsequently shape the methodological focus and research design described in the next chapter.

Developing a criminological framework

Foundations of green criminology

Criminological attention has traditionally focussed within the realm of currently established criminal law, leaving emerging environmental issues largely unchecked (Beirne & South, 2013; Sellar, 2014). In response to this, and emerging from the framework of critical criminology, green criminology is less constrained by the traditional and anthropocentric definitions of crime found

in orthodox criminology. Observing that many environmentally harmful behaviours are not criminalised, or socially constructed as harmful, green criminological scholarship attempts to push the boundaries of criminality by exploring harmful, yet not necessarily criminalised behaviours (Hall, 2015; Lynch & Stretesky, 2016; South & Brisman, 2013). Research within this field has often focused on the causes and consequences of environmental damage and wildlife exploitation, regardless of existing legal definitions (Maher & Wyatt, 2017; Sollund, 2008, 2013a, 2019; van Uhm, 2016a, 2020; Wyatt, 2013a, 2021). As such, green perspectives are open to recognising the victimisation of both the environment and non-human animals (Beirne, 2011; Cazaux, 2013; Lynch & Stretesky, 2016).

Further to the above, the slow response within legal systems to recognise the harms inflicted upon wildlife – who are typically regard as property (Sollund, 2016) – calls for specific and directed criminological attention. Recently Nurse and Wyatt (2020) have proposed an additional concerted focus on 'wildlife criminology' within the green and critical criminological spheres. This specific focus on wildlife criminology calls to debate the status quo of legal definitions for animal protection and recognises that the vast majority of pain, suffering, and harm inflicted towards wildlife remains legal. This recognition of harm towards wildlife is central to the research objective. Therefore, a critical green criminological perspective that is specifically situated within wildlife criminology provides the perfect foundation to underpin the research framework. The following section will now introduce some key themes within green criminology and expand on how this position will help guide the project.

Relevant green criminological approaches

Despite a common theme of expanding the concept of justice and what constitutes harmful and criminal behaviours, multiple approaches and perspectives can be found within green criminology. Broadly speaking, perceptions of value (as well as who are considered victims, and what exactly is considered harmful) can be categorised into three eco-philosophical positions; 1. anthropocentrism (prioritising humans), 2. biocentrism (prioritising species and the environment), and 3. ecocentrism (holistically centred, prioritising the ecosystem as a whole). Each of these approaches and their relevance to the current study will now be elaborated on.

Anthropocentrism and environmental justice

Mainstream criminology has traditionally centred on the needs of humans and as such is anthropocentrically driven. Noske (1997, p.40) describes anthropocentrism as a dominance framed hierarchical perspective, whereby humans are seen to dominate over nature and 'animals have become mere objects and instruments for human use'. This anthropocentric perspective draws a firm distinction between humans and nature (including non-human species and the environment). Humans are perceived as having moral superiority over nature, whereas wildlife is

viewed as something that can be controlled and dominated (a perspective also typical of Western and capitalist human-animal relationships). Subsequently, nature is only recognised for its instrumental value to humans (Szűcs *et al*., 2012) and as a result becomes *devalued* whereby the only recognisable victims (of harm or crime) are humans (Lynch & Stretesky, 2016; van Uhm, 2018). Whilst human centred, this position can also often ignore the harms towards *some* people when there are short-term gains to be made (Wyatt, 2013b). For example, the human health impacts of living in polluted areas are frequently diminished, as is the displacement of marginalised people for industrial development (see: Arrigo & Lynch, 2015; Bedford, McGillivray & Walters, 2019; Heydon, 2019; Lynch & Barrett, 2015; Ruggiero & South, 2013).

Within green criminology, an anthropocentric philosophy is complimented by an environmental justice perspective. This perspective is predominantly concerned with the impact (towards humans) that arises from environmental inequalities and differential access to natural resources. As such the perspective is interested in the burden that environmental impacts can have on minorities and the marginalised (e.g., people of colour, Indigenous people, and economically deprived groups) (Brisman, 2007; Brulle & Pellow, 2006; Bullard, 1994; Pellow, 2017). As the subject of this thesis revolves around wildlife who have been traditionally viewed as food resources there is certainly scope within to reflect on human-wildlife relationships and access to wildlife-food from an environmental justice perspective. When considering the impact toward people, commercial fishing is guilty of permitting and perpetuating many environmental injustices. For instance, large, commercial (and often Western) fishing fleets are repeatedly documented (over)fishing outside of territorial waters, frequently excluding small-scale, traditional, and subsistence fishers (Okafor-Yarwood *et al*., 2021; Sumaila, 2015; Williams, Appleton & Hawkins, 2014).

However, by placing humans at the top of a human-nature hierarchy, an anthropocentric and environmental justice position loses sight of the interconnectedness between humans and nature, and the victimisation of nature remains unseen (Bowman, Davies & Redgwell, 2010). When nature is judged from an anthropocentric position, this opens up the potential for hierarchical species-based bias, or speciesism. Caviola, Everett and Faber (2019, p.2) describe speciesism as the ‘assignment of [a] different inherent moral status based solely on an individual's species membership’. Just like other forms of discrimination (racism, sexism, ableism), speciesist perspectives are guilty of assuming that worth (value, status, rights, etc.) is based upon uniquely human qualities, and by doing so acts to privilege humans over other species (Beirne, 1999, 2013; Ryder, 2017; Sollund, 2019). In light of this bias it is necessary to look beyond this justice position to support the research goals in questioning the visibility and value of exploited marine wildlife.

Rather than centring on the needs of humans, biocentric and ecocentric approaches are more attuned to a nature-centred and holistic worldview and no longer view animals (and nature) as property (Nurse & Wyatt, 2020). The next subsection considers these nature-centred eco-philosophical perspectives (beginning with biocentrism), which bring an alternative focus toward the harms and victimisation of exploited wildlife.

Biocentrism, species justice, and animal rights

A biocentric eco-philosophical standpoint seeks to reject speciesism by adopting a species justice-oriented approach and acknowledging the rights of animals (White & South, 2013). This perspective recognises the intrinsic value of wildlife and views non-human animals as deserving of a right to their own lives independent of what we think their lives should be (Ash, 2005; Sollund, 2013a). By adopting a species justice approach, non-human animals can be viewed as the direct victims of their exploitation and all forms of trade and exploitation (legal or otherwise) can be viewed as harmful (Sollund, 2013b, 2019). Nonspeciesist perspectives within green criminology have been explored by a number of criminologists, including Beirne (2013, 2021), Cazaux (1999, 2013), Maher & Sollund (2016), and Sollund (2008, 2011). Beirne (1999, 2011, 2018) in particular has added much to the recognition of speciesism and has advocated for greater recognition of the severity of animal related crimes.

While speciesism can be demonstrated in the divide drawn between humans and (other) animals, nonspeciesist perspectives also recognise that the prejudice exists in a hierarchy of perceived value between species (Sollund, 2011; Vonk, 2020; Wyatt, 2016). For instance, while some species are seen as more worthy of protection (e.g., charismatic megafauna), others are less favourably viewed (e.g., small 'uncharismatic' species such as invertebrates, or those who are socially defined as 'pests') (Beirne, 2018; Wyatt, 2013a). This speciesist divide is clearly demonstrated when we consider the ways in which killing animals (defined by Beirne (2014) as 'theriocide') is conceptualised. Theriocide is treated very differently depending on the species. For some, their killing is largely socially acceptable, for example the killing of livestock, pests, and animals hunted for sport. While, for others, their killing is generally seen as socially unacceptable. This would include favoured species, for example pets and some wildlife (Beirne, 2018). Despite having the same result (the killing of an animal), these acts of killing may be defined as legal (allowable killing) or illegal (determined to be socially wrong) depending on the perceived status and value of the victimised animal (Beirne, 2018; Sollund, 2016).

In a similar vein, animals who are exploited for human consumption are frequently overlooked as victims and their discrimination often continues without much recognition (Beirne, 2013). This

concern is also present within the current study, particularly considering the scale of marine wildlife exploitation which largely occurs without significant public interest. The commercial and recreational killing of fishes is also largely normalised within society and fishes and other marine species are rarely (if ever) considered within regulations for the killing of animals exploited for food. Marine species who are commercially exploited also receive less protections in death (regulations and standards around killing procedures) compared to livestock animals – whose theriocide (due to the dominance of anthropocentric perspectives) is also normalised, and for the most part viewed as socially acceptable.

By extending the scope of justice to *all* animals irrespective of species membership, nonspeciesist perspectives also support an animal-rights position (Baxter, 2004). An animal-rights position has notably been supported by moral philosophers and animal liberationists (see: Nibert, 2002; Regan, 2004; Singer, 1995) who reject speciesism and seek to prevent the suffering of non-human animals. Green criminological nonspeciesist scholarship seeks to respect animals' inherent and personal value (namely their rights to respectful treatment and the prevention of harms) and to treat all animals 'not with kindness but with justice' (Beirne, 2013, p.69). As such, an animal-rights and species justice position require that animals who are harmed (by humans) are understood as victims (Brisman & South, 2018). To date the case for animal rights remains hypothetical, as in their current legal context most animals remain regarded as property (or are viewed as part of nature for human use) (Sollund, 2013a). Additionally, Wolfe (2013) critiques a rights-based approach, suggesting that it runs the risk of becoming less a matter of equality and of species justice, and more a matter of who or what are deemed to be *entitled* to rights.

As such, animal-rights based approaches have the potential to replicate speciesist hierarchies by attributing rights only to those species deemed worthy of rights. On a similar note, Bowman, Davies and Redgwell (2010) are careful to point out that a recognition of the intrinsic value of nature (and all components within) is generally only applied to organisms and ecosystems and is very rarely applied to genes or species. Sensitive of this, nonspeciesist criminological approaches do not seek to define *who* are entitled to rights, but rather (by rejecting speciesism) seek to establish that all species deserve *equal* recognition and concern. As this thesis seeks to broaden the discussion around the visibility and victimisation of different marine species, a species justice position (building on a nonspeciesist and animal-rights tradition) perfectly frames the research objective and supports further discussion into the influence of speciesism surrounding wildlife exploitation and the rights of wildlife who are exploited.

Ecocentrism and Earth Jurisprudence

Building on the above recognition for non-human species, an ecocentric or 'deep green' position shifts toward an *ecological justice* philosophy. This approach recognises the intrinsic value and

interconnectedness between all living things – including humans, other animals, plants, and the natural environment (Brisman & South, 2018; van Uhm, 2016b). As such, humans are considered equal to all other natural beings and both wildlife and the environment can be viewed as victims of harmful behaviour (White, 2013). Consequently, humans are viewed as having an explicit moral responsibility to ensure that our impact on the environment does not exceed nature's capacity (Baxter, 2004; Nurse, 2017; White, 2007, 2013, 2015a). This eco-philosophical perspective also shares conceptual ties with an Earth Jurisprudence (Wild Law) philosophy, which recognises the sacredness of all life and views everything within the Earth community as having the same moral standing (Rühs & Jones, 2016). For instance, one of the ten principles of Earth Jurisprudence understands that:

> 'Every component of the Earth community has three rights: the right to be, the right to habitat, and the right to fulfil its role in the ever-renewing processes of the Earth community' (Burdon, 2011, p.9).

Lampkin (2021) further establishes the connections between an ecocentric green criminology and Earth Jurisprudence. By combining these perspectives, Lampkin (2021) urges green criminologists to envisage new and radical approaches to law making, pivoting away from human-centred laws (which have largely been inadequate in preventing environmental harms), to focus instead on Earth-centred laws and the *prevention* of environmental harm. By advocating for the recognition of the rights of nature, ecocentrism and Earth Jurisprudence contrast with the fiscally value laden concept of nature frequently seen within Western cultures (e.g., the tendency to focus on the value of natural resources and ecosystem services) where nature is also subject to hierarchical protections (Burdon, 2011, 2014; Koons, 2008). A nature-centred eco-philosophical position (that is united with a nonspeciesist, Earth Jurisprudence perspective) shares a close alignment with Southern and Indigenous perspectives that are attentive to alternate ways of knowing and understanding nature (Goyes, 2019). A reflection on perceptions of nature and epistemologies of the South are discussed later in this chapter when introducing Southern criminological positions.

Adopting a nonspeciesist criminology

Considering the above discussion, a nature centred eco-philosophical framework will most closely reflect the aspirations of the current study. This position enables the research to explore the harms surrounding wildlife commodification that are established under anthropocentrism. While recognising ecological inequalities and advocating for Earth Jurisprudence brings a sensitivity to the interconnected needs of humans and nature (and enables a wider reflection on the role of dominant worldviews in framing legislation), this positionality can also be supported under a Southern criminological approach (described in the third section). On reflection, a species justice (biocentric approach) most strongly reflects the aspirations of this research to focus

directly on the wildlife victims (whether legally recognised or not). Acknowledging wildlife as the direct victims of their exploitation through a species justice philosophy is an important step for the recognition of harms relating to the use and abuse of wildlife, and furthers discussion on the respect for, and recognition of, animal-rights. By challenging the treatment of nature as property and confronting the domination of oppressed groups (non-human animals and nature more broadly), a nonspeciesist (biocentric) criminological approach will further support the research goals to investigate the perspectives surrounding the commodification and exploitation of wildlife. Now that the nature-centred species justice research position has been established, the next section expands on the green criminological position to incorporate interests from cultural criminology.

Broadening the framework

If we are to recognise the exploitation of wildlife as harmful, this harm must also be understood in its situational and geo-political context. While a nonspeciesist approach is inclusive of wildlife victims, it has the potential to cast a shadow on the real-world motivating factors that perpetuate trade in wildlife. For instance, for many people, consuming marine wildlife is a perfectly acceptable and important part of daily routine. Marine species provide people around the globe with much needed nutrition, and they are essential for many in terms of food security (FAO, 2020). This is a reality that cannot be ignored. As such, where ethical decisions surrounding dietary choices can be made, these decisions are based on a privilege (e.g., the power of choice, and ability to afford nutritional and healthy alternatives). For many around the globe, the nonspeciesist approach outlined above will contrast significantly with the real and everyday needs for utilising marine species as a natural resource (seafood). In addition, marine species are not only important for food security, but they are also enjoyed by many as a luxury and can be personally, culturally, and spiritually important within consumer cultures. All this is not to say that a nonspeciesist approach cannot be advocated for, only that it must be recognised as a challenging and privileged perspective that may not be universally applicable.

When considering animals affected by international trade, White (2013b) highlights the importance of understanding the cultural norms supporting wildlife use. As this research seeks to understand how social and cultural perspectives on harm and victimhood shape attitudes towards the exploitation of each of the three species, a purely eco-philosophical approach may struggle to capture the lived realities and social nuances driving peoples' perceptions and actions. To understand how harmful behaviours become culturally accepted (and therefore a reflection of both society and culture), Brisman and South (2013) contend that green criminology must look towards the ways in which environmental harms are *represented*. For example, by examining the processes by which natural resources are commodified and how patterns of consumption are

created and marketed. Understanding personal motivations towards wildlife consumption is central to the second research question (trade and consumption motivation) and can be addressed, in part, with the aid of cultural criminological perspectives. The following section introduces how themes within cultural criminology help to create a more rounded and robust framework to investigate attitudes surrounding each of the three marine species. Following this, I then describe how a crossover between green-cultural criminology can supplement the research approach.

Foundations of cultural criminology

Cultural criminology is a self-professed 'emergent array of perspectives', attentive to the constructions of crime and crime control in popular culture and mass media (Ferrell, 1999, p.396). With foundations in cultural studies, sociological criminology, and postmodernism, the subdiscipline originated by exploring contemporary constructs of social class and criminal subcultures. Broadly speaking, cultural criminology is concerned with the crossover between cultural and criminal. It seeks to understand the ideologies that give meaning (and drive resistance) to crime and crime control (Ferrell, 2007; Ferrell *et al*., 2004; Presdee, 2003). As such, the field focusses on the everyday realities, attributed meanings, and experiences of criminal and deviant acts (Ferrell, Hayward & Young 2015). Despite a range of topics of interest, the key motivations behind cultural criminological enquiry are to question *who* determines the *reality* of crime, what does 'criminal' mean, and how is it *represented* (Ferrell, Hayward & Young 2015). This resonates with my own aspirations for this research, as a cultural criminological focus enables a further commentary on the power that CITES as an institution holds in defining the boundaries for (il)legal wildlife trade (when implemented into national legislation).

Cultural criminological approaches are also receptive to the feelings and emotions that arise within and around criminal (and transgressive) acts, seeking to understand the *lived meanings* of an individual's social life which contribute to their specific conceptualisation of crime (Ferrell, 1998a, 1998b, 2001; Ferrell, Hayward & Young 2015; Hayward, 2016; Hayward & Yar, 2006). Within cultural criminology, emotions such as excitement, anger, pleasure, and risk that are associated with everyday criminal and transgressive acts are recognised as strong motivators that need to be included in criminological thinking (Young, 2016). For instance, Ferrell (2007) describes everyday criminal acts as being sensual, ambiguous, and irrational, and highlights the need for these motivations to be understood when critiquing the culture of crime and crime control. This focus on the situated meaning arising from everyday acts adds an additional depth to this study to understand personal motivations around marine wildlife consumption. Understanding how both legal and illegal wildlife trade and consumption is emotionally perceived and how harms are represented, responded to, and contested are important areas of investigation

here. The following section introduces some useful approaches from cultural criminology that aid the development of the conceptual and methodological approach.

Relevant cultural criminological approaches

Cultures and constructions of violence

In addition to the above focus on emotion and situated meanings, a large amount of work within cultural criminology focusses on perceptions of violence and how crimes are constructed and perceived in society (see Bandaranaike, 2001; Ferrell, 2003; Klein, 2012; Presdee, 2003). Cultural criminologists view violence (and perceptions of violence) as a social and cultural construct, intertwined with issues of social justice. Additionally, the nature of how violence is perceived is seen to be heavily biased towards who is perpetrating that violence (and who is a victim of violence) within the context of time and space (Ferrell, Hayward & Young 2015). For example, children, women, and ethnic minorities have previously not been recognised as victims of domestic and institutionalised violence (Kasturirangan, Krishnan & Riger, 2004; Richardson & May, 1999; Strobl, 2004). This attentiveness to the construction of violence provides an additional mechanism to question how we decide *who* a victim is, and what it *means* to be a victim. In terms of this research, perceptions of violence towards animals are a key concern, particularly as this relates to potentially speciesist attitudes and socially driven constructs of value and harm.

Capitalism and consumption

In addition, cultural criminology frequently attempts a structural analysis of crime within its consumer driven and capitalist foundations. Under a cultural criminological lens, late modern capitalism is viewed as a manipulation of meaning, where people are turned into consumers and experiences are turned into products (Ferrell, Hayward & Young, 2015). Here, cultural capitalism is seen to market lifestyles, material products, and manufactured indulgence – while hiding from view the factories, pollution, forced labour, and poverty (Ferrell, Hayward & Young, 2015). By these means, cultural criminology attempts to shine a light on the corporate and interpersonal crimes that result from consumer capitalism, where commodities have value, but human labour and the environment have none. To confront institutionalised harms, Ferrell, Hayward and Young (2015) argue that the global capitalist system must first be confronted. This position shares strong ties with a green criminological perspective (Brisman & South, 2014). Considering the roots of this research surround the consumption of wildlife (which necessitates their devaluation and normalises their exploitation and commodification), this specific focus on capitalism and institutionalised harm is an essential area to confront within the study.

Contesting politics, power, and traditional criminology

In an attempt to describe and define the nature of criminality, cultural criminologists are also attentive to the situated politics of criminal acts and are especially interested in how criminality is labelled and symbolised in society (Ferrell, 2007; Hayward, 2010). As with the view held within green criminology, cultural criminology is similarly critical of the role that traditional criminology has played in the politics of crime and crime control. This particularly relates to the role of orthodox criminology in formulating and perpetuating constructs of *crime*, often blind towards the crimes of powerful institutions and people (Ferrell, 2007). To remedy this, cultural criminology sets out to critique the wisdom and politics of contemporary crime and crime control, recognising that the context and definition of criminal behaviour has been established by those in power and informed by social and cultural processes (Ferrell, Hayward & Young, 2015). This ties in with the discussion in the second chapter surrounding the potential for CITES to reflect Western attitudes towards conservation and wildlife trade, while being blind to the harms of legalised wildlife exploitation (Duffy, 2010). Together, these perspectives within cultural criminology provide an additional avenue to discuss the contested politics of wildlife consumption and the power CITES holds in defining what wildlife trade becomes regulated and/or prohibited.

Green-cultural criminology

Following from this whirlwind introduction to themes within cultural criminology, it is clear that both cultural and green criminology share an interest in challenging assumptions surrounding criminal and harmful acts. Indeed, green-cultural criminological research has gained much momentum in recent years to bridge the two perspectives and gain a deeper understanding of environmental and wildlife issues (see: Brisman, 2017; Brisman & South, 2014; Ferrell, 2020; van Uhm, 2018). The integration of green and cultural criminology further expands on the nonspeciesist conceptual perspective to incorporate concerns arising from wildlife criminology with social constructions of crime and justice (Brisman & South, 2013). Additionally, while cultural criminology considers violence as both representing and reinforcing of inequalities (e.g., gender, age, ethnicity, social class, etc.) (Ferrell, Hayward & Young, 2015), a nonspeciesist green-cultural criminological position would expand this definition to include violence towards wildlife and the natural world. By recognising non-human animals as the direct victims of violence, this broadening of the conceptual framework to include cultural criminological perspectives facilitates a deeper understanding of *why* and *how* violence towards wildlife is perpetuated. I now briefly discuss some concepts arising from green-cultural criminology and how this joint position supports the research objective.

Constructs of harm and victimhood

The combination of a green nonspeciesist approach and a cultural criminological framework (attentive to issues of violence, powerful actors, and consumer-cultural dynamics) provides the perfect lens with which to explore how cultural perceptions of harm and victimhood influence the varying social acceptability of wildlife exploitation. Green-cultural criminology recognises that the consumption and exploitation of nature is inexplicably linked with environmental harms, as increased consumption (driven by a capitalist economic model) burdens the environment and puts strain on finite natural resources. When discussing perceptions toward wildlife Sollund (2008, 2011) suggests that speciesism (and the resulting diminished recognition of harm towards non-human animals) is culturally learnt. Sollund (2008) further suggests that a human-superiority complex, manifested by an anthropocentric worldview, is so engrained within society that speciesist attitudes become socialised within us. Building on this, van Uhm (2018) describes how attitudes towards wildlife become socially constructed. As such, what becomes considered as harmful and criminal is uniquely intertwined with specific social norms (within place and time) and therefore develops as a reflection of both society and culture (Brisman & South, 2013). This socialisation of speciesism and the construction of the value surrounding wildlife may explain why the view that non-human animals (and plants) are inferior to humans exists (within both public perception and scientific and governmental attention (Clark & May, 2002; Troudet *et al*., 2017), as well as permeating domestic and international law (Ash, 2005)). From this joint green-cultural criminological perspective, the commodification and consumption of wildlife can be carefully explored to question how cultural attitudes define contemporary norms and influence wildlife trade legislation.

Recognising crimes of the powerful

Green and cultural criminology also overlap in their respective interest toward the role of power constructs in defining harms. This focus furthers research into the 'crimes of the powerful' – an umbrella term for crimes committed by governments and private organisations (state-corporate crimes), as well as by elite and powerful people (Pearce, 1976; Rothe & Friedrichs, 2018). A green criminological attentiveness to the power constructs underlying environmental destruction was initially (for Western criminologists) proposed by Lynch (1990, p.4), who invited a new wave of critical green criminology, directed by a focus toward the 'specific governmental and corporate practices and social trends that destroy the environment and thereby threaten the survival of humans, animal, and plants' (among other environmental and legal concerns). Through these means, Lynch (1990) encouraged green criminologists to focus on the role of the powerful political and economic elite in the destruction of the environment and the marginalisation humans and other animals. This focus on the powerful elite furthers the investigation into how environmental harms are perpetrated, and also seeks to question how (and under which power-

structures) the boundaries between harms and crimes are decided (Mol, 2013). Following Lynch's (1990) invitation, green criminological approaches have frequently sought to situate environmental harms and crimes in the context of the power constructs that define them (Lynch, 2020; Sollund, 2021; White, 2015b, 2018a). This focus enables further scrutiny into the role of policy and power dynamics in facilitating environmental exploitation and the commodification of nature and non-human species (Ruggiero, 2020; White, 2015b). On this note, when addressing the politicised construction of harms and crimes (and informed by a nonspeciesist perspective), Beirne (1999, p.20) warns that:

> 'We should be even more attentive to the fact that the vast majority of theriocide [animal killing] occurs in large-scale institutions. These occur silently, invisibly and with little recognition'.

The study and recognition of invisible and institutionalised harms toward non-human animals, permitted and perpetuated by powerful institutions, adds to an understanding of the intersection between corporate and state produced species and environmental harms (Kramer & Michalowski, 2012; Ruggiero, 2020; van Uhm, 2020; White, 2018a). This focus also provides a critical connection within this study, particularly as marine wildlife are frequently and routinely transformed into marketable commodities, whose management lies in the interests of the state and industry who profit from their exploitation. This focus on the powerful also ties to cultural criminological interests into the constructed meanings of violence, and connections between violence, exploitation, and commodification. For instance, Presdee (2003, p.24) highlights how:

> 'The criminalisation of culture is no more than the legalisation of prejudice and moral beliefs held by the powerful over and against the powerless, the poor and the dispossessed'.

While this speaks to the construction of crime as a means to control and maintain power, Presdee also highlights how powerful actors create a legal sphere that reflects their own moral beliefs. As discussed previously in this chapter, non-human animals and nature more broadly have typically been represented and constructed from an anthropocentric position (especially by those in the West), whereby only their instrumental-use value is recognised. By including an attentiveness to the role of powerful institutions in defining the value (and exploitability) of nature and wildlife, a green-cultural criminological focus is open to scrutinise the role of consumer culture (including the capitalist driven encouragement of indulgent consumption), and the combined expectation for continual economic growth established under an extractive capitalist system. Through this connection, harm can be understood as produced by government policies for trade (in this case tied to ideas surrounding economic growth and the blue economy – introduced in Chapter 1), which intersect with industrial motivations for profit irrespective of ecological destruction (Passas & Goodwin, 2004; Stretesky *et al*., 2013). Considering this thesis' focus on CITES (an international, multilateral treaty establishing the management of trade in wildlife), a focus on the

role of nation states and national/international policy making (and the interplay between economic and environmental interests) will prove useful here.

Recognising everyday ordinary harms

In addition to a focus on the crimes of the powerful elite, green-cultural criminology is also attentive to the socially normalised and everyday realities that underscore harms toward non-human animals and the environment. For instance, Heckenberg and White (2020, p.113) suggest that when harms are culturally and historically entrenched within communities, they can become accepted as 'harmless' and, as such, can be understood as culturally-blind 'folk-crime'. Passas' (2005) concept of 'lawful but awful' (emphasising those harmful acts without legal consequence or recognition) nicely summarises this line of thinking. Considering the above discussion, Agnew (2020, p.52) further describes how apparently harmless acts can add to the 'ordinary acts that contribute to ecocide'. Ecocide is understood as any form of destructive action towards the natural environment which makes life (for all) more difficult (Agnew, 2020; South, 2013). Examples here correspond to the focus of the research and include actions such as the consumption of meat and the commodification of non-human animals. These *ordinary acts* are seen as both harmful towards the animals who are killed, as well as being ecologically and environmentally damaging (Sollund, 2013b; Wyatt, 2013a).

These notions of *culturally-blind, everyday ecocide* are fundamental to the current study. These ordinary acts and everyday (culturally constructed) choices fuel the capitalist exploitation of nature and wildlife and are situated within a worldview that normalises (and makes invisible) the harms resulting from this exploitation. From a nonspeciesist green-cultural criminological perspective, marine exploitation and the consumption of marine species can be viewed as an everyday harmful act. To better understand how these harmful acts are supported and perpetuated, a green-cultural criminological exploration of the emotional factors that motivate harmful behaviours towards marine species can help to describe the boundary between the conceptualisation and lived meanings of everyday criminal and everyday normalised (but harmful) acts.

Broadening the framework further

In a similar vein to the immersive approach taken within cultural criminology, Goyes (2016) contends that criminological research needs to move away from abstraction and objectivity if it is to understand and interpret the complex realities of crime and harm. Injustices need to be situated within a global context, recognising the viewpoints and experiences of those who are victimized. In light of this, there is an additional need to broaden the conceptual framework to expand the thesis beyond the bias of geopolitical borders and epistemological boundaries. The

inclusive nature of Southern criminology provides an essential mechanism with which to consider global and cultural divisions in the conceptualisation of harm, and to challenge the authority behind the construction of wildlife conservation (and exploitation) related legislation. The inclusion of a Southern criminological framework will now be elaborated on.

Foundations of Southern criminology

Southern criminology draws its inspiration from Connell's (2007) *Southern Theory,* which highlights the lack of voices from scholars in the Global South within the social sciences. This Global North/South divide – reminiscent of the former colonial practices of the Global North – for the most part separates Northern America and Europe (Global North) from Latin America, Africa, Oceania, and Asia (Global South), but can also be viewed as a metaphorical divide between marginalised and non-marginalised groups anywhere in the world (Carrington, Hogg & Sozzo, 2016). Much as green and cultural criminology recognise the influence of those in power in creating and defining crimes, Southern criminology takes this one step further by highlighting that criminological *knowledge production* is shaped by power constructs and influenced by political and geographical divisions (Goyes, 2016). As such, Southern perspectives are critical of the *Westernisation* of criminological thought (grounded in anthropocentric, capitalist, and colonialist ideologies), which assume that criminological theories have universal truths, despite their embedded Northern viewpoints (Carrington, Hogg & Sozzo, 2016; Goyes, 2016; Santos, 2015; White, 2017). For instance, Southern epistemologies are recognised as diverse and varied (aligned with the marginalised and unified by their shared oppression from the North). On this note, Carrington and colleagues (2016, p.3) highlight how criminologists in the Global South have accepted a 'subordinate role', borrowing from and adapting theory from the Global North, while knowledge generated in and originating from the South has been ignored.

In an effort to rectify this imbalance, Southern criminology attempts to integrate both epistemological standpoints (North and South), to re-orientate criminological assumptions and provide a transnational platform that is inclusive of experiences, perspectives, and knowledge from the Global South (Carrington, Hogg & Sozzo, 2016; Goyes, 2019). As Goyes (2016, p.515) describes – Southern criminology attempts to 'create an ecology of diverse and even rival knowledges, where its validity is determined not by where the knowledge is produced but by how helpful it is in diminishing harm'. To date, Southern criminological research highlights and discusses multiple issues ranging from violence and gender inequalities (Carrington, Hogg & Sozzo, 2016; Fragoso, 2018; Miedema & Fulu, 2018) to racism and marginalisation (Hogg & Carrington, 2006; Santos, 2015). Of particular relevance to this study is Southern criminology's contribution towards green criminological perspectives (and the combined perspectives of Southern-green criminology) which seek to raise awareness of the disproportionate environmental

injustices experienced in the Global South (see: Boekhout van Solinge, 2014; Carrington, Hogg & Sozzo, 2016; Goyes, 2019; Goyes *et al*., 2017, 2021). Considering these connections between Southern and green perspectives, I now describe some themes within Southern criminology to illustrate how the field can add to the development of the conceptual framework.

Relevant Southern criminological approaches

Decolonising narratives and environmental justice

Southern criminology's recognition that criminological research has been constrained by Northern viewpoints opens a dialogue with interdisciplinary research emanating from the South. For instance, a Southern-green criminological focus on environmental marginalisation and oppression also resonates with ecofeminist works by the German and Indian scholars Mies and Shiva (2014), and Shiva more broadly (2000, 2006, 2019). Their research focuses on issues of sustainability, food security, and the destructive impacts of corporate globalisation, and jointly contends that the vast share of ecological destruction is indisputably caused by wealthy countries (and consumers) in the Global North. Building on this recognition, Southern criminology's call to decolonise concepts of conservation and wildlife exploitation (see: Goyes *et al*., 2021) provides a natural progression for green-cultural criminology to critique the power imbalance and Northern bias prevalent within both contemporary criminological attention and underlying international wildlife trade legislation (an issue raised in Chapter 2). As an example, conservation action has frequently been criticised for being neo-colonial in nature, reflecting the interests of the Global North (Dickson, 2003; Duffy, 2010; Epstein, 2006). This issue was further highlighted by Langton (2003, p.103) who described the power imbalances between Indigenous spokespeople and corporate/regulatory bodies within CITES, stating that:

> 'The powerful members of CITES are the very same nation states that systematically discriminated against the encapsulated indigenous populations, and they continue to appropriate indigenous property according to remnant imperial doctrines still held at law'.

Here, Langton's (2003) argument lies in the Convention's focus on the global management of wildlife exploitation, which can simultaneously act to marginalise and control local and Indigenous groups. While it can be challenging to see the harms of our own consumer choices and all too easy to point the finger at the metaphorical *other* – as noted in the previous chapter – it is Western driven over/consumption of wildlife that is arguably the issue threatening the overexploitation of marine wildlife. To incorporate a Southern criminological position, it is essential then to recognise that powerful Western nations are complicit in perpetuating wildlife harms (through both their own consumption and through established control mechanisms). Through these means, Southern perspectives – attentive to the issues of environmental inequality and injustice (Banos Ruiz, 2017, Goyes, 2019) – also resonate with an environmental justice

position (introduced in the first section) to jointly draw attention to the globally disparate impacts of governance structures and consumer choices on marginalised human groups in the Global South.

Reimagining 'nature': Southern epistemologies and ecocentrism

In addition to emphasising global environmental inequalities (drawing on the themes within environmental justice), Southern perspectives toward nature also tend to sit more comfortably within a nature-centred (ecocentric/biocentric) worldview. This is opposed to Western conceptions that are largely driven by anthropocentrism. Non-Western countries and those in the Global South have historically had a closer relationship towards nature and conservation, and recognise the need for human engagement and integration for conserving the natural world[15] (Adams & Mulligan, 2003; Breidlid, 2013; Greenough & Tsing, 2003; Koons, 2008). Critically however, when discussing Southern perspectives toward nature, Goyes and colleagues (2021) are careful not to romanticise Indigenous attitudes, pointing out that a harmonious relationship with nature is often – but not always – present within Indigenous communities. With this noted, wellbeing and harmony between nature and humans is often centred within Indigenous worldviews which 'retain a close cultural relationship with nature... [and maintain] representations of nature that are conductive to protective behaviours' (Goyes *et al*., 2021, p.4).

While it is essential to recognise that different worldviews are all valid and real representations of human-nature entanglements, Indigenous conceptualisations of nature appear more attuned to an ecocentric eco-philosophical perspective that values balance and emphasises humans' moral responsibility toward nature. As such, Southern and Indigenous alternate philosophies of nature may complement and enhance both ecocentric and Earth Jurisprudence perspectives, providing a bridge between Southern and green (nature-centred) criminological spheres. Although an environmental justice approach was rejected (from a green criminological position) – in favour of a nature-centred eco-philosophical stance, the addition of Southern criminological perspectives brings an additional layer of attentiveness to issues of environmental justice and the marginalisation of people, whilst also being open to a less anthropocentric ontology.

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15 As an example, the Aymara* culture adopts a spiritual and relational worldview of all things. Here, the Western concept of 'nature' (as a rigidly defined entity, that is separate from humans) is not really formed, rather both the physical and non-physical world are viewed as a harmonious and intrinsically *interrelated whole* (understood as Suma Qamaña) (Huanca, 2019). Within this worldview, the sacred Mother Earth (Pachamama) is perceived as part of an interconnected identity, and as such, no conceptual hierarchy or boundary exists between humans and nature. While Western philosophy typically focuses on the *relationship* between humans and nature, the Aymara consider this as a whole, *substantial*, interrelated identity (Estermann, 2013). * The Aymaras inhabit several South American countries including Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru (for more on their cultural identity see: Huanca, 2019).

Reconceptualising definitions: critiquing growth narratives

Building on the above, Southern perspectives offer an additional route to critique how nature is valued and commodified, and to question *which* values are represented on the global stage. While Indigenous worldviews may understand the consumption of non-human species as necessarily important (in a subsistence, balance-orientated manner), the commodification and ownership of nature is typically not part of Indigenous environmental cosmologies (Goyes *et al*., 2021). As such, the addition of a Southern criminological focus within this study enables a deeper reflection on the role of powerful institutions in determining what are (il)legitimate uses of wildlife, as well as to further challenge the commodification and ownership of wildlife amplified by Western growth-based industry initiatives and perspectives.

This critique of the commodification and consumption of nature also ties to the concept of the Blue Economy and 'blue-growth' (raised in the first chapter). Blue growth initiatives encourage the growth and innovation of marine industries and propel marine exploitation through highly tailored definitions of sustainability. However, these concepts of commodification and economic growth are at odds with a nature-centred eco-philosophy and pose serious problems for species and ecological justice. For instance, when marine wildlife are viewed as purely exploitable and commercially valuable resources, their personal and intrinsic values are negated in the interests of economic gain (blue growth). White (2014, p11) problematised this issue further when discussing the value attached to nature and non-human species, noting:

> 'If modernity celebrates economic growth, it will calculate cost-benefits regarding the environment solely on whether environmental resources can reproduce themselves or more such resources can be found. It is only when this *modus operandi* is endangered that conservation becomes an issue for the corporate and political agendas.'

This concern also resonates with Shiva's (2019, p.66) description of powerful and corporate interests behind the 'illusion of limitless extraction and exploitation of nature'. Here, the value of exploited wildlife is not understood intrinsically, but instead lies in the political and economic (growth-centred) interests of nation states. Whilst such commodification of nature raises the issue of species and ecological justice, blue growth initiatives also frequently diminish and undermine the interests of people in the Global or metaphorical South, highlighting concerns for environmental justice (Asara *et al*., 2015; Barbesgaard, 2018; Bogadóttir, 2020; Brent, Barbesgaard & Pedersen, 2020; Childs, 2020). While environmental justice movements have been central to much of the environmental activism in the Global South, there is also an emerging alliance here with *degrowth* movements which seek environmental, social, and economic justice in the Global South by highlighting the problem of extractive growth based economies and calling

for a shift in perspectives toward degrowth in the Global North (discussed more broadly in: Dengler & Seebacher, 2019; Hickel, 2021; Rodríguez-Labajos *et al.*, 2019).

Specifically, within this study, this perspective ties to a focus on 'blue degrowth' and approaches to tackle the unsustainable and destructive exploitation of marine environments. While concepts of blue degrowth are multifaceted, they are united by a shared vision to highlight the deepening 'injustices and inequalities taking place in marine/blue spaces' which arise from a politically and economically motivated blue-growth narrative (Ertör & Hadjimichael, 2020, p.5). Inequalities here would include the marginalisation and displacement of Indigenous and small-scale fishers, whose 'Human Rights are pitted against or co-opted by individual corporate property rights' in inter/national political and legal spheres (Pictou, 2018, p.1412). This competition between corporate interests and local traditional use can be seen to benefit only large-scale capital-intensive exploitation (the growth element of blue growth), while side-lining the restoration of ocean health along with environmental and biodiversity protections (Barbesgaard, 2018).

In highlighting these social and environmental inequalities, blue degrowth movements seek to reformulate relationships with the marine environment. By moving away from the growth-oriented and capitalist driven exploitation and consumption mechanisms that are established under current marine management policies, blue degrowth perspectives are more attuned to social and environmental justice movements (Hadjimichael, 2018; Childs, 2020). Critically however, while blue degrowth perspectives are attentive to issues surrounding environmental justice and environmental degradation (especially in the Global South), there has been limited (if any) recognition of species or ecological justice perspectives within these discussions – despite the broader and more holistic conceptions of nature emerging from Southern epistemologies. By engaging with a blue degrowth perspective this research may further scrutinise the unsustainable exploitation of marine species and establish this as an issue arising from unjust global governance structures (social, economic, political). This builds on the degrowth movement to further incorporate a critique of wildlife-based economies and the perpetuation of species injustice.

Challenges and limitations: green, cultural, and Southern criminology

Nonspeciesism and wildlife consumption

By adopting a nonspeciesist green criminological approach, this study understands harm and victimhood in very specific ways. Harm, in this case, is foremost recognised and framed at the individual level for those wildlife who are captured and killed. While welfare is certainly a motivation here (considering the poor treatment and often lengthy killing of marine species), harm is also considered more broadly to include an infringement on the rights of individual exploited

wildlife – whose lives are manipulated, abused, and ultimately ended for the benefit of humans. In this regard, animal victims are considered directly, and their victim status is not viewed as lesser in comparison to other victims. Critically, by stating this affinity for the marginalisation of animals, this is not an attempt to suggest that suffering (of humans and other animals) is equal or can be substituted. Rather, the focus here seeks to establish that this marginalisation is part of the same system, and decisions made for wildlife (by human 'experts') are constructed within (and perpetuate) damaging power dynamics that further the victimisation and marginalisation of both wildlife and people.

Mindful of the above discussion, the broad conceptualisation of harm within green criminology (offered by both species justice and ecological justice ideologies) can be criticised for promoting Western values toward those who do not share the same perspectives, and risk becoming a novel form of colonial action (Goyes, 2019; Wyatt, 2013b). This is a relevant concern, as the potential for a Western bias in conservation legislation has been a key critique arising from Southern criminology. In addition, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, a nonspeciesist position is at odds with the reality that consuming marine species remains essential for many around the world. While this tension will remain throughout the thesis, the discussion will be situated within a recognition of these ongoing debates and issues. While this study attempts to encompass perspectives from Southern criminology, sensitive to the disparity of power, it must also be attentive to the potential that nature-centred ideologies have towards continuing a Northern-centric (although radical) perspective that is not universally accepted. To balance this potential bias, the addition of a cultural criminological framework, critical of a capitalist-consumerist culture has been included. However, this perspective also presents additional challenges and requires further reflection.

What is meant by culture?

Although cultural criminology views crime through the lens of culture, what is meant by culture is important. O'Brien (2005) is careful to point out that works by Ferrell (1996), Ferrell and Hamm (1998), and Ferrell and Websdale (1999) are reluctant to define precisely what they mean by culture, presenting only ethnographic reflections on crime and culture. O'Brien argues that it is equally important to conduct detailed exploratory analysis on both the perpetrators of deviant behaviours and those that resist or live in tandem with them. This would create a more rounded and situational view of the contested behaviour. O'Brien (2005) further suggests that this imbalance in focus (in cultural criminological attention) may be political in nature, whereby cultural criminologists choose to focus only on one-side of a sub-cultural group, ignoring those who elect not to be part of that sub-culture, or have reasons to deviate from that sub-culture.

This is a particularly relevant criticism to reflect on prior to the methodological development and data collection stage. To gain an understanding of any human behaviour it is important to examine and contextualise the many different motivators behind contrasting behaviours. In terms of this study, in addition to investigating the motivations of those who value the consumption of the minke whale, queen conch, and Atlantic bluefin tuna – the motivations of those who hold different values and perspectives are also of key interest. This rounded view should also help to address any concerns arising from a nature-centred nonspeciesist perspective, as broad-reaching cultural criminological perspectives can provide an additional measure to explore viewpoints from both marginalised and non-marginalised groups.

Multi-culturalism and incorporating a Southern lens

Understanding the cultural attitudes and motivations for both consuming and abstaining from marine meat is a central point of this study. Here, I suggest defining culture as a consistent set of ideas, attitudes, customs, and social behaviours which are shared between groups (including human, entangled human-animal, and non-human animal groups). These combine to inform individual beliefs, moral intuitions, values, and principles, as (people) navigate decisions around wildlife consumption. Moving beyond anthropocentric understandings of culture, and recognising human-animal entanglements, I also seek to question what a multi-species (more than human) culture may look like, and how to represent and give a voice to non-human animals who are also entangled (and exploited) within our culture.

When trying to define how cultural constructs influence attitudes towards wildlife, it is important to touch on how these cultural attitudes differ both locally (between societies and social groups) and globally (between nations). These attitudes become subtly shaped by moral and political considerations, often reflecting anthropocentric, utilitarian, and economic motivations (Kellert, 1993). However, in an increasingly multi-cultural world, with increased cultural exchange, these once well-defined constructs of 'culture' are becoming increasingly intertwined and entangled. This will likely have a real impact on consumer choice, motivation, and access to wildlife. The influence of diaspora communities and the introduction and sharing of cultural attitudes and practices, will also be important here (consider the increasing popularity of sushi in the West for example). Considering the cultural fluidity of attitudes and values, it is essential to reflect on how cultural attachments to marine *meat* are formed, how nature and conservation are viewed and valued, and how society reflects and adapts to the numerous and conflicting cultural attitudes surrounding wildlife commodification and consumption. This sensitivity to a multitude of worldviews also brings to the fore Southern criminology's attentiveness to a plurality of perspectives ('an ecology of diverse and even rival knowledge' – Goyes, 2016, p.515), without seeking to diminish any individual perspective.

The introduction of a Southern criminological perspective also necessitates that I am mindful of my own research position throughout the research development and data analysis process. As a Western researcher my perspectives have been shaped by my own cultural framework of life experiences, values, and political ideologies. By these means, this research is unavoidably centred within my own Western perspective. On this topic, Goyes (2019) describes a similar concern as a Western academic conducting Southern criminological work and highlights the importance of demonstrating that knowledge produced in the South (but brought to the fore by Western academics) must always belong to the South. In addition, it is essential that collaborations are not exploitative or replicating of colonialist logics, and instead strive to diminish inequalities, marginalisation, and ecological discrimination.

To be inclusive of Southern (and marginalised) perspectives it is necessary to attempt to reach beyond my own (Western orientated) geographical, metaphorical, and structural conceptual boundaries. In addition, Southern criminology's critical reflection on the role of power and politics in defining conservation objectives pushes for a greater reflection on the cultural, historical, and political dynamics of wildlife commodification and consumption, and recognises that the Western model for conservation is not a global norm. This is particularly important within this study as when highlighting the marginalisation of wildlife (via a nonspeciesist approach) the discussion must also be sensitive towards concurrent marginalisation of people and the wider environment. Only when amplifying voices from the metaphorical and marginalised South can this research attempt to understand the complexities of narratives surrounding the global exploitation of marine wildlife.

Synthesised conceptual framework

This chapter has described three criminological approaches: green, cultural, and Southern, each of which provide vital elements to address the research objective and answer the research questions. These three perspectives bring an attentiveness towards the marginalisation of non-human animals (green) and views this marginalisation as a product of an oppressive and dominating culture (cultural), predominantly perpetuated by powerful countries in the West (Southern). A depiction of this conceptual framework is given in Figure 3.

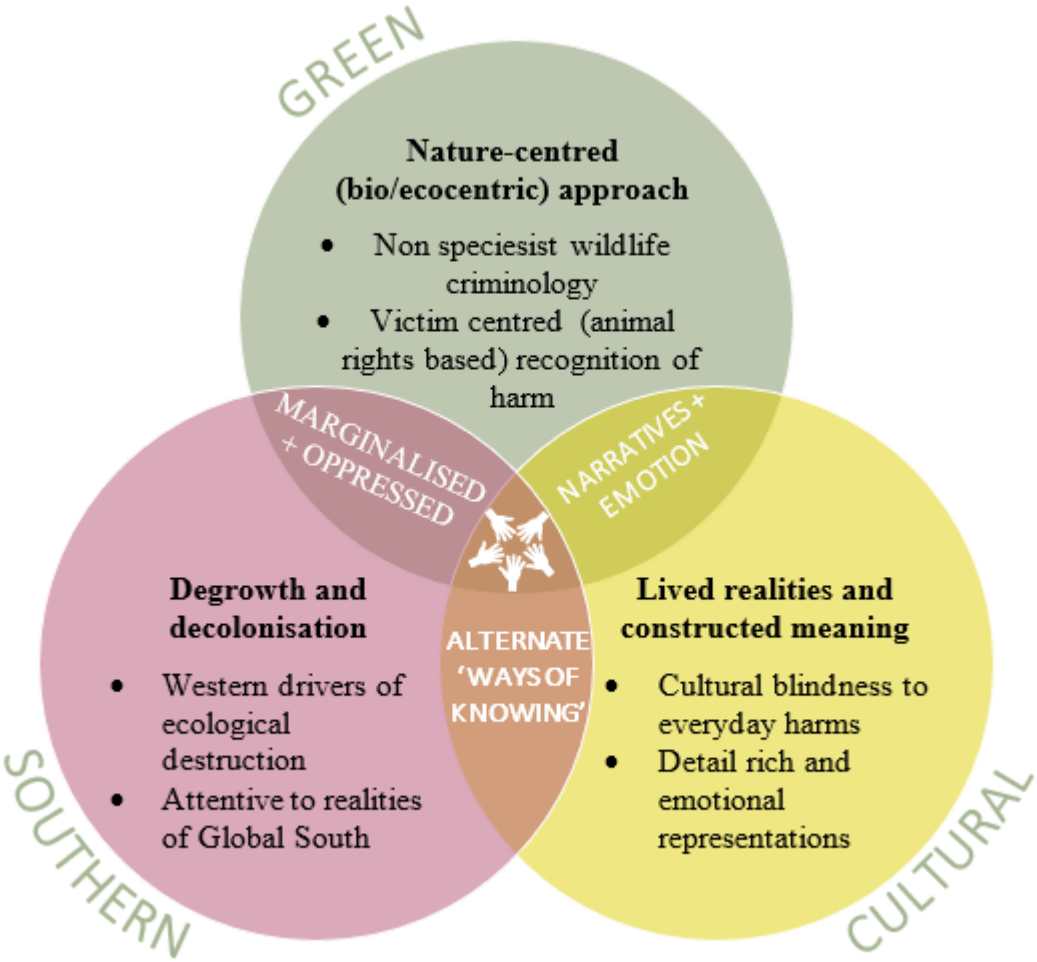

Figure 3. Synthesised conceptual approach. Recognising green, cultural, and Southern perspectives.

While Goyes *et al.* (2021) describe a blending of Southern-green-cultural criminology, I feel it is best to describe the collaborative approach taken within this study as a unification of green-cultural and Southern criminology (note the separation of Southern). This is due to my positionality as a Western researcher and considering the challenges in representing authentic voices from the global or metaphorical South (described in the following chapter). Although the study is strongly guided by Southern perspectives and reflects on the work of Southern criminologists and environmental activists, it feels somewhat dishonest to describe the conceptual framework as an ideal representation of a Southern-green-criminological union as, due to the nature of the case studies, much of the data production originates from Western (Global North) participants.

Supporting the research objective

This combination of criminological approaches contributes to answering each element of the research questions, which are: (1) how is consumption and trade of the species perceived in a legal and moral context?, (2) what motivates trade and consumption of the species?, and (3) how are harms recognised? The first research question focusses on how consumers view the distinction between 'legal' and 'illegal' forms of trade, and how moral attitudes align (or not) with these perceptions. This line of questioning is supported by each of the criminological perspectives described in this chapter. As I have described, nonspeciesist green criminology is attentive to expanding the concept of harm and moral consideration towards non-human victims and perfectly complements the research objective.

The addition of a cultural and Southern focus further challenges the study to question how concepts of legality are defined and perceived, and to reflect on who makes and benefits from these decisions. The second research question seeks to deepen the understanding of consumer motivations for wildlife consumption. This is supported by developing on themes of institutionalised animal exploitation, speciesism, and species justice, framed within an evaluation of the cultural nuances that support the consumption (or not) of wildlife. The cultural criminological approach further aids an understanding of consumer motivations and enables a dialogue to be explored on how legality is considered when it comes to the victimisation and exploitation of non-human animals. Finally, the third research question on perceptions toward the harmful treatment of wildlife is supported primarily by a nonspeciesist green-cultural position. By expanding on the concept of 'everyday ecocide' introduced by Agnew (2020), this thesis will explore how CITES regulations reflect cultural perceptions of harm and victimhood and contribute to legally sanctioned but harmful behaviours.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the integrated conceptual perspectives that will guide the research design to address the research objective: *To investigate how social and cultural notions of harm and victimhood influence value perceptions guiding CITES trade regulations for marine species*. I have described how green-cultural and Southern criminological perspectives will address each element of the research questions and provide the foundational framework to expand on the objective to investigate how harm towards each of the marine species is perceived and contextualised. As discussed throughout this chapter, a green-cultural and Southern criminological framework provides the scope with which to address potential bias (and power imbalances) in the conceptualisation of harm and victimhood, and challenges mainstream criminology to recognise these issues.

By taking a nonspeciesist approach, this framework aims to critically explore the harms and victim status for each species, putting centre-stage themes of species justice, institutionalised speciesism, and cultural bias in legislative action. I have also shown how Southern criminology adds an additional level of self-awareness towards power constructs, both in legislation formation and in criminological attention. This three-fold conceptual framework will add the necessary depth to the investigation, to address how cultural norms, socialised speciesist attitudes, and perceptions of victimhood influence the development of CITES legislation for marine species. In recognising that concepts of crime and harmful behaviour are continually changing (Klare, 2016), this thesis hopes to prompt discussion on the continued acceptability of harms towards wildlife, driven by oppressive speciesist attitudes. Evaluating how these harms toward wildlife are represented and culturally contextualised by consumers makes a distinct contribution to green-cultural and Southern criminology and can potentially broaden our understanding of how cultural and political ideologies influence wildlife legislation (to the benefit – or not – of wildlife protection). The following chapter will introduce the methodological approach taken to addressing the research questions described above.

Chapter 4. Methodology

Chapter overview

Building from the conceptual and eco-philosophical foundations introduced in the previous chapter, this chapter outlines the methodological approach taken to answer the thesis' research questions. First, I recap the thesis' objective and research questions. These are referred to throughout the chapter to address how each element has been approached. I then reflect on my own research positionality and how this has shaped the development of the research questions. Following this, I elaborate on the research design and the use of a multiple-case study mixed method (qualitative and quantitative) approach to data collection. I then detail the use of fictional empathetic narratives as these will spearhead each of the case study chapters. I then discuss the primary data collection methods used to address the research questions, beginning with the survey design before focussing on the interview process. Following this, I describe the use of secondary trade data. I then elaborate on the approach toward data analysis before finally reflecting on ethical issues and potential challenges. First, a quick overview of the research objective.

Research objective:

To investigate how social and cultural constructs of harm and victimhood influence value perceptions guiding CITES trade regulations for marine species.

Research questions:

1. **Legal and moral standing:** how is consumption and trade of the species perceived in a legal and moral context (*visibility and value recognition*)?

2. **Trade motivation:** what motivates trade and consumption of the species (*social and cultural contexts*)?

3. **Harm recognition:** how are harms relating to the trade and consumption of the species contextualised (*visibility and victimisation*)?

Beginning with reflexivity

The adoption of a mixed methods approach (including both qualitative and quantitative data collection) necessarily rests on different paradigm assumptions. To bridge these two methodological approaches, I have adopted a dialectic stance which understands realities to be 'plural and dynamic rather than singular and static' (Johnson & Stefurak, 2013, p.38). Here, positivist and constructivist worldviews (paradigms) are seen to be 'constituted by sets of interconnected philosophical assumptions regarding reality, knowledge, methodology, and values' (Greene, 2007, p.69). While these paradigms are necessarily formed along different philosophical strands, they are themselves 'historical and social constructions and so are not inviolate or sacrosanct' (Greene, 2007, p.69). This dialectic position allows a certain flexibility for shifting between paradigms for a more meaningful and creative engagement within the research practice (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Greene, 2007; Greene & Hall, 2010).

As the research questions are centred on perceptions, values, and motivations, a strictly positivist approach – which Law (2004, p.5) describes as 'methodological auditing'– would struggle to capture how culturally, politically, and socially distinct attitudes towards wildlife are formed. To contextualise *why* people chose to exploit different wildlife and what these choices *mean* to them, it seems natural that a social constructionist ontological approach (informed by an interpretivist epistemology) will underpin the study. An interpretivist position recognises that meaning is subjectively constructed through the interpretation of experiences (Greene, 2010). Therefore, the researcher brings their own beliefs to the interpretive process and knowledge is co-created by the researcher and participants (Hiller, 2016). While this is potentially at odds with the quantitative approach underscoring elements of the study, the positionality does not necessarily prohibit the use of quantitative methodology (see: Babones, 2016; Ghiara, 2020; Hesse-Biber, 2010; Romm, 2013). When discussing an interpretivist analysis of quantitative data Babones (2016, p.461) highlights that quantitative results:

> '…represent incomplete and highly biased records of the research subjects' lives. The observed relationships among these observed variables are the measurement tip of the causal iceberg. The task of interpretive social science is to surmise what lies unobserved beneath'.

By adopting a constructionist/interpretivist paradigm both quantitative and qualitative findings can be recognised as representations, therefore results are seen as a *construction* of meaning and thus are also open to being *reconstructed* (Romm, 2013).

This positionality is open to examining abstract areas of emotion, values, and world orientation views. Realities are not set in stone or universal and meaning is understood to be interpreted differently by people with different cultural, historical, and social perspectives. This

constructionist approach perfectly aligns with the research objective to investigate how people understand and perceive the *value* of different wildlife, while also understanding that these perceptions are culturally constructed and contextual. On this note, Law (2004, p.62) is careful to highlight that: 'the knowledge in your culture is just as good as the knowledge in my culture… [my account] cannot be better than yours.' This recognition compliments both cultural and Southern criminological perspectives which recognise the multiple and shifting constructs of understanding, knowledge, and meaning. However, Law (2004) further demonstrates that while making research visible, other realities must be made invisible. In this sense, research design serves to craft both 'presence', 'manifest absence' and 'absence (as otherness)' (Law, 2004, p.83). This links back to the discussion in Chapter 3 around O'Brien's (2005) observations on cultural criminology and the importance of representation and balance during investigative work. Just as interpretivist-quantitative analysis must see beyond the tip of the 'causal iceberg' (Babones, 2016, p.461), a constructionist approach must also reflect on what is being made visible and what is rendered invisible when designing, interpreting, and presenting results. This is especially important considering calls within Southern criminology and more broadly within the social sciences to decolonise conservation research and practice (Collins *et al.*, 2021; Dimou, 2021; Domínguez & Luoma, 2020; Goyes & South, 2017; Jimenez *et al.*, 2022). With this in mind, I now turn to a personal reflection to situate myself within the study.

Positioning myself within the research

My decision to research wildlife trade is rooted in my personal feelings, interest, and compassion for the natural world. As such, it is necessary to acknowledge how my personal standpoint shapes the research design. It is difficult to remain neutral as I have a vested interest in raising awareness for the harms inflicted towards wildlife and a desire to spark conversations on the way we determine *who* are worthy wildlife *victims*. As such, I aim to make the wildlife victims the foremost *presence* within this study. While no study can be completely free of bias, Becker (1967, p.242) acknowledges researcher impartiality (particularly when it lends a voice to a subordinate group) as a refusal to 'give credence and deference to an established status order, in which knowledge of truth and the right to be heard is not equally distributed'. This position is closely tied to green criminological nonspeciesist scholarship which contends that wildlife should be raised to consideration and centralised in discussions surrounding their exploitation (for similar see: Beirne, 1999; Sollund, 2013a). Under this conceptual framework both exploitation *and* over-exploitation are viewed as harmful acts towards non-human animal victims. Therefore, trade in wildlife (even trade condoned by CITES) is recognised as harmful towards those who fall victim to it and have their lives manipulated or cut short by humans.

This positionality is somewhat at odds with a strict interpretivist approach which recognises that other viewpoints and moral standards exist relative to different frameworks of decision making. While a nonspeciesist approach has become central to my investigation, it is an approach that can be critiqued for its privileged position. The utilisation of wildlife as a food resource remains a reality and necessity for many people around the world. It is not my intention to deny the reality that for so many people *fish* equates to *food*, and as such a nonspeciesist ethical position is not a possibility for many. An issue subsequently arises between balancing these contrasting perspectives while staying true to a nonspeciesist approach. On this topic, Liebling (2001, p. 482) discusses the importance of 'reflection, deconstruction, moral engagement and sensitivity' towards the contrasting perspectives of multiple groups. To better understand the dynamics that shape human exploitation of wildlife, a driving force throughout the study has been engagement with, consideration of, and sensitivity toward, the many real-world contributing reasons supporting wildlife exploitation. While the central nonspeciesist focus remains, harms beyond the victimised non-human animal must also be raised into consideration so that they are not made invisible. This speaks to a Southern criminological focus to recognise and confront global structural and historical injustices (Carrington *et al.* 2016; Dimou, 2021).

In addition to a non-speciesist approach, it is necessary to also acknowledge how my positionality as a white English-speaking researcher in the Global North can potentially lead to unequal power dynamics, especially when these are rooted by colonial histories and hierarchies. From this point of departure, it is essential to recognise how power imbalances and the ongoing context of coloniality underpins knowledge production itself as well as wildlife exploitation and conservation management 'interventions'. By highlighting my place within this research early on the development of this study, this enables what Davies (2008, p.3) describes as 'artefacts of the researcher's presence' to be identified and understood when interpreting results. Such artefacts will be prominent in the non-speciesist approach taken but will also be felt through the intersubjective and interpersonal relationships that are developed throughout the research and will inevitably be shaped by global patterns of power and inequality. With this in mind, throughout the research process I seek to better understand and meaningfully engage with the social, political, and historical contexts that are rooted within each of the case studies. Only by doing so will it be possible to avoid perpetuating exclusionary and Western-centred conservation knowledge production. Now that this positionality has been established, I will next describe the research approach taken and the reasons behind each method choice.

Research design

The overarching drive of this research is to evaluate the social and cultural norms that influence wildlife consumption and trade decisions, whilst examining the extent to which traded wildlife are perceived as victims of harm. The research design has been informed by the Appendix structure of CITES and an ambition to investigate attitudes toward the exploitation of species held on the major Appendixes (I – the minke whale, and II – the queen conch), as well as those who have been denied a listing (the Atlantic bluefin tuna). Although different levels of criminalisation surround the trade of each species, following the green criminological perspective described in Chapter 3, all trade and consumption is understood to be *harmful*. Given the potential for this research to shine a light on the influence of subjective values concerning the interpretation of harm and victimhood within international wildlife legislation, a mixed methods case study approach with convergent analysis of results has been determined to address the research objective. This involves: (1) the formation of fictional narratives, (2) the collection of primary data from interviews and (3) surveys, and (4) secondary data collection from trade databases. See Figure 4 for an outline of the research design.

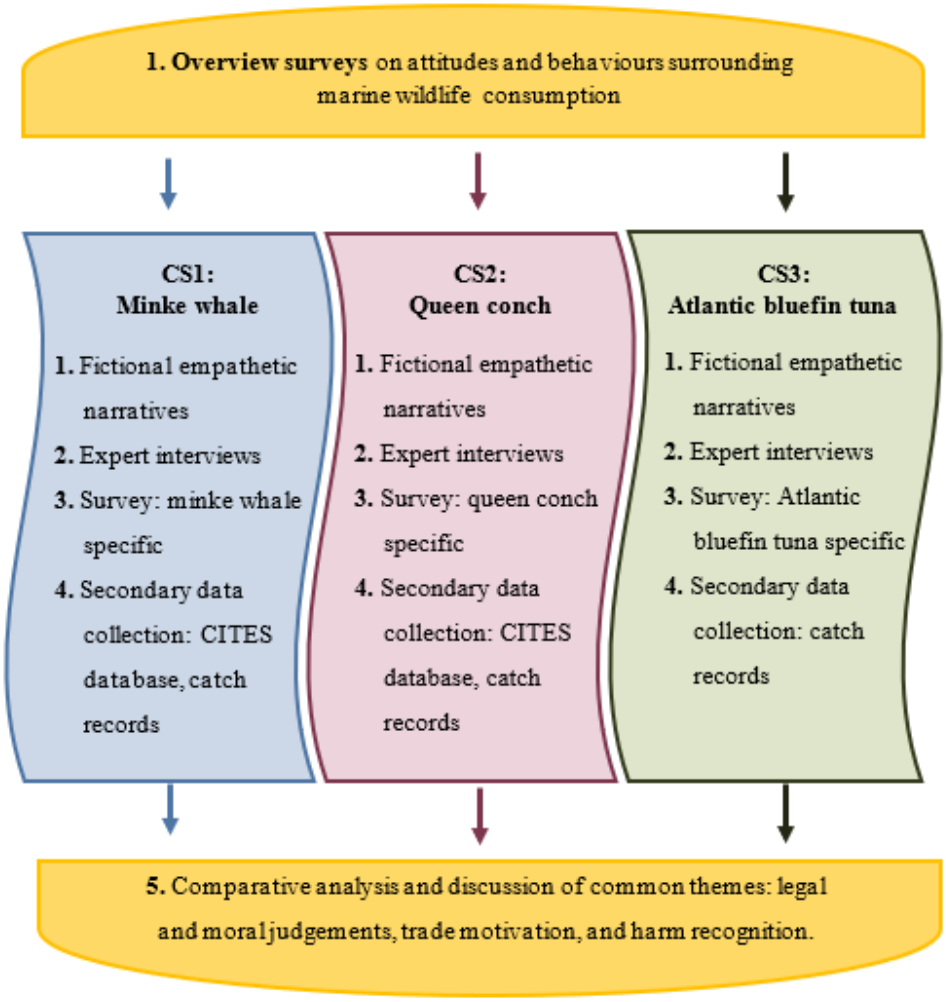

Figure 4. Overview of research design.

Justification of a mixed method case study approach

When considering the strengths of a case study approach, Gomm, Hammersley and Foster (2000, p. 24) highlight how case studies add 'to existing experience and humanistic understanding', and thus expand on available knowledge when other methods fail to do so. Following Agnew's (2020, p. 64) assertion that 'any effort to understand the causes of environmental harm must consider both individuals as well as larger groups' each case study is supported by a simultaneous mixed methods approach. A survey has been used as a tool to gauge a broad view of perceptions from a large population, this focussed on marine wildlife exploitation in general as well as on the three case study species. In-depth interviews also focused attention on select stakeholders with an existing understanding toward the case study species. This combination of methods was essential to gain specific as well as in-depth and descriptive information to answer the research questions. Together, 162 public surveys and 35 expert interviews were conducted. Table 1 shows how these methodological approaches relate to the three research questions.

Table 1. Approach used to investigate each research question

Research questions	**Primary data collection**		
	Quantitative data	**Qualitative data**	
	Survey: 13,198 responses from 162 participants	Survey (long-answer): 380 responses from 68 participants	Interviews: 35 participants
Legal and moral standing: How is the consumption and trade of the species perceived in a legal and moral context?	✓ (moral and legal)	✓ (mostly moral focus)	✓ (mostly legal focus)
Trade motivation: What motivates trade and consumption of the species?		✓	✓
Harm recognition: How are harms relating to the trade and consumption of the species contextualised?	✓ (recognition)	✓ (contextualisation)	✓ (contextualisation)

To return to the conceptual framework, quantitative descriptions of crime are not typically favoured within green and cultural criminological scholarship, with the latter focussing explicitly on the nuanced meanings and individual, contextual interpretations of criminality (Ferrell *et al*., 2004; Lynch *et al*., 2017; Young, 2011). However, in defence of quantitative methods, Lynch *et*

al (2017) cautions that the tendency toward qualitative research in green criminological scholarship potentially limits the influence and scope of green criminological findings. Lynch *et al* (2017, p.4) further note that 'the neglect of quantitative work within green criminology is inconsistent with tendencies within orthodox criminology, and this creates a barrier between green and orthodox criminology that is not easily overcome'. There is certainly space within green criminological research to adopt a mixed methods pluralistic approach, championing the established (qualitative) traditions that enable green-cultural criminological scholarship to expand on orthodox ways of thinking (particularly relating to conceptions and descriptions of harm), while also benefitting from the strengths of quantitative descriptions.

Within this study quantitative information helps to define broad patterns of thinking around the prevalence of trade and consumption in each of the marine species, offering an insight into the pervasiveness of moral attitudes around harm and victimhood. This quantitative data is typically the sort of contextual information that is perceived to carry more weight, or 'explanatory edge' (Mason, 2006, p.16) when it comes to putting information to legislators. Although quantitative surveys are beneficial for gathering contextual information from a large subset of people, they can have a tendency to lack depth, as respondents are forced into a prescribed set of categorical answers (Bryman, 2016). In light of this, I have attempted to give a voice to survey participants by enabling them to elaborate on their answers through long-answer free-text options. At the end of the survey participants were also asked if they had anything else they would like to add, this allowed them to provide any additional information that they felt necessary. The survey information is also balanced by a broader qualitative approach (in-depth interview discussions), concentrating on perceptions, beliefs, and value ideologies. The following section will now describe the approach taken for primary data collection including the development of fictional narratives, the design of the survey, and conduction of interviews.

Primary data collection

Fictional empathetic narratives

To centralise the animal victim each case study chapter begins with a victim centred descriptive narrative. Much as an ethnographer would include feelings, experiences, and reflections as a form of primary data, these fictional narratives are presented as a form of fictional primary data (informed by the interviews and both academic and grey literature). The narratives build on a green-cultural and nonspeciesist criminological position and are guided by works within animal narratology and animal (auto)biography – which are mindful of human-animal entanglements and attentive to the cultural creation of attitudes toward non-humans through narrative design (DeMello, 2013; Herman, 2018; Jacobs, 2020; Krebber & Roscher, 2018). Similar narrative

approaches have been explored by ecofeminist writers and animal advocates to broaden ethical discussions on human-animal relationships (see: Hübben, 2013; Kheel, 2008; Slicer, 2014; Vance, 1995). More recently, works by philosophers Godfrey-Smith (2016) and Meijer (2019) advocate for greater attention and sensitivity to animal voices by reflecting on personal experiences and imagined animal narratives. Narrative and green-cultural criminologists have also expanded attention to the way narratives and stories shape action and reaction to environmental harms and crimes. For instance, Sollund (2019, p.28) draws from her personal experiences and shares stories through a self-reflective autoethnographic approach when describing her interactions with parrots, for example when stating – 'my parrots…have shown me through their presence and behaviour what trafficking victims experience'. In a similar vein, Bridgeland-Stephens (2020) intertwines a fictional narrative of a pangolin's journey (their abduction and trafficking) within a broader assessment of the illegal trade of pangolins.

Building on Malecki and colleagues (2019) assertion that fictional narratives that adopt an empathetic lens toward animals can persuade people to think differently about those animals described, the narrative approach adopted here acts as a means to centralise the nonspeciesist positionality and advocate for species justice and animal rights by directly empathising with the animal victim. When discussing the construction of animal narratives, Freeman, Bekoff and Bexell (2011, p.590) contend that 'other animals have interests, desires, thoughts, feelings, and points of view concerning what happens to them and that we can understand and explain their cognitive, emotional, and moral lives'. Furthermore, Vance (1995, p.240) states that 'the goal [of animal narratives] is not to make us care about animals because they are like us, but to care about them because they are themselves'. To avoid anthropomorphism, the narratives within the case studies follow Milton's (2005, p.261) egomorphic approach, moving away from anthropocentric descriptions of animals as '*human-like'* to focus instead on creating empathetic descriptions based on personal characteristics (for example reflecting on how *you* (a non-human animal), are '*like-me')*. Language is important here, particularly as the narratives attempt to recreate the lived position of an animal who does not share our human language. As such, these narratives draw from what is understood of the species' anatomy, natural history and behaviours and combine this with empathetic imaginative leaps to invite the reader to directly empathise with the lives of another species. Carson's (2007) 'Under the Sea-Wind' provided great inspiration here, as the book narrates the perspectives of a sanderling, a mackerel, and an eel combining both scientific and narrative languages. To represent an *authentic* animal voice these passages are framed from the vantage point of the animal using a direct, third-person narrative, whereby the narrator is not a character, and the nonhuman protagonist is nonverbal (Herman, 2018; Keen, 2006).

Public surveys

Overview and sampling strategy

The survey titled 'Consumption of marine meat: where do we draw the line' acts as an umbrella over each of the case studies. It included general questions on seafood consumption as well as questions on each of the case study species. It was published online (www.marinewildlifesurvey.com) and made publicly available between March 2020 and January 2021. Three versions of the survey were produced in English, Spanish, and Norwegian (for the English version see Appendix 1). The Norwegian translation was made to connect with Norwegian locals regarding the minke whale case study, similarly the Spanish version was made as it is the dominant language spoken throughout the Caribbean (queen conch range) and also opens up the survey to participants in Spain where Atlantic bluefin tuna fishing is commonplace. The survey was directly sent to potentially interested groups via email and advertised on social media platforms (Twitter, Facebook, Reddit, and the survey site 'Call for Participants'). These survey responses capture random participants, representative of the groups of people with access to an internet connection and of those who are interested in the topic.

By the end of the study period, the survey received 162 responses from 24 countries. Of these, 147 were completed in English, 15 in Spanish and 2 in Norwegian. Figure 5 shows the demographics relating to those who responded, including their dietary preferences, age, and location. While the responses cover every continent, a greater proportion of participants were from Europe (in particular the UK) and there were very few responses from within Asia (a language barrier may have limited visibility here). More of the respondents were women (62%), of which meat eaters and flexitarians comprised over half the group. Overall, 46% of all respondents identified as meat eaters, 23% as flexitarians, 13% as vegetarian, 8% as vegan, 7% as pescatarian, and 3% as 'other'. The majority of respondents were between 18 and 29 years of age.

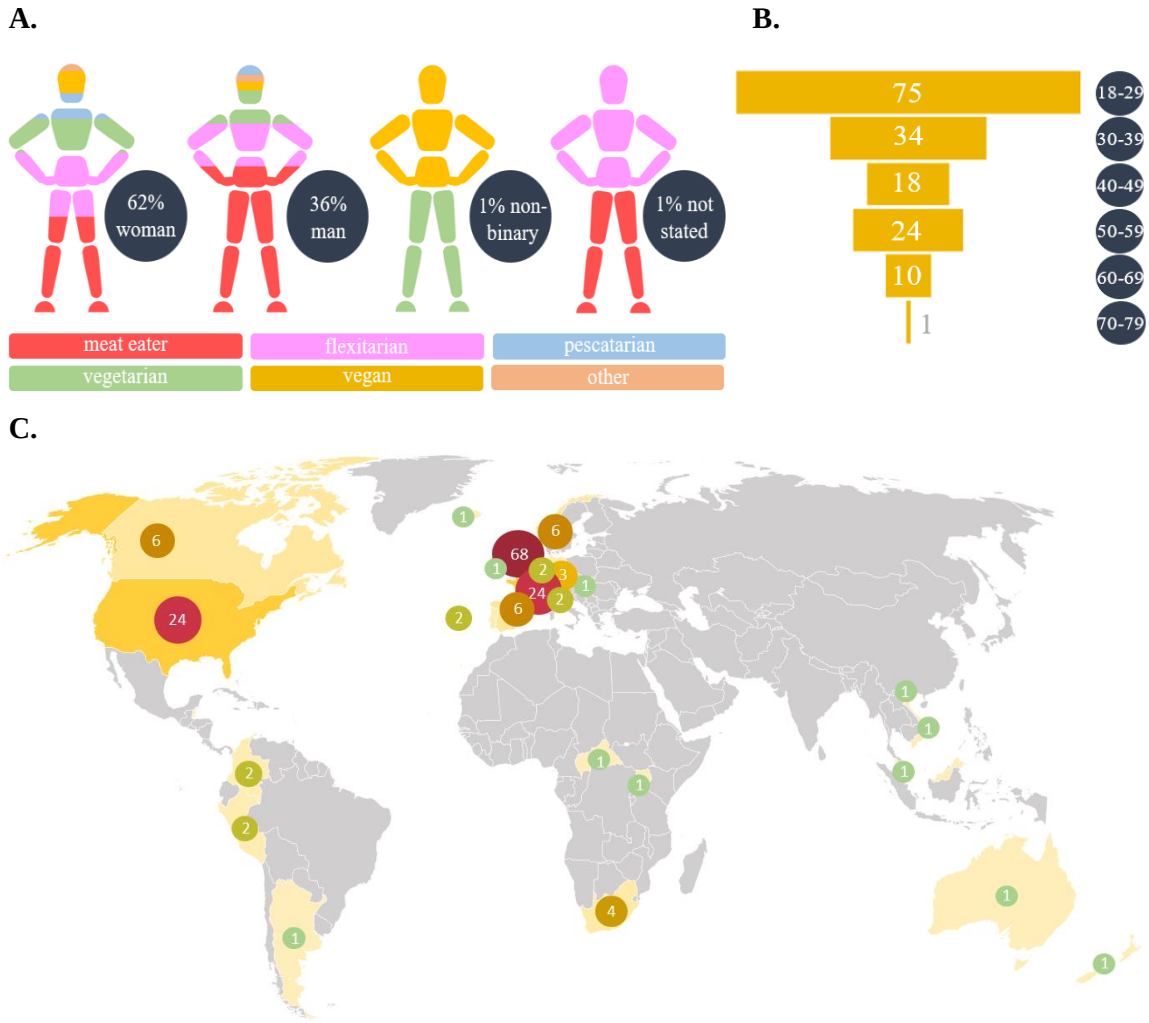

Figure 5. Survey response demographics. Showing (A) division of gender and food preferences, (B) age distribution, and (C) the location of respondents.

Survey design

The survey was formed in three parts. The first section included a brief series of demographic questions, this was followed by a series of questions on views towards the consumption and conservation of marine species in general. After this, questions focussed on the three case study species in more detail. An outline of the survey design and how this relates to the research questions is given in Figure 6.

Demographics

- Country of residence and country of birth.
- Gender.
- Dietary preferences (meat eater/vegetarian etc.).
- Age.

Legal and moral

Overview:

- Views on management including level of speciesist attitudes and agreement with cultural/Western norms.
- Level of 'moral acceptability' of eating marine wildlife.

Case study species focus:

- Acceptability of continued trade (locals, Indigenous, everybody).
- Management question repeated (wording changed) *.
- Is level of protection adequate?

*Additional details for each species given part way through

Trade motivation

Overview:

- Eating preferences and frequency of eating various marine species.
- Similarity of eating preferences with peers.

Case study species focus:

- Personal views on eating each species.
- Sensitive questioning: has someone they know eaten the species or brought the meat into the country?
- Unmatched count technique.

Harm recognition

Overview:

- Views on wildlife as 'food'.
- Influences on decision making (e.g., rarity, welfare, intelligence, sustainability).

Case study species focus:

- Perceptions of species (wildlife/food).
- Conservation awareness (risk of extinction, level of protection).

Figure 6. Survey question themes.

1. Legal and moral judgements

Perceptions of legality

As discussed previously, defining what is legal and illegal within wildlife trade can be heavily influenced by speciesist attitudes. CITES definitions of legal/illegal trade also have the potential to reflect Western concepts of wildlife value and conservation ideals. To evaluate legal perceptions (central to the first research question), a series of questions targeting speciesist ideologies and self-identification with Western norms of wildlife conservation were asked throughout the survey.

While there are numerous scales attempting to measure speciesism, Caviola, Everett and Faber (2019) suggest that many often end up measuring beliefs and attitudes towards animals rather than the level of speciesist thinking (e.g., perceiving humans as having a higher moral status on the basis of species membership). In light of this, the speciesism questions used in this study have been adapted from Caviola, Everett and Faber's (2019) 'Speciesism Scale' (see Table 2, statements 1-5) and Herzog, Betchart and Pittman's (1991) 'Animal Attitudes Scale' (statements 6-8). The wording has been slightly modified to focus on marine species. The statements include a mixture of both 'concrete' and 'abstract' beliefs. Concrete beliefs are those that endorse specific speciesist attitudes e.g. 'I think it is perfectly acceptable for fish to be farmed for human consumption' (statement 8). Abstract beliefs are those that are not specific e.g., 'humans have the right to use animals however they want to' (statement 2) and could have multiple interpretations.

Table 2. Measuring speciesist attitudes.

List of statements, questions 1-5 adapted from Caviola, Everett & Faber (2019), questions 6-8 adapted from Herzog, Betchart & Pittman (1991). Responses are scaled: 1 (strongly disagree) – 5 (strongly agree), (*) reverse scoring.
1. Morally, animal interests will always count for less than human interests. **2.** Humans have the right to use animals however they want to (e.g., for food, medicine, resources). **3.** It is morally acceptable to hunt wild animals for sport. **4.** It is morally acceptable to trade animals like possessions. **5.** Intelligent animals like chimpanzees and dolphins should have basic legal rights (e.g., a right to life and protection from torture). ***** **6.** I think it is perfectly acceptable for marine wildlife to be farmed for human consumption. **7.** The killing of whales for food should be stopped even if it means some people will lose their jobs and way of life. ***** **8.** I do not think there is anything wrong with hunting wild animals for human nutrition.

Questioning agreeability to Westernised conservation and management norms is a slightly more delicate task. To understand how respondents align their views with Western norms the survey sought to understand where participants placed on a purely protectionist (preservation) to ecosystem-services orientated (instrumental-value) conservation scale. To do this, a series of questions concerning the different management that the participant feels *should* be in place for each species was asked (Table 3). Questions 1 to 3 focus on agreeability with internationally organised wildlife conservation policies, as these can be critiqued for repeating colonial practices (power over people) (Duffy, 2010; Sollund & Runhovde, 2020). The fourth question focusses on the protection of ideals and norms within groups and is reverse scored (protection of marginalised voices). The final questions (5 and 6) focus on support for the exploitation of wildlife, this can be viewed as agreeability with anthropocentric trade mechanisms (power over wildlife). These questions, combined with the speciesism scale, have been used to assess the participants' alignment with a CITES position which views wildlife as exploitable commodities (an anthropocentric position), and by this architecture amplifies perspectives toward wildlife exploitation that originate within wealthy, industrialised (Northern) countries (Roe, 2002; Sollund & Runhovde, 2020). For both of these scales (speciesism and Western agreeability), respondents' answers have been scored on a scale from one to five (where one equals strong disagreement and five demonstrates strong agreement to the statements).

Table 3. Agreeability with Western norms

List of statements, (*) denotes reverse scoring
1. National governments should focus more on marine wildlife conservation. **2.** There needs to be international agreements to protect wildlife from over-exploitation. **3.** It is our responsibility to protect wildlife, even if it is not in our own country. **4.** Traditional and cultural practices around using marine wildlife should be preserved. ***** **5.** If there is a high demand for a certain species trade should be enabled to continue **6.** People have always eaten seafood and it is important that this continues.

Morality judgements

Also central to the first research question is how participants perceive the moral acceptability of consuming marine wildlife. To gauge this, participants were asked to state how 'morally acceptable' they considered eating different marine species. They were asked for their views on typically common-place 'food' species (salmon and oyster), less-common or potentially socially stigmatised (as a food) species (dolphin, eel, crocodile), and the three case study species (minke whale, queen conch, and Atlantic bluefin tuna). It was decided not to define what was meant by morality so as not to impose a definition on participants, but to try and capture their own moral perspectives relating to 'wildlife' and 'food' consumption. Visual prompts were used throughout

the survey (see Appendix 1). For instance, when asking about eating preferences, two pictures were placed side by side, one of the animal in their natural environment and another depicting the meat/food derived from the animal. These were included so that if a participant was not readily familiar with the species, they at least had a visual representation of them. The images were also intended to convey to the participant that these species are both a wild animal *and* utilised as a food resource to make both of these realities visible. These morality-centred questions were central for conceptualising the participants backgrounds and beliefs about nature, conservation, and wildlife exploitation. Asking questions on wildlife outside of the three case studies also helped to provide additional context, for example if the person had never heard of the queen conch but was familiar with oysters.

2. Trade motivation

Sensitive questioning – trade and consumption

Sensitive questions were included throughout the survey to gather information on the consumptive choices of both participants and the wider community. It is recognised that many people involved in deviant or unpopular behaviours may be hesitant to readily discuss them. To counter this, indirect questioning circumvents the potential for 'social desirability bias' by asking people about the behaviours of others (Fisher, 1993). This line of questioning is ethically more preferable as it does not directly ask the participant about information that might incriminate, shame, or embarrass them. The survey initially asked participants how their dietary choices reflected those of their friends, family, and peers. This is a fairly innocuous question and adds additional context to their lifestyle choices. Later in the survey, questions such as: 'how likely do you think it is that someone you know has eaten this species?' and 'if it is not available to buy where you live, do you know anyone that has ever brought meat from this species into the country?' were asked. By asking participants to report on the actions (or supposed actions) of people they know, this enabled an understanding of the perceived norms (or behaviours) within the participants' wider community. These perceived norms may additionally reflect the participants own behaviour, which could potentially lead to a magnification of reporting on the sensitive behaviour (Jo, 2000).

Unmatched count technique

Due to the potentially incriminating nature of asking participants to self-report consumption of species that are protected, or known to be illegally traded, the 'unmatched count technique' (UCT) was also included in the survey (see Dalton, Wimbush & Daily 1994). The UCT has been used in numerous wildlife trade related studies to estimate levels of illicit behaviour within a population (Fairbrass 2012; Nuno *et al*. 2013; Razafimanahaka *et al*. 2012; Solomon *et al*. 2007). The method asks participants to state how many statements from a list applied to them, this ensures participant

anonymity as it is not possible to identify which statements the participant is counting (Ahart & Sackett, 2004; Fox, 2016). Here, the UCT only focussed on the illegal trade/consumption of the minke whale and the queen conch as both are regulated by CITES and subject to illegal trade. It was decided not to use the UCT for the Atlantic bluefin tuna case as trade is not regulated by CITES. The UCT required a 'control' and a 'treatment' group. As there were two sets of sensitive questions (minke whale and queen conch) the questions were run as a double list (see Figure 7). For this, two identical versions of the survey were produced, each containing one sensitive and one control question. A screening page was added to the beginning of the survey to randomise which version the participant answered (with approximate 50% probability).

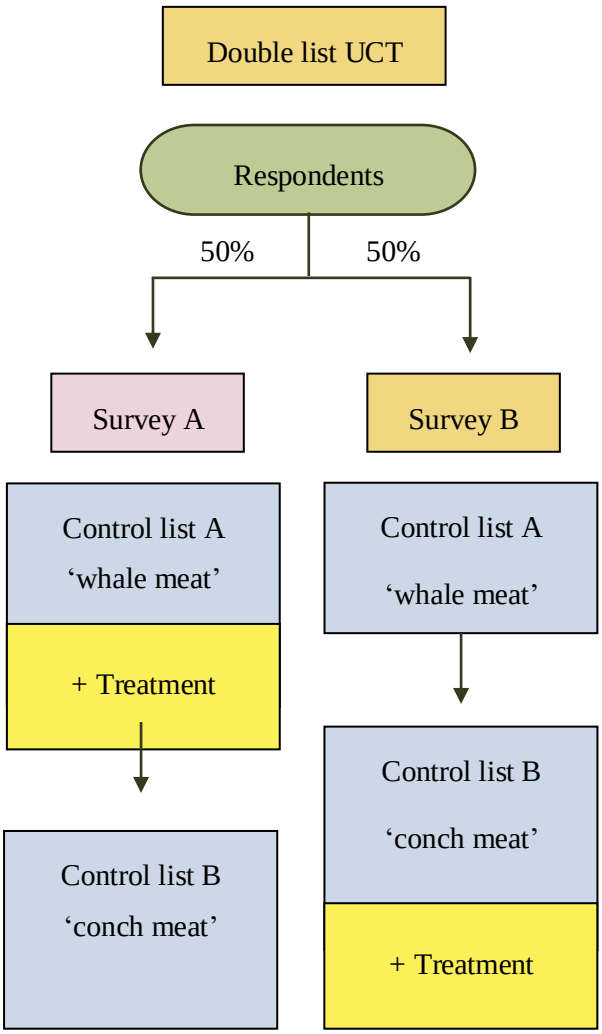

Figure 7. Grouping of sensitive and non-sensitive questions across the two surveys.

Hinsley *et al.* (2019) recommends that no more than five items are used in each behaviour list, this allows for greater statistical accuracy as well as for participant ease and understanding. For the list of statements used see Table 4. Statements in the control group were all legal and fairly innocuous (e.g., I have been fishing, either recreationally or for food), whereas the treatment

group contained a single statement targeting the sensitive behaviour (e.g., 'I have eaten whale meat outside of Norway, Iceland and Japan', or 'I have personally brought queen conch meat into the country without official permits'). To avoid respondents choosing all the statements on the list, a pair of negatively associated statements was included – e.g., 'I have seen queen conch for sale' and 'I have never been to the Caribbean'. Respondents that answer 'yes' to one of these statements are unlikely (but not certain) to answer 'no' to the other statement (Glynn, 2013; Hinsley *et al*., 2019). This should prevent participants from outrightly admitting to the sensitive behaviour by stating that all activities apply to them (Hinsley *et al*., 2019).

Table 4. Control and treatment lists for the UCT. Direct questions have been used to capture the prevalence of the illicit behaviour opposed to the perceived prevalence within the participants social group. (*) denotes the pair of negatively associated questions.

Control list A: Minke whale focus		Control list B: Queen conch focus	
Control group	Treatment group	Control group	Treatment group
I have been whale watching *	I have been whale watching *	I have kept fish (or other marine animals) as pets	I have kept fish (or other marine animals) as pets
I have been fishing, either recreationally or for food	I have been fishing, either recreationally or for food	I have brought or prepared fish (to eat) in the last 12 months	I have brought or prepared fish (to eat) in the last 12 months
I have attended a food festival that served seafood	I have attended a food festival that served seafood	I have never been to the Caribbean*	I have never been to the Caribbean*
I have never seen a whale in real life *	I have never seen a whale in real life *	I have seen queen conch for sale*	I have seen queen conch for sale*
	I have eaten whale meat outside of Norway, Iceland, and Japan		I have brought queen conch meat into the country without official permits

3. Harm recognition

Perceptions of each species

To understand how participants conceptualised harm and victimisation, numerous questions focussed on eliciting an expansion of participant experiences and views around the consumption of each species. In particular, one of the survey questions provided a list of descriptive words and asked participants to select three that they felt best described the species. Options included 'food' related words (e.g., delicious, gross, tasty) and affectionate/value laden words (e.g., majestic, vulnerable, cute). They were also able to self-describe or add terms if they wished. Participants were additionally asked their views on trade and conservation matters, for example how threatened they believed each species to be, whether the species is protected, and how important they believed conservation of the species was. Now that the survey design has been described in detail, the following section introduces the approach taken within the interviews.

Expert interviews

Overview of approach

Interview outreach took place simultaneously to the survey and enabled participants to engage on their terms, sharing information that was relevant and important to them. To ensure a dynamic and representative group I attempted to reach out to representatives from four diverse sectors, namely, 1: governing bodies, 2: socio-cultural groups, 3: fishery groups and 4: conservation and research groups. Each sector was further divided into related sub-fields (see Figure 8). This framework strategy enabled a range of actors with different political persuasions and views on conservation practice to be identified and included in the discussion. Broadly speaking the interviews encompass those who have either direct involvement in the trade (expert stakeholders, supra and/or international bodies, fishers, local community groups etc.) or indirect involvement (law enforcement officers, customs officials, conservation organisations etc.). This balance is particularly important as the study is ultimately a victim centred investigation of CITES interventions, therefore the compiled viewpoints from each of the above groups will help to evaluate the impact of legislation at the species level and understand how each species is valued (intrinsically, instrumentally, or otherwise), by different interested and involved sectors.

Enlisting participants

Interview participants were initially contacted via email and provided with context on the study. Some participants were also contacted through online forums, including Facebook (both public and private groups), Twitter, and message boards e.g., travel, culinary, and conservation orientated (this was particularly relevant for the socio-cultural sector). If willing to participate, they were then invited to interview. In total thirty-five semi-structured interviews were conducted. The majority of these were an hour in duration, however some were longer depending on the interviewees' availability, and one was approximately half an hour long. All interviews were conducted virtually, either online via MS teams, Zoom, or Skype (according to preference), by phone, or in some cases by email. A set list of questions was devised, however as the interviews were semi-structured in nature these questions were flexible to respond to the interviewee (additionally, some questions were not always relevant depending on the interviewee's background). Overall, ten interviews were carried out with participants from the governing body sector, six each were within the socio-cultural and fishery sector, and thirteen were with conservation and research professionals.

GOVERNING BODIES	SOCIO-CULTURAL	FISHERY	CONSERVATION + RESEARCH
National enforcement and legislation	Community outreach groups	Fishers – livelihoods	NGOs
International management organisations	Education and awareness	Monitoring and impact of legislation	Scientists
Supranational bodies e.g., CITES	Alternate industry/ livelihoods	Businesses and traders	Other conservation groups

Figure 8. Interview planning framework.

Overview of each interview sector

Governing body sector

Experts within relevant governing bodies (i.e., Fishery Departments involved in the implementation of CITES, or ICCAT for the Atlantic bluefin tuna) were approached for information on how trade legislation is nationally implemented and enforced. To gauge the impact of CITES and perspectives towards conservation and/or management, participants were also asked for their views on the response from local fishers and communities. Governance within Norway became the focus within the minke whale case study as the country is a major exporter of whale meat to Japan. Interviews were sought with government officials; however, none were available for comment. Of the thirty-four government representatives approached for the second case study (encompassing all the queen conch range-countries), responses were received from five individuals within governmental fishery departments (including Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Honduras, and Jamaica). For the third case study, representatives from ICCAT were approached and two interviews were carried out with members from Canada and Japan. When including international and supranational organisations, a total of ten interviews were conducted within this sector throughout the three case studies.

Socio-cultural sector

This group included representatives from outreach organisations working with local communities, for example conservation awareness campaigns, historical or cultural groups, and education initiatives. Direct consumers were also approached to understand their motivations framed within a local context. Consumers were mainly approached through social media channels and invited to interview, with some referrals occurring. A total of six interviews took place within this sector and added a wealth of information into the lived realities surrounding the species' exploitation. This provided an interesting departure from the procedural and scientific reflection on CITES that often arose within the other interview sectors and shone a light on how regulations impact (or not) people in their everyday lives. Of the six interviews within this sector, one was focussed on the minke whale case, three were within the queen conch case, and two were on the Atlantic bluefin tuna case.

Fishery sector

Early on in the interview outreach it became apparent that many fishers were unwilling or unsure about participating in the study. In the queen conch case, it was suggested that this was due to lack of trust in researchers and a belief that any research conducted would act to impose more regulations on them. This was a significant concern considering the Southern criminological departure for this research. To try and combat this, fishers (and fishing groups) were approached carefully, with the assistance of gatekeepers who had also themselves been interviewed.

Approaching the topic and questions sensitively was very important when interviewing fishers. Especially considering the focus on wildlife as victims, which could potentially have created undue animosity before the interview even began. Framing the research questions in a positive way was crucial for fostering engagement with fishers, for example asking, 'how have fishery regulations affected you?' rather than 'have you ever caught conch during a closed season?'. These interviews started very broadly with open and approachable questions, before narrowing in focus. As the study is predominantly interested in perceptions of harm towards the wildlife individual, I broadly asked questions about how regulations were perceived (positively or negatively) and focussed on individual motivations behind their work. Of the six interviews within this sector, one focussed on the minke whale case, two focussed on the queen conch, and three on the Atlantic bluefin tuna. Unfortunately, no direct whaling companies/fishers responded to the request to interview, however one industry representative did discuss whaling in regard to management interventions.

Conservation and research sector

Conservation groups and researchers were key for providing a view of the species level threat from exploitation, as well the perceived level of concern for each species. Conservation groups potentially have a very strong influence on the conservation narrative and power over consumer choices. As discussed in Chapter 2 CITES decisions are often highly political, while only member parties can vote on policies there is much debate over the role of powerful NGOs in influencing side-events and lobbying for particular causes (Adams & Mulligan, 2003; Challender & MacMillan, 2019). For this reason, understanding the motivations (and credentials) behind the major NGOs work for each of the species was essential (this ties in with Northern-centric criticisms of conservation practice and the necessity for the inclusion of Southern epistemologies). Within this sector, three interviews were carried out for the minke whale case, five for the queen conch case, and seven for the Atlantic bluefin tuna case (with two of these interviews spanning multiple cases).

Question themes

The interviews provided an in-depth picture of the impact of CITES (and/or other legislation) implementation and the consequences for the direct animal victims of the trade. Questions naturally varied by interview group; however, in each interview participants were encouraged to talk in detail about their specific experience and motivations behind their work as well as any obstacles and barriers they had encountered. It was important to understand the interviewees' personal experiences with the species and their views on the species' commodification as a food resource including what most concerned them about the trade (if anything). Discussion was broadly split between the three research questions (see below). All interviews were recorded and

transcribed before being comparatively analysed for common themes, opposing viewpoints and motivations (described later in this chapter).

Overview of question themes categorised by research questions.

- How is trade described and represented?
- How is the killing/harvesting of the animal perceived?
- Is there any discussion of illegal activity?
- Are there any issues/conflicts surrounding trade/fishery management?

- What is the impact of intervening measures (CITES/ICCAT) on the species, fishers, traders, and consumers?
- What is the availability of the species (as food)?
- How is the sale of the meat perceived?
- What motivates people to buy (or not) the species?

- What does the trade/conservation of the species mean to the interviewee personally (or their organisation)?
- What are the main concerns regarding the species?
- How effectively is CITES (or other trade measures) enforced?
- How is conservation of the species portrayed?

Secondary data collection

To gain a greater understanding of market dynamics and consumer preferences quantitative data was also compiled from a range of secondary sources. These secondary sources include documents from CITES (including: 1. Conference of Parties (CoP) proposals and in-session discussion documents – https://cites.org/eng/meetings/cop as well as 2. trade data records maintained by UNEP-WCMC – https://trade.cites.org/). In addition, documents from relevant national government and fishery management archives were also useful (including: 1. the FAO's fishery statistics database 'FishStatJ' – http://www.fao.org/fishery/statistics/software/fishstatj/en, 2. the North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission's (NAMMCO) catch database – https://nammco.no/topics/catch-database/, 3. the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT) catch bulletins and records repositories – https://iccat.int/en/pubs_sbull.html, and 4. species population reports from the IUCN Red List https://www.iucnredlist.org/). I will now give a general overview of these sources.

Trade databases

CITES trade database

Reports from the CITES trade database have helped build a picture of the dynamics of international trade in each species over time. CITES trade reports can be downloaded to a high degree of specificity. For example, specific reports can be generated for any given timeframe, using appropriate trade 'terms', 'purposes' and 'sources'. For example, 'meat' (trade term), 'commercial' (purpose), and 'seized' (source). These records can additionally be generated to show net or gross international trade and relationships between origin, importing, and exporting countries. While they do provide a reasonable record of international trade, they are often limited by incomplete data (missing details), and it is not clear whether all seizures/confiscations are reported to CITES (D'Cruze & Macdonald, 2016). Additionally, confiscations that are reported may be resulting from issues with invalid permits and not necessarily reflective of illegal trade (Musing, 2021).

CITES trade and seizure data was assessed for both the minke whale and the queen conch for the period 2000-2018. Reports were then proofed for consistency so that meaningful comparisons could be made. This mostly involved synchronising the trade quantity units which were recorded in numerous scales (e.g., 'g', 'kg', 'sets', 'pairs', 'cases', 'cm^2'). All records that could be converted into kilograms were summarised and those records without units were excluded from calculations. This provided a figure for the total recorded trade (bearing in mind the questionable accuracy described above). Critically, a lot of information was unaccounted for as many trade records were missing measurement units. To try and capture these records, whenever the unit measurement was left blank the data was presumed to have been recorded in the measurement unit defined by CITES. For instance, CITES specifies that all 'meat' products should be recorded in kilograms (CITES, 2019d). This enabled a loose calculation for *potential* trade. This figure comes with a high level of uncertainty as it could incorrectly include records that were measured in smaller/larger units and either under or over-estimate these records. As such, while these trade records can provide useful data on patterns in trade, they must be interpreted with caution due to the errors and inconsistencies in reporting. To provide further context here, additional data sources have also been analysed for comparison with CITES trade records, detailed next.

ICCAT data

The International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT) have a statistical database and keep records of ICCAT fishing vessels and farming facilities as well as transhipment details and Joint Fishing Operation (JFO) records. The database also holds information on illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) vessel sightings. Although this is somewhat sporadic it

provides an insight into the name, owner, and location of the IUU vessel. Additional catch records are also kept detailing fish size, tagging statistics, and fish densities.

NAMMCO

This database contains records of minke whale catch for NAMMCO member countries (the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Iceland, and Norway). It includes country level details on the number of individual whales who were hunted, which area (stock) they belonged to, and the year they were hunted.

FishStatJ

FishStatJ is the FAO's repository for fishery and aquaculture statistics and contains timeseries datasets for marine species who are commercially exploited. Within this application is a record of 'Global fishery and aquaculture production statistics' for each of the case study species. Capture (production) of both the queen conch and the Atlantic bluefin tuna are reported in tonnes (live weight), whereas the minke whale is reported by number of individuals. Now that all forms of data collection have been described, the chapter turns to the process taken for data analysis.

Data analysis

Survey analysis

The quantitative element of the survey (e.g., Likert scale and 'yes'/ 'no' answers) lent itself to descriptive statistical analysis (e.g., central tendency: mean, median, mode and variability: variance, minimum/maximum values). This was carried out using Microsoft Excel 365. Similarly, the analysis of CITES and other trade data was relatively straightforward as it was freely available to download online and was investigated using Excel. The long survey answers were also analysed in Excel, first categorising responses by common topics and then grouping these into overarching themes.

The UCT questions were analysed in R version 4.0.3 (R Core Team, 2020) using the 'list' package (version 9.2) developed specifically to statistically analyse UCT experiments (Blair & Imai, 2010). An overview of the analysis is given here, for a complete description of the statistical procedures see Blair & Imai, 2012. To summarise, the UCT works on the assumption that the inclusion of the sensitive statement in the treatment list does not impact the number of control statements that participants admit to, meaning that there are *no design effects* between groups. This method also assumes that respondents do not give misleading responses or lie when reporting how many statements apply to them. Design effects were tested for using the 'ict.test' function in the 'list' package. This statistical test correlates the estimated proportions from both groups (control and treatment) and provides a Bonferroni-corrected *p*-value which evidences the existence (or not) of design effects (note the null hypothesis is 'no design effect'). Evidence for

design effects can be seen when the *p*-value is less than the significance level (0.05) divided by two (α / 2). For both cases (minke whale and queen conch) the *p*-values confirmed the absence of design effects at 0.39 and 1 respectively.

As the assumption for no design effects has been confirmed, the difference in means between the control and treatment groups provides an estimate for the proportion of respondents who would admit to the sensitive statement. This was assessed using the 'ictreg' function in the 'list' package. However, there were some inconsistencies in implementation, possibly due to the small sample size which limited the statistical accuracy for conducting multivariate regression analysis. Of the 162 people who completed the survey, 85 were directed to Survey A (minke whale treatment, queen conch control) and 77 to Survey B (queen conch treatment, minke whale control). This is on the smaller side for estimating multivariate relationships between the participants individual UCT responses and their other responses throughout the survey. However, stronger results were seen for the queen conch case. This allowed for a simpler form of analysis (estimated proportions of responses) to be calculated, providing a description of the joint and predicted responses across both the control and treatment groups.

Qualitative interview analysis

For the most part I transcribed the interviews on the same day or in the days following, however on some occasions multiple interviews were conducted in a short space of time and this delayed the transcriptions slightly. I then read and re-read each transcription in full, each time making and refining notes to become deeply familiar with the content and the perspectives of the participants. I also followed up on some interviews to check my interpretation and ask any follow up questions. I then used NVivo-12 software to carry out a thematic content analysis of the combined interviews (see: Joffe & Yardley, 2004). The analysis of this data had multiple steps. The interviews were first organised into 'sets' by interview sector, each interview was then managed as an individual 'case'. The interview transcripts were repeatedly analysed to identify concepts relating to the research questions (perceptions of crime and law, moral judgements, consumption or trade motivations, perceptions of harm, and victim visibility). Emerging concepts were assigned a code (listed as free nodes within NVivo) which were framed around the original phrasing from the interview transcripts. This process was repeated until no new codes were identified. Following this, these codes were linked back to themes within the research questions (listed as tree nodes within NVivo). For a map of the coding classifications see Figure 9. During this stage I was primarily interested in understanding the participants' perspectives and underlying value orientations. I focussed on how participants internalised and framed the three research areas (how they conceptualised harm and victimhood for each of the species) and looked for areas of convergence or linkages between themes.

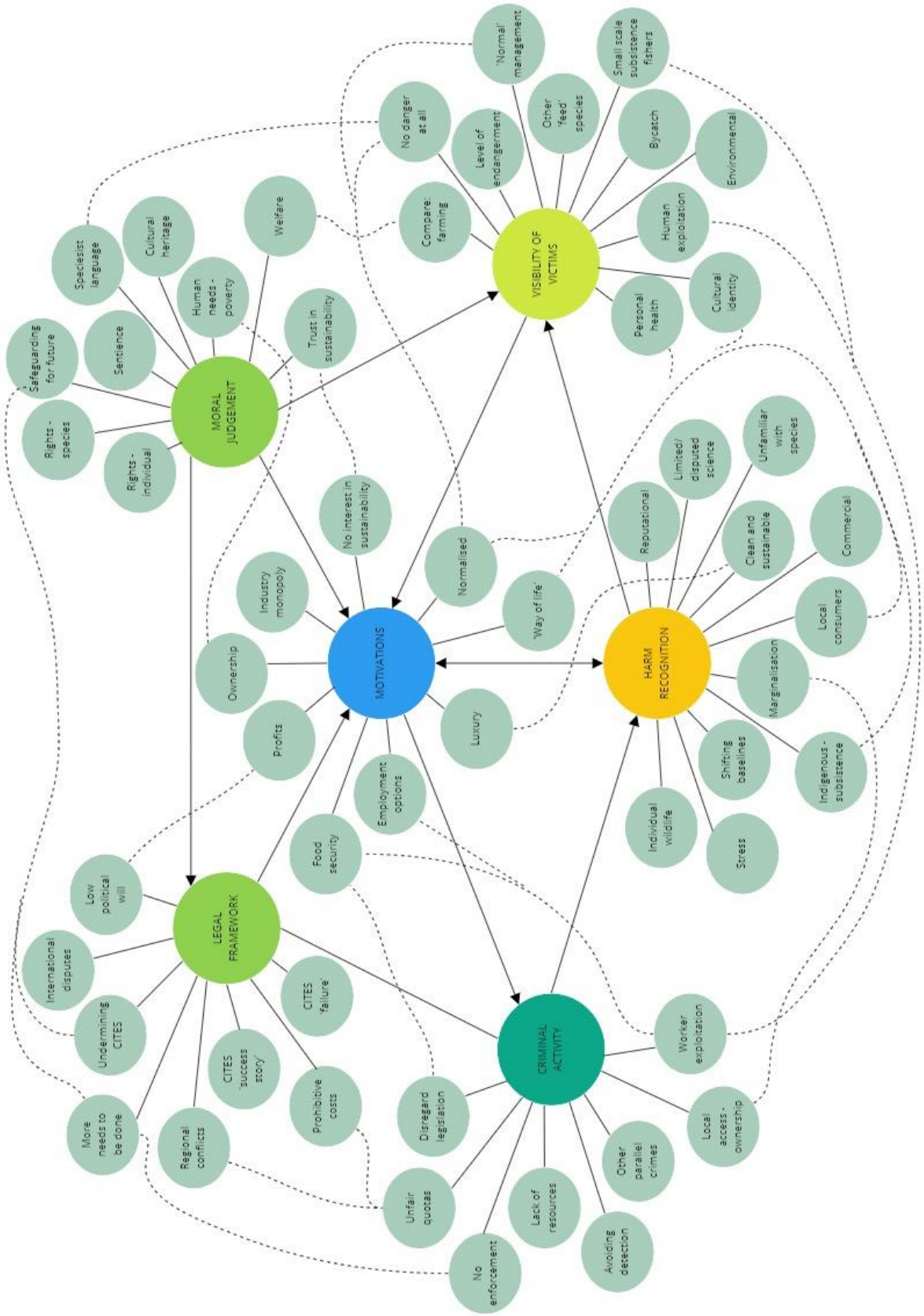

Figure 9. Conceptual map of themes arising from the interviews. Due to the number of categories and free nodes only the most frequent emerging themes are presented in this map (those that repeatedly occurred in conversation between multiple interviewees).

Ethical issues

Ethical approval for this research was granted by the Northumbria University Ethics Committee (Department of Social Sciences) prior to any research taking place (approval date: November 2019, reference: 18001). As the situation changed over the course of the data collection period (at the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic), the proposed research adapted to take place online and as such the methodology was adapted and ethical approval updated (approval date May 2020, reference: 18001).

Privacy, confidentiality, and consent

All participants in the online survey were provided with a brief description of the research aims and agreed for their responses to be used as part of the study. They were also advised that they could withdraw at any time (not complete the study) and were provided with my contact details should they have any concerns. While the survey responses were anonymous, participants were able to identify themselves or provide a contact email if they wished to be contacted about further participation in the study. Otherwise, all other survey responses were completely anonymous.

Interview participants were first approached via email and the nature of the study was described to them. If they agreed to take part in an interview a participant information sheet and consent form was sent to them. They then had an opportunity to ask any questions about the research before committing to the interview. Some interviewees requested to view any written work (prior to publication) that referenced them so that they could check that nothing potentially sensitive was being revealed. When direct quotes were used in the reporting of results participants were again approached to confirm their consent. None of the quoted material personally identifies the participants; however (when agreed upon), details of a participants' affiliation or background have been given for context. All names used in the text are pseudonyms and all quotations (from interviews) have been gathered from our personal communications. All research notes were secured with password protection and saved on the secure University U-drive and server (via home connection while working from home). No hard copies of any personal identifying information were produced.

Additional ethical considerations

The topic of research involves the killing and consumption of marine wildlife and so may have caused some distress to participants. To alleviate this, both survey and interview participants were made aware of the research topic so that they could give informed consent. Survey participants were also asked (through the sensitive surveying methods) about potentially illegal activities relating to the consumption of marine wildlife. While this could have caused some distress, this

was alleviated through the choice of method (UCT) which enabled participant anonymity to be maintained.

As discussed in the positionality statement at the onset of this chapter, there is a tension that arises from my own nonspeciesist standpoint and the recognition, without prejudice, of the validity and reality of viewpoints from those who consume wildlife. This dynamic must also be situated within the historical and colonial context that underpins and maintains wildlife markets (Collins et al., 2021). To draw from the Southern criminological foundation, Brown (2021) considers how Global North – Global South interactions navigate between power, knowledge, location, history, and cultural divides. Here, Brown (2021, p.452) champions ethical engagement, dialogue, and reflexive approaches within criminological research to enable a recognition of the 'double-sided character of well-meaning judgement and…[raise] awareness of the delicate line dividing well-meaning judgement from practices of domination'.

To contemplate this from an ethical perspective and to improve the validity of the research, it has been important to develop trusting and respectful relationships and to actively listen to those I have interviewed. This also requires an acknowledgement of (and sensitivity toward) my position as a white Western researcher and the potential power dynamics within some of the interviews. Within the interviews I strived to create a relaxed conversational tone, aware that my presence and positionality could impact the responses I was given. I sought to understand the social and ecological realities surrounding each of the case study species' exploitation and in most instances this approach worked well with interviewees open to discussing their knowledge and experiences. When the conversation shifted towards the harm experienced by each species there was a pattern of either – confusion (queen conch), dismissal (Atlantic bluefin tuna) or empathy (minke whale), but in all cases these questions were made easier to approach by first asking about the impact towards the individual I was interviewing, whether that was an economic, social, employment based, or personal. Giving the interviewees space to reflect on their own experiences in this way also helped to balance my own stance which focussed on the harms towards the animal victim. This helped to build on an eco-systemic viewpoint – that situates people, politics, and power relations – to recognise each element as interconnected for the purpose of conservation.

One aspect of the research that needed to be considered with particular ethical sensitivity was the fishery and socio-cultural sector interview groups. These groups both involved interviewing people that may have felt defensive about the research, or may also be marginalised (e.g., impoverished fishers) and would feel most strongly a power imbalance between myself as a researcher and them as a participant. When discussing the issue of imbalance between researchers and participants (particularly when they are marginalised or oppressed), Goyes (2019, p.54) describes the potential for arrogance emanating from Western scholars, here he quotes a rural

Colombian peasant who stated: ‘the academic model sees natives as objects that require technical advice because they know nothing’. Research then, is not a partnership, but a business. To address these criticisms, Goyes (2019) calls for academics (especially those in the Global North) to reformulate their approach to empower those that inform their research, and to recognise the value and ownership of knowledge that comes from the marginalised and oppressed. The attentiveness to the local realities of the marginalised that emanates from a Southern criminological approach recognises the validity (and plurality) of knowledge produced by oppressed and marginalised groups. With this in mind, I was careful not to approach interviews solely focussed on the issues surrounding speciesism and the victimisation of wildlife, but rather as an opportunity to reflect on and acknowledge the lived realities of those people who live in tandem with these species (often in exploitative relationships – but relationships borne from necessity and normalcy). Understanding the lived realities from these groups is arguably the most important aspect of the study, as they are directly impacted by trade regulations and would have the most to gain from conservation efforts to safeguard the species. Including the views and experiences from these groups helped to bridge the gap between my own ethical standpoint and theirs. By seeking out and including contrasting perspectives a more honest discussion can be had on our ethical and relational responsibilities towards wildlife while also acknowledging, recognising, and discussing the continued and combined marginalisation of people. This, I hope, adds to the legitimacy of the research findings.

Challenges and limitations

Methodological flexibility

Although a more immersive approach was originally planned (with observational research, photo elicitation, and opportunistic field-based interviews), the fieldwork was scheduled to take place in the spring/summer of 2020. In response to the global pandemic the research methodology was required to adapt. As such, online interviews and outreach replaced their in-person counterparts. This challenge of adapting research methodology in itself has been a great experiment, at a time when justifying the need for in-person field research to far-flung locations is becoming increasingly problematic, especially alongside calls for greater environmental responsibility and concern. Although in person fieldwork was an exciting possibility, by removing myself and seeking out interviews and conversations with people remotely, the study has gained a different kind of richness in detail and an honesty and openness of responses. Although establishing trust and common ground was sometimes challenging (through lack of in-person interaction), this too would have been a challenge face to face. Engagement with local communities and fishers in particular was made more difficult by moving online, particularly around scheduling a time when those fishers would be on land and with reliable internet/telephone connections. Another

inescapable limitation here lies in the limited collaboration with non-English speakers. This was particularly prominent for the queen conch case as many fishers speak Kriol or Spanish as their first language. These issues could potentially increase existing inequalities in regard to knowledge generation and have made equable participation and the inclusion of local perspectives a challenge. However, a benefit of an online approach must certainly be the reduction in long-distance travel and the building of working relationships remotely.

Further considerations

While using surveys provides participants with anonymity and a physical distance from potential researcher-led influence, there is still an issue of 'social desirability bias', namely, the desire to answer in a favourable way. This is an important consideration, especially as the survey asks people about (potentially) sensitive behaviours, potentially influencing respondents who do not want to admit to certain beliefs if these are not (perceived to be) shared amongst the participants' peers. The sensitive questioning and the UCT help to counter this. In addition, as participants choose themselves whether or not to take part in the research, there may also be an issue with 'self-selection' bias, where participants represent a group that are either already interested in the subject matter or have the free time and motivation to take part (Bethlehem, 2010).

Furthermore, as each case study is firmly focussed on the trade issues surrounding a single species, wider generalisations to other wildlife trades are not immediately possible. Therefore, the findings arising from this study (surrounding underlying consumer motivations and perspectives on value) will be different to the motivations behind the consumptive use of other wildlife. Motivations between people will also vary. As such, each case study reflects the value judgements of the people involved about the wildlife studied (within the current time) and are not readily applicable to other marine species. However, a greater understanding on the potential impacts of trade legislation and consumer responses may be possible through naturalistic generalisation (Lewis, 2013; Stake, 1995). Smith (2018) suggests that for greater engagement with study findings and generalisations with other experiences, it is important to include rich contextual details and quotations. In doing so, the reality of those studied can be constructed and expressed in such a way that is meaningful beyond the specific cases given. While, as discussed above, meaning is understood as a fluid creation between the researcher and participants, the inclusion of rich, contextual details lends itself to the possibility of transferability, where at the very least, some recommendations or lessons can be learnt from these examples and applied to other situations (Smith, 2018).

Conclusion

This chapter has described the methodological approach taken to answer the research questions. I first expanded on the use of a multiple-case study approach as a means to obtain in-depth and descriptive information surrounding each species' exploitation. I then described how each case is informed by a multi-methods approach, utilising both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. For the method design, I began with an overview of the fictional empathetic narratives, before introducing the approaches used within the survey and interviews. I outlined the approach to measure speciesism and Western agreeability, as well as the sensitive questioning and the UCT. Following this, I summarised the interview outreach process and outlined how these interviews contribute to answering the research questions. Secondary data sources have also been introduced. The chapter concluded by detailing the approach taken for data analysis and reflecting on potential ethical issues and challenges. The following chapter will present the findings of the first case study – the consumption and trade in the minke whale.

Chapter 5. The minke whale

Chapter overview

This chapter presents the results of the first case study, an investigation into the trade and exploitation of the CITES Appendix I listed Common (*Balaenoptera acutorostrata)* and Antarctic (*B. bonaerensis*) minke whale. As described in the previous chapter, each of the case study chapters begins with a victim vignette, acting to centralise the victimisation towards the individual at the point their life comes into contact with humans. Following this, the chapter is then divided into three parts according to each of the research questions. First, the chapter analyses the legal and moral perspectives surrounding the exploitation and trade of the species. I demonstrate how pro-whaling groups have sought to craft a space for the species' utilisation within CITES and describe how tolerance toward whaling appears constrained toward subsistence level exploitation. I then elaborate on the factors that motivate the trade and consumption of the species. Drawing from Ferrell and colleagues (2015a) invitation to foreground emotional experiences, I demonstrate how cultures of consumption are enveloped by feelings of enjoyment, normalcy, and sustainability. Finally, the chapter assesses the visibility of harm surrounding the species' exploitation. Here, I demonstrate the potential for speciesist hierarchies in the construction of victimhood and describe the combined potential for the victimisation and marginalisation of human groups. The chapter concludes with a summary of key findings, highlighting the potential issues of speciesism and the marginalisation of people surrounding the CITES Appendix I listing of the species, this resonates with both species and environmental justice concerns.

Victim vignette

The ocean breaks crisply about her, pooling across the whiskers on her snout as she quietly – and without much haste – listens for the muted calls of her next meal. There is a faint thrum about her [a boat's engine], gradually getting closer, but she is ignoring it for now. Lost in the mixture of other sounds about her, some familiar, others less so. She is following the trail of a nearby group [white-beaked dolphins], their chattering a sign that food may be close. As she moves onwards the rumble of the engine amplifies, its harsh resonance much closer to her now. Loud and monotonous, it resonates downwards about her – from those who crash and cry and dance dizzyingly in all directions, unaware of her path below. Disturbed, she dives and quickly changes direction, heading for deeper, less disturbed waters. The sound, while familiar, is unwelcome. As she speeds away the engine suddenly slows, but the weight of the boat and its heavy path above continues to surround her, although more faintly. She surfaces to breathe less frequently. Her search for food is forgotten, now she is focussed only on evading the oppressive presence from above. The sound of the engine returns. It is right up alongside her now. Its great expanse

dwarfing her small body and casting a deep shadow. The sudden loss of light, in already dark waters, combined with the monotonous din from above is disorientating. She barely breaches the surface, taking a breath only when she must, desperate to outpace the thing that follows her every direction. In an instant, a sharp searing bite explodes across her chest, pain ripples deep within her bones. She begins to roll sideways. Disorientated by the cacophony from the boat above, her fins flail as she attempts to right herself. While struggling, a second sharp collision hits her. With this, her world becomes silent, and the pain and exhaustion in her body drifts away.

Without wanting to put my own frame of reference on the lived experience of the minke whale and how they might perceive their place in the world, the passage above draws inspiration from animal-biographical writings, informed by what is known of the minke whales' sensory capabilities, life history, and biology (Herman, 2018; Małecki *et al*., 2019). Contextual information and inspiration has been drawn from the following – anatomy and behaviour: Ford & Reeves, 2008; Würsig, 2020; individuality and culture: Whitehead & Rendell, 2015; senses: Hirose, Kishida & Nakamura, 2018; Kishida *et al*., 2015; Reichmuth, Casey & Friedlaender, 2021; Roland, 2018; and on killing (whaling) techniques: Øen, 2021.

Introducing the contributors

This case study is supported by contributions from six expert interviews which have been grouped into: 1. governing body sector (one participant), 2. socio-cultural sector (one participant), 3. fishery sector (one participant), and 4. conservation and research sector (four participants). One interview additionally spanned two sectors.

First, within the governing body sector, I was fortunate to talk with Ellie. Ellie has formerly worked within a government CITES Scientific Authority and within NGOs. They have extensive experience in biodiversity conservation and wildlife trade and were able to talk in detail about the history and context of the minke whales' CITES listing. I also spoke at length with Rachel, who has over twenty years of field experience working with minke whales studying their habitat-use, site-fidelity, and feeding ecology. Rachel has also worked for many years with international audiences as an expedition guide in polar regions, giving them great insight into how the (paying) public perceives the species. As such, their interview falls within both the socio-cultural and the conservation and research sectors. In addition, I also spoke with Tomas (fishery sector), who has worked closely with the Japanese Fisheries Agency and was able to offer some context and insight toward Japanese perspectives on the consumption of minke whale meat. For the conservation and research sector, the chapter is supported by discussions with Martin, who has a background in whale ecology and sustainable management with the Institute of Marine Research in Norway. In

addition, both Ross and Nicola (researchers in marine biology and ecology who were interviewed for the other case studies) also offered their opinions and experiences here.

Along with these interviews, 162 people also responded to the online survey and their voices fill this chapter and provide insightful and interesting narratives around the perception of harm and victimhood surrounding the species. To preserve participant anonymity all names have been changed. Having introduced the contributors, the chapter turns to the first research question on legal and moral judgements surrounding the minke whale.

Part 1. Value judgements: legal and moral perspectives

The first section of this chapter considers attitudes towards the role of CITES regarding the species' management and exploitation. I describe how power relations within CITES support and reinforce the protectionist (Appendix I) approach, contrasted by the vocal pro-whaling groups which contest and resist the CITES listing in favour of sustainable use exploitation. I then elaborate on the moral attitudes expressed toward minke whale exploitation. Here, the discussion intersects with both cultural criminological concerns (the constructed meanings surrounding the species), and Southern criminological sensitivities (focussing on the marginalisation of vulnerable groups and the potential for speciesist narratives driven by powerful voices).

Legal status & conflicts of interest

As introduced in the second chapter, the main systems for the international governance of the minke whale are the International Whaling Commission (IWC) and CITES. However, conflicts have arisen between those who view the minke whale from a protectionist position, and those who view them as a food resource. Following the Appendix I listing of the minke whale, both Norway and Japan have proposed to have the species down-listed (moved to a lower CITES Appendix); however, each time without success. Ellie (pers. comm), who has contributed to many CITES Conference of Parties (CoPs) during their work for a CITES Scientific Authority, described these proposal debates as 'battles' between pro-whaling and pro-conservation groups. For the majority within CITES, there has largely been 'overwhelming conservation support for maintaining a ban on international trade in minke whales' (Ellie, pers. comm), echoing the discussion in the second chapter around the 'strength of world public opinion' supporting whale conservation (Iglesias, 1982, p.21). In contrast, Norway, Japan, Iceland, and Palau continue to hold *reservations* against the species, meaning that they are not bound to abide by CITES restrictions and can continue a legal commercial trade in the species (UNEP-WCMC, 2018).

The disconnect between these opposing perspectives was further highlighted by Ellie (pers. comm), who described how within CITES the '[minke whale is] not seen as a *food issue,* or a

fisheries issue, except by Japan and Norway – who could never understand why they [whales] aren't just the same as fish'. Clearly, whales are not *the same as* fish, but historically whales have been, and continue to be understood (by some) as *fishery resources*. This was exemplified in conversation with Martin (pers. comm), a whale researcher in Norway, who explained how 'whales are regarded as resources just like herring and cod – conservation *and* utilization is the goal so to speak'. Notice, the minke whale is not elevated in moral consideration, rather they are viewed in practical terms as *resources*. By applying a cultural criminological lens, the protectionist approach replicated within CITES can be seen to transform these historically situated and culturally maintained attitudes toward the species (as a food and fishery resource), effectively reorientating the collective representation of the species to one of *non-exploitable wildlife*. On this note, Eleanor (pers. comm), a marine biologist added:

> 'Whenever I think of whales, I never think of them as a fisheries species. The only time I think of whales as a fisheries species is for the Native Americans… if it's not a cultural activity, then it just doesn't seem right to be harvesting [them]'.

The conflict between protectionism and utilisation within CITES is significant, as it illustrates a fundamental disagreement running through the Convention, in the crafting of legislation – how and where to draw a line (if a line should be drawn) between a sustainable use ethic and total protectionism. Tomas, who has experience within the Japanese Fishery Ministry, was able to offer some insight into the issue from a fishery management perspective. Tomas (pers. comm) was careful to describe how interventions that are bound by protectionist ideals would be insufficient if the goal is to protect species *and* collaborate with fishers, adding:

> 'Protect is not a good word. It has no concept of use. If protection is the goal, there cannot be collaboration among those stakeholders. We [fisheries management groups] always aim at sustainable use, which could be an incentive for every stakeholder'.

Here, the concept of sustainable use blurs the line between an anthropocentric and biocentric ethic. Yet, as an Appendix I listed species, CITES can be understood to have adopted a stricter approach to the species' management by removing the concept of use. When asked about the role of CITES in managing (and effectively prohibiting) the trade in minke whales, Tomas (pers. comm) defended the Japanese position, highlighting how the population abundance of the minke whale does not justify their listing, stating:

> 'It is clear that the listing of minke whales is a political decision, not supported by any scientific evidence'.

In this lies the root of much of the disagreement. Those who support whaling and wish to continue the industry argue that the population is abundant enough to support sustainable levels of exploitation. When discussing this issue, Ellie (pers. comm) described how even despite their

potentially abundant populations, the very fact that trade in the species is prohibited by the IWC prevents any movement within CITES, adding:

> ‘Minke whales are not endangered, and I hope it stays that way… but [commercial whaling] is prohibited by the International Whaling Commission. End of story. Nobody should be trading it. If people in Norway want to kill whales within their domestic waters and eat them in Norway, that’s their right. It’s not a violation of any international law.
> Is it sustainable in Norway? – Yeah.
> Is it legal? – Yeah.
> But should it be traded to Japan? – No.
> It’s a violation of CITES even if they have a reservation. They are undermining the effectiveness of CITES.’

These contested politics surrounding the trade and consumption of the minke whale demonstrate a clear divide in how violence toward the species is perceived (culturally), enabled (politically), and enacted (on a local and global scale). According to those interviewed from whaling nations, the minke whale is simply seen as a fishery resource, and like any other fishery species – their consumption is socially normalised (obscuring their visibility as victims). The apparent stability of minke whale populations, described by Tomas, challenges the appropriateness of the CITES Appendix I listing as ultimately CITES should be concerned with sustainably exploiting wild species.

The discussion demonstrates that while CITES is intended to establish the boundaries for wildlife trade, in this case, protectionist ideals have trumped even the most persistent advocates for trade. While the final discussion from Ellie shows how the listing remains in place so as not to conflict with the IWC Moratorium, this misalignment between population stability and the level of CITES protection suggests that the motivation behind the continued CITES listing is strongly influenced by social, cultural, and political values that align with a non-instrumental position toward the species. The resulting conflict between whaling and non-whaling groups demonstrates that despite the minke’s listing on Appendix I, they are not the survivors of the aforementioned hard-fought ‘*battles’* within CITES. Rather, the reservation process acts as a loophole for whaling nations to resist CITES, protect their trade interests, and continue exploitation. As perceptions around the legality of trade do not align, the following subsection reflects on the moral perspectives that have been deliberated on by both interviewees and survey participants throughout the study.

Moral judgements

Representations of the minke whale

In light of the contrasting views around the exploitation of the minke whale, it is important to understand how different value judgements act to reinforce – or challenge – legal protections toward the species. Ferrell and colleagues (2015, 2017) describe how the meaning of crime is not the criminal act itself but is rather constructed by the reactions to the criminal act. Similarly, harm can be understood not as the harmful action itself, but in the social construction, reactions, and meanings attributed to the harm. Drawing from cultural criminology's attentiveness to emotion, collective representation, and attributed meaning (Ferrell, Hayward & Young, 2015), survey participants were asked to define which words they most associated with the minke whale (see Figure 10). These descriptions provide an important insight into how the species is perceived and understood, and in doing so shine a light on how perceptions of what is criminal and what is harmful become socially constructed. Participants overwhelmingly described the minke whale in terms of their subjective value, for instance, 'majestic' was used to define the species the most (totalling 117 times). In addition, 'beautiful' and 'vulnerable' were used to define the species 78 times each, followed by 'wild' which was used 75 times. In contrast to this, consumptive perspectives also arose with participants using 'tasty' and 'delicious' to describe the species, although less frequently. Respondents also added their own definitions, describing the minke whale as a 'spiritual being' and 'deserving of rights'.

Figure 10. Word association for the minke whale, generated from survey participants' responses.

From the above word association and conversations with interview participants, it appears that there is a broad agreement in recognising the minke whale as symbolic for majesty, beauty, and vulnerability. These representations enable a recognition of individuals, with their 'curious natures' and 'exceptional behaviours' (survey comments) and shift the boundary of harm from an abstract population level to a more personal one. Respondents also frequently described the species as sentient and intelligent, linking this with a higher consideration toward their welfare. However, this construction of the minke whale is a subjective one, based on hierarchical views that value the minke for their aesthetics (e.g., frequent descriptions of beautiful, majestic, and cute). This focus on aesthetic qualities is reminiscent of the animal rights discussion in Chapter 3, whereby only those species who are *interesting* in some way to humans can be recognised as individually or personally harmed – or to be morally deserving of rights (Wolfe, 2013).

To understand how participants understood harm and appreciate what makes people think of the minke whale as beautiful, majestic, and vulnerable (and equally what makes people think of them as delicious and tasty). I also asked survey respondents to elaborate on how they emotionally perceived the consumption of the species. When asked for their views on the 'moral acceptability'[16] of eating whale meat, over 78% found it to be highly objectionable and wrong. As described above, participants often appealed to the minkes' intrinsic value and concerns over welfare and conservation status. While the minke whale was frequently described as 'majestic' and 'beautiful', whaling was described as 'brutal' and 'barbaric'. In contrast, those supportive of whaling appealed to cultural norms, human needs, and sustainable management as reasons to justify the exploitation of the species. To understand how these representations of the minke whale (and whaling) shape attitudes towards the trade in the species, I now elaborate on the interview discussions and long-answer survey responses given in support of these contrasting views.

Constructed representation: sustainability

In contrast to the prohibitive approach established within CITES (which admittedly permits trade via the reservation process), interviewees (and some survey participants) were more open-minded towards a limited and sustainably managed utilisation of the species. For instance, Rachel (pers. comm), a long-term minke whale researcher, was open-minded in their views on whaling, stating:

> 'I have less of a problem with the subsistence whaling of First Nations[17] if it is done sustainability, as humanely as possible, if it's needed, and is not for profit or for fun'.

16 Here 'moral acceptability' was not defined, so as to better reflect the respondents' personal attitudes towards the consumption of animals and what morality meant to them.

17 First Nations are permitted to hunt whales, including minke, under an Aboriginal/subsistence exemption.

This leniency was also prominent within the survey responses, where on one hand respondents were opposed to the killing of whales (often for ethical reasons relating to welfare), whilst also accepting some level of exploitation under specific conditions (see Figure 11). These conditions were typically centred around recognising the needs of those who rely on the species as a food resource (traditional, cultural, and local needs).

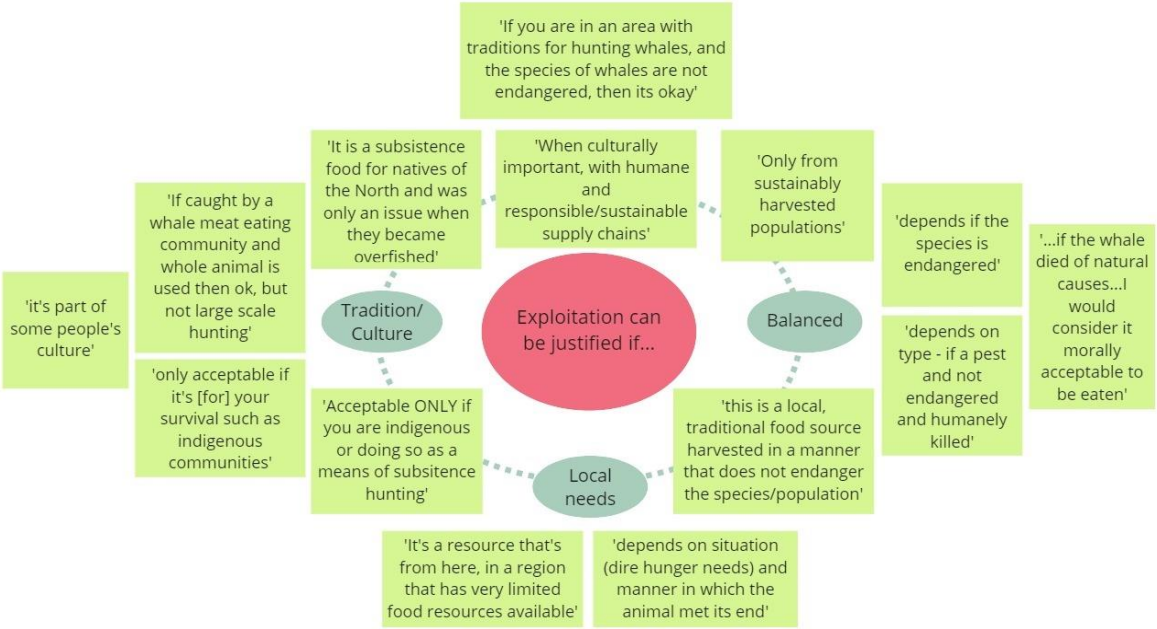

Figure 11. Survey responses offering justifications for whaling.

In addition, survey participants also emphasised the need for balance, stating that whaling could only be justified if populations were not endangered or over-harvested. Distinctions were also made between small-scale and subsistence whaling and large, industrial-scale whaling which was generally viewed as being less sustainable. For instance, one survey participant wrote:

> ‘If caught by a whale meat eating community and [the] whole animal used then [whaling is] ok, but not large-scale hunting’ (UK, meat eater. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

These deliberations over sustainability align more toward an ecocentric worldview, opposed to a strictly anthropocentric, instrumental-use perspective. However, the tolerance displayed also demonstrates an uneven construction or recognition of violence. Here, the perception of harm toward the species is viewed as lesser (or more severe) depending on the perpetrator of that violence (small-scale vs. industrial, indigenous vs. commercial). By these means, violence is apparently understood as acceptable under the proviso that it is traditional, local, and balanced, thus recognising the marginalisation of certain groups of people over the victimisation of the minke whale.

Justifications: food security

As touched on above, moral judgements toward the species often centred on the needs of locals for traditional use and food security. In all the attention that surrounds whaling, the significance of the minke whales' size and their contribution as a food resource is somewhat obscured. To use a comparison with animal agriculture, minke whales can grow to be around 33.5 feet (over 10 metres) and weigh up to 11 tons (US) (McHugh, 1984). This is roughly equivalent (by weight) to around eighteen mature Angus cows. As such, their value as a food resource, particularly for vulnerable (human) groups cannot be understated. When discussing the significance of the minke whale as a food resource, Rachel (pers. comm) described an occasion when they observed a dissection of a minke whale (who had been killed in a ship collision) and expressed their amazement at the size of the animal, stating:

> '…cutting up that minke whale was a real eye opener, because for the first time I actually also saw how much meat and blubber there was. So before, I knew they used the meat, they used the blubber – but then seeing it, this is a *lot* of food. Especially for the First Nations, and people in Greenland and Northern Canada'.

The significance that may be overlooked, is just how much meat this would represent to a community with limited access to other food resources, especially when the meat obtainable from one whale far exceeds that obtainable from the same number of other species. In reconciling with concerns over food security, access, and economic benefit surrounding whaling, Rachel (pers. comm) expressed the following reservations:

> 'Who is allowed [to hunt whales]? Why should a tribe in the Pacific, or the Caribbean, or anywhere else not be allowed [to hunt whales], while rich countries like Japan, Norway, or (in the past) Iceland – with big commercial whaling fleets, who have *already* profited and have hunted whales in the past – continue to profit? While the people in developing countries struggle to survive'.

Notably, this perspective is not shared by current whaling nations, who seek to continue their exploitation of the species as long as there is a profit to be made (or subsidies to be gained). Yet (echoing the discussion in the second chapter), it can be argued that the depleted status of whale species has been caused by wealthy nations (and consumers). While prevailing moral attitudes have changed, they have only changed after significant population declines, and after wealthy nations have benefitted significantly. The resulting international response (via CITES and the IWC) redefines the moral standing of the species, and in doing so imposes further regulations on nations who have not contributed to (or benefitted from) the exploitation of the minke whale. The continued exploitation of the minke whale by wealthy nations (through legal loopholes) further victimises the species (and ecosystem health), while also alienating those who follow traditional, subsistence forms of exploitation. Of interest here, particularly from a Southern criminological

perspective, is whether a protectionist position toward minke whales further marginalises already vulnerable human groups. While the IWC enables some subsistence whaling to continue (and perspectives appear to be more tolerant towards subsistence-based exploitation), trade and consumption of the minke whale is still frequently labelled as 'barbaric' and 'brutal' (survey responses). Further to this, there is additional need to reflect on the marginalisation of – albeit wealthy – whaling nations (Norway, Japan) who have historically exploited the species and contend that harms must be understood in the context of food provisioning. Here there can be no moral high-ground (between whaling and non-whaling meat-eating groups) as – according to a nonspeciesist perspective – human consumption of other living beings (whether domesticated or wild) necessarily involves harming and killing those individuals that are exploited. Now that the legal and moral perceptions toward the minke whale have been described, the chapter turns to the second research question on the motivations driving trade and consumption of the species.

Part 2. Trade and consumption motivation

This section begins with an overview of the current state of global trade. Drawing from the species justice approach I also attempt to highlight the scale of individual victims of trade. I then unpack and describe the motivations for trade and consumption, beginning with the results of the sensitive questioning and unmatched count technique (UCT). I then proceed to describe consumer motivations for exploitation and the socially marketed meaning surrounding consumption, including judgements of sustainability, welfare, and moral obligations toward the species.

Current state of global trade of the minke whale

Overview of global trade

The international trade in minke whales recorded by CITES is detailed in Figure 12 (split by 'bodies' and 'meat')**.** The figure also shows the reported catch documented by whaling nations. Note, not all catches are internationally traded, leading to differences between the national catch records and CITES data. The catch data shows that between 2011 and 2020 an average of 1040 minke whales have been killed each year. Notice, from 2019 the Japanese reported catch has decreased. This is because, since 2019, Japan has resumed *commercial* whaling, whereas in previous years their whaling activities were managed under a 'scientific exemption' (these quotas have not yet been reinstated). The US is also listed (in 2016), this relates to their exemption with the IWC for a small level of subsistence hunting. Although Iceland appears to have stopped whaling, with no catches after 2018, there has not yet been an official statement from the country confirming their departure from commercial whaling. While conservation groups are hailing this as a success (WDC, 2021; Mulvaney, 2020), the overall catch from Iceland has always been dwarfed by both Norway and Japan.

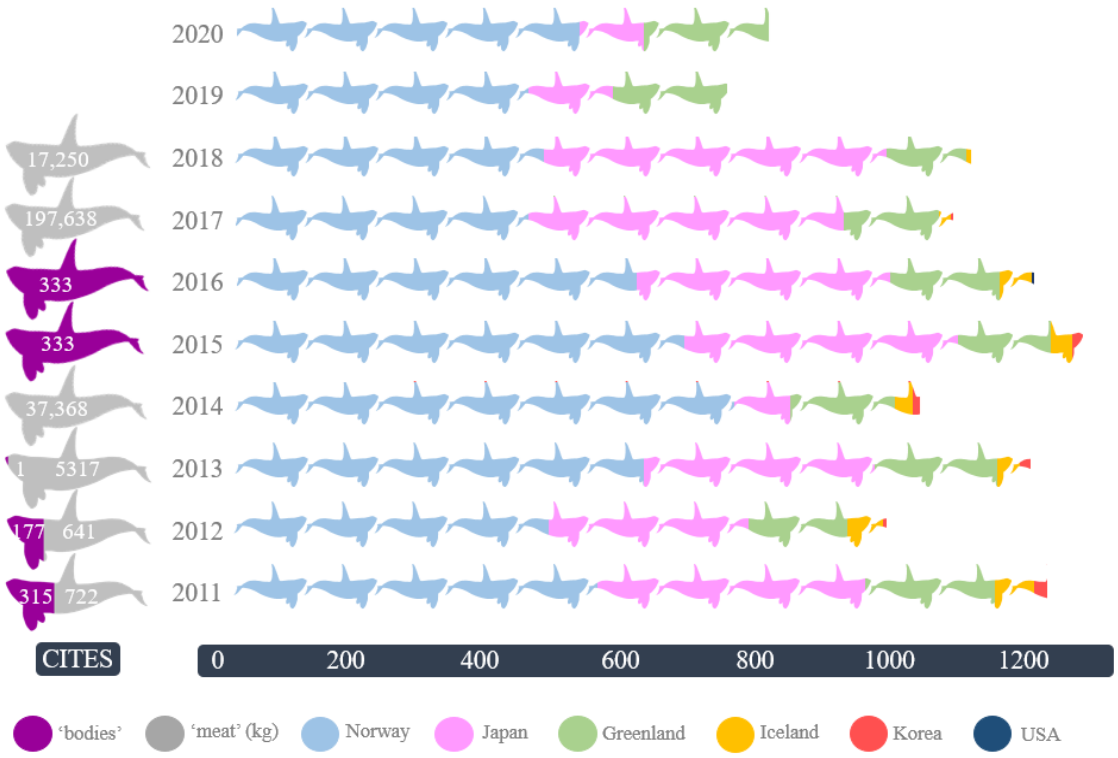

Figure 12. CITES trade records and global reported catch of the minke whale. CITES data is reported as individuals (bodies), except for 'meat' which is reported in kilograms. Sources: CITES (UNEP-WCMC, 2021), global catch information is combined from the IWC (2021b), NAMMCO (2021), and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2021).

On closer inspection the CITES trade data shows that 1,159 'bodies' and just over 258 tonnes of 'meat' have been reported as traded between 2009 and 2018 (Figure 12). If assuming that 3.1 tonnes of meat can be obtained from each individual minke whale (Ishihara & Yoshii, 2000), this figure could equate to around 83 individual minke whales (in addition to the bodies already reported). Figure 13 gives a more in-depth analysis of this trade in minke 'meat', categorised by commercial, personal, and seized trade types. Most of these seizures originated from Norway. New Zealand authorities seized 0.9 kilograms and the rest was confiscated by the United States. Most of the seizures were recorded as 'personal' trade, however one kilogram was designated as 'commercial'. While this trade is in contravention to CITES, it is not illegal between countries that hold CITES reservations against the species. Additionally, the seizures detailed in Figure 13 are not necessarily illegal (although confiscated in the US and New Zealand). They may be due to incomplete or faulty documentation rather than representative of illegal imports into these countries.

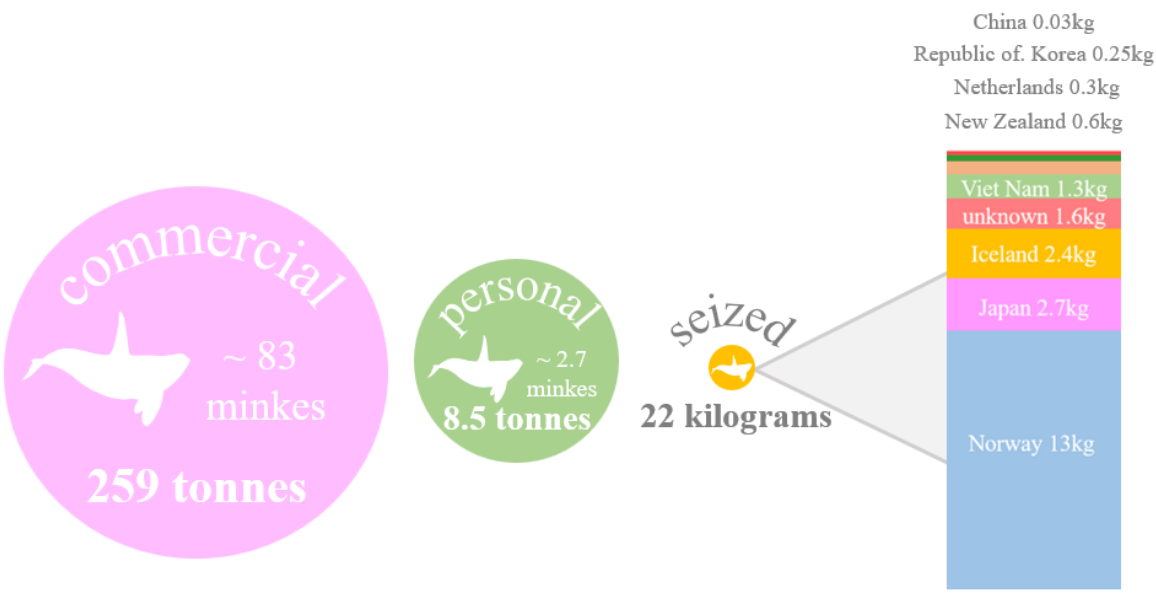

Figure 13. CITES importer reported trade quantities of common and Antarctic minke whale 'meat' between 2009-2018. Reports split by commercial, personal, and seized categories. The number of individual minke whales targeted has been estimated assuming that 3.1 tonnes of meat can be derived from one minke whale (Ishihara & Yoshii, 2000). Note: this is not a complete representation of trade as many reports were incomplete (without unit or weight details). Data from UNEP-WCMC (2021).

To interpret the motivations behind the consumption of minke whale meat, the following section turns to the sensitive questioning aspects of the survey, before describing in more detail the discussions on consumer attitudes and motivations surrounding consumption and trade in the species.

Consumption habits: asking about peers

To build a picture of consumption habits survey participants were asked how likely it was that they knew someone who had eaten whale meat. Here, 11% stated this was 'likely' or 'very likely', with 61% of respondents stating it was 'very unlikely' they knew someone who had eaten minke whale meat. Of those 11% who stated that they potentially knew someone who had consumed whale meat, 33% were from the UK and Ireland, 22% were from Norway, and the remainder were equally distributed between Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Iceland, New Zealand, the United States, and Vietnam (one response each). Considering the proximity of the UK and Ireland to Norway and Iceland it is likely that these responses may refer to the consumption of whale meat while travelling within these countries, or additionally if the peers referred to live within whaling countries. To gauge potential illegal behaviours, a follow up question additionally asked participants to state whether they knew of anyone who had brought whale meat into the country (if not available to buy where they live). Results here showed that 79% of respondents did not

know of anyone, 17% were not sure, and 4% stated that whale meat was available to buy where they live (confirmed by their current residence). Just 1% stated that they did know of somebody bringing whale meat into the country. This equates to a single response from a resident of the UK, who scored low-level for the measure of speciesism and above-average for Western agreeability.

Unmatched count technique

To assess the prevalence of illegal trade in whale meat survey participants were also asked to tally how many statements from a list applied to them (unmatched count technique). The sensitive statement in the treatment group was: 'I have eaten whale meat outside of Norway, Iceland and Japan'. When testing for design effects ('list' package, see methods), this gave a p-value of 0.39 suggesting that the sensitive statement did not influence the respondents' answers. The prevalence of responses is shown in Figure 14. Critically, none of the participants in the treatment group stated that four of the statements applied to them, and only 1% of this group stated that all five statements applied to them. This indicates a potential disagreement between groups, as 5% of respondents in the control group stated that four of the statements applied to them.

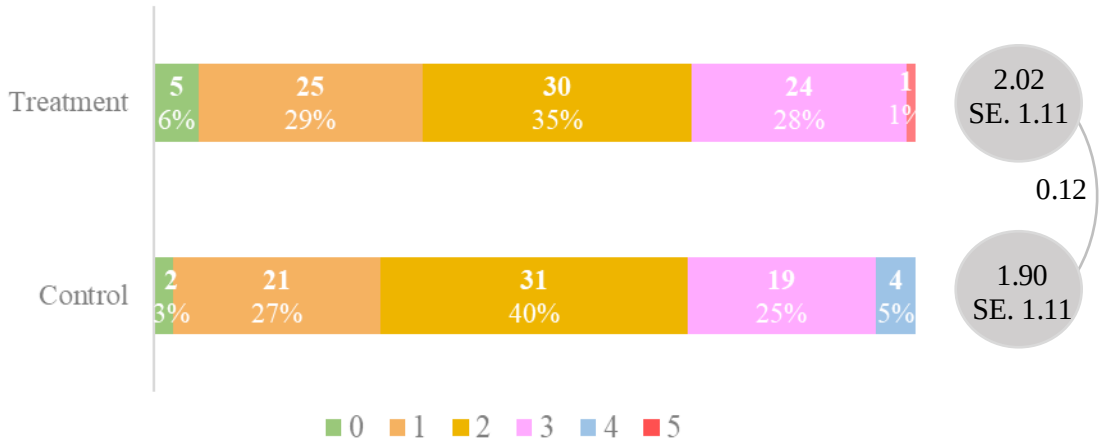

Figure 14. Proportional distribution of responses to the unmatched count technique question for the minke whale. The count of statements participants said were true for them and percentages of distribution are presented. Grey circles show the estimated proportions for treatment and control groups and standard errors. The difference between these proportions provides an estimate for the sensitive behaviour: 0.12 (12% of the population). Control group = 75 participants, treatment group = 85 participants.

The estimated proportion for responses in the control group is 1.90 (SE 0.11), in the treatment group the estimated proportion is 2.02 (SE 1.11). The prevalence of the sensitive behaviour (in this case, eating whale meat outside of countries where it is legal to do so) is the difference between these two groups (0.12), meaning that an estimated 12% of respondents may have brought whale meat in countries where it is not legal to do so. However, there is also a lack of comparability between groups (possibly due to small sample size) which potentially indicates that participants may not be responding truthfully or are under/over reporting their results in the treatment group (this effect is also described by Glyn 2013). For a more meaningful interpretation, the list statements may need to be refined, or survey responses increased. Now that the prevalence of potentially illegal consumption has been described, the chapter turns to the attitudes expressed by participants surrounding the exploitation of the minke whale.

Attitudes toward whale meat consumption

Social drivers: normalcy and enjoyment

The popularity of whale meat has peaked and troughed over time and ultimately attitudes towards its consumption are nearly entirely cultural and circumstantial. Ellie (pers. comm) described how, in Japan, the meat (once fairly cheap and marketed towards school children and poorer demographics) has undergone a transformation, adding:

> ‘Very few people actually eat whale meat in Japan – that’s why the government kept pushing it on schools. [Now] It’s expensive…when I visited the Japanese fish market – which was miles of seafood – the whale meat stand was one tiny little stand in this vast sea of seafood. *Its very niche’*.

The small presence (and high price) of whale meat described by Ellie is not necessarily a sign that consumption is decreasing but highlights that whale meat is not a staple but rather a status or luxury *seafood.* Reviews left for a popular whale meat restaurant (close to the fish market mentioned above) showcase how consumers value the consumption of the species, describing the ‘unique’ and ‘delicious’ flavours of minke whale meat and highlighting the popularity of various whale meat dishes, including whale bacon, tatsuta (battered and fried whale meat), sashimi, and even whale ice-cream (see: Tsukiji no Kujira, 2021). Some highlights from these reviews include:

> ‘A shop where you can eat fresh whales directly managed by wholesalers… I bought fried whale Tatsuta (500 yen). The pale but unique flavor of the whale is fried and delicious.’ (Local guide, no.1, online review).

> ‘I got a whale cutlet (350 yen)! It was unexpectedly very soft. The place where you can eat whales may be rare. It's recommended. Next, I'm going to try deep-fried Tatsuta.’ (Local guide no.2, online review).

> ‘Whale sashimi is the best. Tatsuta fried and skewers were delicious… It is just a popular store, so it is expected to be crowded.’ (Local guide no.3, online review).

Survey respondents (from Norway) also described how the consumption of whale meat, while not an everyday occurrence, was treated as a delicacy. One described feeling a familial attachment towards minke whale meat adding: 'I am from Northern Norway, and I have grown up eating minke whale as a delicacy' (Norwegian, flexitarian no.1. Mid-level speciesism, average Western agreeability). Another further highlighted the normalcy of consumption especially considering the accessibility of minke whale meat compared to other food sources:

> 'I live in Arctic Norway, and while it's not necessarily everyday food here, it's not stigmatised, generally, because of its history and accessibility…It seems ridiculous to shun whale as a food source, while the majority of our fruits and veggies come from countries far, far South' (Norwegian, flexitarian, no.2. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

These appeals to normalcy, practicality, and enjoyment are firmly drawn from an anthropocentric position that view the minke whale solely as a food resource. From a green-cultural criminological position the enjoyment and normalcy conveyed in the above reviews and statements demonstrate that the consumption of whale meat is an *experience* that brings groups together. Here, the minke whale is no longer seen as a wild animal, but as food; as cutlets, skewers, and (social-media worthy) ice-cream experiences (reminiscent of Ferrell and colleagues (2015a) attention toward consumer capitalism and the manipulation of meaning). While socially normalised, the perception of minke whale meat as a delicacy and something to be enjoyed and savoured, places a higher value on the wellbeing of people, diminishing the victim status of the exploited minke themselves.

Social drivers: sustainability?

Between the interviews and surveys there was little agreement on the issue of consumer interest in sustainability. When speaking about Japanese consumers, both Ellie and Tomas described how consumption is normalised and rationalised in terms of *food resources* with little attention to the sustainability of trade. Here, consumer decisions surrounding the minke whale mirror decisions for other *seafood* species, focussing on affordability, freshness, and safety. For instance, Ellie (pers. comm) described how:

> '…the number one factor influencing consumer choices [for whale meat in Japan] is freshness and safety. Is there mercury? Is it fresh? Is it safe for me and my children? Not – is it safe for the species? *They care much less about that*'.

Similarly, Tomas (pers. comm) described Japanese consumers' focus on affordability and further highlighted a lack of concern for sustainability, adding that consumers:

> '…have more interest in price and quality…their focus is always [on] possible changes in supply and price, not sustainability'.

In contrast to the above points, survey participants from whaling countries justified their consumption by appealing to environmental or sustainable credentials (as seen in the previous section – Norwegian flexitarian no.2). The issue here seems to centre on what sustainability means to each consumer. For instance, one survey participant (from Iceland) raised concerns over the sustainability of hunting whales and discussed a responsibility towards their protection, writing:

> 'I don't [think it is] morally acceptable to eat them…we have a moral obligation with this group of animals as we heavily exploited them in the past for blubber, oil and meat and we drove them to the brink of extinction. Now that we know their role in the ecosystems, we must preserve them' (Iceland, pescatarian. Low-level speciesism, above average Western agreeability).

In contrast, Ross, a marine biologist, elaborated on their own decision to try whale meat while travelling in Norway and expressed higher confidence in the sustainability of whale meat compared to the sustainability of other fisheries. Here, Ross (pers. comm) described how they had greater trust in the Norwegian government, stating that the minke whales' population status eased any doubts around consuming the species, adding:

> 'I have tried whale in Norway, I didn't like it very much, but my understanding of minkes is that they are not endangered in any way, they are extremely abundant. So, it is more a moral question about what sort of food you are willing to eat…I trust the Norwegian government to be much more mindful of how the fishery is managed in any sort of semblance. I know they have a great ability with salmon, with herring, and lobster... I don't see eating a whale, that is not endangered, as any worse than eating a fish that is poorly managed, and the vast majority of fisheries throughout this planet are horribly managed'.

From the above comments, it appears that there is a perception amongst governing bodies and fishery groups (interviews) that consumers (specifically Japanese consumers) are not interested in matters of sustainability. This contrasts with the survey respondents (from Norway and Iceland) and Ross' own account, who clearly describe sustainability as influencing their decisions. This misalignment is interesting as it demonstrates how consumers and industry navigate and construct the responsibility for sustainability. Drawing from Southern perspectives, the juxtaposition described here (between the *uninterested* Japanese consumer, and the *considered* Western consumer) is additionally problematic. As shown in the overview of trade section Norway in particular are killing equivalent (if not higher) numbers of minke whales as Japan. Yet criticisms are levelled towards the disinterested Japanese consumer, and in doing so the perception of the *western* (Norwegian) consumer is seemingly legitimised (or viewed less harshly). Now that the various attitudes surrounding the consumption of whale meat have been described the chapter turns to the final research question on harm recognition.

Part 3. Harm recognition: visibility and contextualisation

This section scrutinises the visibility of harm and is structured around the multifaceted recognition for victims arising from the survey responses (first: harms towards populations, second: harms towards people, and third: harms towards individual minke whales). I first describe the misalignment of perspectives on population status and abundance and evidence a tolerance toward protecting humans' cultural or subsistence needs. I then describe how the recognition of individuals as direct victims is potentially constrained by hierarchical speciesist perspectives. Finally, focussing on ecosystem level impacts, I demonstrate how the minke whale is both a direct and indirect victim of exploitation, driven by an over-exploitative and consumer driven system of oppression.

Population: abundance and abuse

As described in the second chapter, the IUCN does not currently consider the minke whale to be endangered and populations are believed to have partially recovered from historic whaling over the last few decades. Despite this, their population stability remains highly uncertain and 'best estimates' of population abundance appear to show that populations are in decline. One of the leading concerns arising from survey participants centred on fears that the minke whale population status was in danger. For instance, respondents wrote:

> 'There are not enough whales in the world for people to kill them.' (US, flexitarian. Very-low speciesism, average Western agreeability).
>
> 'W[h]ales are too endangered to be eaten' (French, meat-eater no. 1. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).
>
> 'Certain species are threatened by extinction, and all are endangered species' (French, meat-eater no. 2. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

When asked about the conservation status of the species, survey participants overwhelmingly believed the minke whale was endangered. Here, 75% considered them to be either 'threatened' or 'severely at risk' and 59% stated that they believed the minke whale should receive increased levels of protection. Considering the IUCN status for the species, this high level of concern amongst participants may reflect a more generalised attitude toward the endangerment of whale species on a whole, perhaps coupled with an unfamiliarity with the minke whale themselves.

In contrast to the above perceptions of minke whales, all interviewees acknowledged the relatively secure population status of the species. For instance, when discussing the sustainability of whaling, Tomas (pers. comm) referred to population estimates arguing that the image of an endangered minke whale is not a realistic one, adding:

> ‘The Scientific Committee of the International Whaling Commission estimates that there are about 500,000 minke whales in the Southern hemisphere, [they are] far from threatened with extinction, whereas there are only 2,300 blue whales in the same area’.

See also Ellie’s comments in the first section around not considering the species endangered. However, when scrutinising this population level focus, Rachel (pers. comm) raised two specific concerns centring on the abuse of populations. The first was an apparent bias toward hunting female minke whales[18] and the second focusses on the impact of killing individuals on the minke whale population dynamics. For the first concern, Rachel described how:

> ‘A lot of research has shown that there is a bias towards females in the whaling quotas or kills. And if you kill a female, they’re sometimes pregnant. It has a different impact than if you kill a male, right? I do not believe that there are enough studies that we can actually justify the hunting on a commercial level’.

Although legislation is in place to protect female minke whales with calves[19], females without calves may still be disproportionally targeted due to their proximity to shore. Although the number of females is not specified, in a study of 4,704 minke whales killed between 1987 and 2005, the authors describe how ‘nearly all mature female minke whales were pregnant at the time of capture, *as is generally the case for this species at this time of the year*’ (Cunen *et al*., 2021 – emphasis added). This apparent bias toward females also brings into question the nature of whaling quotas. Even if (in some cases) there may be a bias towards killing males (described in Lukoschek *et al*., 2009), if females are more likely to be pregnant during the whaling season, then the true number of victims and loss of life is not accounted for, and the victimisation of developing infants is rendered invisible.

Rachel’s second concern focussed on the structural impacts of killing on minke whale population dynamics. They cautioned that minke whale population dynamics are much more complex than current management acknowledges and emphasised that populations are poorly understood with very little known about their migration patterns, seasonal distributions, and even taxonomy, adding:

> ‘We need a lot [more] knowledge and research before we can actually really say if it’s sustainable or not…population abundance estimates are not

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18 Females can be disproportionately targeted by whalers as they tend to segregate by sex within their feeding grounds and swim closer to shorelines. This makes them more prominent targets for whalers (Peilie, 1985; Laidre et al., 2009).

19 The IWC specifically prohibits the killing of females that are nursing a calf, or are accompanied by a juvenile (Schedule 14, Regulation of Whaling 1946). The killing of mothers and juveniles is also specifically prohibited in both Greenland and Iceland legislation (NAMMCO, 2014; Regulation on whaling No. 163/1973).

> enough…. and this is my criticism for the Norwegian hunting, and the hunting in Iceland or in Japan: how much do you really know about the population structure? About behaviours? About individuality? How they use their habitat areas? Stuff like that... [deciding what is sustainable] is impossible to do when you still rely on raw population abundance estimates, without knowing the impact of climate change for example…' (Rachel, pers. comm).

For Rachel, the issue of population sustainability has moved from one that focusses purely on estimates and calculations of population size, to one that seeks to recognise that populations are more than the sum of their parts. Although they are a solitary animal, the impact of whaling on population dynamics and social behaviours is simply not known. To this, Rachel (pers. comm) further described observing the development of diverse and novel hunting behaviours within minke whale populations off the coast of Canada:

> 'I call them '*mind blowing minke whales*' nobody would have thought how diverse they are in their behaviours. We had behaviours in some sub-habitats but not in others, and very high site fidelity to specific sub-habitats even within a very confined and rather small area'.

The concern here rests on the unknown nature of what could be lost, including specific and localised behavioural adaptations. This resonates with the discussion in the first chapter on the meaning of sustainability and the impact of exploitation on individuals, the culture of groups, and behaviours that may aid survival (Brakes *et al*., 2021; Whitehead, 2010). While these *mind-blowing* behaviours make minke whales individually interesting, they also enrich the diversity (and arguably the resilience) of populations, and it is impossible to judge the consequences of this loss.

Justifying and accepting harm: human use

As discussed in the first section of this chapter, justifications for whaling were frequently made for subsistence, local, and traditional uses. Additionally, many respondents expressed sympathy towards the struggle of First Nations people and their need to preserve their identity. In these instances, harm becomes viewed as an infringement on a perceived cultural image and way of life. A number of respondents further reflected on how their own cultural upbringings had shaped their view of what was acceptable, and what was harmful, when it came to making decisions about seafood consumption. For example, one participant wrote:

> 'It's part of some people's culture. Who [am] I to say they are wrong?'. (South African, meat-eater. High-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

Another, when asked about the morality of eating different marine species, commented that:

> 'Morality is personal, based on upbringing and location'. (United States, meat-eater. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

On a similar note, when discussing justifications for local consumption, Rachel (pers. comm) described an experience of seeing shelves of whale meat in a supermarket in Greenland[20]. As mentioned previously, Rachel was open-minded about the consumption of minke whales and was careful to recognise the necessity of consuming whale meat in some situations, such as for subsistence or local use. They explained – 'I don't really have a problem with that [the shelves of whale meat], because this a is resource for these people here'. Instead, the problem they were keen to highlight was the palettes full of Nutella in the same store- 'glasses and glasses of it – tonnes!'. Rather than the local exploitation of whales, the wider issue of concern for Rachel was one of 'industrial countries destroying the planet for luxury food'. On a similar note, Ellie (pers. comm) described how: 'the majority of people – the rural poor, are not the problem. The problem is the long-distance trade and the luxury markets'. This resonates strongly with Southern criminology's attentiveness to the hegemonic political and economic power of elites in the Global North, which subsequently contribute to environmental destruction in the South (Carrington, Hogg & Sozzo, 2016). Here, the metaphorical South can be recognised as the rural poor, subsistence, and Indigenous consumers of whale meat, as well as those who suffer the consequences of long-distance luxury markets (e.g., the invisible workforce involved in whaling, processing, shipping, and trading who may themselves also be exploited).

Although Rachel (pers. comm) recognised local justifications for whaling (above), they also suggested that arguments surrounding cultural heritage should not carry so much weight within the whaling debate. Posing the question:

> 'Do we need it to keep a [past] culture going, which is so far away from the culture nowadays?'.

Adding, that for First Nations people:

> 'They are also part of the modern world. If a species is under pressure, then – I am sorry, you haven't caused the problem, but you have to be part of the solution'.

This is important from a cultural criminological perspective (drawing from a constructionist positionality), as cultural perceptions, traditions, and knowledge can be viewed as fluid constructions open to being reformed and re-evaluated (Casal, 2021). The argument raised by Rachel also aligns with a Southern perspective, highlighting the double-standard surrounding protectionist driven environmental and conservation action. Here, impositions defined by Northern/Western/urban groups have the potential to further marginalise (or require

[20] The IWC establishes quotas for the aboriginal subsistence hunting of whales in Greenland. This is overseen by the Ministry of Fisheries, Hunting and Agriculture (Ministry of Fisheries, Hunting and Agriculture, 2018).

disproportionate action from) those in the Global/metaphorical South (Goyes, 2019). This discussion demonstrates how the complexity of harms surrounding whaling expand beyond the minkes' population level impacts. Local availability of minke whale meat (as a food resource) in areas that are otherwise heavily reliant on importing food touches on wider inequalities throughout the human food provisioning system. This issue further highlights the tension between acknowledging harm towards people (with limited access to food resources, or whose cultural and traditional practices are impacted), while also remaining open to critique both immobile cultural practices and luxury markets which perpetuate the commodification of the minke whale.

Harm toward the individual

As noted in the first section survey participants frequently described minkes as 'intelligent' and 'self-aware' and reasoned that these qualities made them individually deserving of protection. When asked specifically about their views on the killing of minke whales some of the interviewees mentioned that they felt the killing of whales was less acceptable than the killing of other marine creatures. Similarly, there was also a pattern for hierarchical recognitions of the minke whale (based on judgements for sentience, intelligence, etc.) over other species within the survey responses, with some stating:

> 'I don't think it is morally right to take life, let alone a sentient being' (UK, vegetarian. Very-low speciesism, average Western agreeability).
> 'I'm inclined to put dolphins along with whales and great apes as a category of animals with especially strong claims to rights' (UK, meat-eater. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).
> 'For me, [eating whale meat] it's almost cannibalistic. These are highly intelligent creatures… that lead complex emotional lives' (US, vegan. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

This recognition toward the value of individuals was also echoed by Rachel (pers. comm), who described:

> 'I spent thousands of hours around them, I know them individually. Every year you see them again, you see *personalities*, its more than just individuality. They are different in their personalities'.

Recognising the value of (and harms toward) individuals conflicts with the established management of the species, which focusses on harm at the level of *stocks* and *populations*. Despite moving beyond these established boundaries, the discussion raised above implicitly establishes a potentially speciesist hierarchical value for the minke whale, who only becomes viewed as a victim due to the construction of perceived attributes surrounding them (e.g., intelligence, sentience, personalities).

With this focus and attention towards the inherent value of (and moral responsibility toward) the minke whale, I was surprised to learn of a 'sight-seeing' hierarchy when it comes to whale

watching. Rachel (pers. comm) described how minke whales have typically received very little attention by both tourists and tour boat operators in the Gulf of St Lawrence. For context, the Gulf is a highly productive feeding ground and becomes something of a hotspot for minkes. However, the minkes' small size unfortunately makes them less impressive to whale watchers. This perception has given rise to the unflattering nickname 'stinky minke' amongst unimpressed tourists who were otherwise hoping for a more elusive whale watching experience (e.g., sighting a blue whale or humpback whale) (Rachel, pers. comm). Because of this perception, (Canadian) tour operators have been known to bypass minke whales in search of more elusive or attractive species, which acts to reinforce a perception within the tour boat industry that 'minkes aren't important and aren't worth stopping for' (Rachel, pers. comm). These impressions of the 'stinky minke' highlight a pattern of speciesist thinking within and between different whale species, one which was not prominent within the survey.

For survey respondents, concepts surrounding whales were more abstract and global (e.g., respondents frequently stated that *all* whales were endangered and need of protection). While survey respondents were quick to call for individual protections based on a recognition of the species' 'majesty', 'beauty', and 'intelligence', this is difficult to square with Rachel's description of the 'stinky minke'. The notion of the 'stinky minke' speaks to the cultural construction of wildlife value, specifically concerning the marketed (and imagined indulgence) associated with whale watching. Here, the commodification of both wildlife and leisure-time converge to pressure consumers to seek more thrilling experiences. In contrast, sweeping concepts of majesty and beauty potentially constrain the scope of leisure activities and produce moral outrage at the thought of consumption. This divergence of views highlights the inconsistencies in the collective representation and constructed meaning surrounding the species in both systems of commodification, demonstrating that in both contexts (whale watching and whale killing), the minkes' intrinsic value is not recognised but is rather *devalued* by both.

Discussing welfare

Following this recognition of the individual (whether stinky or magnificent), arguments around welfare were used on both sides of the whaling debate. When survey participants were asked directly about welfare, 84% either agreed or strongly agreed that welfare was a concern for them. Yet, within the free-text responses, while the killing of whales was frequently described as wrong on the basis of the minkes' intelligence or beauty (41%), far fewer specifically described concerns regarding individual welfare (16%). On this topic one respondent wrote:

> 'The slaughter method is barbaric' (Norwegian, vegetarian. Very low speciesism, average Western agreeability).

In agreement with this, Rachel (pers. comm) described:

> 'I have a problem with hunting whales, or any big animal living in the water. It is simply very difficult or even impossible to kill it fast and humanely. There is always a struggle, it takes *too* long a time die…Just as I do not agree with the mass slaughtering of cows, pigs, or chickens, I do not agree with commercial whaling as it is unethical, inhumane, and on a large scale'.

Contrasting the above two statements, some participants used welfare arguments to support whaling by comparing whaling practices to the treatment of other exploited animals. For instance, one respondent described:

> 'If you are in an area with traditions for hunting whales, and the species of whales are not endangered, then it is okay. *The killings are brutal, but so are killings of domestic animals* for food. At least, the whales have lived a happy life ashore' (Norwegian, flexitarian – no. 1. Mid-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

Others continued the comparisons with animal agriculture stating:

> 'The animal is equivalent in size and intelligence to cattle… the suffering issue isn't more than it would be in a cattle farm – but [whales have] a much better life leading up to that point…If I'm ok eating beef, then I can't argue against whaling' (Norwegian, flexitarian – no. 2. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

For context (from a Norwegian perspective), whilst slaughtering regulations[21] state that the killing of domesticated livestock 'should take the necessary measures to avoid pain and minimize the torment and suffering of animals' (Regulation No. 60 on slaughtering of livestock, 2013, p.8), there appear to be no such regulations surrounding the killing of whales. Yet, under this construction of harm, animal agriculture is recognised as harmful (the 'brutal killings of domestic animals'), while the minke whale victim – due to their wild heritage – becomes framed as a lesser victim of harm. This suggests a hierarchy of perceived victimhood and demonstrates how perceptions of welfare are not one-dimensional but constructed from multiple visions of harm and victimhood. When placing the minke whale in the category of *food resources* it appears inevitable that the recognition of harm towards them will be contextualised within a greater discussion of harms within wider human food provisioning systems.

Wider contextualisation of harm

While the above discussion has centred on the most prominent concerns amongst survey respondents (harms towards populations, people, and individual minke whales), within the stakeholder interviews a wider picture of harm emerged. Although most interviewees contended

21 Notably these regulations do not apply to fish, nor do they apply to marine mammals.

that whaling would probably not threaten the survival of the minke whale (as a species), Rachel (pers. comm) described how the combination of whaling and other threats (climate change, entanglement in fishing gear, noise disturbance, and shipping collisions – to name a few) are all contributing to the overall pressure on the species. Within in their education and outreach work Rachel reported that while public perceptions generally revolve around perceptions that 'whaling is bad', they were careful to add that:

> 'The *real* threat for minkes is overfishing, not whaling as it is right now… I don't think [whaling] at the scale right now (apart from Japan hunting minkes and other populations off the coastal waters) …I don't think it will threaten the minkes as a species or even a sub-species. But a combination with other threats adds pressure on them... When I talk with people and they say, 'oh whaling is bad and the Japanese should stop', I go – 'yeah, I don't like it, but the real threat for minkes is the overfishing rather than the whaling as it is right now'. Pointing the finger at all of us who are eating fish from unsustainable sources or meat fed with ocean fish'.

This conflict between whales and fisheries is not a new one and has been recognised by both NAMMCO (the North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission) and the Japanese Fishery Agency. While industry groups were not able to add their voices to this study, these concerns have been documented within fishery management reports and indicate a wider conflict emerging between humans and the minke whale. For instance, in 2000, a report circulated by NAMMCO raised concerns over increasing minke populations potentially competing with fisheries, stating – '[minke whales'] consumption of commercially exploited species such as herring and cod is large enough to be a concern for fisheries management' (Folkow *et al*., 2000, p.76). Similar concerns have also been raised by the Japanese Fishery Agency (n.d., p.3) who, concerned that whales are competing with fisheries for numerous commercially exploited species, stated that the 'balance of the marine ecosystem will be affected if whales alone increase excessively in number'.

While I was not able to interview any government or industry representatives for this study it is clear that harm (in a fisheries context) is perceived through an economic lens. This is in direct contrast with the broader harms described above by Rachel which recognise minke populations as harmed through a reduction in their food and contextualises the cause of this harm (overfishing) as brought about by the damaging consumptive habits of consumers. This focus ties together separate elements of green, cultural, and Southern criminological concern as, by this reckoning, while non-whaling nations are not directly causing harm to minke whales (via their killing and consumption), the over-exploitation of other fish species (driven by 'blue growth' and the commodification of wildlife) can be seen to be indirectly harming minke whales (specifically by increasing pressures by competing with them for food). This speaks to the wider ecological and structural harms of the minkes' exploitation, who as part of a complex and entangled system,

become victimised both by their commodification as food resources as well as by the commodification of other species.

Chapter summary

The discussions throughout this chapter have highlighted the divergent attitudes surrounding the constructs of harm and victimhood for the minke whale, focussing on the three elements of: value judgements, trade and consumption motivation, and harm recognition.

In the first section I outlined perspectives surrounding the legal and moral standing of the minke whale. Discussions within the survey and interviews are generally in agreement with the CITES Appendix I listing and are supportive of a high level of protection for the species. However, the trade and consumption of whale meat (opposed to a strict preservationist approach adopted by CITES), marks a clear divide in attitudes toward the perceived value of the species. While the management and oversight of whaling (within CITES and by whaling nations) continue to view minke whales as populations or stocks (fishery resources), there is movement within the interviews and survey responses for a greater recognition of the species' individuality and inherent value. Building on this, I also introduced how anti-whaling moral standpoints may additionally contribute to the mistreatment of Indigenous peoples and ideologies, while also minimising or ignoring the harms replicated by powerful groups (e.g., the comparative victimisation of other species – or *domesticated* animals – who are exploited for food). I additionally described how justifications for (and acceptance of) consumption, appears to be recognised on a sliding scale with different views held toward the local and subsistence killing of whales, compared to larger, commercial scale killing. This standpoint effectively creates an uneven perception of harm and victimhood between traditional (local) and commercial (international) exploitation.

In the second section I discussed the relationship between consumer culture and the normalised harm toward the minke whale. I highlighted how very few respondents reported that they knew someone (or were personally) involved in the illegal consumption or trade of the species. When focussing on the motivations behind decisions to consume (or not) the species, I found that local and traditional uses were perceived to be more easily defensible, whereas the placement of harm was typically levelled towards luxury markets (typically towards Japanese and non-local consumption). I also described how – when whales are viewed as a normal and acceptable food source – food security, cultural attachment, and enjoyment have become strong motivators for trade and consumption. Critically here, when reflecting on the issue of the blue economy and the sustainable exploitation of 'marine natural resources', the discussions around the legal status and trade management for the species raised within this chapter demonstrate the strength of arguments supporting a sustainable exploitation of the species (overall the species is not considered to be

threatened). However, it appears that the dominance of moral objections to the species' exploitation (in the West) are strong enough (and supported in the majority within international agreements) to overcome the potential for industry and economic development that is otherwise so heavily promoted within the fishery industry.

In the final section I discussed the various perceptions of harm associated with the killing of minke whales. Although many participants described the minke whale as deserving of individual protection, they also struggled to reconcile these concerns with a recognition that the species also provides an important food resource for some groups (e.g., First Nations, Indigenous, and subsistence consumption). While this position is more readily reflected by a biocentric (protectionist) approach, explanations given centred around subjective values (e.g., sentience, welfare, intelligence, beauty, vulnerability) and so were not strictly nonspeciesist as rights (for protection) were only afforded to the whale because they were perceived within a constructed hierarchy of value. Additionally, the case for the recognition of harm (where humans and whales intersect) becomes a difficult measure of both recognising harm toward those who rely on the species as a food resource while reconciling this with a recognition for the harm perpetrated toward the whale victim and the wider ecosystem.

These findings highlight some major concerns with how value, harm, and victimhood become socially constructed. Firstly, the potential for speciesism, whereby the focus on inherent worth and the case for animal rights appears to be modelled around subjective and aesthetic qualities (for instance the species' perceived intelligence and beauty). While this recognition appears to increase the moral consideration for the species, it highlights the superficial nature of designating rights (or protection) for species who are seemingly afforded this recognition through anthropocentric value judgements (not judgements if intrinsic or inherent value). A second issue arises in the potential marginalisation of those who view the minke whale purely as a fishery resource. This draws into question how relationships with 'food' and 'non-food' species are formed and how these narratives impact both human and non-human groups (for better or worse).

Chapter 6. The queen conch

Chapter overview

This chapter is devoted to the second case study and focuses on the exploitation of the CITES Appendix II listed queen conch (*Strombus gigas*). Following the nonspeciesist victim-centred approach, the chapter begins with a victim vignette to centralise the victimisation of an individual queen conch. I then elaborate on the findings structured around the three research questions. First, I demonstrate how the CITES listing is generally seen as conservation success. However, underlying this position, I highlight concerns surrounding the neo-colonial dynamics of trade management impositions. I also demonstrate how (in some instances) enforcement and implementation of CITES is performative, thus protecting trade interests. Focussing next on trade and consumption motivation, I demonstrate how perceptions of the species are dominated by a strong anthropocentric (instrumental use) framework which markets and positions the queen conch firmly as a food resource. In addition, I highlight how illegal trade is facilitated by weak enforcement and institutional corruption. In the final section I unpack the recognition of harm and demonstrate how the queen conch is consistently recognised for their commodity value, with harms typically perceived towards people and populations (framed by concerns for commercial viability). I conclude the chapter with a summary of key findings, highlighting how management interventions – preoccupied with preserving trade and export markets – not only aid the exploitation and oppression of the queen conch, but also contribute to wider societal harms and the exploitation of vulnerable people.

Victim vignette

There is a strange scent in the water, unfamiliar to the queen conch, but not a concern for now. She continues to probe the sand, always eating. The strange smell is stronger now. It carries with it a familiar scent of warning. She pauses. Retreating within her shell, only one eye peeps outwards, scanning for the unfamiliar danger. Suddenly, descending from above, the foreign smell is upon her. She tightens her foot ready to spring out of reach with a powerful hop. But darkness engulfs her, and she is lifted from her spot. The ground falls away from her vision. She constricts her whole body within her shell. From within she can only see bubbles, getting brighter and brighter. Something reaches around her shell. She defensively lashes out with her foot. But the solid grip remains. All the while rising, twisting, and turning towards increasing brightness. No amount of her kicking outwards is loosening the hold on her. Then. Blinding. The water rushes away, skin tingling in the sharp sunlight. Swiftly, she is struck. The impact reverberates through her body, piercing her shell. Concealed tightly within her shell now, she watches as something [a rope] loops within the newly formed hole in her shell. She is jostled, upside down now, and then

suddenly – free. Falling. The ocean engulfs her. But her fall is cut short, she spins. Tethered by the rope, unable to escape. Suspended in limo between her home and the sky above. Drifting. She watches as other conch are brought into view through a thick fog of bubbles. They are panicked and frothing. They smell of danger. Full of warning. Do not come close… Weary, she is once again lifted upwards. The back of her shell is struck by a strong bite, shaking her whole body, and then again. The second attack pierces through directly where she hides and rips her apart from her shell. Something [a hand] reaches in for her and pulls her outwards. She is engulfed by blinding light. Her skin completely exposed, itchy in the dry air. A flash of brightness. With a quick slice, everything goes dark.

This prose is intended to individualise and re-frame the experience of the queen conch, centring them as the direct victims of their exploitation. In addition to information supplied during the interviews, contextual information and inspiration was drawn from the following – anatomy and behaviour: Heller, 2015; Dennis *et al*., 2021; senses, defensive behaviours, and chemoreception: Audesirk & Audesirk, 1985; and for observations on the emotional natures of snails and entanglement with people see Bailey's 'The Sound of a Wild Snail Eating' (2016).

Introducing the contributors

This case study has been aided by the insight and experience of seventeen expert interviews. These have been categorised by – 1. governing body sector (seven participants), 2. socio-cultural sector (three participants), 3. fishery sector (two participants), and 4. conservation and research sector (five participants. As with the first case study, names have been anonymised and details of personal affiliation are given with permission of the participants.

Within the governance sector, I was fortunate to speak at length with Alan, George, Toby, and Ryan, who have all worked in senior fishery management positions in the Caribbean region. Alan and George expanded on queen conch management plans and conservation projects and discussed the complexities of fishery policy and intergovernmental collaboration and enforcement. In addition, both Toby and Ryan (a regional fisheries expert for OSPESCA – the Central American Fisheries and Aquaculture Organization) have also worked as consultants for the FAO and were able to expand on the management and status of the species. For a CITES perspective, Ellie (who was introduced in the previous chapter) provided extensive experience added valuable context to the study. Finally, insights into the illegal trade and responses from enforcement were shared by Matías and Anne, both wildlife enforcement officers, who work for the Canadian Department of Environment and Climate Change and the US Fish and Wildlife Service respectively.

From the socio-cultural sector, I spoke with Jenna and Lil. Both work in community engagement and conservation projects (in the Bahamas and Belize respectively) and provided information

surrounding both public and fisher responses to management interventions. In addition, I also spoke with Avril, a chef and food blogger from Sint Maartin, who discussed their perceptions of availability of the species over time.

Interviewing conch fishers proved to be a challenging task[22]. However, I was able to talk with Michael a life-long conch fisher from Puerto Rico, who has also worked closely with researchers on queen conch population biology. I also discussed the response from fishers and their involvement with management regulations with Adam, who has formed a close network of conch fishers and was able to relay their experiences in engaging with fishery management measures and interventions.

Within the conservation and research sector I spoke at with Ross, Oscar, James, Nicola, and Jan. Ross (introduced briefly in the first chapter) is a marine biologist and has experience monitoring, surveying, and documenting queen conch populations. Further support was provided by Oscar (a research scientist for the Florida Fish and Wildlife Conservation Commission) and James (a fisheries biologist) who commented on the role of CITES and elaborated on the species' population abundance. Nicola has extensive experience in queen conch aquaculture and conservation and our discussion around the queen conch's behavioural responses also helped inform the victim vignette. Finally, Jan (a representative from WildEarth Guardians), discussed the US Endangered Species listing proposal for the species and provided an insight into the challenges surrounding building and generating conservation momentum for the species.

Part 1. Value judgements: legal and moral perspectives

The Southern green criminological position supports a scrutiny of the power of CITES in defining the boundaries for trade and to further question how and why these boundaries might be contested. I begin this section with an overview of the CITES listing for the species, demonstrating how, while the Appendix II position effectively legitimises the trade (and victimisation) of the queen conch, it also acts to create political and economic conflicts of interest between conservation and trade ideals. I highlight how, in contrast to the minke whale case study, the queen conch is both legally *and* morally constructed and defined as a fishery resource. This aligns with an anthropocentric worldview concerned only with the species' instrumental value, which subsequently becomes contextualised within the political, economic, and social interests of those responsible for their management.

22 During this projects interview recruitment stage many islands in the Caribbean were experiencing poor weather and the aftereffects of hurricanes, as well as the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic. As such, securing internet and telephone connections was a challenge for many of the interview participants.

Legal status – CITES interventions

CITES: wrong reasons, right results

The queen conch has been listed on CITES Appendix II for nearly thirty years. The proposal was submitted by the US in 1992 at the Eighth Conference of Parties[23] (CoP-8) seven years after the closure of the queen conch fishery in Florida. As described in Chapter 2, the queen conch is one of a very few marine species who are commercially exploited as a food resource and also listed on CITES. Throughout the interviews the CITES listing of the queen conch was generally viewed as a conservation success. There was apparent consensus that CITES provided a strong enough push to encourage range states to implement better management. Ellie (pers. comm), who was involved with drafting the queen conch proposal, described the listing as working well to achieve its goals:

> 'It's working well in a number of countries, not everywhere, it's not perfect. But it's a good example of an Appendix II proposal that is probably helping to ensure the species isn't qualifying for Appendix I'.

Similarly, Alan (pers. comm), who has experience developing management plans for the species, was pragmatic about the role of CITES in the region. They described CITES as a necessary tool to get management officials and industry working together and discussing conservation issues, recollecting that: 'sometimes you need a club to hit the people on the head to do this kind of thing, and the only club we have is CITES'. However, this top-down management approach has not been without resistance. Many interviewees described an initial opposition to the listing, typically centred around disputes over the queen conchs population status and increased trade control measures. For instance, James (pers. comm), who has been involved in developing queen conch population assessments and producing management plans for the species, described how (at the time of the species' listing) they did not believe CITES was an appropriate mechanism for species' management:

> 'I didn't think there was a risk of that [the population going extinct] on a whole. There was certainly a risk of that on a local basis, so there could be areas where the population could be literally removed… but the species as a whole? I didn't think we were at that stage'.

In addition, Oscar (pers. comm) described:

> 'For the wrong reasons the right results came out. It [the CITES listing] meant increased scrutiny and trade restrictions and things like that…but I don't think that it is correct to say that it is based upon the species [being] in danger of becoming extinct'.

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23 Incidentally, it was also at this CoP that the first Atlantic bluefin tuna proposal was debated (Case study 3).

Notably, concerns over the appropriateness of the listing were also highlighted during the initial deliberations within CITES. During the proposal debate the CITES Secretariat recommended that the proposal should be rejected, asserting that:

> 'Relatively little research has been carried out in assessing the population trends of the species. Because of its rarity, *it appears no longer to be a major source of food*, and it is currently consumed as a delicacy… *The species is not in danger of extinction* due to the trade, nor likely to become so, but over-harvesting could be a problem…' (CITES, 1992b, p.30).

Despite the above disagreements over the appropriateness of the listing, the US further endorsed proposal, stating: 'we believe that the broader issues of CITES and fisheries need to be addressed in the context of this proposal' (CITES, 1992b, p.43). The underlying implication of this being that, while the queen conch may not have been recognised as threatened with extinction, CITES should consider more seriously matters relating to marine species who are commercially exploited. Note, that this was before the CITES-FAO Memorandum of Understanding, at a time when fishery and conservation matters were still frequently managed distinctly from one another. This dynamic between conservation and fishery groups was particularly evident when discussing the CITES listing with fishery management representatives. Many described how the Appendix II listing came as something of a surprise to be reacted to, rather than prepared for. For instance, Ryan (pers. comm), a former fisheries consultant officer of the Nicaraguan Institute of Fisheries, described only really appreciating the impact of the CITES listing following the second CITES Significant Trade Review process in 2003:

> 'These CITES issues are run by the Ministry of the Environment, *we didn't have any discussion*. We learnt from them what was going on and why queen conch was included in Appendix II, because we didn't know what CITES was, or why we were not able to export queen conch in Nicaragua…And the queen conch fishing industry was very annoyed with the Ministry of the Environment – they'd say: "why didn't they take into account the fishery sector?"'.

Although range states are generally encouraged to contribute to CITES listing proposals, no additional comments were included from any other range country. While not specifically related to the queen conch proposal, comments from the CITES Secretariat add support to Ryan's statement above. During the proposal debate the Secretariat noted their 'surprise and disappointment that many proposals appear to have been made with no (or minimal) consultation with the range States' (CITES, 1992b, p.23).

The above discussion demonstrates how the listing of the queen conch was seemingly thrust into being with some fishery representatives apparently unaware of the listing proposal. This is significant from a Southern criminological perspective, especially considering the role of the US

in bringing the proposal to CITES and the direct impact of the listing on Caribbean nations, who essentially become blamed for the poor management of the species and responsible for implementing tighter regulations (reminiscent of a form of neo-colonial control) (see: Sollund & Runhovde, 2020). Considering this apparent power imbalance in the crafting of legislation, I now turn to discussions surrounding the response from range states to the CITES listing.

'They are easy to please…but they don't follow up'

Throughout the interviews difficulties in getting support from governments in implementing national management was a common theme, and many called on CITES to do more to make sure national management measures were robust. With so many range states involved requirements, restrictions, and procedures differ widely at the national level and states are not equally able to fund and enforce the management that CITES requires. For instance, Lil (pers. comm), who works with fishers in Belize described how:

> 'People generally understand the reason behind the management measures, but lament that enforcement is generally weak and therefore management is not perceived as being as effective as it could be'.

This was further emphasised by Michael (pers. comm), a lifelong conch fisher who described the situation in Puerto Rico:

> 'We are dealing with an economic crisis. Many agencies do not have personnel, do not have equipment. They [enforcement officers] do not have the money for the gas, for the boats, to keep it going'.

This lack of government oversight was further highlighted by regional management officials and fishery scientists who implied that the enforcement of CITES measures were (in some instances) just provisions on paper and not convincingly enacted. For instance, Ryan (pers. comm), who has been involved in drafting non-detriment findings for the queen conch, raised concerns over the relationship between the nationally led CITES Scientific Authorities (who monitor the status of listed species and advise on the suitability of trade) and the Administrative/Management Authorities (who are responsible for issuing export permits). Here, Ryan suggested that while catch quotas may be relayed to CITES, many countries do not have methods in place for calculating harvest and export quotas, and equally many do not actively enforce the quotas they set. Furthermore, these countries (which remain unnamed) have been known to increase quotas year on year, without conducting any research or independent reviews to support the quota increases. Here Ryan (pers. comm) described:

> 'Some countries just provide lip service to CITES [it's like] 'I send you these documents, but then my fishers will do whatever they want…nobody is asking any questions…the Administrative Authority will just take for granted whatever the Scientific Authority is saying…'.

This sentiment was reinforced by Adam (pers. comm), who works directly with conch fishers in the Bahamas, who described:

> 'My opinion of CITES is they are easy to please shall we say, but they don't follow up'.

The above discussion has shown how CITES interventions for the queen conch have been met with uncertainty, dispute, and false promises. Claims from James and Oscar (as well as the CITES Secretariat) that trade in the queen conch does not threaten the species' survival call into question the power of CITES to determine international standards to regulate relationships with wildlife. If not based on a serious concern for the species' survival, it appears that other interests may have played a greater role here. This is further supported by the endorsement from the US to take fishery matters more seriously, effectively bridging the gap between wildlife conservation and fishery management groups and opening CITES oversight into the once closed-off domain of the fishery industry.

While the legality of trading the queen conch is not specifically contested (as it was in the first case study with the minke whale), the management measures imposed by CITES have been met with resistance. This resistance appears to be politically motivated, the result of industry (and governments) wanting to continue business as usual practices. This has led to the suggestion that implementation in some range states is theatrical, rather than seriously enforced (demonstrated by the lack of both funding and political support). Discussions from Ryan and Adam demonstrate that in many cases this has been able to continue simply because no one is following up on implementation. To delve into some possible reasons surrounding the contested nature of CITES interventions the following section expands on the moral attitudes towards the species arising from both the interviews and surveys.

Moral judgements

Representations of the queen conch

To gauge how the public perceived the queen conch and whether these perceptions align with the legal status of the species, survey respondents were asked which words they most associated with the species (see Figure 15). The most frequent response was 'beautiful' (n. 73), possibly relating to their shell which is attractive for shell collectors and in jewellery. There were also striking contrasts in opinion with frequent descriptions of both 'cute' and 'gross'. 'Wild' was also frequently used (n.69) as well as 'vulnerable' (n.57). Critically, more people described the queen conch as 'non-sentient' (n.30) than those who described them as 'sentient' (n.9), this was also the highest judgement for non-sentience among case studies. Notably, just one respondent expanded their moral consideration toward the intrinsic rights of the animal and described them as

‘deserving rights’. Another (single) respondent also described them as ‘deprioritized’, perhaps referring to their management. This weighting of responses may explain the higher number of respondents who described the species as ‘food’ (n. 26) and food related terms – for example ‘tasty’ (n.12), ‘delicious’ (n.8), ‘Sunday food’ (n.1), ‘desirable’ (n.1), and ‘appetising’ (n.1).

Figure 15. Word association for the queen conch, generated from survey participant responses.

Many participants admitted to being unfamiliar with the species, for example stating, ‘I know nothing about conch’, ‘I didn’t even know you could eat it’, and ‘[I] don’t know what it is’. However, this unfamiliarity with the species did not necessarily prevent respondents from identifying the species as *food.* Here, 53% of respondents stated that they found it morally acceptable to consume the species, 23% were morally against consumption, and 24% were unsure.

Although discussing matters relating to conservation or trade management was fairly straight-forward within the interviews, discussing moral attitudes toward the exploitation and victimhood of the queen conch seemed particularly incongruous for many of those interviewed. Both within the surveys and interviews participants often framed their views around perceptions of sustainable management. For instance, survey respondents who found consumption of the species to be morally acceptable wrote:

> ‘It is morally acceptable to eat conch if it comes from a farm’ (France, vegetarian. Very low speciesism, average Western agreeability).

> ‘If eaten seasonally and from certified/traceable sources’ (Central African Republic, flexitarian. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

Similarly, those who were unsure or morally opposed to the consumption of the queen conch often stated concerns over the endangered status of populations (appealing to the sustainability of populations):

> ‘I think it is morally acceptable to eat conch when they are abundant, but they are now threatened and perhaps endangered and so I do not think it is acceptable to eat them now’ (US, meat eater. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

These deliberations highlight how even when participants were unfamiliar with the species, perceptions of sustainability and traceability became important factors guiding moral attitudes and decision making. However, just as those in the survey were variously concerned with traceability, fishing practices, and conch populations – it was apparent within the interviews that the context for *sustainability* had many different meanings in both a legal and moral sense. For some, like Oscar, sustainability was constructed primarily around threats towards species extinction. Whereas others (Ellie, Michael, and Alan) highlighted the need for sustainable fisheries to also encompass protection toward fishers and marginalised groups. Sustainability was also described in broader, ecosystem orientated terms, where protecting ecosystem services and balancing socio-economic interests were prioritised (Jan, Nicola, and Ross). Critically though, in all of the conversations around sustainability and harm, the continued exploitation and utilisation of the queen conch was normalised rather than problematised. Unlike the first case study, just one of the interviewees framed their discussion around the species’ intrinsic value or a broadening of moral consideration toward the species.

Equitability and sustainability matters

While the queen conch were not themselves recognised in a broader moral context, some interviewees touched on broader societal harms surrounding the fishery industry. Both Ellie and Jan (pers. comm) described being morally conflicted over the role of wealthy (Western) consumers, and the impact of trade on local communities. For instance, Ellie (pers. comm) was quick to highlight how unequal access to fishery resources alienates disadvantaged communities, describing how: ‘a lot of fisheries, particularly the industrial fleets, are taking food away from the poor people in the coastal communities, so that those fish can go to Europe or Asia’. While this exploitative system is questionable in a moral sense, it is also one that is legally permitted. Building on this, Jan (pers. comm) also stressed the importance of thinking more broadly about the systems that support over-exploitative and inequitable fisheries, noting:

> ‘If people want to eat this species, they should have to go to the Caribbean and support the Caribbean economy. Rather than just importing it…The United States [as major importers and consumers] needs to take responsibility for its part in the destruction of this species’.

Both of these comments focus attention on the responsibilities of non-local consumers (namely wealthy, Western consumers) to make more ethically minded decisions around their legal (albeit questionable) consumptive habits. These concerns intersect with a Southern criminological position to recognise the role of capitalism and export orientated markets as drivers of global inequalities. Although the export markets for queen conch support the economies of range states, they also perpetuate the joint destruction of the environment and marginalisation of people – an issue central to the decolonisation of conservation narratives supported by Southern criminological perspectives (Goyes & South, 2017; Goyes, 2019; Mondaca, 2017).

The above discission has shown how the queen conch is firmly recognised as a *seafood* species in the minds of both survey and interview participants. While the established legal parameters of trade may be questioned in a moral sense relating to sustainability, equity, and access, there was minimal (if any) moral consideration afforded to the queen conch themselves. This moral standpoint compliments the aims of the CITES Appendix II listing, which solely seeks to ensure that trade is not detrimental to the species survival (a sustainable use ethic). While the Appendix II listing implies a species level protectionist approach (through trade management interventions), the demonstrated lack of enforcement, lack of clarity around population stability, and lack of recognition toward the individual disrupts this protectionist narrative and instead places the queen conch firmly in the position of an exploitable commodity. As such, the goal of management is less focused on species protection and more aligned with the preservation of trade interests. This tendency toward favouring trade and economic interests aligns with the previous discussion on the meaning of ‘sustainability’ and the conflicts arising between the demand for growth within the ‘blue economy’ at the expense of species and ecological security. This inconsistency additionally creates a potential conflict in the social construction of sustainability in the fishery, where outwardly (for the consumer) trade may be interpreted as sustainable (and therefore potentially morally acceptable) based upon consumer perceptions of management interventions. Yet, under the surface, trade controls may be more theatrical than substantial and based on differing interpretations of what *sustainability* should mean. The chapter now introduces the findings relating to the second research question on the motivating factors behind the trade and exploitation of the species.

Part 2. Trade and consumption motivation

I begin this section with an overview of the global trade in the queen conch. I demonstrate how trade reporting mechanisms negate the impact toward individual queen conch and attempt to rectify this oversight by estimating the number of individuals victimised by trade. I then elaborate on the scale of illegal trade and present the findings of the sensitive questioning and UCT. Following this, I demonstrate how the queen conch has become socially and culturally marketed to consumers and is celebrated primarily as a food resource. Here, the animal themselves have become largely non-present and appeals toward sustainability (or broader moral considerations toward the species) are secondary to the subsistence, traditional, or recreational (tourism) needs of people.

Current state of global trade of the queen conch

Overview of global trade

To portray the scale of the queen conchs' exploitation trade reports have been compiled from the CITES trade database as well as the FAO's FishStatJ records. This data shows that the US is the largest importer of queen conch meat, comprising nearly 80% of the global market, with France the second largest importer. Supply largely originates from Jamaica, Honduras, and Nicaragua, however exports from Belize and the Bahamas are increasing (UNEP-WCMC, 2021). The market is nearly entirely comprised of wild-caught individuals however there is also a very small supply of hatchery reared conch. To judge the scale of trade on individual queen conch CITES reports for processed (meat) weight have been converted to live-weight (this enables a comparison with the FAO records which report live-weight at the time of capture)[24]. The CITES database reports show that between 2010 and 2019 approximately 24 thousand tonnes of queen conch 'meat' were traded, with an average annual trade of 2445 tonnes. When converted to live-weight this equates to around 400 thousand tonnes of queen conch, with an average annual trade of around 39 thousand tonnes (see Figure 16). FAO records are typically lower than those reported to CITES, however this may be a remnant of the conversions used here. Despite these inconsistencies, the high quantity of commercial trade indicates a sustained consumer base and demand for the species as a food product.

24 The CITES records for processed weight have been converted to live weight using the FAO's conversion factor of 16.3. This is intended to convert 100% clean and completely processed meat into the volume of live weight (the animals whole body and shell) (Aspra et al., 2009).

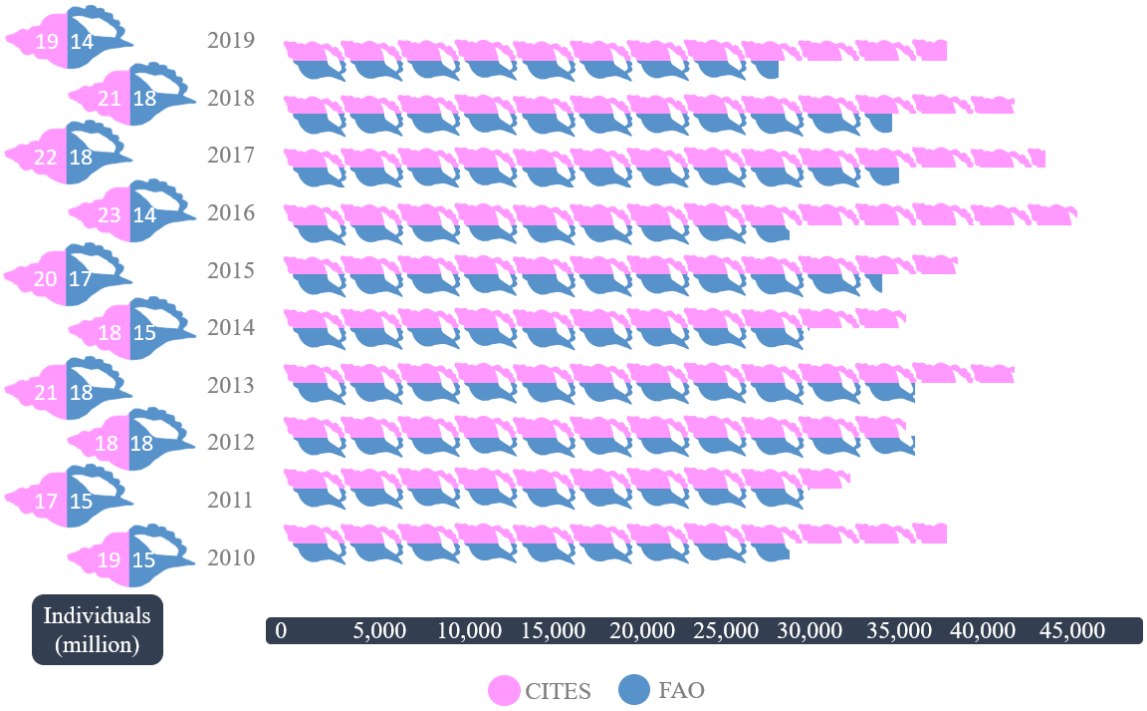

Figure 16. Global reported catch (FAO) and commercial 'meat' net-export trade (CITES) of the queen conch. Quantities reported in tonnes of live-weight. CITES records (processed weight) have been converted to live-weight (tonnes) using a conversion factor of 16.3 (Aspra et al., 2009) (blanks excluded). FAO data shows global capture production. This includes records for 'Stromboid conchs nei' (*Strombus* spp.) [ASFIS code]. These records may include other conchs but are believed to be predominantly queen conch based on the trade and geographic provenance (Catarci, 2004). Individuals have been calculated assuming 1 queen conch weighs 2 kilograms. Sources: CITES (UNEP-WCMC, 2021), FAO (2021).

Counting conch: immeasurable victims

Inconsistencies in reporting within CITES makes estimating the number of individual victims challenging. However, when converting the processed weights to live-weights it is possible to estimate the number of individuals involved. For the period assessed above (2010-2019), the potential weight of individuals is just over 398 thousand tonnes. When assuming that a mature conch weighs 2 kilograms (Chakalall *et al*., 2004), this would represent just under 200 million individual conchs, or an average of 19.8 million individuals per year (Figure 16).

To delve deeper into the impact of trade on individual queen conch, CITES trade records have been split by purpose categories (commercial, personal, and seized) (Figure 17). These estimates are meant as a representation only as there is a lot of potential for error, particularly as juveniles are often harvested and size (and therefore meat weight) varies considerably by location. With this in mind, it is clear that commercial trade dominates the market, potentially involving 147 million queen conchs. During this time period there are also relatively high records for 'personal' (non-commercial) trade (potentially 54 thousand individuals). Of the reported confiscations (approximately 1.6 million queen conchs), the overwhelming majority were made by US authorities (except for a small amount confiscated by the Cayman Islands and Bermuda).

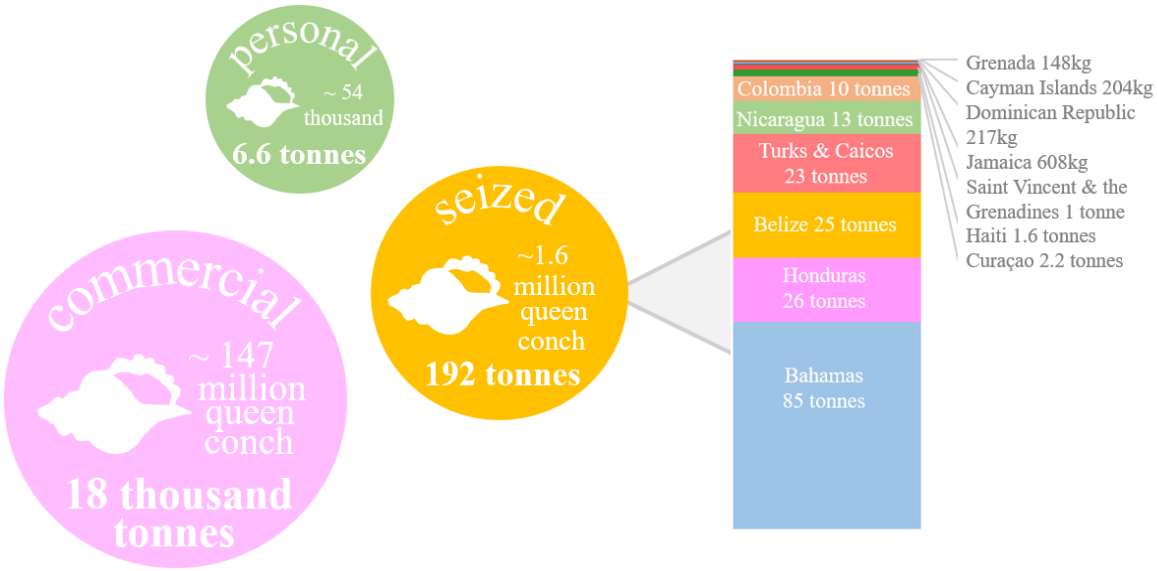

Figure 17. CITES importer reported trade quantities of queen conch 'meat' between 2010-2019. Reports split by commercial, personal, and seized categories and an estimation for the individual conch calculated using a conversion factor of 16.3. Not shown above are seized imports originating from the following countries: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahrain, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Hong Kong, Barbados, Martinique, Mexico, and Germany (each confiscated less than 15 kilograms in total over the period). Note that this is not a complete representation of trade due to discrepancies and the incomplete nature of CITES trade records. Source: CITES (UNEP-WCMC, 2021).

The majority of these seizures originate from commercial trade (189 tonnes) with the rest categorised as 'personal'. Tracing these back, most of the seizures originated from the Bahamas. However, Honduras, Belize and Turks and Caicos were also large exporters of illicit trade. As with the minke whale case, these seizures may be due to faulty permits, however the scale of personal trade is interesting as it indicates that consumers are taking it upon themselves to import queen conch meat rather than following established (legal) commercial routes

When judging the scale of trade, it should be noted that these statistics are only those which become part of official records. According to Jenna (pers. comm), who works for a queen conch conservation group in the Bahamas, while the government catch data shows that local catches are decreasing, large quantities of conch are also sold directly from boats to restaurants, meaning that the full scale of catch is not included in government statistics. Jenna also described how queen conchs are being harvested off the Cay Sal bank (in the Bahamas), frozen on board the fishing boats, and taken directly to the US. In these cases, Jenna believes that fishers may be concealing smaller (juvenile) conch within shipments to prevent detection. This practice further impacts government oversight of fishing effort and the scale of impact towards individuals becomes impossible to estimate.

Now that the scale of trade in the queen conch has been described, the following section turns to a cultural analysis of the queen conchs' exploitation and elaborates on the interview discussions surrounding the consumption and exploitation of the species.

Attitudes towards queen conch meat consumption

Taste of the Caribbean: everyday consumption

The queen conch appears very much intertwined with a Caribbean sense of identity and history. Within the interviews there was a strong amount of pride associated with the species (as a food), and I was told on numerous occasions how locals become competitive about whose mother or grandmother can prepare the best conch dishes. Subsequently, the queen conch was often described sentimentally, for instance Avril (a chef from Sint Maartin) described how they attached the consumption of the species to memories of growing up and fishing with their father. In addition to sentimental reflections, the queen conch was also consistently recognised for their food-tourism and cultural appeal. For example, Ross (pers. comm) a marine biologist who has spent many years studying the species, described:

> 'Conch eating is one of the *quintessential activities* that they [the Bahamas and wider Caribbean] *market'*.

This is aptly demonstrated in both the Bahamas and the Turks and Caicos, where the image of the queen conch adorns the Bahamian national crest and the Turks and Caicos flag. Both countries also hold annual queen conch festivals, which simultaneously market (for tourists) and celebrate the long tradition of *conching* (fishing for conch) in the region (see: The Government of the Bahamas, 2011; Turks and Caicos Tourism, 2013). At these festivals, endless varieties of conch dishes are available from vendors, and conch blowing contests and conch cracking competitions[25]

25 Removing the conch from their shell, killing them, and then cleaning the meat.

are part of the tradition. Seemingly here, the queen conchs' image on flags, festival flyers, and within media coverage does not appear to be connected with the animal themselves but is instead connected to a deep-set understanding of the animal as an enjoyable food resource. News reports describe the species in creative but dissociative ways, they are 'edible marine snails', 'commercially valuable seafood products', an 'iconic marine mollusc', 'beloved' and 'valuable'. More often quantified by their body parts (as meat, food, or shells) and described as stocks than they are recognised as individuals or populations (see: Environment Canada, 2013; Lomonico, 2020; Handy, 2020; Rolle, 2020).

The representations of the queen conch evidenced here highlight how the media acts to construct and shape public consciousness. As Brisman and South (2014, p.29) describe – the media 'encourages or facilitates certain opinions or emotive responses'. Through these dissociative descriptions the queen conch has become iconic not as wildlife, but as food (a sensibility also demonstrated in the survey responses, see Figure 15). Although the queen conch was frequently described as a traditional and much-loved food resource, Ross' description – of the *marketing* of this *quintessential activity* – suggests that this cultural heritage may be being exaggerated or exploited as part of an appeal to tourism. These collective representations (of the queen conch as food) ultimately market a consumer lifestyle that commodifies and normalises violence. This is demonstrated by the socially normalised consumption of the species and the conch cracking competitions described above. When mediated through a lens of festivity and tradition the harm perpetuated towards the animal is rendered invisible. This issue of potentially idealised perceptions surrounding cultural traditions and practices speaks to a Southern green-cultural criminological concern toward the marketing of exploitative consumer cultures (and the exploitation of both wildlife and culture).

Export markets and diaspora

Expanding on the local and traditional consumption of the queen conch, an additional and sizeable pressure on the species arises from their international trade. Although the survey responses show a pattern of unfamiliarity with the species, this demand – as described above – is largely driven by Western markets in the US and Europe. While the drivers of the export market for queen conch meat is unclear, reviews left for online retailers describe a pattern of diaspora consumers who are seemingly seeking out queen conch meat to replicate culinary experiences from the Caribbean. For instance, some reviewers noted:

> 'We are originally from Florida with the family based from the Bahamas. Now that we live in VA [Virginia] conch is not available' (online review no. 1).

> ‘It’s hard to find fresh conch meat where I live. This tasted exactly like the conch meat my family would bring back from the Caribbean’ (online review no. 2).

There also appears to be a connection between exposure and familiarity with the species with reviewers additionally stating:

> ‘I live in Utah now and no one here knows what conch is’ (online review no. 3).

> ‘I had a friend from Haiti who knew how to prepare and cook it do that job and it was excellent…I look forward to having it again sometime’ (online review no. 4).

These reviews highlight the influence of Caribbean diaspora and cultural exchange in expanding the exploitation (and export markets) of the queen conch. The third review is also potentially explanatory for the lack of awareness toward the species seen within the survey responses, which may have been too isolated or too far removed from local, diaspora, or multicultural groups. In addition, the expansion of diaspora markets was also alluded to when discussing the illegal import and trade of queen conch into Canada and the US (documented within Operation Shell Game[26]). Here, Matías (pers. comm) described how the sale of queen conch meat (in Canada) is tied to consumption within Spanish speaking communities (potentially Caribbean diaspora).

However, in addition to this, Matías also described how queen conch meat is associated with Chinese cuisine, as it is used as a replacement for other meat in Chinese cooking. This additional intersection between Caribbean and Asian market demand was also highlighted in an online review for queen conch meat, with one reviewer commenting that: ‘Asian stores near me sell it for $75. Same weight, same quality’ (online review no. 5). It appears that queen conch meat is important not only to Caribbean diaspora but is also seemingly central to the recreation of other traditional (Chinese) foods. This adds an additional layer of complexity to the pressures on the species in increasingly globalised and multicultural marine wildlife-markets. While the discussion in the previous chapters has centred on the influence of wealthy Western consumers in driving exploitation, in this case these markets are also seemingly crafted through the diaspora communities residing in the Global North as a means to reproduce familiar foods. This

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26 One of the most high-profile cases of illegal trade in queen conch was documented during Operation Shell Game, a multi-regional joint investigation by the Wildlife Enforcement Directorate at Environment and Climate Canada and the US Fish and Wildlife Service (see: McClearn, 2008). During this time and following a trade embargo in 2003 (a result of the second CITES significant trade review), considerable seizures in queen conch meat were made in both Canada and the US.

relationship is potentially also connected to a cultural sense of identity and normalcy (described in the previous subsection).

Making mindful decisions

Despite the normalcy of consuming queen conch meat described above and surrounding everyday consumption, many interview respondents had mixed opinions on the exploitation of the species. As outlined in the first section, some took a precautionary approach, stating that their decisions (or recommendations) around eating queen conch meat would be based on how sustainably the fishery was managed. For instance, Nicola (pers. comm) explained:

> 'I am very hesitant now to eat conch, as much as I love it. I really limit myself on how much I eat… Being a marine scientist, I take time to find out which species is being fished sustainably, how it's being fished, how it was handled, how long ago it was since it was harvested…That understanding is really important to me'.

Similarly, Ross (pers. comm) stated:

> 'I am not someone who will be consuming seafood unless I know a very clear story about it… I have not sought out to eat queen conch, and I would not recommend anyone do so'.

In contrast, others firmly stated there was no risk of the species going extinct (on the whole) and as such saw no problem with eating the animal. This perspective was typically framed by the caveat that consumers *should be* well informed, fisheries *should be* sustainable, and meat *should be* legally sourced (ideally with traceability systems in place). However, Ellie (pers. comm) highlighted how concerns over sustainability are not a possibility for many of those who rely on the species for subsistence or income: 'if you go to the countries in the Caribbean, *they just need to eat*, and they don't care where it comes from. It's very difficult to convince these consumers [to be more mindful]'. Adam (pers. comm) additionally raised attention toward the disparities in ability (or interest) of consumers to make sustainably orientated decisions, adding:

> 'Bahamians wanting to pay more for a sustainably caught conch? [laughs/sighs] I don't think they are as environmentally conscious to want to do that…Most people aren't aware of these management issues or concerned about the overfishing of the species. They just like to eat conch'.

In addition, Jan (pers. comm) described:

> 'I don't think a lot of people who eat conch are aware of that [illegal fishing and population decline]. I think they just go to Florida and assume that its local.'

This indifference to matters of sustainability resonates with Heckenberg and White's (2020) concept of 'culturally-blind' folk crime discussed in the third chapter. In a similar way to the minke whale case, consumers have been framed as uninterested in sustainability. Based on these

discussions, the queen conch is seemingly universally described in terms of their instrumental value to humans (as a food resource). This is variously marketed around appeals to cultural heritage, tradition, or tourism. This perspective sits firmly within an anthropocentric value framework, relegating any recognition of harm (or victimisation) to the conch themselves.

To further scrutinise the motivations behind the (legal/illegal) consumption of the queen conch, I now focus on the prevalence of illegal trade, beginning with an analysis of the results from the sensitive questioning and UCT and then elaborating on discussions from the interviews.

Focus on illegal trade

Consumption habits: asking about peers

To better understand consumption habits surrounding the species, survey participants were asked: 'how likely do you think it is that someone you know has eaten this species?' Here, 22% stated that this was either 'likely' or 'very likely', whereas 56% stated that this was very unlikely, and 23% were not sure. Of those who stated they potentially knew someone who had consumed queen conch meat, the largest groupings were from the US (31%), the UK (26%), and France (11%) with less representation from other nationalities. To judge the potential prevalence of illegal trade in the species, participants were also asked whether they knew of anyone who had brought queen conch meat into the country (if not available to buy where they live). Here, 67% of respondents stated 'no', 28% were not sure, 4% said that queen conch meat was available to buy where they live, and 2% (three participants) stated 'yes'. Two of these participants were from France and the third from the UK, all of whom scored above average in Western agreeability. Whether or not the necessary permits were in place for this international transport of queen conch meat is not clear.

Unmatched count technique

To assess the prevalence of potential illegal consumption within the survey group approximately half of the participants were asked whether they had brought queen conch meat into the country without official documentation (treatment group). The distribution of responses from the UCT is displayed in Figure 18. As none of the respondents in the treatment group stated that all five of the statements applied to them, this indicates that the use of negatively associated questions (described in Chapter 4) was successful. Additionally, when testing for design effects (misleading responses or the presence of liars), this gave a p-value of 1 (carried out using the 'list' package, see methods). This suggests that including the sensitive statement did not influence the respondents' answers. However, it was not possible to completely rule out design effects due to the small sample size.

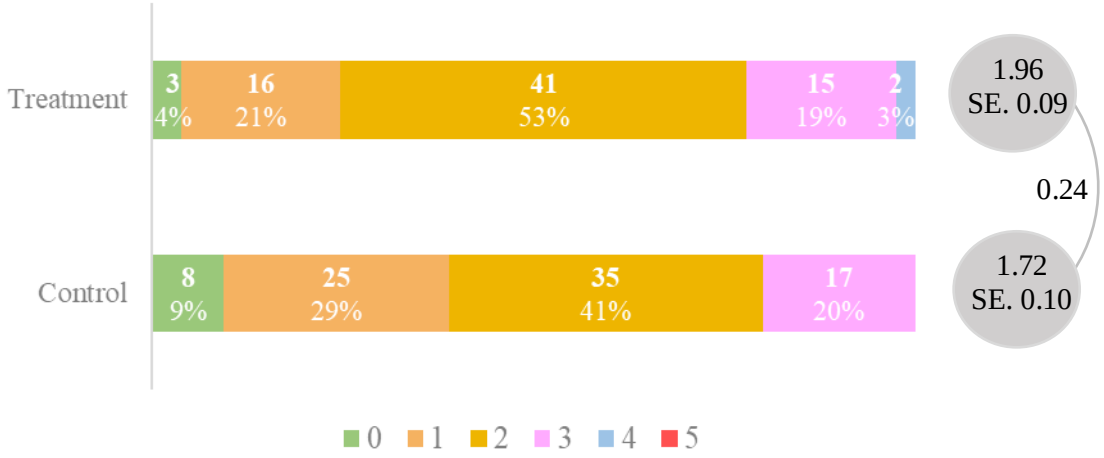

Figure 18. Proportional distribution of responses to the unmatched count technique question for the queen conch. The number of statements participants said were true for them are shown in bold, with the percentages shown below. Grey circles show the estimated proportions (means) for treatment and control groups with standard errors. The difference in means estimate is 0.24 (24%).

To judge the prevalence of the sensitive behaviour, the estimated proportion of responses is given for each group (1.72 for the control group, and 1.96 for the treatment group, Figure 18). The difference between these proportions is 0.24, meaning that 24% of respondents are estimated to have brought queen conch meat into the country without official documentation. To interpret the results further, Table 5 shows the prevalence estimations of the sensitive behaviour. Rows 1 and 3 give the response proportions from the treatment and control groups (these are also shown as percentages in Figure 18 – with some rounding). Rows 2 and 4 present the proportion of respondents reporting that *at least x*-number of the statements apply to them[27]. Row 5 shows the difference between these at least proportions (rows 2 and 4). This gives an estimate for the proportion of respondents who would admit to the sensitive statement (importing queen conch meat) and x-1 number of non-sensitive statements, if reporting honestly. For instance, the probability of people reporting that four list items apply to them (including three non-sensitive *and* the sensitive statement) is 0.03 or 3% of the population (row 5).

27 For example, in the treatment group, those stating that *at least* three statements applied to them (0.23, row 2) is a calculation of the responses given in row 1 for the columns numbered 3, 4 and 5 (0.20 + 0.03 + 0.00 = 0.23). This proportion (0.23) can potentially mean a number of things. It is either an estimation of those who would admit to the sensitive statement and to two non-sensitive statements *or* would answer that three non-sensitive statements apply to them (0.20, row 1). In addition, it also includes the proportion of those who would state that four statements apply to them, this would either be the sensitive statement plus three non-sensitive statements, or four non-sensitive statements (0,03, row 1).

Table 5. Estimated proportions from the UCT for the queen conch. Estimated proportions of the population reporting each potential number of statements (0-5) by survey group (treatment and control) is shown in bold. The conditional probability of admitting to the sensitive statement in each group is given in brackets beneath these proportions.

Estimated proportions	**Source**	**Number of reported statements**						**Sum**
		0	1	2	3	4	5	
Row 1	**Treatment** Probability of sensitive statement	**0.04** (0%)	**0.21** (28%)	**0.53** (26%)	**0.20** (10%)	**0.03** (100%)	**0.00** -	1.00
Row 2	Proportion at least	1.00	0.96	0.75	0.23	0.03	0.00	
Row 3	**Control** Probability of sensitive statement	**0.09** (66%)	**0.29** (48%)	**0.41** (5%)	**0.20** (15%)	**0.00** -	**0.00** -	1.00
Row 4	Proportion at least	1.00	0.91	0.61	0.20	0.00	0.00	
Row 5	Joint probability prediction	0.00	0.06	0.14	0.02	0.03	- 0.01	0.24

Table 5 also enables between group estimations to be made. To predict the prevalence of those in the treatment group admitting to the sensitive behaviour, responses have been divided by the calculation in row 5 (result shown in brackets in row 1). For example, 20% of respondents in the treatment group state that three statements apply to them (0.20, row 1). When the calculation in row 5 is divided by this response (0.02 / 0.20 = 0.1) this demonstrates that 10% of this group were potentially also including the sensitive item. A similar calculation can be applied to the control group to predict the prevalence of respondents who would admit to the sensitive statement (if asked). Here the responses in row 5 have been divided by the control groups responses to the previous number of statements. For example, 20% of respondents in the control group reported that three statements applied to them (0.20, row 3). When this is divided by the probability prediction for answering four statements (including the sensitive one) in row 5 (0.03 / 0.20 = 0.15), this suggests that 15% of the control group (who reported that three statements applied to

them) may admit to the sensitive behaviour if asked. These calculations are shown in brackets in row 3 beneath the estimated proportions of the control group responses.

To critique these results, the estimates suggest that 100% of respondents in the treatment group (who admit to four statements) are admitting to the sensitive statement. However, this is based on the responses from just two people (Figure 18). It may be that the negatively associated questions did not apply to them, and they were able to answer truthfully to both statements, *or* that they are admitting to the sensitive statement. The negative estimate given in row 5 (-0.01) indicates difficulties with comparing groups, again this is possibly due to the sample size.

The results demonstrate the potential prevalence of rule breaking behaviours within the survey group. Although many participants stated they were unfamiliar with the species and the responses are demographically limited (mainly within Europe, see Figure 5), the UCT suggests that as many as 24% of respondents may have transported queen conch meat without the official documentation (this would relate to the seized 'personal' trade described in the section Counting Conch). In light of this, I now elaborate on some factors facilitating and motivating the illegal trade of the queen conch which have arisen from the interview process.

Bribery and corruption

While the motivation for illegal trade appears largely economically driven, it became clear throughout the interview process that illegal fishing was motivated (if not encouraged) by superficial enforcement efforts, corruption, and the ease of countering regulations. When discussing the implementation of CITES regulations Ryan (pers. comm) highlighted the prevalence of both bribery and corruption within management, stating:

> 'Bribing is very common…they try to have observers on board, but they can be easily bribed. Inspectors and observers usually have low salaries and being at sea is dangerous if they try to enforce regulations. Some of them prefer to get a bribe instead. This corruption works its way up'.

Similar issues were also highlighted by Alan (pers. comm), who described how CITES permits would frequently be fabricated:

> '[Traders] pay people to fill in the forms for them. They pay people under the table to get their stamps. And for every pound they send, they were smuggling about two'.

Adding to this, Alan (pers. comm) also went on to describe a remarkably brazen conversation they had had with a captain of an industrial fishing boat during a fishery management conference where the captain freely admitted the poaching and bribery that they were involved in. Here, Alan described:

> ‘I was in a meeting one time, and we were discussing the IUU fishing of queen conch, and we had Captains and Ministers from different countries…and one of the captains was telling me: “these people don't know anything. They're a bunch of ignorants. I have several vessels, I fish with Dominicans, with Hondurans, and Nicaraguans, *they are all illegal*. I fish in all their waters, and we poach in Nicaragua, we poach in Honduras, in Jamaica – and we sell it to the Florida market” and I said: “don't say that because I’ll have to report it”. And he said: “don't worry, you can report all you want. *They won’t do a thing…because we give money to this guy, to that guy, and that guy” …*’.

The discussion above is telling of just how corrupt the management surrounding the species can be. Comments from Ryan and Alan demonstrate how corruption exists at all levels and is seemingly normalised. The discussion of corruption and the lack of government support is reminiscent of work by Alatas (a Malaysian scholar whose research compliments the attention to crimes of the powerful and institutional corruption seen within green criminology). Particularly relevant here is Alatas’ (2015, p.139) description of widespread ‘tidal corruption…that floods the entire state apparatus, including the centre of power’. While the above evidence for corruption, bribery, and lack of support for CITES regulations mirrors this concept of tidal corruption, it also speaks to the negotiation (and contestation) of cultural meaning surrounding criminal acts (Ferrell, 2007; Presdee, 2003). While powerful groups (in this case CITES) shape the construction of crime surrounding the queen conchs’ exploitation, a local/national culture of institutionalised corruption seemingly acts in resistance to the boundaries established by CITES. In doing so, the meaning of crime (the trade of the queen conch above national quotas) appears to become negated through the normalisation of bribery and opportunities for economic gain. Through these means, corruption appears to be seated within power and wealth imbalances (North/South) and tied to the expansion of profitable export industries (driven, as described previously, by consumers in the Global North). As such, while the focus throughout the survey and interview process (particularly for the second research question) centred on consumer attitudes and motivations, the political and economic power structures that produce, influence, and normalise the construction of crime (and representations of crime) are also critical to the species’ continued exploitation.

Ease of countering regulations

In addition to the apparent normalcy of illegal activities, there was also a lot of finger-pointing within interviews. For instance, Honduran fishers were blamed for poaching in Jamaica and Dominican Republic fishers were implicated in poaching in the Bahamas. However, as evidenced in the above discussion from Alan, poaching in other countries, especially when you have groups of fishers of different nationalities on the same boat (an integral mechanism of how industrial fisheries function on a multi-national scale), becomes extremely difficult to manage. These structural issues, combined with low political will and limited resources enable illegal fishing and trade to flourish. A lack of resources for enforcement was highlighted by both Adam, Alan, and

Michael (pers. comms). For instance, when discussing enforcement in the Bahamas, Adam described how: 'There is no enforcement in a lot of the areas where people conch… in some of the islands the Fisheries Officers don't have boats… or gas'. Adding that in these cases, patrol officers are forced to use the conch fishers' boats, leading Adam to ask:

> 'How does he enforce the law when he has to use the resources of the people he is trying to enforce the law on?'.

While Bahamian enforcement officers may not have boats, the situation is slightly different again in Puerto Rico. Here, Alan (pers. comm) described how enforcement officers work from the shore to check incoming boats. Unfortunately, this also means that their efforts are easily avoided. This was evidenced by Michael (pers. comm), a queen conch fisher, who described how if a fisher wanted to bring in illegally caught conch, they could easily be warned about the enforcement officers (everyone has mobiles) and come ashore at another beach to avoid detection:

> 'You just call and say – "*listen don't go to that beach because the islanders are here – so go somewhere else".* Simple. Like that. Even if they catch the fisher with illegal conch the damage is done'.

The apparent ease of countering enforcement signals back to the lack of political support described earlier in the chapter. Even when systems are in place to monitor trade, as Alan described, bribery and corruption create additional problems. The ease of countering regulations further demonstrates the disconnect in recognising the validity of CITES interventions and highlights the strength of trade motivations to circumvent trade moderation efforts. Now that the motivations surrounding the consumption and trade of the species has been described, the final research question on harm recognition is introduced.

Part 3. Harm recognition: visibility and contextualisation

The final section of this chapter focusses on how harms are recognised and contextualised. Drawing from the Southern criminological foundations, I begin by demonstrating the entangled relationship between the exploitation of the queen conch and the parallel exploitation and oppression of fishers, as this was a major concern amongst those interviewed. I then describe how population level harms become framed around an anthropocentric worldview, typically focussed on harms to *commercial viability* rather than population health. Similarly, harms at the individual level remain largely overlooked, as does harm toward the wider marine ecosystem, which is discussed in the final subsection.

Harm toward people: use and abuse

Within the interviews harms toward people were frequently raised, and it soon became apparent how the exploitation of the queen conch runs in parallel with the oppression and exploitation of people. The oppression of the queen conch and humans appear to be deeply intertwined and entangled. For instance, when discussing management interventions Toby (pers. comm) highlighted how regulations can disproportionately impact those who are struggling the most, adding:

> ‘Conch fishers have a general feeling that their voices are not being heard in the international arena… the cost of management to small-scale or artisanal fisheries, often equals or exceed[s] the value of the landings; from a purely business perspective this is untenable’.

While the harms of over-exploitation were often described in relation to large, industrial fleets, there certainly appears to be a case for management interventions disproportionally impacting those who are not contributing (in the same extent) to the harms of over-exploitation. This was further emphasised by Alan (pers. comm) who described management interventions as a tangible threat to some conch fishers:

> ‘Better management is so very difficult to achieve because you are fighting off the demand. You are fighting with the market. You are fighting with hungry people. You are fighting for food security. And in many countries like in the States and in Europe, if you don't have money to feed yourself, they [the government] have money to feed you until you get back on your feet. But these countries that don't have any of that, if you don't fish, you die. You starve. It is very, very difficult to go and impose rules and regulations…’.

The comments here resonate with the discussion at the beginning of the chapter surrounding resistance to CITES management interventions. While this resistance was contextualised within the larger nexus of market interests, the discussion above highlights the structural violence associated within the fishery. Here, poverty, hunger, and the cost of management are interwoven pressures impacting vulnerable conch fishers while also contributing to the exploitation of the queen conch. The ‘untenable’ cost of management described by Toby is also significant, as barriers such as these may encourage or contribute to the skirting of regulations (e.g., bribery and corruption) described previously.

In addition to these structural pressures, the direct harm toward fishers was also emphasised by Michael (pers. comm) a self-employed (non-industrial) fisher. Michael touched on the entangled oppression of both fishers and the queen conch when explaining the brutal nature of work as a conch fisher. They described how conch are becoming harder to fish in shallow waters as populations have declined. As such, fishers are forced to dive to greater depths in search of them, often at great personal risk. Here, Michael noted:

> ‘In our community there are more than 15 divers who have died in the last 20 years, not counting those that get crippled, those that get the bends and those that disappear’.

It is dangerous work as a conch fisher. They will routinely carry out multiple, long, dives per day, under the hot Caribbean sun. It is very physically exerting and potentially deadly work. There is a very real connection here also, between poverty and the exploitation of young men, and the simultaneous exploitation of the queen conch (and other marine species). To illustrate these combined harms, Alan (pers. comm) described the following situation that is occurring in both Nicaragua and Honduras. Here, the majority of queen conch fishing is industrialised and takes place in large fishing fleets. Boats are limited to carrying around twenty fishers for safety reasons. However, Alan revealed that captains are avoiding this by first obtaining their permits and then picking up additional fishers. Often, in these cases upwards of 120 fishers can be illegally working on the ships. While there are no official records for the abuses toward fishers, Alan indicated that:

> ‘The only thing the fisher has is his body and a willingness to risk his life to fish… On fishing trips of fifteen days or more, *fishers die… and they just throw them overboard*…’.

While talking with Ross (pers. comm), they described this relationship as a systematic societal issue, adding:

> ‘The majority of people that go out on multiweek long cruises in search of conch don’t really have a lot of other options. They struggle with addiction problems and poverty, and the combination of those two leads to homelessness…*like anywhere else where you have a disadvantaged workforce, they* [the large fishing fleets] *just need a body*…’.

When asking Michael (pers. comm) why they continue to put their life at risk, even after numerous close calls and hospitalisations, the response was: ‘because we *have* to, we don't have any choice, we have to’. Michael then described how many fishers will have started as teenagers and will have never worked on land, making any transition to other work very difficult. In addition, Alan (pers. comm) described how the captains of industrial ships would provide for the families of fishers while they were away (for example they would pay for any hospital bills should the fishers wife or partner go into labour). However, any costs would be deducted from the amount paid to the fisher. This generosity was also caveated with the expectation that those fishers would then agree to work on the ships the following season. This resonates with concerns for coerced or forced labour and highlights the precarious nature of employment as an industrial conch fisher.

The above discussion demonstrates how the provision of conch meat not only involves the killing of thousands upon thousands of individual conchs, but also involves the oppression, injury, and death of an as yet undocumented and unknown number of fishers. This joint recognition of harm builds on nonspeciesist and Southern criminological scholarship, attentive to power inequalities

and the hierarchical human-animal systems of oppression which underly the combined exploitation of both fishers and queen conchs. Additionally, what is absent from this discussion is the impact on the fishers' families and communities when fishers are injured and unable to work. While Moreto and colleagues (2020) highlight the human costs of illegal fishing (surrounding labour trafficking) and Donnermeyer (2017) more broadly discusses farmworker abuse and issues of food security in the Global South, these localised and seemingly normalised abuses toward fishers must also be understood in the context of neo-colonialism and the sustained exploitation of *some* human groups for the enrichment of *others*. This ties back to the discussion in the first section over equitability and the role of Western consumers in driving market demand.

Fragmented populations: shifting baselines

As described at the beginning of the chapter there has been much debate surrounding the population status of the queen conch. Similarly, throughout the interviews, their status was equally ambiguous, with little consensus as to whether the species was in fact threatened by trade (and if so, by how much). Populations were alternately described as being in 'catastrophic decline', to 'healthy in the deep waters', 'recovering fairly rapidly' (Florida populations), and 'not at risk of going extinct on a whole' (Oscar, Ross, and Alan, pers. comms.). Disagreements here appear to be the result of differing regional perspectives, where populations can be threatened and severely overfished in some locations, but apparently healthy in others. However, both Jenna and Avril (pers. comm) suggested that recognition of the scale of population decline had simply gone unnoticed by those who remain optimistic on the topic. For instance, Jenna described how the baseline for normalcy was continually shifting:

> 'The people who are working now, they only know what they see. They don't know what used to be… but if you talk to a 50 or 60-year-old fishermen, they know that it's worse… If you talk to people who are in their 80's they'll all tell you that the beaches used to be littered with conch, and they used to have to clean them off the beach so tourists could come'.

This unobserved gradual decline over time is reminiscent of other environmental oversights (for example insect declines), and was also highlighted by Avril (pers. comm), who added:

> 'My father was an avid fisherman when I was growing up…and I went diving many times for Conch in the waters around [St. Maartin], they were plentiful at the time, but I haven't seen a conch large enough to pick in our waters in over 15 years'.

Despite the above discussion, some interviewees did not consider the impact on populations to be overly worrisome. There was a sense that the queen conch could rebound quickly with adequate management. For example, Oscar (pers. comm) stated:

> ‘I’m not too worried about the conch. In terms of CITES there’s no way that the trade in conch will endanger the species sustainability…it may be commercially threatened but not [threatened] as a species…even if they fish them down to 95% below what they are now, I think the species is *still* not endangered of going extinct…’.

Similarly, Jenna (pers. comm) added:

> ‘I don’t think *anybody* thinks they’re endangered, because if you let them go for four or five years they would probably recover. But the problem with conch is if you take them down too far and the densities are too low, they can’t recover…’.

In the comments above (and throughout many of the interviews) the queen conch was primarily recognised as an acceptable and justifiable food resource, and in doing so harms toward them were diminished. As demonstrated above, commercial viability frequently remained at the forefront of concern, whereas population decline (and even local extinctions) were perceived as non-threatening to the species on a whole. Only Jan (pers. comm), who is supporting the NOAA petition to have the species listed on the US Endangered Species Act, drastically diverted from this narrative, stating that some local populations are effectively ‘functionally extinct’. This outlook is not surprising considering their involvement in campaigning for increased protections for the species. However, it speaks volumes that although regional extinctions were discussed amongst other interviews, Jan was the only interviewee who framed this as being totally unacceptable and in need of reform. In this way, Jan places a higher (inherent) value on the *local* survivability of populations, not just because their loss would impact local trade but also because it would be an unacceptable loss (and harm) toward the species and the wider environment.

Invisibility in numbers

As described in Part 2 of this chapter the normalisation and general acceptance of the consumption of the queen conch has led to harms at the individual level becoming nearly completely invisible. This is particularly prominent in the way that trade is described. For example, throughout the interviews trade was typically quantified in scales that disassociated from the individual (as meat, kilograms, pounds, etc.). Only Matías (pers. comm), a wildlife enforcement officer, discussed the potential impact on individual conch. They described the ‘sobering’ experience (during Operation Shell Game[28]) when they realised the sheer scale of conch who had been illegally traded, adding:

> ‘The investigation could prove that 263,000 lbs29 of Queen Conch was illegally traded (there was much more that was unproven in a court of law). Having said this, 263,000 lbs equated to approx. 1.02 million individual

28 See footnote 26.

29 263,000 pounds is just under 120 tonnes.

> specimens. Complete colonies were decimated and will never recover. Keep in mind, the large Conch shells one remembers as a child are few and far between. Due to continued overharvest, individual specimens are now quite small'.

We can perhaps forgive Mateus' use of 'specimens', considering their role in law enforcement where such language is commonplace. Clearly, in this case, the impact on individuals (when the scale is realised) is something that can be related to emotionally. However, it is not clear if the scale of seizures had been smaller, whether the shock towards individual victims would have been viewed in the same way. As described in the previous section, tens of thousands of tonnes of queen conch are legally traded annually, impacting many millions of individuals. Potentially then, the decimation of colonies described by Matías happens on a far larger scale for the provisioning of the legal trade. This is reminiscent of Agnew's (2020) description of the ordinary, everyday, and normalised acts that contribute to ecocide.

Considering the normalcy of describing the trade in the queen conch by units of weight, interview participants were often taken aback when asked about the impacts and harms towards individual conch, and welfare remained something of a non-issue. Only Nicola (pers. comm), who has experience in conch aquaculture and restoration projects, touched on the issue of individual welfare. Here, they described a restoration project involving around 250 conchs who had been purchased from local fishers in the hope of rebuilding populations. During their initial capture each conch had a hole knocked into their shells, enabling fishers string them together[30]. Despite the conch outwardly recovering from their ordeal (the holes in their shells healed), they did not reproduce in the first year, even though environmental conditions were favourable. Nicola, hypothesised that the stress from the transport, handling, and the boring of their shells had led them to reabsorb their gonads[31]. This recognition of stress and negative welfare associated with fishing activities was a significant departure from what was (within all other interviews) typically a discussion of *fishery resources,* rather than individuals with welfare concerns. This direction of discussion is testament to the strength of social norms surrounding the queen conch as a *seafood resource* – who were more frequently considered non-sentient (survey responses) than they were as wildlife in need of individual protections from harm.

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30 This is a common practice that enables fishers to catch large quantities of queen conch while remaining fishing for weeks at a time. As the conch are strung alongside the boat, they can still be sold fresh at the end of the fishing trip. This scenario was also the basis for the victim vignette at the beginning of this chapter.

31 For the related study on this see Norton (2020).

Wider contextualisation of harm

The final section of this chapter focuses on the broader context of harm arising from within the interview discussions. Throughout the interviews, conservation of the species was repeatedly contextualised within wider issues impacting both people (e.g., hurricanes, unemployment, poverty, COVID-19, etc.), and the wider marine environment (e.g., coral bleaching, rising ocean temperatures, agricultural and plastic pollution). These social and environmental issues were frequently described as more urgent, or of higher concern that the conservation of the queen conch. This broadening of harms is essential as it recognises an ecosystem orientated perspective, whereby threats toward the queen conch are not solely the result of their exploitation, but a combination of social and environmental threats impacting both the marine environment and people. When discussing conservation approaches Michael discussed the need to recognise the *future* value of conservation, opposed to the short-term *economic* value of exploitation, stating:

> 'We have to find a balance, of what we catch and what we leave, to let the species survive. So, we can be motivated economically, but on the side that the species gets healthy so that it can last forever not just a few years'.

In addition, Ross (pers. comm) a marine biologist, was one of the few interview participants who looked beyond the queen conch as a solely a valuable food resource and discussed the need for a broader ecosystem-based approach to fishery management. Here, Ross highlighted the 'cascading benefits' from protecting queen conch populations in both providing ecosystem services and also contributing more broadly to peoples livelihoods, to food security, and to tourism (both when marketed as a food but also through dive tourism). When viewing the queen conch as part of an interconnected system their perceived value can exceed beyond that of a food resource, to encompass their role in the ecosystem and the subsequent benefits to people and the environment that they bring.

Chapter summary

Throughout this chapter I have presented how perceptions of harm and victimhood are constructed through an analysis of the three research questions. I began by outlining the legal and moral perspectives surrounding the species. As with other marine species who are commercially exploited, I described how the management of the queen conch was often framed within a discussion of *sustainable exploitation*. This focus on sustainability was prominent within both legal and moral discussions, highlighting how the species has become valued primarily as a commodity, minimising the visibility of the species' inherent value. I discussed how resistance to CITES management interventions (borne from a lack of involvement, inclusivity, and disagreements over the queen conchs' population status) have led to claims that management is theatrically implemented. This is demonstrated by claims that CITES 'does not follow up' and is

‘easy to please’. I also highlighted how many (within the interviews) called on CITES to do more to protect the species from over-exploitation and illegal trade. Although the moral standing of the queen conch appeared to be fixed under an anthropocentric (instrumental use) position, discussions were open to evaluate the moral responsibilities toward marginalised people. This discussion ties to a Southern criminological position to recognise the problematic nature of inequalities in access, and the harmful practices of corporate and industrial groups impacting the underprivileged. While management interventions appear primarily concerned with the preservation of export industries, this overshadows and minimises attention toward the global inequalities associated with the exploitation of the species (for instance the exploitation of cheap labour).

In the second section I highlighted the scale of international trade and – to bring the individual victims to the forefront – I gave an estimate of the scale of individuals impacted. Following this I reflected on consumer culture and the marketing of the species. I demonstrated how the queen conch is normalised as a food resource, falling under the category of everyday-normalised harms. Here, the marketing of the species (as a food resource) appears influenced by perceptions of cultural heritage, tradition, and tourism – as well as by diaspora communities. In a similar way to the first case study, consumers were often framed as uninterested in sustainability (despite interviewees themselves being concerned in this respect). The sensitive questioning revealed that very few participants were aware of any illegal trade amongst their peers, however potentially 24% of the survey respondents would admit to personally transporting the queen conch internationally according to the results of the UCT. This section also gave ample evidence for a willingness (of industry groups) to circumvent trade regulations, highlighting the prevalence of institutional corruption and bribery. Despite intergovernmental management efforts, there remains (in some areas) low political will to control illegal trade. These issues severely impact the reach and implementation success of CITES.

In the final section I discussed the perceptions of harm surrounding the exploitation of the queen conch. I demonstrated how, for those who are involved in the capture and killing of species, harms are serious, systemic, and often overlooked by those in management. I described the parallel exploitation of fishers and the queen conch, highlighting how as the species is increasingly exploited, this too reinforces existing social injustices toward impoverished and disadvantaged people. I then reflected on the recognition of harms at the population level. Here, it appeared easier for interviewees, especially those in the fishery and governance sectors, to frame what was harmful within a judgement of *commercial viability* rather than extinction risk. This focus again perpetuates an instrumental use and anthropocentric position and renders any recognition of harm toward the individual invisible. Only Jan attempted to reframe the issue from one of commercial

viability to one of (species) conservation concern. This is a critical distinction regarding CITES and the listing of marine wildlife, particularly surrounding the difference between 'risk to commercial viability' and 'risk to species extinction' that frames so much of the discussion around CITES listings for marine species.

The discussions throughout this chapter have highlighted how social constructions of the queen conch have established the species primarily as food resources, effectively diminishing any recognition of individual harm and victimhood. Although this thesis seeks to focus on the harms toward the individual wildlife who are exploited, this case also highlights that while exploitation of the species is demonstrably harmful, it is also contextualised within a wider realm of human exploitation, social inequality, and abuse of power. As a result, the management of the trade in the queen conch can be seen to value profits and export markets over both local and disadvantaged people as well as the queen conch themselves.

Chapter 7. The Atlantic bluefin tuna

Chapter overview

This third, and final, results chapter focuses on the trade in the Atlantic bluefin tuna (ABFT – *Thunnus thynnus*). The chapter begins with a final victim vignette to focus the case on the individual victimisation of an ABFT. As with the other case studies, discussion is then structured around the three research questions. I first examine the legal and moral judgements surrounding the species' exploitation. I describe how conflicts between CITES and ICCAT over the responsibility for managing the species hinge on the representation of the species as 'food', complicated also by tensions between political and economic interests that permeate both fishery and conservation science. Next, I elaborate on trade and consumption motivation and demonstrate how justifications for exploitation mirror the species' legal status and are centred on an anthropocentric (instrumental use) position. I then describe how consumption is motivated and marketed by appeals to status, tradition, and normalcy. Finally, I focus on the construction of harm surrounding the species' exploitation, including a focus at the population, industry, and individual level. I demonstrate how the ABFT is primarily valued in their commodity form, minimising, or reducing harms toward the individual. I conclude the chapter with a summary of key findings, highlighting concerns around the influence of power relations and the potential for species-based hierarchies in conservation attention and concern.

Victim vignette

Panic sets in as the thrum of bodies around her pick up speed in all directions. They have been confined for so long now, their once streamlined muscular bodies are heavy and cumbersome. The long monotony of her days, unmoving, in the same stagnant waters, have made her docile – fat. She has circled her confines many times, brushed against the jet-black barrier [the net], scraped its sides. But no movement, no escape. This day is different – she has been segregated from most of the group. The space around her is closing in. Hoisted upwards, rising. Anxious. All around her is chaos as her companions begin to switch and turn, no longer slow and docile. Each are circling, rising, thrashing. The space around her gets darker with the weight of others thrashing above. Brilliant, dizzying flashes of light slip through as her companions turn and twist in all directions. Everywhere in her vision are crashes of white. The water disturbed, frothing, breaking under the weight of their heaving, colliding bodies. She slices through the water, toward any free space. They are pulled upwards by the rising net. Her scales flush, the prolonged panic makes her hot, it rolls off her in waves. The open ocean, just out of reach, is blocked at every turn. Upwards is the only option, toward the unmoving sky.

Unknown to her she is locked in the sights of a man above. Her heart pounding harder now. Her muscles weaking, tiresome. Her companions beneath her frantically battering their tails, torsos crashing in the melee. Every movement is a huge effort. She breaches the divide between the ocean and the air. And in that moment of bright panic – she is struck. A huge weight crashes into her temple. A moment of searing pain. A brilliant white flash ripples across her body. The message unreadable by the eyes of the man above, but not by her increasingly frantic kin. It slowly ebbs from her scales, as they lose their luminous sheen. Her world now turned to darkness.

This prose has been inspired by conversations with experts throughout this study and is intended to act as a means to individualise the tuna at the point their life comes into contact with (and is ended by) humans. The above narrative describes a tuna who has been caught by purse seine (as the majority are) and later killed after spending time in a fattening pen (as is generally the practice in the Mediterranean). Contextual information has been drawn from the following – anatomy and biology: Kitagawa & Kimura, 2016; behaviours: Teo & Boustany, 2016; Block & Stevens, 2001; vision: Torisawa, Fukuda & Takagi, 2016; stress responses: Evans, 2016; Corriero *et al*., 2011; Addis *et al*., 2009; and farming and killing methods: Mylonas *et al*., 2010.

Introducing the contributors

This case study has been informed by conversations with sixteen expert participants. While in some cases their expertise spans multiple sectors, broadly speaking they have been categorised into the following areas – 1. governing body sector (four participants), 2. socio-cultural sector (two participants), 3. fishery sector (three participants), and 4. conservation and research sector (seven participants).

From the governing body sector, I spoke with Ted and Tomas who have both provided technical assistance within ICCAT. Ted has experience working within Canadian Commercial Fishers Associations, whereas Tomas has worked closely the Japanese Fisheries Agency. In addition to the industry perspectives that Ted and Tomas provided, Ellie (introduced in the previous case studies) and David also added context from a CITES perspective.

For the socio-cultural sector, I spoke at length with Nora, who specialises in environmental justice and policymaking research. Their observations within ICCAT provided a rich sense of context to the governance and exploitation of the ABFT. In addition, the trade and legal status of the bluefin tuna was expanded on (within a UK perspective) by Sean, who has been involved in campaigning for a catch and release fishery here in the UK.

The case study is also supplemented by conversations with three tuna fishers, Nico, Ivan, and Vinny, all of whom are also involved in fishery research initiatives to some degree. Nico provided

insight into the fishery from a Canadian perspective. As a commercial tuna fisher, they spoke in detail around the management procedures and changes to the fishery over time. Nico is also involved in a tagging programme and contributes to research on the population dynamics and movements of the species. In addition, Ivan is a passionate lifelong tuna fisher and harpooner. They are also involved in scientific research and collecting samples and data. Finally, Vinny is an experienced 'big-game' angler who has been working closely with the UK Government, policymakers, and scientists, to establish an ABFT 'CatcH and Release Tagging' (CHART) programme in the UK (established in August 2021).

Within the conservation and research sector, I spoke with Simone, Roy, Kate, Chris, Sebastian, Jacob, and Jason. Simone provided a wealth of information into their research on the life history and ecology of the ABFT. They also elaborated on the challenges and political manoeuvrings which have surrounded research for the species. Roy is a specialist advisor for the IUCN and technical advisor for ICCAT and discussed the status of the ABFT and their experience from both a conservation and fishery context. Kate provided additional context from an environmental law perspective. Additionally, Chris, a campaigner for the World Wide Fund for Nature's (WWF) Mediterranean Marine Initiative, detailed the local perspectives surrounding the conservation and trade of the ABFT. Further support was provided by Sebastian and Jacob who both work for environmental NGOs, with Jacob also having formal observer status (and significant experience) within ICCAT and other RMFOs. Finally, Jason, a conservation researcher and ecologist, shared with me their perspectives on the role of ICCAT and CITES for the conservation of the species.

Part 1. Value judgements: legal and moral perspectives

This first section begins by describing how harm and victimhood are perceived through an overview of the two (failed) CITES listing proposals. I demonstrate how anthropocentric perceptions of the species (as an economically valuable food resource) have shaped management decisions surrounding the species and have impeded the ability of CITES to effectively discuss listings for the species. I then discuss the moral attitudes surrounding the exploitation of the species and highlight how these align with the legal parameters for the species' management. I also elaborate on perceptions of sustainability and describe how ambiguity in definitions here have led to the exploitation of the species being viewed on a sliding scale of acceptability.

Legal status: CITES and ICCAT

CITES: the one that got away

As described in the second chapter, the ABFT has been proposed twice for inclusion within the CITES Appendices. The species' listing was first debated in 1992 (CoP-8) and then again in 2010 (CoP-15). Although each proposal was rejected, the support for, and advice surrounding, the

proposals has differed each time. During the first CITES listing proposal, the ABFT was categorised as 'Data Deficient' by the IUCN[32] and concerns were mounting around overfishing and population decline. Sweden proposed a split-listing with the Western Atlantic populations listed on Appendix I and the Eastern Atlantic populations listed on Appendix II (proposals 76 and 77 respectively). In response to these proposals Canada, Japan, Morocco, and the US maintained that the responsibility for managing the species should rest with ICCAT who has 'taken steps towards' and 'begun plans' for the monitoring of trade and the long-term recovery of the species (CITES, 1992a, p.2). As with the queen conch case, the CITES Secretariat recommended the rejection of the proposal, stating that neither the Western or Eastern populations were believed to be in danger of extinction (CITES, 1992b) Following the interventions from other member states and ICCAT themselves, Sweden withdrew their proposal. When reflecting on the failure to list the species, Ellie (pers. comm) described a misalignment between conservation and fishery groups, noting:

> 'There was a mindset in the beginning – we can't talk about sharks, we can't talk about fish – because they're not wildlife, they're food'.

Similarly, Jacob (pers. comm) who works closely with RFMOs (including ICCAT), reflected on the perceived divide in responsibility between wildlife conservation and fishery management groups stating:

> 'People really think of it [CITES] as a way to protect wildlife, and people think about fish, particularly commercially exploited fish that are managed by RFMOs as being food instead of wildlife'.

The above comments demonstrate the difficulty in reconstructing value perceptions and introducing conservation orientated perspectives for marine species who are otherwise socially understood as *food*. In this case, reactions to the ABFT proposal led to its withdrawal prior to any votes being cast. This demonstrates the strength of the attributed values and perceptions surrounding the ABFT (which predominantly recognise their *functional* value as food) and have seriously impacted the way the species has been considered within international governance structures.

Off the hook for a second time

Eight years after the first proposal rejection, Monaco proposed that the whole population of ABFT be listed on Appendix I of CITES. Some highlights from this proposal include the recognition

32 In 2011 the species was reclassified as 'Endangered' by the IUCN (Collette, 2011) and in 2021 their status was down-listed to 'Least Concern' in a large part due to the stability of the Eastern population (the Western population is still considered significantly reduced) (Collette *et al*., 2021).

that imports into Japan in 2007 exceeded ICCAT's total allowable catch (TAC), meaning that fishing exceeded the limits set by ICCAT. The proposal also highlighted that ICCAT's own scientists' advice to reduce the TAC had been ignored by ICCAT. This followed a long pattern of decision making that ignored the advice from the scientific advisory. This time, external support for the CITES listing was much higher with the CITES Secretariat, IUCN scientists, the FAO Advisory Panel, and ICCAT's own scientific advisory committee (SCRS) reinforcing the argument that the ABFT met the CITES requirements for an Appendix I listing (CITES, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2010d). Despite this external support, Ellie (pers. comm) described how tensions were high throughout the CITES discussions, with lobbying from the Japanese delegation particularly 'intense', adding:

> 'There was a lot of pressure put on countries, because bluefin tuna is economically, and politically, and psychologically very significant in Japan'.

Alongside this, Roy (pers. comm) an advisor for the IUCN, also highlighted the strength of trade interests and described how:

> 'Conservation is a problem when a prized fish might be worth more than the boat that landed it'.

The above comments by Ellie and Roy demonstrate how the representation of conservation and fishery science within management decision making is not immune to political and economic interests. This was made particularly apparent during the CITES Committee I meeting when the delegate for Libya refused to acknowledge the FAO report (which supported the listing), stating that 'science had been trumped by policy and opinion' (CITES, 2010c, p.4). The delegate then called for an immediate vote on the listing, effectively shutting down any further debate. (It is essential to note that both Libya and Japan have strong interests in maintaining the fishery). Those who recalled the event described the situation as 'procedurally crazy' and 'messy', and it seems to have left a lasting impression on a number of interviewees who were present at the time. The immediate vote (to end discussion) passed by seventy-two in favour, fifty-three against, with three abstentions. The Committee then voted on the listing and the proposal received twenty votes in favour, sixty-eight votes against, and thirty abstentions. With this, the second CITES listing proposal for the ABFT was rejected (CITES, 2010c). When asked about the proposal rejection amongst so much external support, Ellie (pers. comm) explained:

> 'It's capitalism and its business greed. And some of the businesses are the ones who yelled the loudest "oh we're all for sustainability, but *you* [CITES] shouldn't regulate the industry, [the industry] can self-regulate" …. No. I firmly believe industry self-regulation is the reason why we have the problems we have today. *Their motive is profit*'.

This issue speaks to the discussion in the third chapter on the 'blue growth' of marine industries and the uneasy intersection between sustainability, exploitation, and profit (with the balance often leaning toward industry growth rather than sustainability). However, counter to Ellie's comment above, Tomas (pers. comm) provided some additional context from a Japanese fishery position, stating:

> 'We believe that over-exploitation of resources does not necessarily mean that it is threatened with extinction, which is the benchmark of CITES. However, NGOs tried to mix up these concepts at CITES. They tried to treat tigers (only thousands remain) and ABFT (millions are swimming) in the same manner'.

In the same vein, Simone (pers. comm) also defended the position of ICCAT, adding:

> '[To say] that ICCAT is a failure…[is] a horrible assault against science and fisheries science that has gone to the table and worked diligently all of these years to reverse what was going on. And there is certainly so much room for improvement in the science, but it's consensus international science by experts, not by individuals that feel that their opinions count as much as international scientists'.

These debates within and between CITES and ICCAT highlight the tension between established fishery management processes (ICCAT) and the CITES conservation community in determining the responsible authority (and scope of management) for the conservation of marine species who are commercially exploited. The above discussion from Ellie, Tomas, and Simone demonstrates how perceptions of marine species not only hinge on value judgements of 'food' or 'wildlife' but are also determined within the overarching global political economy. Here, conservation-orientated arguments contend that established fishery management bodies are aligned with corporate interests for the expansion of production and industry growth, rather than the long-term protection of wildlife or ecosystems ('*their motive is profit*' – Ellie). This perception also ties to the green-cultural criminological framework as it demonstrates the social construction of harm (the normalcy or blindness to harms) that is formed around political and economic interests (Ferrell, 2020; Brisman & South, 2014). Here the violence enacted toward the ABFT (via their commodification) becomes politically constructed around interests toward economic gain, irrespective of the harms of exploitation. Through these means any challenge to fishery management (even from CITES, which is ultimately a trade orientated convention) can be viewed as an opposition to the established cultural constructs of capitalist consumption, which are foremost orientated around profitability and trade rather than an ecological or species concern.

In contrast, and in defence of ICCAT, both Tomas and Simone have highlighted how scientific findings have been subject to manipulation to suit conservation objectives. When defining management for the species both industry and conservation groups work within an area of uncertainty – with industry using uncertainty in stock assessments as a precaution *against*

management interventions, while conservation groups use uncertainties to argue *for* greater species led precautions (Jacob, pers. comm). Conservation action is not neutral in this case. While industry groups have a clear economic interest in the species' exploitation (as well as their population stability), conservation groups are also motivated in this way (via fundraising campaigns, media interest and sales, and wealthy donors). Within this field of manipulated meaning (toward stock assessments, population dynamics, and population status), the legal status of the ABFT becomes a reflection of the political, economic, *and* conservation interests surrounding the species. Critically though, both industry and conservation groups maintain the worldview that the ABFT is a *resource* to be exploited and so neither are pushing the boundaries of harm or victimhood recognition.

Considering the failure to list the species within CITES, I now reflect on the moral judgements surrounding the ABFT to better understand how perceptions toward the species may influence the legal parameters established for them.

Moral judgements

Representations of the Atlantic bluefin tuna

Drawing from the cultural criminological underpinning, harms and crimes can be better understood by examining the meanings they carry (Ferrell, 2014). To gauge how harm is constructed around the ABFT, survey respondents were asked how they would define the species (Figure 19). Considering the above sentiments about fish being viewed as food rather than wild creatures, it was encouraging to see that the most frequently used word to describe the species was 'wild' (n.84). This was followed by perceptions of 'vulnerable' (n.72) and 'food' (n.48) (potentially here lies a recognition that their status as food makes the species vulnerable). While 'sentient' was used 24 times, 4 participants also described the species as 'non-sentient'. Additional descriptions included 'ugly', 'not pretty on the outside', 'petfood', 'industry', and – critically from a nonspeciesist standpoint – one respondent stated that the species was deserving of rights.

Figure 19. Word association for the Atlantic bluefin tuna, generated from survey participant responses.

When asked about the moral acceptability of eating the ABFT, 60% of survey respondents found consumption to be morally acceptable, while 26% were morally opposed to eating the species and 14% were unsure how they felt. The participants' responses tended to rest on ideas and assumptions around the sustainability of the fishery, combined also with beliefs about the normalcy of consuming fish in general. Many responses aligned with an anthropocentric and instrumental use worldview, with respondents describing the normalcy of eating tuna and stating that consumption was necessary for health and dietary needs. For example, one participant wrote:

> 'It is a fish high in omegas, as well as proteins, important nutrients for people's lives' (Peru, flexitarian. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

The most frequent concern was one of sustainability and the need for populations on a whole to be protected. For instance, one respondent wrote:

> 'It is morally acceptable to eat wild tuna if we control that the population is stable in the *region* we fish it.' (France, pescatarian. Very low speciesism, average Western agreeability)

Critically, the above statement departs from a focus on the overall population status, instead focusing on stability at the regional level. While sustainability concerns typically sit within an ecocentric worldview, in this case the perspective was applied in a local rather than holistic way. Within the survey, concerns over sustainability often shifted the focus from anthropocentrism (human needs) to ecocentrism (nature centred). However, further, broader moral consideration was limited. Only 19% of respondents described the species as 'sentient' and only one participant described them as 'deserving of rights' (Figure 18). As with the previous case study, most of the respondents did not expand their moral consideration for the species beyond the context of sustainable use, and as such did not discuss the inherent or intrinsic value of the species. Only one

participant voluntarily discussed the issue of animal rights for the species, however this was not expanded upon in greater detail.

Defining and expanding on sustainability

As with the survey participants, many of those interviewed also framed their discussion around judgements of sustainability. From these discussions it appears that sustainability can mean different things in different contexts. While CITES is traditionally more focussed on *long-term* sustainability and preventing species from going extinct through trade, ICCAT is traditionally more businesses orientated with a remit to manage the species to ensure maximum sustainable yield – MSY (introduced in Chapter 1). Here sustainability (in a fishery management sense) rests on a calculated judgement of the maximum number of fishes who can be killed without impacting the population. However, some interviewees were sceptical about the sustainability of the fishery, highlighting how MSY is not the sole concern within management decision making. For instance, Chris (pers. comm) highlighted how economic interests can dictate ICCATs approach toward sustainable management, noting that:

> 'In an industry where the final consumers are willing to pay €2.7 million for one single fish, then all the arguments about sustainability are hard to push forward'.

Similarly, Kate (pers. comm), who has closely studied the management of the ABFT within ICCAT, described how personal, industrial, and national interests often take priority over sustainable management, adding:

> 'The overall impression I got when studying the effectiveness of the international legislation and conservation rules agreed to between countries [was] *that it seems more political, but no proper enforcement tools are put in place*'.

This echoes the discussion in the previous chapter on the theatrical enforcement of queen conch regulations. In addition, perceptions of the sustainability of the fishery itself are also situationally defined. For instance, Nico (pers. comm), a commercial tuna fisher from Canada, described how fishery management measures are extremely effective, adding that from their experience:

> 'It's not being overexploited over here. The way we are set up, with our government ruling and politics, it's very well managed. Maybe extreme. But we have a sustainable fishery, so obviously it's been working'.

In contrast, Chris (pers. comm), who has experience in the fishery from a Mediterranean context cautioned:

> 'I don't think we can say that eating bluefin tuna is *not* sustainable, because it's managed in such a way that it's out of the red zone. *But* if we talk about sustainability, about certification, this is another story. Consumers should know…that if you buy tuna it is coming from farms [most likely, within the

> Mediterranean], which I really don't think is sustainable. Its wild based aquaculture…there is a huge impact on both the fish that is used for feeding but also on the environment'.

The difference in outlook between Nico and Chris potentially relates to differences in the management of Eastern and Western fisheries. However, the broader harms toward the environment raised by Chris expand the view of sustainability from simply focusing on the MSY, to recognising the potential impact on marine ecosystems. On a similar note, Sebastian (pers. comm) lamented the current management approach toward MSY and pushed further at the boundaries of sustainability, adding:

> 'We say "maximum sustainable yield is the ideal level for an exploited stock", but I also wish we could say – "let's not forget it's wildlife" we need some buffer here'.

Expanding on Sebastian's comment, Jacob (pers. comm) was also critical of MSY as a measure for sustainability. Jacob described how conservation targets (focussed on MSY) act only to keep industry in check, rather than pushing the boundaries of conservation, stating:

> 'The fact that the most involved, most committed environmental NGOs have a goal for tuna that is entirely aligned with what *should* already be legally required, and what *should* be the position of industry – to just fish at maximum sustainable yield and have enough fish in the water to support maximum sustainable yield – It's written into the ICCAT treaty! It *should* be the position of every industry member. And that is *our* primary goal – as the environmental community. That I think speaks volumes, that *we are operating in a space where tuna is not wildlife, but is just a commercially important, commercially targeted species*'.

This discussion resonates the previous comments around the ABFT being recognised solely as *food* rather than *wildlife*. Drawing from the green-cultural criminological foundations it appears that harm toward the species is constructed around this view of the ABFT as 'food resources'. These perceptions simultaneously normalise harm and reduce the visibility of the ABFT as a victim of exploitation. However, the discussion also demonstrates how perceptions of sustainability can influence the management and marketing of consumption. Uncertainty surrounding the definitions for sustainability (e.g., local/global, species focussed, or ecosystem focussed) have led to contrasting responses regarding the acceptability of exploitation. The final discussion from Sebastian and Jacob highlights how fishery concepts surrounding the species further influence the scope and direction of conservation action (which currently uses and works within the confines of MSY). Sebastian's questioning of whether maximum sustainable yield should be the ideal for conservation and trade management (or if limits need to be more sensitively and holistically defined) aligns with a green criminological position to expand the boundaries for (and definitions of) harms and crimes. As such, there appears space here to expand the moral consideration surrounding the species, however this remains constrained by the overarching view

that identifies the ABFT as an acceptable and normal food resource (to be sustainably managed). The next section introduces the findings relating to the second research question on the motivating factors behind the trade and exploitation of the species.

Part 2. Trade and consumption motivation

This section begins with an overview of global trade in the species as reported by the FAO and ICCAT. Following the nonspeciesist approach I also attempt to contextualise this trade by the number of individuals potentially victimised. I then examine motivations for the (il)legal trade and consumption of the species and consider how the consumption of ABFT meat is socially perceived. I suggest that a combination of; 1. lack of species awareness (between different tuna species) and 2. the normalisation of consumption, leads to perceptions of the species as an everyday *normal* food while also retaining an element of luxury and status appeal. Drawing from the Southern criminological conceptual underpinning, I also demonstrate how commercial interests incentivise the intensification of exploitation, disadvantaging small-scale fishers, local consumers, and potentially driving illegal fishing and trade.

Current state of global trade of the Atlantic bluefin tuna

Overview of global trade

The scale of the ABFT's exploitation makes them one of the most significant catch fisheries in the world. The current fishing quota for 2021 stands at 36,000 tons for the Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean population, and 2,350 tons for the Western Atlantic population (Recommendations 20.07 and 20.06 respectively: ICCAT, 2020b, 2020c). To put the scale of this into perspective, assuming a large Atlantic bluefin tuna has an average weight of 250 kilograms, this could lead to the killing of 153,400 tunas. To build a picture of the scale of the ABFTs past exploitation, the recorded catch between 2010 and 2019 has been compiled from the FAO and ICCAT records (Figure 20). During this period, the FAO records suggest that approximately 258 thousand tonnes of ABFT were caught, with an average annual catch of just under 26,000 tonnes. Records from ICCAT's own database are somewhat reduced in comparison, with an average annual catch of around 18 thousand tonnes. To focus on the impact toward the individual, this would potentially equate to the killing of over one million, or just under 650 thousand ABFT (FAO and ICCAT records respectively) (Figure 20). Note – these estimations are based on an assumption for the average weight of the ABFT (250 kilograms) which will also vary based on location and age.

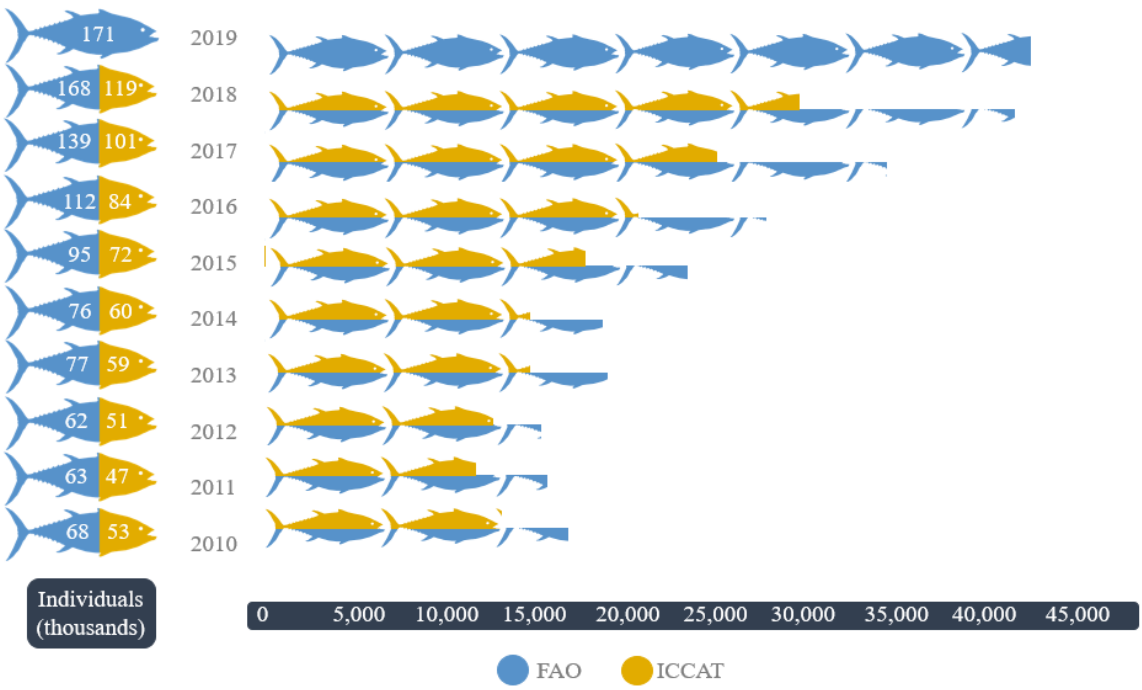

Figure 20. Global reported capture production (FAO) and catch statistics (ICCAT) for the Atlantic bluefin tuna. Quantities reported in tonnes of live-weight. ICCAT records are for nominal catch meaning discarded dead are not included in the catch records. The quantity of individuals have been calculated assuming that one Atlantic bluefin tuna weighs 250 kilograms. Sources: FAO (2021) and ICCAT (2020a).

Spotlight on illegal trade

In addition to the legal trade of the species, ongoing issues with illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing continue to impact the fishery. This has been considerably challenging particularly in the Mediterranean where low enforcement and lack of political will have established strong overlaps between legal and illegal trade. Illegal trade can also be seen when inspecting more closely the quantities of catch reported in Figure 18. For example, in 2018, the annual nominal catch of the ABFT was recorded at just over 29,700 tonnes. This was above the 2018 total allowable catch (TAC) which was set at 28,200 tonnes (ICCAT, 2017). This TAC is potentially equivalent to around 112,800 individual tunas. The difference between the (legal) TAC and the reported annual catch could potentially add an additional 6336 (illegally caught) tuna to this estimation.

Now that I have outlined the scale of the ABFT's exploitation and provided an estimate for the impact toward individuals, the section turns to the motivations surrounding the trade and consumption of the species.

Attitudes toward ABFT meat consumption

Everyday consumption or status symbol?

Considering the scale of the ABFTs exploitation (described above), the green-cultural criminological framework underpinning this research can help to shed a light on how cultural dynamics surrounding the species act to perpetuate and motivate both legal and illegal exploitation of the species. Within the interviews, the consumption of ABFT meat was variously painted as a luxury and delicacy (especially in the context of Japanese consumption). In addition, consumption was also described as a necessary and basic food-resource. For instance, Simone (pers. comm) stated:

> 'Fish are important for people to eat, period. *And tuna feeds the world*. Bluefin are like any other tuna species, being high quality protein. If there are food security issues and if it's fished sustainably, it's as reasonable to consume bluefin as any other [species]'.

While Simone describes an apparent ubiquitous exploitation of the species (their feeding of the world), Ellie (pers. comm) highlighted how many people are not generally reliant on the ABFT for subsistence, or for meeting their basic nutritional requirements. Here, Ellie contended that consumption of the ABFT has become a political issue rather than a food security issue, adding:

> 'Eating things like bluefin tuna in sushi is a class thing in the West…there's no food security value, there's no health value. It's just status'.

This also speaks to a Southern criminological focus, questioning whether the ABFT does in fact *feed the world*, or whether they instead feed the wealthy upper classes to the detriment of both the marine environment as well as those less wealthy and marginalised consumers. To draw from the survey responses, it seems that perceptions of the species (as a food) are fairly normalised and ever-present. Many respondents stated that they had eaten tuna (in cans, as steaks, and as sushi). However, others were also not sure of the specific species they had consumed. For instance, one wrote:

> 'I don't know much about different species of tuna, but having eaten quite a lot of sashimi in Japan some years ago, *I guess it might have included bluefin*…' (UK, meat eater. Low-level speciesism, above average Western agreeability).

This confusion by consumers over whether they had eaten ABFT highlights a lack of consumer awareness around the different species of tuna that are exploited. This also suggests that while the ABFT may be perceived as a status food for some (as suggested by Ellie), many consumers simply perceive trade to be normal and potentially no different from consuming other tuna or fish species. This was emphasised by another survey respondent who described:

> ‘I have had it before when living in Japan, but it wasn’t clear it was endangered. *It’s normal to be served this kind of tuna*’ (Malaysia, meat eater. Low-level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

This comment suggests that rarity and status do not necessarily play a strong role in the consumption of the species, but rather indicates that consumption is a normalised aspect of day-to-day life (in keeping with Simone’s comment that tuna feeds the world). In addition, while the minke whale and queen conch cases described the emotional connections between people and the consumption of the species, within this case both survey and interview respondents appeared to be much more detached. Frequently respondents would state plainly that the ABFT was a *normal* food and acceptable to consume, and there was little sense of cultural identity, history, or connection with the species. However, responses are potentially limited in regard to the demographics of respondents (Figure 5), which were heavily centred toward European participants with limited responses from the global peripheries (especially considering that Japan is the leading consumer of international exports).

Charisma and conservation messaging

The above discussion demonstrates how consumption can fall into the category of ‘everyday’ normalised harmful behaviours (Agnew, 2020). While respondents did not typically describe strong cultural connections to the species, many did describe how concerns over sustainability influenced their decisions as consumers. For instance, some survey respondents wrote:

> ‘[They are] one of the best foods on earth and *we need to keep it around*’ (US, meat eater. Mid-level speciesism, above average Western agreeability).
>
> ‘They are dying out – we should not eat them’ (UK, vegetarian. Very-low speciesism, average Western agreeability).
>
> ‘I could not support commercial fishing and overfishing at the industrial scale…As the world's market for tuna is huge, sustainable fishing of it is impossible’ (Switzerland, flexitarian. Low level speciesism, average Western agreeability).

While the ABFT may not be as ubiquitous as the endangered tiger or panda in public awareness, there does seem to be a greater awareness of the conservation issues surrounding the species. This may be related to increased efforts from conservation groups. For example, we now have a ‘World Tuna Day’ (established by the UN and observed on the 2nd May annually). On this note Gonçalves (2019) suggests that media and NGO efforts to raise awareness for the ABFT have created a triangular nexus between scientists, policy makers and citizens themselves, enabling the public to pressure policy decisions based on the framing of knowledge disseminated from scientific experts by NGOs. When discussing conservation awareness, Jacob (pers. comm) touched on the species’ conservation appeal, noting:

> ‘Something about bluefin still has the slightest little tinge of being sort of *charismatic wildlife*, as opposed to other tunas which are really just considered food by just about everyone’.

The perception of the species as *charismatic wildlife* (above) somewhat conflicts with the perceptions of the species described in the first section (e.g., ‘small’, ‘ugly’, ‘gross’, and ‘not pretty on the outside’ (Figure 18). This recognition and suggestion of the ABFT as charismatic draws into consideration the potential for speciesism here. While the species appears unanimously socially understood and defined as *food*, the fact that they are also large, charismatic animals (and thus appealing for conservation marketing) is revealing of how conservation messaging can strengthen awareness for aesthetically and subjectively pleasing species, potentially to the detriment of other wildlife with less conservation *charisma* appeal. The recognition of conservation issues amongst some of the survey respondents demonstrates how the species is not solely viewed as food, but also recognised as a species in need of protection. From this discussion it appears that conservation messaging (and potentially a speciesist bias) may be contributing to concerns over sustainability for the species. In contrast, the parallel social construction of the species as gross, small, ugly, etc. may also be supporting and reinforcing of anthropocentric, dominance-based worldviews which normalise the species’ exploitation.

Economic incentives: conservation or commodification

Trade motivation, big business with big investments

While the previous two chapters described the motivational factors behind the trade in the minke whale and queen conch as intricately tied with cultural customs around food consumption, the overriding motivation behind the international trade in ABFT appears more closely driven by economic interests and profitability. For instance, Jacob (pers. comm) described how the considerable commercial investments (by countries with a historical claim to the catch) have significantly influenced trade negotiations within ICCAT. Jacob described how economic interests support the expansion and industrialisation of the fishery while also making it difficult for nations without a historical catch or large investments to be involved in the fishery, adding:

> ‘The EU has all of these vessels that were 20 million dollars each, and companies that have invested a billion dollars or more in these fisheries – because they have historically been fishing them for a long time. And then you have countries or governments like Brazil or South Africa, or others that are saying “well we are developing our coastal economies, and we have fishermen that depend on catch of the tropical tuna for day-to-day survival, for day-to-day livelihoods” …When everyone is right in those situations, but they are right in such different parts of the plane of possibilities, what do you do?’.

With such high investments it is understandable why heavily invested governments (like Spain, France, and Japan) would want to maintain current quotas rather than see reductions in quotas

(and their investments). In this sense, maintaining the status quo is simply economically advantageous for countries who have invested heavily in the industry. With each country vying for a greater share of the quota – or 'greater slices of the pie' as Jacob (pers. comm) describes it – this leads to a situation where, although industry groups are enthusiastic to raise quotas, they are not keen to then reduce them should the situation require. This was highlighted by both Chris and Jacob (pers. comms), who expressed concerns that business interests would supersede any successes toward improving the sustainability of the fishery. Here, Chris (pers. comm) cautioned that: 'as soon as you have a small improvement in the situation then you have a gold rush, everybody wants to claim for more [quota]'. Unsurprisingly then, trade motivation is tied up completely with the competing economic interests of nation states. This not only makes the issue of conservation difficult to raise, but also reinforces existing barriers in trade, where wealthy nation states continue to exploit the species, while those that seek to develop their economies are prevented access. This was further emphasised by Ted (pers. comm) who noted:

> 'There are a lot of people who have come recently [countries into ICCAT], and they have a right to direct for these fish, but they have no history. They have no real ability to be able to direct. So usually if they obtain quotas, some other developed country gets to fish it'.

This discussion highlights the tension between global powers and the neo-colonial nature of existing management regimes (which maintain the trade interests of powerful nations while excluding from negotiations nations which do not have a history of exploiting the species). Here, the North-South dynamics between the wealthy and marginalised call back to the Southern criminological focus underpinning the research (de Sousa Santos, 2016; Carrington, Hogg & Sozzo, 2016) and problematise the current management system which favours nations with large investments (e.g., Japan and the European Union).

Contested legality, contested consumption

In addition to legal and normalised consumption of the species, the prevalence of illegal trade and consumption was also a topic of concern amongst interviews. Here, interviewees were careful to distinguish between local level (and generally accepted) illegal consumption, and more serious (industrial and international) illegal trade in the species. Illegal local trade was essentially justified by appealing to the shifting market availability of the ABFT. This was particularly relevant in the Mediterranean, where Chris (pers. comm) described how ranching and farming have increased dramatically to meet the demand for premium quality bluefin tuna meat. Chris went on to describe how purse seiners can catch the annual fishing quota in less than a week (the majority of which is destined for the Japanese market). This practice not only leads to the increased efficiency of the ABFTs persecution, but also reduces access for local consumers. To this, Chris (pers. comm) added:

> ‘What we get here in the Med, as ‘wild’ tuna is basically the illegal catches…it’s very, very hard to find wild tuna from the Med, for Mediterranean consumers’.

When asked whether consumers feel guilty about purchasing illegally caught tuna, Chris (pers. comm) responded:

> ‘People just don’t care because they are used to eating tuna…they probably know it’s illegal, but who cares? They eat it and that’s it. Because they think it belongs to them in a way. It’s their resource, they should be able to access it’.

This dynamic of minimising the significance of local (illegal) consumption resonates with the issue of food sovereignty, highlighting the problem of external control over food systems and the dispossession of food resources within local communities. This perceived inequality seemingly acts to normalise (or justify in the minds of locals) illegal trade and consumption of the species. In addition, when discussing local access to the ABFT, it appears that dynamics between market value and fishing quotas create a system where *some* fishers are content with lower quotas (to keep the market price inflated), while fish-farming industries are seeking higher quotas (to maximise profits from the export of high-grade ABFT meat) (Chris and Nico, pers. comms). When most of the catch (and quota) is directed toward farming, this leaves a limited local supply. This limitation enhances the potential profits (to fishers) from both legitimate and illegitimate trade as local supply becomes limited. In light of the criminogenic potential surrounding local access and global production methods, the following section now turns to a broader reflection on the motivations supporting illegal trade in the species.

Motivators for illegal trade

While the above economic interests are clear motivators for legal trade, they also drive the illegal trade in the species. For instance, when discussing the scale of illegal trade and the issue of underreporting catches, some interviewees (Nora and Chris) suggested that this had (in the past) been encouraged by national governments in order to maintain trade interests and maximise profits. In addition, both Tomas and Chris elaborated on issues of illegal trade in the Mediterranean and highlighted how illegal trade is tied to disputes over the scale of ABFT catch, motivated in a large part by the lucrative commercial value of the species. For instance, Tomas (pers. comm) described how, in recent years, ‘scientifically unjustified growth’ has been reported coming out from ABFT fattening farms. Here, the stated weights of ABFT reported to ICCAT were seemingly impossible to achieve in the given time span. This indicates that rather than simply fattening up legally obtained wild tunas, farming facilities were taking larger numbers of undocumented tuna (beyond their quota limits), and masking these within the farming system. To this, Tomas (pers. comm) described how, rather brazenly, these impossible weights are being

reported to ICCAT, demonstrating how illegal activity is operating under and within the legal trade of the species.

In addition to this (and running parallel to this system of laundering illegally caught tunas through tuna farms), there also lies an issue with the purse seine fleets which are catching more than the quota allowance. This was raised in conversation with Chris (pers. comm) who described an incident in 2019 in which tuna farms in Malta were at full capacity and unable to take any additional catch of ABFT. As a result, tuna that had been caught and transported by purse seiners (beyond the quota limits) were left stranded (imprisoned within nets but unable to enter the farms) for nearly a year. While this was clearly terrible from a welfare perspective, Chris (pers. comm) described how the situation also led to increased illegal fishing in the region, adding:

> 'It was crazy. To hold the tuna in the Med like this – 3,500 tunas were exposed to illegal activities in many, many ways. It was really dangerous…they were caught illegally, but then they were kept illegally for almost a year. Having illegal tuna held in the Mediterranean without being in cages was a danger, and exposure to any sort of illegal activity'.

Although these tunas were eventually released, they had spent a year confined in limbo in nets. While in Tomas' case the laundering of illegally caught tuna is clearly paying off for the farmers (who are seemingly able to exploit the system and benefit from increased trade) the example given by Chris shows how when the legality of business practices are questioned, this does not necessarily come in time to protect the species (or individuals within) from further victimisation. With this recognition, the chapter now turns to the final research question on the visibility and context of harm.

Part 3. Harm recognition: visibility and contextualisation

The final section concentrates on how harms are understood and contextualised. As with the other case studies it is structured around the level of significance described within the survey. I first describe how leading concerns toward the endangered status of the ABFT (amongst survey participants) have been contested by those interviewed. I then pause to reflect on the unknown nature of harms toward the population centred on the loss of large, mature individuals. Following this, I consider harms toward the wider environment and ecosystem (focussing on the issue of bycatch), before elaborating on harms toward individuals. I then conclude with a discussion on harms recognised toward people (focussing on local access, cultural heritage, and subsistence needs). Through this discussion I demonstrate how concerns toward the species are motivated by economic interests to maximise profitability, rather than specifically driven by concerns for the individual or population.

Population level harms

'Plenty of fish all around'?

When asked about harms towards the bluefin tuna, interview respondents were unanimous in framing the issue around their understanding of the species' population status and concerns about overfishing and population decline. During the time that the interviews and surveys were conducted the ABFT was classified by the IUCN as 'Endangered', and populations were considered to be decreasing (Collette, 2011)[33]. Although their population status was a leading concern amongst the survey participants, there was little agreement within the interviews as to the current status of the species. For instance, fishers, industry representatives, and some scientists proclaimed how populations were 'rapidly rebuilding' (Tomas), 'back from the brink', 'too good to be true' (Vinny), and a 'massive success-story' (Simone) in terms of fishery management. This was exemplified by fishers who described how populations are 'exploding' (Nico) and 'booming' (Ivan) after years of fishery management interventions. Nico (pers. comm) even described how populations are so abundant that North American fishers (without permits for the ABFT) are now beginning to view the species as a 'nuisance fish' as they interfere with other legitimate fishing activities, adding:

> 'There are plenty of fish all around the boat swimming around and jumping…we're being attacked by tuna! We see more tuna in different places where we didn't before or haven't seen them for a long time…we see a lot more than what we used to see back in the early 80s…'.

This sentiment was echoed by Chris (pers. comm), who described the ABFT as being increasingly easy to catch in recent years: 'in some areas, in May, when they come to the coast to spawn, they're literally jumping on the boat'. Similarly, Ivan (pers. comm) described how they 'see more fish each summer than the year before' adding that:

> '[Anyone] that tells you that the bluefin stocks are not *extremely healthy* is lying to you, to fit their own agenda. If they do not have something to protect, to protest, they have no way to raise money and fund themselves'.

Ivan's comment resonates with the discussion at the beginning of the chapter concerning the conflict between trade and conservation ideologies, and the perception of conservation initiatives (led by influential NGOs) manipulating science to suit policy decision making. Yet, from the above accounts, the ABFT is seemingly rebounding and flourishing. The ABFT can once again be seen from some beaches in the Mediterranean (Chris, pers. comm), and a return of populations to the coastal waters of the UK has also enabled the recent establishment of a limited British catch

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33 Their status has since been updated to 'Least Concern' (Collette *et al*., 2021).

and release fishery[34]. While all signs appear positive, especially considering the recent IUCN status down-listing to 'least concern', Roy (pers. comm) (who contributed to the IUCN assessment for the species) urged caution, describing:

> 'I sat through arguments at an ICCAT committee meeting proposed by young fishermen that "there were more bluefins than ever" but that fisherman was not yet old enough to fish when western Atlantic bluefin were as abundant as they were in 1957[35]… While threats to the Atlantic bluefin are less severe than they were…none of the ICCAT plans for future quotas will bring Western Atlantic bluefin populations back to 1957 levels'.

Others reiterated this caution (Chris, Kate, Nora, Jacob, Sebastian, and Jason) and expressed concerns over the species' population status. For instance, Chris (pers. comm) noted that although the population *appears* to be growing in response to international management: 'the magnitude of this increase is still unknown, there are still uncertainties around the recovery, the recruitment, illegal catches, and the total removal from the stock'. In addition, Nora (pers. comm) emphasised that although populations *may* be recovering from past exploitation, this recovery does not equate to a restoration of mature – and giant – bluefin tuna, or a restoration of the species' *population structure*, adding:

> 'It's not just the depletion of the number of bluefin, *it's the decrease in her size*…when you take the big fish out of the ocean effectively what you are doing is robbing future generations of that stable group of animals'.

Significantly here, the loss of *giant* bluefin tunas is not considered a threat to fisheries, who can continue to exploit younger, smaller fish and increasingly rely on artificially fattening them in farming facilities. Yet, older ABFT are integral to the community structure of the species (particularly as productive spawners), and it is not clear just how the population will be damaged (genetically, culturally, socially) through the loss of older generations. Through this recognition of the value of mature individuals, it is also possible to acknowledge the *potential* value of younger tunas, who when left to mature and reach older ages will be immensely valuable to future populations.

From this discussion, it appears that the collective representation of the 'endangered' ABFT held by many of the survey participants speaks to the cultural narratives surrounding the species (media and conservation groups have done much to amplify the image of the ABFT, for example by

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34 In 2020 the UK was allocated a small portion of the European ABFT quota (48.65 tonnes) and a Catch and Release Tagging programme was approved for 2021 to take place between August and November (Cefas, 2021)

35 The 1957 level of abundance is used as a benchmark as it relates to historical populations prior to industrialisation and the expansion of fishing effort.

constructing the species as an 'archetype of overfishing' (Fromentin *et al.*, 2014, p.8)). However, this perception is appearing increasingly fragile in light of the species' IUCN down-listing and the reports from industry and fishers themselves of the species' apparent abundance. Despite this, concerns remain regarding the level of recovery, especially compared to historical population levels. The high incentives to exploit the species (described earlier in this chapter) build on these concerns (recalling Chris' depiction of a 'gold-rush' following any perceived improvement in the species' status). Although harm toward the species may, in the current context, be perceived as reduced, these perceptions are limited by our contextual understanding of the species. As yet there is no clear frame of reference for how they may have been (or continue to be) harmed compared to their historical populations, nor is there an understanding of the significance and impact of diminishing diverse and mature populations.

Cascading harms: ecosystem and bycatch

Following the focus on population level harm, survey participants also frequently described concerns over the impact of fishing (at industrial levels) on the environment or other non-target species (sharks and dolphins were repeatedly cited). Similar concerns were also raised within the interviews with Chris, Ivan, and Tomas describing how bycatch and the wasteful discarding of dead tuna (who do not meet catch regulations) impact the fishing industry. Here concerns typically centred around unworkable trade regulations which require measurements of the ABFT to be taken to ensure they meet a minimum size (for the protection of juveniles). Currently, undersized ABFT must be discarded and thrown back into the ocean. In addition, any ABFT caught after the quota has been fulfilled must be discarded as bycatch. In both of these instances the tuna are often already dead (Chris and Ivan pers. comms.). This issue was exemplified by Ivan (pers. comm) who described how the minimum size requirements in the US (73 inches) leads to the accidental catch and killing of undersized ABFT:

> 'We can not tell a 71 inch fish from a 73 inch fish ten feet above the water travelling at 7 knots in the pulpit. I have a hard time with this. You are going to kill – yup you zap 'em – they are *usually* dead – by law I gotta kick the dead fish down the ramp. Happened seven times last year. Three times this year. I report them as discarded dead'.

Unfortunately, under this system, it becomes very difficult if not impossible to protect small and juvenile ABFT as the process of capturing and measuring the tuna will typically result in their death (Ivan, Tomas, and Nico pers. comms.). While these regulations are intended to act as a disincentive to fishers so that they avoid catching juvenile fish (or ABFT outside of the quota allowance), in many cases the end result of this management intervention is still a dead fish (and a frustrated fisher), and the damage is done.

In addition to bycatch, environmental and ecological impacts were also a concern for a number of the survey participants. Critically here, there is a shortage in the literature on the relationships the ABFT shares within their wider environment and ecosystem. Their established role as a 'food' species has possibly hindered such ecological investigations. However, the loss of these large predators from the marine environment could significantly disrupt the intricate food chains of marine ecosystems. Although this was not discussed among any of the interviews, this was recognised in the 2010 CITES listing proposal which stated:

> 'The ecological extinction of this species would thus have unpredictable cascading effects in the North Atlantic, Mediterranean and Gulf of Mexico ecosystems and entail serious consequences to many other species in the food web' (CITES, 2010d, p.8).

Interestingly, none of the interviews directly connected the depletion of ABFT populations with subsequent knock-on effects to other species. However, Chris (pers. comm) did discuss the negative impact of *existing* and potentially expanding ABFT farming operations. While discussing the environmental impact of ABFT farming facilities (namely, pollution), Chris (pers. comm) described how the tuna themselves also require huge quantities of fish for use as feed – and likened this system to 'farming a tiger with steaks'. In the Mediterranean, anchovies, sardines, mackerel, and herring are all used to supply ABFT farms. However, Chris emphasised how populations of anchovies and sardines (within the Adriatic Sea) have been under emergency management measures due to severe overfishing, and *all* of the above-mentioned fish species are considered to be overfished. While clearly this system is unsustainable, it also undermines local communities who could make a living selling these fish for human consumption (or have access to those fish themselves). This was amplified by Chris (pers. comm) who noted:

> 'We are taking food away from one group of people, to feed tuna, to feed people on the other side of the world'.

This system of dispossession resonates with wider structural issues in the fishery industry surrounding the production of fishmeal (also fish oil, poultry-feed, and fertilizers) at the expense of food for human consumption. As Scholtens and Jyotishi (2019, p.228) highlight 'increased fish production does not automatically translate to increased fish consumption'. In this case the commodification of the ABFT as high-grade sushi quality meat not only excludes local fishing communities from consumption of the species, but it also reduces the availability of other marine species who are arguably higher in nutritional value compared to the ABFT. These issues tie into concerns for fishery justice and the dispossession (and control) of resources within local food systems (Mills, 2018), as well as movements for food sovereignty (Grey & Patel, 2015; Burnett & Murphy, 2014), combining both green and Southern criminological interests.

Harm toward the individual

Welfare and tuna 'burn'

Although harms toward the species were predominantly framed at the population level, many of the survey respondents also noted concerns over harms toward individuals (associated with perceptions of the how the tuna are caught and killed). For example, many described how they viewed pole-and-line capture as better (in terms of welfare and ecosystem impact) compared to 'industrial' fishing activities. The recognition of individuals, and individual welfare is a stark contrast to much of the discussions throughout this chapter, which has focussed on the ABFTs construction as a *food resource*. Within the interviews there was minimal discission around individual welfare, and harms toward individuals were frequently justified as an unavoidable aspect of the fishery food provisioning system. For instance (regarding purse-seining), while the transportation of tuna over vast distances of ocean is demonstrably stressful and physiologically harmful to the tuna (Evans, 2016), for Chris this process was justified as harm toward non-target species (dolphins, sharks, and other fish) could be reduced. To this, Chris (pers. comm) added:

> '[Welfare] is not the most important or urgent issue, I would say, to tackle. Before that there is overall sustainability of the stock and impacts on the environment…They [ABFT] are not packed in the cages [in the farming facilities], this is for sure…They move continuously round and round[36]…If they start getting overexcited for any reason, then this is the moment when they die. They crash into one another, they get trapped into the net, and so it is not in the farmers interests to overload the net. They are big. They are powerful. They are not packed'.

While 'overexcited' is a gentle euphemism for what sounds like a highly stressful (and fatal) situation for the tuna, the practice of keeping a large, highly migratory, high-energy fish within a restricted area for what could be months or years at a time, was glossed over as a typical practice within farming and ranching fisheries. For the bluefin here, their treatment and poor welfare was not seen as an abnormal aspect of the fishery to be overly concerned with.

Probably the most striking discussion of welfare within the interviews revolved around the problem of tuna 'burn'. Here, the stress experienced by the ABFT during capture and killing can result in a sour and unpleasant taste in the tuna meat. This, Ted (pers. comm) described, effectively renders the meat 'worthless'. Due to this effect, the ability to kill tunas quickly is particularly important for supplying the high-end Japanese market for sushi and sashimi. As a result, farmed ABFT are typically killed via the use of a targeted speargun or bullet to the head in order to ensure

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36 Constant movement is a necessity as they must continuously move to breathe.

minimal stress at killing and higher-quality meat from the animal. This issue of tuna burn was discussed in more detail by Ivan (pers. comm) a harpoon fisher. Here, Ivan described how the shocking device used in the harpoon kills the tuna instantly, thus ensuring a higher quality of *welfare* (avoiding the dreaded tuna burn):

> 'I take a lot of pride in my fishery, we as harpooners can never ever harm the biomass of bluefin. We kill our fish (when shocker is working proper), instantly. The fish has no idea what just happened, it is instant. So what right? Well, let's put it in the light, a rod and reel caught fish, as soon as that fish is hooked it is a fight for its life. Bluefin are smart, look up the size of a bluefins brain, they know what a harpoon boat is, what feeling a hook is all about. Like someone that just ran a marathon, that tuna fish finally brought to the side of a boat, is heated up…if the boat does not properly cool that fish off before killing it, the fish is what they call *Yake* in Japan, *burnt* in fisherman's terminology.'

Critically, in both of these examples (harpooning and farming), the progressively quick killing method employed was not specifically developed for welfare reasons. Instead, the motivation was an economic one. *Harm* in this instance, while it involves the individual tuna, is centred on protecting economic interests by exploiting (and aiming to minimise) the tunas' biological responses to stress. In addition, to return to the survey responses, there also seems to be a disconnect between consumer decision making and perceptions of welfare (at killing). While many stated they would choose to consume only rod-and-reel caught tuna (typically caveated over concerns for bycatch), this method (as described above by Ivan) has far poorer welfare outcomes (at death) for the captured and killed tuna compared to harpooning methods (and by the same token compared to the killing of farmed ABFT).

To people: 'unfair trade controls'

Drawing attention to the Southern criminological underpinning, harms toward people can be broadly categorised into harms toward those with a quota, and harms toward those without a quota. In both of these cases, it apt to highlight a comment made by Ellie (pers. comm) when discussing inequalities in the fishery industry:

> 'You can't stay away from corruption for very long if you are looking at global fisheries. I think if the average consumer knew how much slavery, corruption, and human rights [issues] were involved, they wouldn't eat it. I think people just don't know, or they think it is just one bad apple, but it is rampant'.

Taking note of the Southern criminological underpinning, harms toward those without a quota will be discussed first.

For those without a quota:

In all instances within the survey when harms toward people were raised as an issue, this was in connection to indigenous, subsistence, or small-scale local consumption. These concerns share

ties with food-sovereignty discourse, and the narratives surrounding *local* and *sustainable* fishing in contrast to *distant* and *industrialised* fishing (Robbins, 2015). Within the interviews, Nora (pers. comm) raised additional concerns surrounding the equitability of access (to fishing quotas) for developing nations which have minimal access to the ABFT quota. Although Jacob (pers. comm) described that the addition of regional leaders (e.g., from South Africa, Senegal, Guatemala, and Panama) within the ICCAT forum have meant that 'members like the EU need to be more flexible in their opening position' (namely, they need to compromise in order to reach consensus), many developing nations remain unable to exploit the fishery, while the industrial powerhouses of Europe and Japan maintain large shares of the quota (and have a history of flouting regulations).

In addition, Roy (pers. comm), who participates as a technical adviser within ICCAT, described how within ICCAT meetings the majority of discussion is devoted to the management of the ABFT, with little attention given to other tuna species:

> 'The meetings are designed to provide information on all the tunas…*most of the discussion revolves around the Atlantic bluefin*, which economically, is only a small part of the tuna fishery'.

To this Nora (pers. comm) elaborated that: 'there is a sense that the Global South is not well served by these institutions [ICCAT], and this shouldn't be surprising if these institutions serve the global commodities trade'. As such, nations without an ABFT quota, poor communities, and artisanal fishers are not served very well by the ICCAT apparatus, whose focus within ICCAT meetings is largely devoted to the single issue of the ABFT.

For those with a quota:

While the above discussion highlights the power asymmetries in international governance, there is also space to reflect on the harms toward people that are perpetuated by the commodification (and perceived ownership) of the ABFT. As ICCAT functions to designate and divide up fishing quotas to nation states, it appears that this concept of *ownership* becomes formalised in the minds of industry and fishers alike, creating and amplifying competition between large, industrial fishers to the detriment of small-scale fishers. For instance, when discussing ICCAT management, Tomas (pers. comm) described how:

> 'The sustainability of the stocks is a fundamental benchmark. Then, to receive as much allocation as possible for *our* fishermen is the second one'.

This idea of national ownership makes it very difficult to shift perceptions toward a global (conservation) management outlook. Ted (pers. comm) also grappled with the issue of ownership when discussing what they perceived as 'robust' and 'healthy' ABFT populations. Although

Canadian fisheries have implemented strong catch documentation schemes and management measures for the ABFT, there is a sense of frustration that these efforts have not been rewarded:

> 'For all these years we took all the actions that were required of us, we definitely adhered to all the things that we said we had to do to rebuild stock…[and] we've already gone through that painful period of time…[but] we're probably never going to get to be able to harvest any of the benefit'.

Here, the enforcement of ICCAT regulations have hit traditional small-scale and family businesses hard. Both Chris and Ted (pers. comm) described how fishers have been edged out of the market, in a system that has historically empowered (or turned a blind eye) to big-business investors (such as farming and ranching). While obliged to follow these regulations, implementing them is both costly and time consuming, and there is a sense that fishers are 'sacrificing a lot of potential catch…for something that feels invisible' (Ellie, pers. comm). As a result of this fishers in the US and Canada (due to their small allotment of fishing quota) feel unfairly disadvantaged and 'handcuffed' (Ivan pers. comm) by intergovernmental politics that dictate what (and how much) they can catch.

The above discussion demonstrates how the very architecture of governance within ICCAT; with each nation state concerned in preserving their *own* trade interests ('as much allocation as possible for *our* fishermen' – Tomas) and competing with other nations to maintain or increase their individual quotas, creates a competition between fishery groups that only benefits those who can financially invest in the prescribed management measures. In this respect, *harm* becomes constructed around the market interests of nation states as they compete to exploit the ABFT. This is additionally problematic from a blue growth perspective, as it would appear that only the industries with significant financial support and investment (and historic ties to the fishery) are readily able to exploit and target the species, and as a result the promise of blue economic growth (for this species' management) would only be readily accessible to those who are currently at the management table.

Chapter summary

Throughout this chapter I have discussed how perceptions of harm and victimhood are navigated and constructed surrounding the management (and exploitation) of the ABFT. In the first section I outlined the CITES proposals for management interventions. I illustrated how national interests have become intertwined in management decision making, leading to a conflict of interests between conservation and trade groups. This has been demonstrated by claims from the CITES side that ICCAT is driven by 'business greed'. Similarly, defenders for ICCAT claim that CITES 'tried to mix up…concepts' of fishery and conservation science to suit their agenda for listing the species. The absence of a CITES listing for the ABFT, despite the high-profile debates within

CITES, is testament to the ABFTs constructed value as a commercially exploited species and the belief that fishery management via RMFOs is more appropriate than a CITES approach to trade management. Under both of these regimes (CITES and ICCAT), the ABFT has become reduced to their commodity form, treated as stocks or biological assets to be managed and exploited. This constructed value as a commodity was not dissimilar to the views expressed toward the moral standing of the species. Within the interviews and surveys the ABFT was regarded purely for their instrumental value as food commodities. Unlike the other cases, this perception of the species as a food resource appears immobile and seemingly constrains any expansion of moral concern for the species. Although the ABFT themselves were not considered more broadly (in a moral sense), the species' perceived instrumental value was further compounded by differences in moral judgements over the *sustainability* of trade and what sustainability *should* or *could* mean in a management context.

In the second section I elaborated on the extent of the individual victimisation of the ABFT and described how illegal trade runs parallel to legal systems. Following this, I expanded on the motivations underlying the consumption and trade of the species. I highlighted how the extent of the species' victimisation is seemingly made invisible through the portrayal and packaging of understanding that surrounds the species as a *normal* and justifiable food resource. Unlike the queen conch, who are also primarily viewed for their instrumental value, there is an added element of subjective judgement underlying decisions surrounding the ABFT. Their appeal as a food resource appears motivated by perceptions of normalcy and acceptance as well as status. However, conservation narratives (building on the subjective aesthetic and charismatic qualities of the species) may also be contributing to consumer concerns over the sustainability of the fishery. In addition to consumer motivations, I also elaborated on the motivators underlying the trade of the ABFT and described how these are political and economic in nature, driven by commercial interests and incentives toward the intensification and industrialisation of the fishing industry. As such, both consumption and trade motivation are supported by a strong anthropocentric position. This has not only hindered the CITES listing process, but also continues to prevent the species from being viewed as directly harmed or victimised.

In the final section I discussed the various ways in which harm has become constructed and recognised for the species. I first elaborated on the conflicts over recognising population level harms. Although population status was an important factor both within the interviews and surveys, this focus seemingly only relates to harms impacting the industry itself (revolving around management interventions and the imposition of fishing quotas). Under this guise, protection of populations (or individuals) becomes a motivator only when harm is viewed to impact the productivity and profits of the industry. This resonates with the discussion in Chapter 3 on

Southern criminology and a critique of the blue growth narrative, whereby the political and corporate approach to the management of *natural resources* (White, 2014) combined with an 'illusion of limitless extraction' (Shiva, 2019, p66), enhances a focus on economic growth at the expense of dedicated conservation action. This was demonstrated by the focus on welfare and stress (tuna burn) as a means to improve the quality of the ABFT meat, not improve the quality of the ABFTs experience. In addition, the focus on the overall population status (as a means to justify exploitation) detracts from wider and unknown harms to the population *structure,* exemplified by the loss of giant, mature ABFT. In addition to the discussion of population level harms, the exploitation of the ABFT was frequently situated within a wider geopolitical struggle for power and economic gain, where harms toward people (and industry) became central to discussion. By these means, harm has become mediated through the lens of use, where fishers in particular feel the impact (and expense) of increasing regulations. This is compounded by the perceived increased presence of the ABFT reported by fishers which has created a sense of bountiful populations. As such the focus on harm shifts away from fears over population decline, to centre instead on unfair and restrictive trade controls. As a result, the context of harm and victimhood surrounding the ABFT sits within a broader context of socio-political and economic narratives, whereby harms are recognised only when it hinders exploitation – rather than being recognised as a result of an exploitative and damaging system.

The discussions throughout this chapter have highlighted how the exploitation of the ABFT is typically framed within an anthropocentric (sustainable use) framework. Through these means the victimisation of the ABFT has become intricately tied to the political-economic interests of powerful nations which have invested heavily in the species' exploitation. Unlike other wildlife, research surrounding the species (and discussions within this chapter) focus entirely on matters of fishery management, leaving little clarity of how the species occupies the world or how they (as individuals or populations) are personally harmed from exploitation. In addition, the mediated construction of the ABFT (as a conservation icon) potentially overshadows the plight of other (less charismatic) marine species whose exploitation remains unseen. This gives rise to concerns over how marine species (or wildlife in general) become the focus of management and conservation debates in the first place. The case has also demonstrated how power dynamics in international governance have created a sense of ownership over the species. This not only normalises the commodification and exploitation of the ABFT, but also distances and marginalises small-scale fishers and local consumers, further amplifying power, wealth, and food inequalities.

Chapter 8. The value of marine wildlife, lessons from CITES

Introduction

This chapter presents a further discussion of the research questions across the three case studies. I begin by detailing the research objective and summarising the research questions along with key themes and findings that have arisen from within the case studies. Following this, I elaborate on the research objective which has been: *to investigate how social and cultural notions of harm and victimhood influence value perceptions guiding CITES regulations for marine species*. As with the case study chapters the discussion is formatted around the three research questions. I first elaborate on the junction between perspectives on the legal and moral standing for each species. Then I discuss how trade and consumption of each species is motivated and marketed, and what it means to those who exploit each species. Finally, I consider how harms within each case have been recognised and reflect on what this may mean for the regulation of marine species within CITES. The chapter concludes with a summary of findings. The contributions to knowledge are discussed further in the final chapter.

Reflecting on the research objective and overview of findings

This thesis has examined how concepts of value for marine species are socially and culturally constructed, with the aid of a synthesised framework of green-cultural and Southern criminology. I have specifically focused on the perceptions surrounding three species who are themselves commercially exploited (the minke whale, the queen conch, and the Atlantic bluefin tuna), to assess how judgements of *who* can be harmed (and therefore regarded as a victim) are understood and defined within a CITES context. As a key purpose of CITES is to protect wildlife from extinction driven by over-exploitation, this study sought to question how individual species' status (being a member of a particular species), along with social perceptions of value, utility, and harm may come to influence CITES decisions for marine wildlife. To address this research objective, I have examined the connections between – 1. legal and moral attitudes towards marine species, 2. trade and consumption motivation, and 3. harm recognition for each species. Key findings from these cases are presented on the next page (Table 6).

Table 6. Key findings relating to the research questions.

Research objective: To investigate how social and cultural notions of harm and victimhood influence value perceptions guiding CITES regulations for marine species.	
Research Questions	**Findings (see Chapters 5,6,7)**
 **1.** Question how the consumption and trade of each species is viewed in a **legal and moral sense.**	Diverse perspectives toward the trade and exploitation of the three species have arisen within the study. For the minke whale, participants generally aligned with biocentric moral judgements attentive to issues of welfare or animal rights. Participants were also conflicted on the issue of subsistence and traditional use – in contrast to the strict protectionist (yet anthropocentric) position taken by CITES. For both the queen conch and ABFT moral and legal perspectives tended to align with an anthropocentric (instrumental value) and sustainable use worldview. Here the species were foremost considered as *food* rather than *wildlife*. Overall moral standpoints toward harm recognition appear hierarchical and often include subjective estimations of intrinsic value (e.g., differential judgements of sentience, aesthetics, welfare, and cultural ties) indicating a potential level of speciesist judgement here.
 **2.** Illuminate the motivating factors and decision frameworks **motivating trade and consumption** of each species.	Participants expressed a range of attitudes toward the consumption of each species. These can be summarised by; 1. acceptance and perceptions of normalcy (all species), 2. social and local attachment to the species' consumption (all species), 3. an element of food tourism (minke whale and queen conch), and 4. association with status surrounding consumption (minke whale and ABFT). Motivation for consumption of each species appears tied to a mediated construction of meaning and enjoyment (e.g., as a luxury, as traditional or cultural, as endangered or threatened, or simply as *local* and perceived to be rightfully *owned*). Sustainability and subsistence use were also key themes running through discussions, yet there was no unifying definition for what sustainability meant amongst participants.
 **3.** Describe how **harm is recognised** and perceived, including how harms are rationalised and how the hierarchical significance of different harms is established.	Harm was frequently contextualised by anthropocentric concerns focussed on the impact of management interventions toward people, industry, and the state. Particularly prominent here was the parallel oppression of wildlife and people. Issues of food security and the divergent interests of locals, fishers and industry groups were seen to influence the visibility of victimhood. When adopting a more ecocentric or biocentric position, harm was typically recognised at the population level (especially in the case of the queen conch and the ABFT), thus minimising a recognition of harms toward the individual or toward interconnected issues (e.g., the impact on social groups, the species' culture, and wider entangled ecological communities). When welfare was considered, this was also contextualised within greater environmental or ethical considerations around food provisioning (minke whale), or around the maximisation of investments (ABFT).

Taking stock: summary of findings

Each of the case study chapters have sought to highlight how harms and victimhood are structurally perceived to examine how – and which – harms are regarded as a matter of concern. The findings throughout each of the three case studies (described above and shown in Figure 21) demonstrate the differential recognition of victims (individuals, populations, people, state) and construction of harm arising from the exploitation of each species.

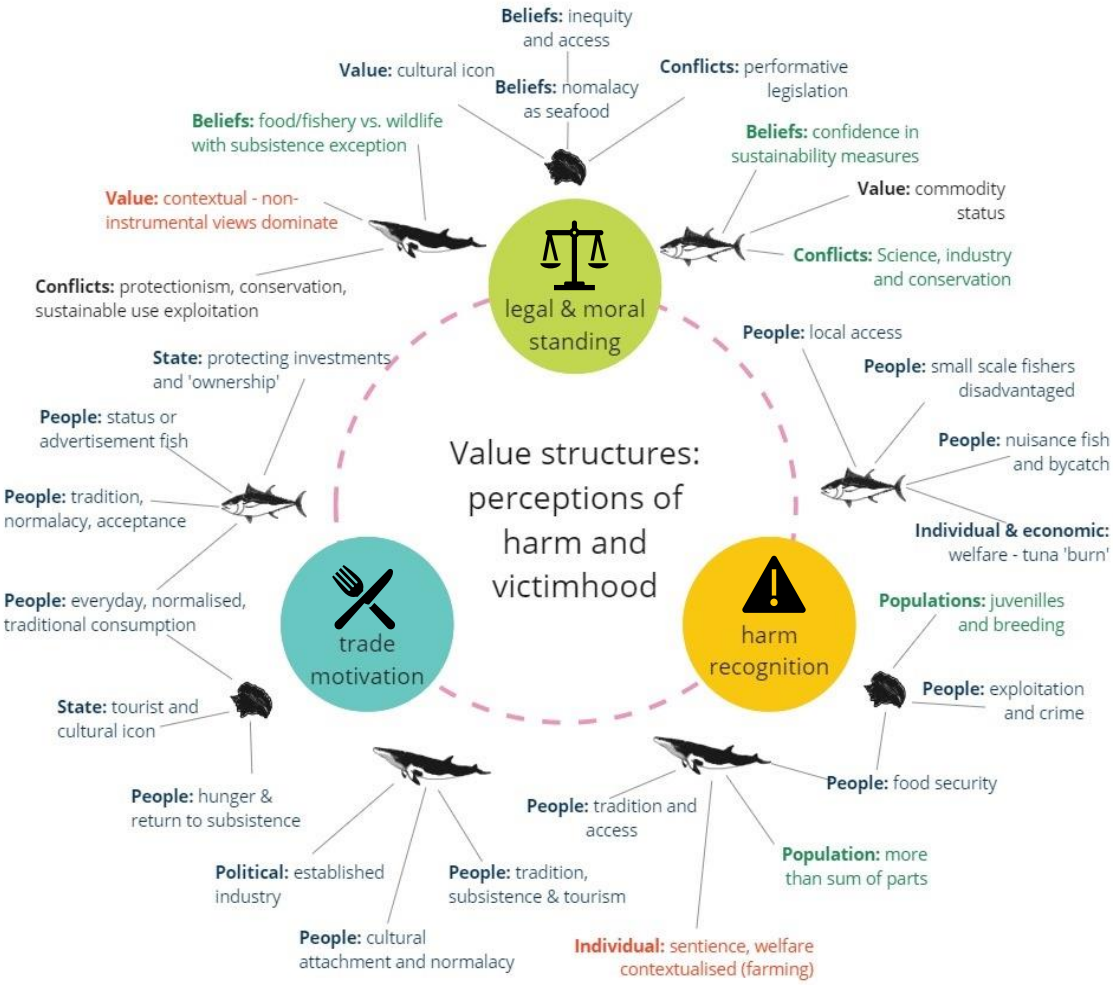

Figure 21. Overview of values expressed relating to the research questions. Colour coded by victim recognition, blue = anthropocentric (people/state are victims), green = ecocentric (sustainability focussed, populations may be victims), and red = biocentric (individual victims recognised).

When focussing on the legal and moral standpoints surrounding the trade and consumption of each species some common themes within the case studies revolved around power and economic interests. The potential for power asymmetries and participatory exclusion was a common thread when discussing trade management interventions. This critique also ties to the previous discussion on Western dominance (both political, economic, and epistemological) in defining conservation and trade management regimes. In addition, powerful political and economic interests also contribute to the construction of marine species as food rather than wildlife (or not – in the case of the minke whale), and further the potential for speciesist hierarchies of wildlife (as victims) dictating trade and conservation management outcomes.

Although the trade and consumption of each species occurs in disparate locations, the motivations here share some similarities. Mediated around constructed consumer values, consumption of each species is both ordinary and normalised (within a culture of consumption) as well as situated within concepts of food sovereignty and cultural identity or status. Within each case there was also an element of protecting trade histories, an issue that aligns with aspirations for industry access and development. In both the minke whale and ABFT case there was also a pattern of either validating or vilifying consumers based on the constructed meanings around trade histories, food sovereignty, normalcy, and sustainability.

Finally, in recognising harms, each case study saw the loss of the individual (through the language and terminology used, as well as through the control of reproduction and disparate recognition of welfare concerns). Sustainability was frequently used as a justification for exploitation – however as mentioned above the definitions for, and concepts of, sustainability differed widely amongst and within cases. Although harms toward people were often readily discussed and identified, broader harms surrounding ecological and species injustices were limited in their recognition. These findings highlight the need to further scrutinise how and why different species become regarded differently, and *whose* values and judgements influence the relative protection or exploitation of marine species.

Discussing the research questions

Now that the highlights from each case study have been described, I present a comparative evaluation the findings. This discussion will provide evidence for the broader research objective on how social and cultural attitudes and value frameworks influence what is viewed as harmful (and who are visible victims of harm) within legal systems established to manage the exploitation of wildlife. The section begins with a reflection on the division between legal and moral perspectives and the visibility of victims within.

RQ. 1. Value and visibility: legal and moral perspectives

Power and morality: speciesism and Western agreeability

Acknowledging and broadening the moral duty of humans towards the protection of nature forms the foundational underpinning of nonspeciesist ecocentric and biocentric green criminological approaches. This necessitates a recognition and reflection on the influence of speciesist attitudes and the role of powerful actors in defining what is harmful and what is criminal in human and non-human animal interactions. Ultimately, the way in which the international community values nature (instrumentally or inherently) and views human-animal relationships will shape the legal discussions on the acceptability of wildlife exploitation (Cretois *et al*., 2019). As highlighted by Lynch and colleagues (2013), crimes (and by extension – harms) toward wildlife can be understood in the context of the political and economic structures that support them. Following this recognition (and drawing from the Southern criminological conceptual foundations), I now reflect on the prevalence of both *culturism* – in this case the positioning of Western orientated conservation epistemologies above others (see: Harari, 2014; Amin, 2009; Goyes, 2019), as well as *speciesism* – the hierarchical positioning of humans above other animals, running within and throughout the three case studies.

As described in Chapter 4, agreeability with Western orientated conservation management norms has been assessed by the level of agreement to a series of statements within the survey. In addition, the level of agreement to speciesist logics has been measured using a modified version of the 'Speciesism Scale' developed by Caviola and colleagues (2019) and supplemented with questions from Herzog and colleagues (1991). From this questioning, the group average response for Western agreeability was 3.59 (0.34), and the average response for speciesism was 2.28 (SD 0.72). This is on a scale of 0 – 5, where 5 indicates strong agreement with either Western norms or speciesist attitudes. Individual responses higher than the group average indicate an increased belief in either (a) Western-centric values (culturism) or (b) the superiority of humans over animals (speciesism). The results are shown in Figure 22 and 23. Throughout the case studies, when highlighting comments from survey participants these were additionally contextualised by their level of speciesist and Western agreeability (as well as giving context toward their dietary preferences).

Focussing first on Western agreeability (see Figure 22), the survey responses show strong agreement (over 90%) with statements 1 – 3 which focus on international and governmental oversight into the management of wildlife trade (in accordance with the scope of CITES). Statement 4 (focussing on the preservation of cultural practices surrounding the exploitation of marine species) was more divisive with 40% of respondents (each) at both ends of the spectrum.

Statements 5 and 6 overlap with speciesist perspectives and aim to judge agreeability with an anthropocentric exploitative system. Participants tended to disagree with these statements more, potentially suggesting a recognition of the need for demand reduction and behaviour change.

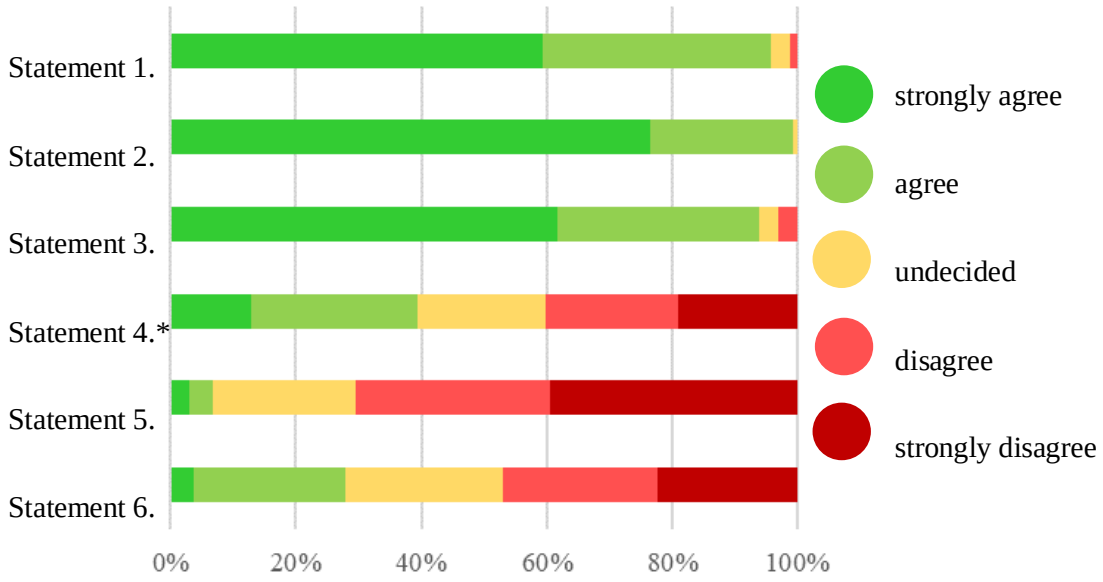

Figure 22. Measure of agreeability with Western norms amongst survey respondents. Showing the responses to the six questions used to measure Western agreeability (Table 3, Chapter 4). Note: statement 4 [preserving traditional and cultural practices] is reverse scored.

The results for the speciesism questions are shown in Figure 23. In terms of speciesist attitudes, the strongest opposition amongst participants was for statement 3 (hunting animals for sport), whereas there was generally less consensus on statements 6 and 8 (the farming and hunting of marine wildlife for food). Just over 80% of the participants believed that more intelligent animals (chimpanzees and dolphins) should have basic legal rights. This supports the discussion within the minke whale case on the potential for conceptual hierarchies of intrinsic value based on perceptions of aesthetic qualities (in this case intelligence). Remarkably, over 75% of respondents were strongly opposed to humans using wildlife (for food, medicine, or resources – statement 2), yet 60% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the trading of animals like possessions (statement 4) was acceptable.

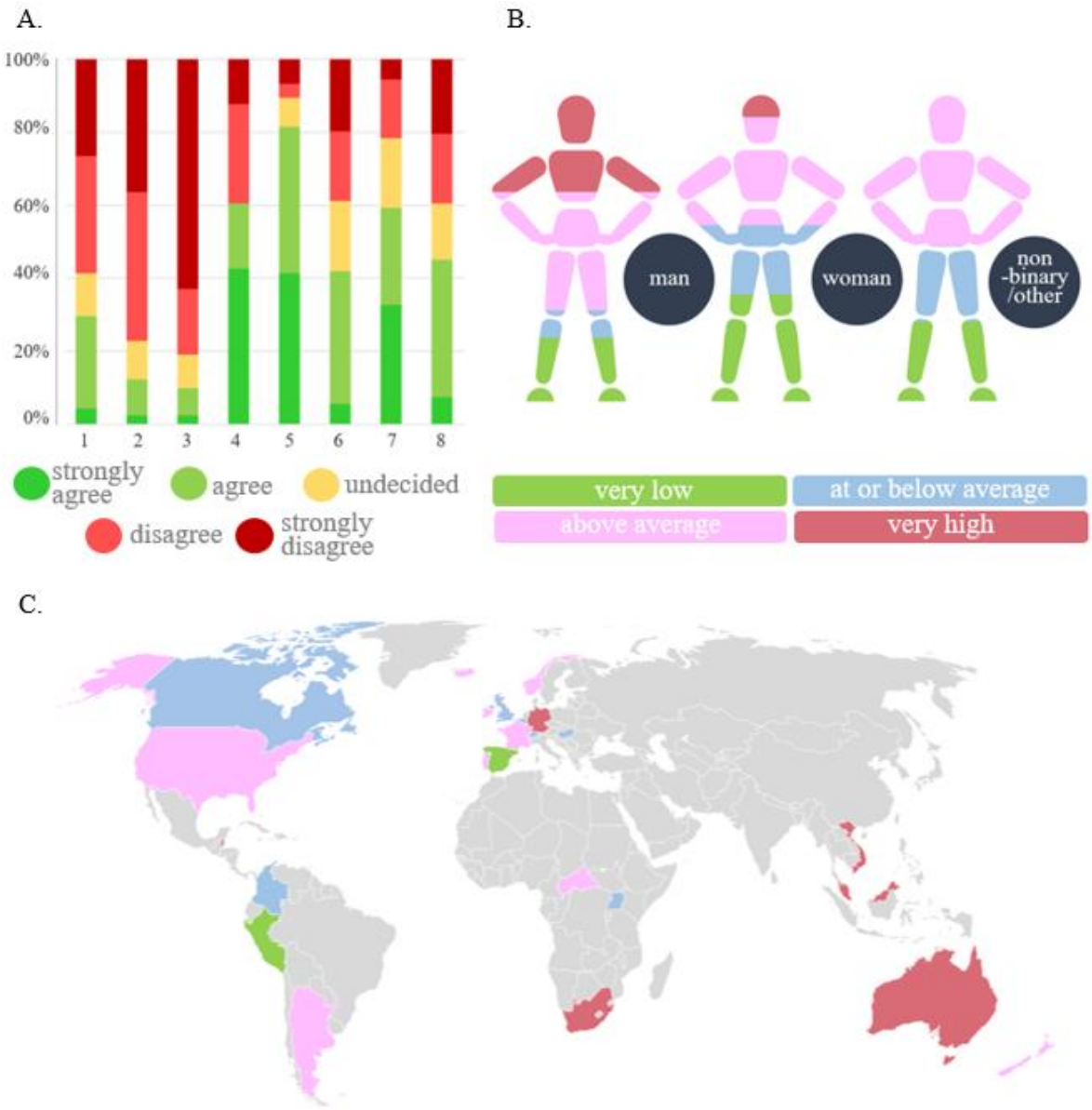

Figure 23. Measure of speciesism amongst survey respondents. Showing (A) the responses to the eight questions used to measure speciesism (Table 2, Chapter 4 – note: statements 5 [basic legal rights] and 7 [killing of whales] are reverse scored). (B) the speciesism scores split by the mean response rate (2.38) with above average scores shaded in pink and red, and below average scores in blue and green (red and green are extreems of the average), and (C) the average measure of speciesism by respondents' location using the same colour key as Figue 22.B.

These combined results highlight a potential disconnect between the perception of wildlife as free born animals and the perception of them as tradeable commodities. The acceptance of the trade in animals like possessions conforms to an anthropocentric model of morality and reinforces of the role of CITES to manage wild species as if they are possessions. Other trends can also be seen here, for example when focussing on the speciesism scale results, men demonstrated greater levels

of above average or very high speciesism compared to women and non-binary/other groups. While the survey is limited in the geographic range of participants, with most residing in the UK and Europe (potentially skewing results), there was also a strong mix of speciesist attitudes at both global and local levels, highlighting the individual and subjective nature underpinning speciesist beliefs.

While responses to the Western agreeability and speciesism scale are interesting to judge trends and characteristics between groups, there were also inconsistencies in induvial responses. For instance, many who scored very low or below average on the speciesism scale also discussed views supporting the consumption of wildlife (particularly the queen conch and the ABFT). The prevalence of participants scoring low on the speciesism scale whilst also discussing the moral acceptability of consuming different species demonstrates the subjective and socially normalised nature of making decisions around food consumption and raises the issue of cognitive dissonance within the perceptions of animals and food. Here, it appears that a disagreement in principle (to the exploitation of animals) does not necessarily result in moral decision making to not consume or exploit them (for similar discussion see: Dhont & Hodson, 2020; Camilleri, Gill & Jago, 2020; Graça, Calheiros & Oliveira, 2014). This highlights an anthropocentric and potentially speciesist moral framework underlying perceptions surrounding marine species and the apparent acceptability of some forms of victimisation (in this case of those species who are defined as food, opposed to those who are conceptualised differently – for example pets, wildlife, and companion animals).

Power asymmetries and participatory exclusion

While my focus within the first research question centred on the convergence or divergence between legal and moral positions, the above responses within the survey have demonstrated the conflicting nature of moral judgements surrounding the consumption of wildlife. Here, moral ideals are not always equivalent to actions or protections for wildlife. Furthermore, within each case it became apparent that the legal standing of each species was not necessarily defined through discussions of morality, but rather through discussions of power. The intersection between morals and laws have been long debated by legal philosophers (Green, 2008; Coleman, 2007; Kramer, 2004; Segev, 2017), and as Ruggiero (2017, p.69) describes: the *elite* are the 'guardian[s] of law as well as morality'. In this sense economically powerful nations – the 'power-elite' (Taylor, 2016, p.28) – can be seen to shape the definitions of crimes and harm surrounding wildlife exploitation (Lynch, 2020; Goyes *et al*., 2021). This focus resonates with green and cultural criminology's critical attentiveness toward the crimes of the powerful and powerful institutions (discussed in Chapter 3) (see: Stretesky *et al*., 2013; Sollund, 2021), and problematises the power

of CITES (and thus the political and economic power of global elites) to construct and define the boundaries for wildlife harms and crimes.

The above recognition of the 'power-elite' was a prominent factor when discussing the legal status for each species. Within each case study discussion often turned to the influence of power imbalances (North/South), as well as toward the issue of participatory exclusion (specifically toward marginalised groups and industry) in the decision-making process. For instance, the minke whale case demonstrated how an overwhelming consensus for conservation redefined the exploitation of the minke whale as illegal, and as a result subjugated subsistence and Indigenous consumers as well as luxury (and arguably culturally driven) markets. Here, conflicts over the legality of exploitation (between whaling and non-whaling nations) have essentially fractured the CITES Appendix I listing and undermined the position of CITES to establish legal boundaries for wildlife trade. This presents an extreme example of conflicting values and political interests within international legislation. It also demonstrates the struggle for power and control over wildlife (and food) ideologies and ontologies within CITES. Similarly, in the second case, fishery industry groups described how they were excluded from CITES discussions surrounding the queen conch. Here, the listing decision was regarded (by those within CITES) as necessary in order to take control of trade management from industry groups and prevent further over-exploitation of the species. This particular intervention by CITES highlights the tension between conservation and trade groups in the control of (and definitions for) fishery management versus wildlife conservation.

In contrast to the first two cases, powerful political and economic interests surrounding the trade of the Atlantic bluefin tuna acted to constrain and prevent both of the CITES interventions for the species. However, the Convention's interest in the species has drastically altered the shape of management within ICCAT, further demonstrating the power of the conservation community to influence industry decision making. The influence of NGOs in shaping public awareness of conservation issues – and as a result shaping fishery and conservation policy – was also prominent within this case study (discussed more broadly by: Webster, 2011; Gonçalves, 2019; Shiffman *et al.*, 2021). Recently, Shiffman and colleagues (2021) have discussed how media coverage and media driven misinformation are used to shape conservation narratives and subsequently influence public concern and political pressure surrounding CITES listings. Here, the authors propose that media reports of CITES listing proposals for marine species are often highly simplified and miss the complexities of sustainable management conservation solutions.

In addition, a tendency to focus on negative messaging and the views of NGOs rather than academic experts or fishery agencies potentially encourages policy outcomes that are not best suited to the conservation management of the species (Shiffman *et al.*, 2021). This echoes the

discussion in the third case over the representation of science and the role of NGOs in raising awareness for the conservation status of the ABFT. This discussion demonstrates how powerful actors both within industry and conservation communities can shape how marine species are portrayed or framed within wildlife conservation discourse. This includes the minimisation and misrepresentation of perspectives to suit political, economic, or conservation agendas (elements of which have been seen in each case study, for instance – considering the socio-political tensions between conservation and exploitation of the minke whale, the scale and normalcy of queen conch exploitation despite population uncertainties, and the conflicts between fishery science, trade management, and broader conservation ideologies (beyond MSY) seen in the ABFT case. Within each of these conflicts lies a disagreement in terms (on the meaning of sustainability, wildlife, and food), and within these disagreements the acceptance (or not) of exploitation becomes socially and politically constructed.

Power and conservation narratives

As discussed earlier in the thesis (and highlighted above), CITES has the potential to reflect the cultural norms of powerful contributing parties, namely from the West, while maintaining an acceptance (or disregard) toward the harms from legal wildlife exploitation (Duffy, 2010). The ability of CITES to set the conservation agenda (potentially to the detriment of other species) raises the issue of moral responsibility within wildlife conservation and trade management. On this note, Tan (2021) discusses a 'justice gap' in moral attitudes toward wildlife conservation and highlights the unequal distribution of costs and responsibility within conservation practices. This was particularly prominent within the queen conch case where the CITES listing (proposed by the US) effectively legitimised international commercial trade, but in the process placed costly impositions on range states. This has both benefitted Western consumers (whose demand remains met by international supply) as well as created a sense of environmental responsibility and stewardship surrounding the species. At the same time the CITES listing for the species took ownership and control (for defining management processes) away from nation states, an issue which has led to accounts that the enforcement of CITES is performative with evidence for both corruption and bribery.

To reflect on the moral responsibilities of conservation management further, the queen conch case also demonstrates how management interventions are potentially reminiscent of neo-colonial control (for further discussion see: McBride, 1998; Sollund & Runhovde, 2020). Management intervention here also treads the boundaries of epistemological colonialism – whereby Western, Euro-centric knowledge production and rationality becomes the designated objective irrespective of other, heterogeneous, ways of knowing (see: de Sousa Santos, 2016; Goyes, 2018). While the exploitation of the queen conch is clearly a concern on the basis of its scale alone, the CITES

listing deflects attention from the root-cause of over-exploitation (an extractive-capitalist and growth driven model that commodifies wildlife) and places the responsibility for management (and blame for over-exploitation) on range states. This is particularly incongruous considering that many range states have demonstrably existed in sustainable (extractive) relationships with the species for millennia (on a local rather than global scale) (Béné & Tewfik, 2001). While the scale of local consumption is certainly a pressure on the species (and figures for local catch and consumption are not reported to CITES), the issue at hand here is the unrestrained (and legitimised via CITES) external market demand from wealthy nations. This further exemplifies the issue raised by Tan (2021) whereby regulations are seen to be disproportiaonly applied to those in the Global South, for the benefit of global conservation and consumers in the Global North. Critically here, for the exploiation of the queen conch, is the underlying potential for this exploitation (in the Global North) to be driven by emerging markets and diaspora communities, further solidifying the cultural connections between wildlife as food and the individual power of consumers to shape the dynamics of conservation for the species.

Economic interests: wildlife as food

Building on the above discussion on the power of global elites to define and redefine the scope of wildlife trade legislation, it is essential to highlight how this system benefits the trade and market interests of powerful nations. As Ruggerio (2017, p.70) describes: 'the promulgation of new rules by the elite, which is part of its political power, will allow it to decriminalize its own conduct'. In essence this enables powerful groups, institutions, and governments to maintain their political, economic, and social interests through defining the scope of legality. This tension between powerful actors and conservation or trade interests has been variously demonstrated within each of the case studies. For instance, whaling nations exploit legal loopholes to continue the practice of hunting whales. The exploitation of the queen conch is heavily managed and legitimised through the CITES system, despite being a strong example of a 'lawful but awful' practice (Passas, 2005). Finally, the exploitation of the ABFT remains legally permitted, with numerous accounts and evidence for the masking of illegal trade within legal systems.

The resistance to CITES listings within each of these cases additionally highlights a prominent struggle in perceptions of value and victimhood surrounding marine species, concentrated on divergent perceptions of the social acceptability of marine species as *food*, and their parallel recognition as wildlife. Montford and Taylor (2020) contend that political, social, and cultural ontologies shape perceptions around the identity of food. As long as human / animal dualisms remain (and animals are understood as *edible)* then resisting eating them will always pose a challenge to dominant Western food ontologies (which revolve around high-rates of meat consumption, industrialisation of food processing, and factory-farming). Adding to this, Shiffman

and colleagues (2021) have suggested that Western perceptions of fishes as *food* rather than as *wildlife* have actively transformed marine species into *natural resources* and altered the context of wildlife conservation discourse, including the awareness and support for marine species' conservation issues. While this conflict in ideology was most apparent in the minke whale case, it was also a prevalent concern for the ABFT. Here, economic interests far superseded concerns over the species population status, and as such the species have nearly universally become regarded stocks to be managed, modelled, and divided into fishery quotas, rather than as free-living beings. In this sense CITES listings become a calculated measure of the management of risk (Smith *et al.*, 2011), where economic and trade interests are weighed against the potential threat of trade toward the species in question. This method for constructing legality (both within and outside of CITES) is, by its anthropocentric nature, underscored by the political and economic interests of nation states, founded upon capitalist values and moral codes. By dividing species into tradeable groups (CITES Appendixes) or dividing quotas between nations (ICCAT), these institutions act to govern the exploitation of wildlife (not their conservation). When discussing these tensions, Sky notes:

> 'Decisions on whether to provide protection for commercially exploited species often have more to do with economics than with science, underlining the inherent challenge of the [CITES] Convention: species that are in most need of protection from trade are least likely to get listed because of high levels of demand' (Sky, 2010, p. 35).

As seen within the case studies, politics unquestionably plays a role in decision making, and decisions to list species inevitably factor in the needs of industry and people (profitability, employment, nutrition) when considering the balance between commercial viability and the potential for extinction (or commercial extinction) of the species. Unsurprisingly then, within each of the case studies, exploitation was frequently justified using anthropocentric value-use arguments. Here the necessity, role, and scope of conservation or protection for each species was discussed within the greater nexus of the needs of people. This was particularly well demonstrated within the queen conch case where the survival of the species only became viewed as important when it served human trade interests, and typically discussion surrounding the status of the species focussed on their commercial viability rather than the risk of extinction. Ultimately, while the value perceptions surrounding each of the case study species rest on their commodification, this too is reflected in the anthropocentric architecture of the legal systems that manage and exploit them (Cretois *et al.*, 2019).

Broadening interests: recognising intrinsic value

While sustainable exploitation of wildlife is certainly central to the aims of CITES, the wildlife listed (or debated) within the Convention are considered only in terms of their instrumental value to humans, and as such are reduced to a single dimension (their exploitability). As touched on

above, and discussed throughout the thesis, these perspectives are arguably orientated within speciesist and hierarchical value judgements. The survey responses have demonstrated how participants compartmentalise different wildlife. Here, the minke whale was the only one of the three case study species who was described for their intrinsic value based on judgements of their intelligence, sentience, and beauty. However, this very judgement implicitly suggests that species without these subjective attributes may not be viewed as intrinsically valuable. While the queen conch was also described as 'beautiful', and the ABFT as 'sentient', this was not followed up by appeals to protect them based on these values, or perceptions of them as intrinsically valuable. This hierarchical pattern of judgements may also be significant within CITES. The minke whales' Appendix I position (despite their relative population abundance) demonstrates how the focus within CITES (and for the most part also socially) has shifted from anthropocentrism (valuing the species for their instrumental worth) to an ecocentric or biocentric moral position (interested in preserving the species outside of a consumptive use paradigms). This suggests that while CITES can be influenced by the economic interests of nation states, the strength of listing decisions are also maintained by political and moral ontologies, potentially also influenced by hierarchical and subjective value judgements.

As suggested above, this recognition of intrinsic value appears to be a hierarchical judgement rather than one centred on a biocentric nonspeciesist ethic. Notably, these hierarchical judgements potentially alienate species who do not meet these subjective value requirements, in addition to alienating human groups who do not share the dominant moral consensus. This draws into question the power of representation within CITES frameworks for decision making and raises the issue of how to resolve such moral disagreements when they emerge. While not necessarily an issue for the recognition of whale victimhood, this subjective nature of harm recognition could certainly influence the value attributed towards other species who do not meet the (personally) subjective requirements for intrinsic value, or non-instrumental use worldviews (both the queen conch and ABFT are examples here).

RQ. 2. Motivation for trade and consumption

To understand how marine species are valued either as commodities or as intrinsically valuable individuals, I have sought to situate the constructed motivations for trade within their cultural and social setting. As touched on throughout this thesis, the balance between the recognition of harm and victimhood for marine species appears to rest on perceptions of them as either *wildlife* or *food*. As such, the green-cultural criminological framework is essential to situate an understanding of how these perceptions are formed. As Ferrell (2020) describes – the marketing of products within contemporary capitalist regimes is essentially a marketing of *meaning*. Building on this recognition, Stepan (as cited in Brisman & South, 2020, p.629) describes how 'nature is always

culture before it is nature…[therefore] nature is not just "natural" but is created *as* natural by human desires and intentions' (emphasis in Brisman & South, 2020). If perceptions of nature can be understood to be intertwined with cultural storytelling and marketed meanings, then so too can perceptions of animals as food. For instance, Potts (2016, p.20) describes how contemporary meat culture is propelled by 'the invisible belief system that meat is normal, natural, necessary and nice' (themes that arose repeatedly within the case studies). Through these means, cultural values and perceptions toward wildlife can be understood to drive perceptions for the legitimacy of their exploitation, and thus shape the legal definitions surrounding consumptive or non-consumptive exploitation of wildlife (Rocheleau, 2017).

Mediated consumption: consumer capitalism

Common throughout the case studies were discussions over the normalcy and acceptance of consuming marine species (particularly within the ABFT case). Anthropocentric logics were repeatedly used to justify the use and exploitation of each species by appealing to the needs of people (namely for subsistence, local access, tradition, or from an economic standpoint for livelihoods and industry security). Critically though, the exploitation of each species was also framed by their relational value[37] (to humans). Participants often described strong cultural attachments surrounding consumption. These typically revolved around: 1. the social experience, indulgence, festivity, and status associated with consuming meat from the species (minke whale and queen conch), 2. the sentimental and familial attachments to the species as food resources (minke whale and queen conch), and 3. the general enjoyment, pleasure, and excitement associated with consumption (all species). These perceptions are also socially mediated, for example within the queen conch case I demonstrated how media reports frequently described the species separate from any recognition of their wild nature (as an *edible mollusc*) and celebrated them instead as a cultural food resource. Here, their very animal-nature has seemingly become mediated through festivity and the species are more often identified as food before they are identified as free-living wild animals. When discussing the enjoyment associated with consuming meat, Adams (2015) describes how a personal enjoyment (felt by many) acts to reinforce consumption habits. Enjoyment then, becomes a strong emotional motivation that enables consumers to disassociate from the discomfort of the realities of how that meat has been produced. This dissociation is also potentially evident within the minke whale case, where survey respondents frequently justified the consumption of the species through comparisons with animal agriculture. This effectively romanticises the wild, free-living nature of the minke whale

37 This relates to the positive relationships and attachments formed between people and nature (Klain et al., 2017).

(perceiving their welfare to be improved in comparison to other exploited and domesticated animals), despite the fact that wild animals lead highly stressful and dangerous lives and minke whales themselves are subject to numerous and increasing (anthropogenic) threats. This potential for disassociation surrounding the animals exploited for food ties back to the discussion in the first section on the moral disengagement surrounding the consumption of other animals (discussed more broadly by: Graça, Calheiros & Oliveira, 2014; Camilleri, Gill & Jago 2020).

Within the queen conch study, I also touched on the potential for idealised perceptions of cultural traditions and practices as driving and motivating consumption (especially considering the marketed food-tourism aspect surrounding trade). Elements of food-tourism were also found in the exploitation of the minke whale and ABFT. For example, a report issued by NAMMCO (2017) specifically describes how the sale of whale meat in Iceland has been increasing at the same rate as tourism from the US (although the 'food-tourism' drive is more than likely shared amongst holiday goers of other nationalities). Here, painted as a *once in a lifetime* novelty, whale meat is marketed toward tourists looking for an *authentic* experience of Nordic cuisine (Singleton, 2018; Rasmussen, 2014). Similarly, the traditional Almadraba technique of corralling ABFT in the Mediterranean is an attractor for tourists who are able to take boat tours during the fishing season to experience the culture and tradition of the fishery (Pérez-Lloréns, 2019). These relationships demonstrate that while marine species who are commercially exploited may not readily be recognised as *wildlife*, they are easily understood as food *and* associated with cultural perceptions of festivity, enjoyment, leisure, and tourism.

Ordinary harms and a culture of consumption

Expanding on the concept of 'everyday ecocide' and everyday harmful acts (Agnew, 2020), within each of the case studies consumption was frequently described as a normal (sometimes as a luxury) practice. Here, the species were recognised primarily for their value as food resources. Additionally, the case studies have demonstrated how local and traditional consumption is generally regarded more sympathetically (amongst survey and interview participants). This was especially relevant within the minke whale case. As such, there is the potential here to evaluate how normalised and local consumption takes on an element of what Agnew (2020, p.52) describes as 'ordinary acts that contribute to ecocide'. Here, cultures of consumption become less centred on human needs for nutrition or subsistence (although this is still a relevant motivation for consumption), instead becoming more an act of tradition, routine, prestige, or simply enjoyment (as described above). Through these means, motivations around consumption (or beliefs in the acceptability of exploitation) can be understood as ordinary, and perceived as not causing harm (Agnew, 2020).

Cultures of consumption are also relevant for the discussions in the queen conch chapter on diaspora markets and expanding demand for wildlife. While the queen conch appears to be a lesser known and cryptic species (amongst survey participants), the movement of people and cultural associations with food seemingly acts to shift the perceptions of ordinary and acceptable foods. This has been evidenced by the online reviews and the scale of imports into the US (potentially linked to Caribbean diaspora – see Brownell and Stevely, 1981). Connections between cultural identity and the consumption of the queen conch are significant here. For instance, native Bahamians are often referred to as 'conchs', a name that has also transferred to describe people from the Florida Keys (also referred to as the Conch Republic) (Steinberg and Chapman, 2009). Although the exact origin of these names is not clear, this entanglement demonstrates the connection between island and coastal dwelling people and their relationship with the sea, and specifically with the queen conch. This identity association is clearly displayed in the Florida Keys, although the fishery in Florida has been closed since 1982, queen conch derived dishes remain a firm favourite (both socially normalised and deeply intertwined with a sense of identity) – the demand for which is supplied in totality by imports. Beliefs around the normalisation or ordinary acceptability of consumption also adds weight to the findings within the first two case studies on the personal import (not commercial trade) of minke whale and queen conch meat reported within CITES, seemingly to meet personal consumer demand where commercial trade routes are less accessible or prohibited.

When discussing motivations (strains) for the above noted ordinary-harmful acts, Agnew (2020) suggests these can be bound by perceptions of negative experiences, some of which can be retrospectively applied within the analysis of the case studies. For instance, Agnew suggests that luxury items (like whale and ABFT meat for example) can provide people with a sense of status. By consuming status foods, a sense of respect from others can be obtained. Through these means '*status frustration'* emerges as a strain when people are unable to meet a desired status. Similarly, the consumption of meat (particularly whale or tuna steaks) can provide a means of developing social status, particularly when tied to motivations (or strains) around '*accomplishing gender'* as meat consumption has repeatedly been tied to (Western) models of masculinity (Adams, 2015; Carson, 2021). Another possibility motivating consumption here revolves around the concept of '*relative deprivation'* (when people believe they are deprived of a resource in relation to others). This could be a motivator behind the consumption of the ABFT, whereby local (illegal) consumption was described as motivated by perceptions of ownership in contestation to an actual deprivation of the *food resource*. Through these means, social pressures (or envy of others) surrounding consumption may be influencing motivations to consume the species.

For the queen conch, motivators could involve a strain that Agnew (2020) describes as '*not experienced, not perceived, or discounted'*. Within the queen conch case I described how for many consumers the decline in the queen conch has seemingly gone unnoticed as baselines for normalcy have continually shifted. Within the US this has also been supported by an import industry that maintains the illusion of abundance. Here, harms resulting from ordinary consumption are simply not noticed, or discounted. Another potential strain impacting the motivation for the consumption of all three case study species may be understood as '*threatened or actual loss of a valued lifestyle'.* Here, the enforcement of trade regulations can be interpreted as a potential threat to consumer lifestyles. Responses to this threat can involve retaliation by increasing connections to the threatened lifestyle in order to protect it. This has been demonstrated in the case of the minke whale with claims toward the cultural significance of whale meat consumption.

Protecting trade histories

Within each of the case studies drivers for consumption exist at the local level but are largely driven by wealthy nations (particularly the US, Europe, and Japan). This follows the previous assertions that wildlife trade is largely driven by powerful countries in the Global North, who benefit from exploiting those countries in the Global South for profit (van Uhm, 2020; Duffy, 2016). As White (2018b, p.292) describes 'by and large, it is the South feeding the appetites of the North'. This relationship is particularly relevant in the case of the queen conch where (during the interviews) it was frequently described how people were living at the edge of poverty and increasingly dependent on the queen conch for subsistence, yet at the same time the species is the centre of a major export industry (potentially also magnified by diaspora communities and increased external market demand for limited 'food resources'). Within this case there are clear inequalities in access and the division of profits (from exploitation), coupled also with the significant and systemic exploitation of vulnerable people. On a similar note, discussions around the establishment of quotas for the ABFT raised the issue of trade histories and *ownership*, whereby countries without a quota (particularly African nations) have been excluded from management decision making and prevented access to the fishery. This has effectively enabled wealthy nations – Europe, Japan, and the US – to continue their trade management regimes while preventing the development of others. In a similar vein, when discussing the failure of CITES listings for marine species, Young describes how: 'collaboration has been fraught and stymied by states and other actors who have sought to maintain their existing fisheries practices and their preferred legal forums' (Young, 2010, p.21). In the context of the ABFT management, this issue of control and access further relates to the global injustices stemming from the blue growth movement described in the third chapter.

While the management of fisheries may be outwardly concerned with sustainability (as a measure of maximum sustainable yield); equity, access, and power dynamics cannot be ignored as drivers of consumption (and over-exploitation). Focussing on management and enforcement at the local level ignores the drivers of much of this inequality – namely those wealthy (and increasingly multicultural) nations who create the demand for the species, and subsequently compete with locals for access. The CITES management approach of reframing harm from a position that focusses on consumer demand to one that is centred on the mode of creation (for the queen conch – in the Global South) fails to recognise the cause of these harms – the wealthy consumer markets that perpetuate trade and exploitation of wildlife (Duffy, 2010; van Uhm, 2020). Achieving a harmony between sustainability, food-provisioning, economic access, and responsible consumption and production will additionally require the recognition that current drivers of trade and consumption of marine species are perpetuated by global imbalances in power and social injustices in the access to food resources. In addition, patterns of increasing cultural exchange appear to aid perceptions of normalcy and exposure to marine species as food resources (e.g., the queen conch and the role of Caribbean or Asian diaspora in shaping external demand).

Validated consumers, vilified consumers?

The above issue of cultural exchange does not seem to be one shared within the minke whale case (although the issue of food-tourism is certainly relevant here). While interviewees were careful to be sensitive to cultural ties to whaling, the consumption of whale meat was generally regarded as wrong amongst survey participants. Critically though perceptions here were not uniform, what was made clear within the study was the apparent divergence of *blameworthiness* within discussions. This connection between normative attitudes and species listings is important. While whaling nations contend that exploitation must be understood in the context of food provisioning, in this case, consumption of whale meat goes against Western norms and is also prohibited via CITES (Appendix I). While traditional and subsistence whaling (in a local context) was generally accepted (by survey participants), consumers in Japan were repeatedly problematised and described as uninterested in sustainability. In doing so, this consequently paints their consumption as un-sustainable. However, as presented in the global trade overview Norway is both a producer and consumer of minke whale meat, yet consumption here was typically regarded less harshly by participants.

This tension in the social construction and the variable vilification of consumers resonates with appeals from within Southern criminology to recognise the hegemony of Western (Global North) power-elites in developing and defining the constructs of crime. In doing so, blame (and responsibility) is frequently attributed toward those in the Global (or metaphorical) South – an issue reminiscent of neo-colonial (ideological, cultural, political, and economic) control (Sollund

& Runhovde, 2020) and culturally insensitive stereotypes (Margulies, Wong & Duffy, 2019). This issue of bias in attitudes has been discussed more broadly by Kolmaš (2021), who describes how shaming directed towards Japanese consumption of whale meat effectively protects a Euro-American idealised version of 'self'. Here, Kolmaš (2021, p.22) contends that if Norwegian whaling practices were to be labelled as barbaric and cruel (as they are for Japanese whaling practices), this would 'compromise the identity of Western countries as modern, objective and rigorous…. [and] would undermine the very dichotomy through which Western legitimacy [as guardians for morality and an anti-whaling position] was constituted.' This too ties with assumptions of Western legitimacy in the construction of crime and crime control and calls to decolonise the Western-centric study of crime (Carrington, Hogg & Sozzo, 2016; Ciocchini & Greener, 2021).

In comparison to the above, the queen conch sits in the optimal place for trade (on Appendix II) within CITES. Exploitation is heavily managed and controlled, but trade remains permitted (albeit regulated). The significance of Appendix II in this case surrounds securing (and legitimising) 'sustainable' trade to ensure that industry can survive into the future and populations are not threatened with extinction. Yet, in contrast to the minke whale, the major (external) consumer base for the queen conch belongs in the US (and increasingly also in Europe). Trade relations and perceptions of trade are important here. While the queen conch (from a human perspective) could be described as an uncharismatic species, their consumption and trade may be generally accepted on the basis that it does not offend people's sensibilities of charismatic or intrinsically valuable species (as has *mostly* become the case for whales). Although the survey responses were geographically limited (and many respondents were unfamiliar with the species), consumption overwhelmingly appears to be socially accepted, and the export industry is largely fuelled by consumers in the US and Europe (an issue tied to the discussion on cultural exchange in the previous sub-section).

An element of vilification (toward consumers) also surrounds the exploitation of the ABFT. Conservation messaging that the species is endangered has created a strong perception that consumption is over-exploitative and damaging to populations. However, as discussed above, the blame of overexploitation was frequently directed toward industrial fishing and farming operations and overseas consumers – rather than toward local consumption. An additional note here, while consumption is driven by Japanese demand, both European and American markets have profited (or been heavily subsidised) from trade (in the Mediterranean, and North America). While the species is not listed on CITES, the preservation of trade is both beneficial for Western markets, employment, and industry as well as for Japanese trade and consumption interests.

Food sovereignty

The above issues of equitability, local access, cultural identity, and trade histories tie into the issue of food sovereignty (namely the prioritisation and reform of local food production to champion equitable access to food resources over industrialised, international food systems) (Tourangeau & Fitzgerald, 2020; Torrez, 2011). Throughout the three case studies, respondents tended to express a preference toward the local use and consumption of each species. These preferences were frequently justified around ideas of traditional use, cultural heritage, and the protection of access and the rights of local people to local resources. For example, in the minke whale case, allowances were described for subsistence and traditional use (e.g., by First Nations peoples). Similarly, for the queen conch, local consumption was generally not viewed as problematic. Rather, external consumers (holiday makers and export markets) were viewed as responsible for driving unsustainable demand and threatening the stability of populations. Yet again, in the tuna study, local rights toward access to the tuna were regarded as key issues within the fishery, with locals on both sides of the Atlantic finding issue with limited access to the fishery resulting from huge external demand and market competition (predominantly from Japan). Here, local consumption was frequently perceived as a right, and international markets and consumers were viewed as damaging a natural balance that was once achievable and sustainable.

In each of these case studies, it was *international* trade that was viewed with most criticism and subsequently viewed as the most harmful (in terms of inflating demand, reducing availability for locals, and over-exploiting the species in question). As such, it is important to reflect on just how CITES, an *international* trade convention, reinforces the legitimacy of international trade in wildlife, promoting a precarious concept that sustainable exploitation via trade management controls can and should be maintained, and consequently protecting and empowering international wildlife markets. This resonates with the discussion in the ABFT chapter on whether the species feeds the world, or if (which is more likely) they feed the wealthy upper classes to the detriment of marginalised consumers. This discussion also draws parallels with what Shiva (2000, p.7) describes as a 'corporate hijacking of food and agriculture' whereby the 'corporate control of food and globalisation of agriculture are robbing millions of their livelihoods and their right to food', later adding that 'markets are destroyed locally and nationally but expanded globally, [and] the myth of "free trade" and the global economy becomes a means for the rich to rob the poor of their right to food and even their right to life'. In none of the case studies was this more apparent than within the queen conch case, where disadvantaged and marginalised fishers were described as expendable 'bodies' under the power of exploitative and dangerous industrial fleets. This recognition of the social injustices in the trade and commodification of each species transitions nicely to the final section on the perceptions toward and recognition of harm.

RQ. 3. Recognition of harm

When beginning this research process, I had intended to keep the focus primarily on each of the case study species (true to a nonspeciesist approach), examining how they are impacted by human exploitation and how harms toward them were perceived. However, as the interview process developed, it very quickly became clear that this could not be an investigation solely into harms at the individual level. There also had to be a broader reflection on the humans involved and their entanglements with the exploitation of each species. When discussing violence towards (non-human) animals Stephens-Griffin and Griffin (2021) describe how such violence can also be understood as a social harm. Here, harms toward animals (enacted by humans) mutually impacts the animals who are victimised, as well as being harmful toward (human) animals. For example, those who work within and are exploited by animal industries, as well as harmful to the wider environment (e.g., pollution, land degradation, and climate change). To capture what it means for each of the case study species to be exploited, it was therefore necessary to account for, and engage with, all forms of harm bound within this exploitative system of wildlife commodification.

Throughout the case studies it became increasing apparent that the trade in marine wildlife was not only harmful to the individuals who were directly victimised and killed, but also involved numerous and parallel harms and victims. These exist more broadly at the species level (for instance population declines and the targeting of juveniles or females), as well as toward other wildlife (through bycatch issues or by impacting marine food-webs). In addition, when the distinction between legal and illegal wildlife trade is decided on the basis of anthropocentric value judgements (as has been the case within the three case studies), this can act to mask the harms suffered by those species who are not considered to be victims (evidencing the potential for a speciesist hierarchy of victims). For example, many of the survey participants described the queen conch as non-sentient and thus reduced their capacity to be perceived as victims of harm. Although harms were diminished at the individual or species level, harms were described at the environmental level (the cascading environmental impacts from species decline), as well as felt by numerous human groups (fishers who were injured or killed, locals who were prevented access, or industry who felt the economic burden of increasing trade restrictions). Following the nonspeciesist approach underpinning this study, I begin the discussion at the animal (individual) level.

Loss of the individual

Drawing from the nonspeciesist approach that grounds the conceptual framework, the commodification of wildlife (rooted within anthropocentric and capitalist ideologies) is not only harmful and exploitative but can also be understood as both objectifying and oppressive (Adams, 2015). This objectification of wildlife essentially acts to devalue them as individuals (Sollund,

2020). This devaluation is particularly prominent in the language used to describe exploitation. For instance, when reflecting on the individual animals who are victimised by wildlife trade, Sollund (2019, p.219) notes that:

> 'In most of the literature addressing wildlife trade, legal or illegal, the animal victims are forgotten. When falling prey to the legal trade they are regarded as goods, specimens or resources, rather than being acknowledged as victims of abduction, abuse, forced captivity or theriocide. When taken illegally, again they become illegal goods and stolen property. The victims are then the states and the people who loose their resources'.

By this reasoning, the multiple millions of individual marine species who are exploited as *fishery resources* are made invisible when described as *stocks* or *populations*. Yet, this terminology is both common practice and commonly accepted, and effectively normalises and minimizes ab(use) toward marine species. In addition, and testament to their commodity value, the naming of fish species as wildlife within national legislation implementing CITES remains a contentious issue. For many countries fish are explicitly excluded from legal definitions of 'wildlife' and the recognition of marine species as wildlife remains ambiguous or non-existent (Wyatt, Friedman & Hutchinson, 2021).

Within each of the case studies I attempted to make prominent the scale of individual victimisation. However, the requirements for reporting and measuring trade within CITES (variously as: bodies, meat, derivatives, shells, etc. – as well as by numerous units: kilograms, tonnes, bags, cases, etc.) acts to distort the scale of individual wildlife victims and furthers their objectification (Wyatt *et al.*, 2021). While the trade in minke whales is reported in numbers (representative of individuals killed), the trade in queen conch and ABFT is conventionally reported by weight. This devaluation of individuals to simply weights of traded meat was particularly problematic as it means that official records of trade mask the extent of impact on individuals. Due to these reporting conventions, it is virtually impossible to gauge the scale of individual victims (Robinson & Sinovas, 2018). This was particularly true for the queen conch whose trade records (within CITES) could potentially relate to 'cleaned' or 'dirty' weight depending on the degree of processing of the animal. This issue has recently been raised by Pavitt and colleagues (2021) who highlight how the non-standardised reporting of trade for the queen conch limits the strength of trade records to represent the full scale of their exploitation.

Language matters: victims in all but name

In addition to the above minimisation of individuals, within the case studies, the terminology used to describe the killing and consumption of each species also appears to be subject to speciesist hierarchies. On this note Beirne (2018, p.10) describes how 'one of the main pillars of speciesism is discrimination though language' and later describes how euphemisms for killing animals 'hide

the messy business of killing animals for food' (p.20). This obscuring of killing via euphemisms was also present within the queen conch case. Here, individuals (or rather populations) were frequently described as being 'harvested'. While this description is also used for species like oysters and mussels, it is traditionally used to describe agricultural systems and the harvesting of plants – not of animals. As such, the act of killing seemingly becomes removed from the language, minimising the harm of the act. On a similar note, in their study on the historic exploitation of the queen conch, Antczak and Antczak (2005) describe the queen conch as the 'fruit of paradise'[38]. While descriptive of the queen conchs' exploitation by humans, this analogy repositions (and romanticises) the nature of exploitation, simultaneously cementing the instrumental importance of queen conchs as *resources* while also conveying a sense of utopian plentifulness. This contextualisation of the queen conch, as something that is less-than *animal* – that can be harvested rather than killed, renders them less visible as a victim of exploitation. Parallels can be drawn here with the dehumanisation and oppression of human groups who are judged to be *less than human* (see generally: Smith, 2013; Shiva *et al.*, 2014).

Language and visibility were also important issues within the ABFT case. As a large, carnivorous species they are certainly charismatic creatures. Yet many participants admitted being unfamiliar with them. Potentially, the comparative lack of public compassion toward the ABFT (compared to terrestrially visible and charismatic creatures) lies in their un-naming. For instance, many participants stated that they were unsure whether they had eaten meat from the ABFT (although many had eaten tuna and specifically sushi). Here, knowledge and understanding of the species themselves appears to be an issue for their recognition. When all species of tuna (yellowfin, skipjack, bigeye, etc.) are commonly and conventionally referred to simply as *tuna fish* this makes differences at a species level difficult to recognise. Here, names are important, however the designation of all tuna species simply as *tuna fish* appears to have rendered the ABFT anonymous.

Contrasting the above two species, the minke whale was almost unanimously regarded as wildlife rather than food throughout the study. Whales, in general, have come to epitomise the 'charismatic megafauna' of the ocean, their image an icon for wildlife and environmental conservation (see generally: Laist, 2017; Buell, 2001; Brito, Vieira & Freitas, 2019). Throughout interviews the minke whale was frequently described as being 'hunted' and 'killed' and individuals were seemingly recognised to be victims. However, as illustrated by the perception of the 'stinky minke', while they are apparently perceived to be off-limits for killing and consumption, they also appear to hold limited value for whale watchers. Although not necessarily an issue for the

38 Here the authors are referring to the catch rate in the 1970's, before the decline in populations we see today.

recognition of harm, it is an interesting development on how perceptions of value are formed between and within species groups.

Individual versus species value

The protection of wildlife populations necessitates a focus on the reproductive health of populations, unsurprisingly then, throughout the case studies value was attributed (or harm towards wildlife were permitted) based on assessments of population stability and reproductivity. For both the queen conch and ABFT the loss of mature individuals was noted as a significant issue, as it tends to be the mature individuals who are more successful during spawning. The loss of both large and mature queen conch and ABFT would additionally have a structural impact on the species' communities that cannot simply be replaced by *restocking* the population with juveniles. Within these chapters I described how it is impossible to know what the impact of changing population age dynamics will be, especially relating to the unknown loss of a species' or populations' culture (Brakes *et al*., 2021; Whitehead, 2010).

This focus on the safeguarding of reproduction resonates with an animal rights (and ecofeminist) position to recognise how systems of animal husbandry and wildlife management extend the control of reproduction to human and industry groups (Gaard, 2019; Kheel, 2008). As Kheel (2008, p.250) notes: the protection of species follows: 'a long history of masculinist attempts to control the reproductive capacity of other animals…[whereby] the focus of protection is on the fertility of nature, not the individual beings that nature generates'. This is a particularly relevant criticism from a nonspeciesist standpoint to recognise the intrinsic value and rights of individual wildlife separate from their *usefulness* to the population security of their species. Discussions around reproduction and conservation have also been traced through the case studies. For instance, for the minke whale, females are protected from exploitation only if they are nursing a juvenile. As such, their life is deemed worthy of protection only when they are contributing to the population growth of the species (additionally males receive no such protections). For the queen conch, juveniles are protected to the point that their bodies have become large enough that they can be assumed to have reached sexual maturity and have had the opportunity to spawn. Once individuals are large enough to have potentially spawned, they are then deemed *ready* for exploitation. On a similar note, the minimum size requirements for ABFT exploitation acts to protect juvenile tuna (raising issues with the loss of mature, older tuna). Additionally, the whole system of exploitation of the ABFT also takes advantage of their migratory patterns surrounding spawning.

Building on this, because ABFT (and fish species in general) are broadcast spawners, huge levels of exploitation and population decline are not seen as problematic (from a fisheries management perspective), as the population can hypothetically recover quickly (if given the time to do so).

This management approach was also described in the queen conch case. In all of these cases, the breeding and spawning ability of the species has been used as a foundation to understand harms (the protection of juveniles and mothers, leading to the protection of the species). Yet, these protections are withdrawn when the individual is deemed to have (potentially) reproduced. This focus on populations and reproductivity is central to both conservation (including CITES) and wildlife management, however it removes the focus from individuals who are harmed, exploited, killed – and instead repositions them as actors within their population (valuable solely for their reproductive potential and commodity value).

Welfare, fare-well

While not a prominent concern through the case studies, welfare was occasionally raised within discussions, particularly for the minke whale – and in a management sense for the ABFT. However, *welfare* is another problematic term in this case as it is typically used to define the treatment of individuals during their control, treatment, and killing (Sollund, 2020). As such, welfare concerns do not necessarily mean to *prevent* or *abolish* the killing of wildlife (to truly protect their welfare), but rather to manage their experiences of harm during exploitation. Through these means welfare ultimately equates to an acceptance of killing and the necessity of death. Despite these problems with the term, understanding how harms are socially constructed and guided by concerns for an individual (or species) welfare demonstrates how speciesist hierarchies can influence the differential victimisation of wildlife (Flynn & Hall, 2017).

Throughout the study, the welfare of the minke whale was frequently used as a reason to support the ban on the killing and trading of the species. On separate occasions welfare arguments were also used to justify trade via comparisons with the welfare of domesticated species. Similarly, while many survey respondents were opposed to whaling on the grounds of welfare, others also made exceptions on the grounds of subsistence or aboriginal hunting. However, there is a disconnect here in the reality of welfare considerations. In terms of the treatment in death, highly operationalised whaling ships can have higher (and faster) kill success rates than the group (collective) killing method typically used in aboriginal hunts (different equipment, boats, and organisation of whalers) (NAMMCO, 2010). While aboriginal and subsistence hunting was given some measure of allowance by both interview and survey participants (as discussed above), the method of killing is arguably much poorer in terms of *welfare* at death when compared to commercial hunting practices.

Welfare for the queen conch and ABFT was seemingly an issue of lesser importance to those surveyed and interviewed. As mentioned in the second case study, there seems to be very little (if any) recognition of welfare for the queen conch. While some gastropods are understood to be able to feel pain (Winlow *et al.*, 2018), and welfare and stress are specifically recognised as issues

when researching the health of the queen conch (Tiley *et al*., 2019), this was not recognised within the interview discussions. As described in the ABFT case, welfare became an issue (for fishers) only when this would impact the quality of the meat. These views conform with an industry standard to focus on meat quality for the maximisation of profits (Mylonas *et al*., 2010). However, it is well understood that fisheries involve a suite of harms and welfare concerns (Huntingford *et al*., 2006) and killing methods can be highly stressful and prolonged (see: Mood, 2010; Hürlimann *et al*., 2014; Kristiansen *et al*., 2020). Despite this, even when poor welfare is recognised as a moral concern by consumers, this is often not enough to impact their consumptive habits (Hartmann & Siegrist, 2020) – a factor also demonstrated within the speciesism scale described previously. Returning to CITES, Bowman (1998) highlights how welfare provisions within trade are not strictly enforced, and Wyatt and colleagues (2021) additionally describe how welfare (for wildlife in transit) is only fleetingly referenced within the Convention's text. It appears that the focus here is not the reduction of harm for exploited individuals but the maintenance of trade (Wyatt, *et al*., 2021). For these reasons it seems disingenuous and disheartening when describing the harms toward marine species who are commercially exploited, as improvements for welfare (within industry and during killing) can be impractical and prohibitively costly to implement (Breen *et al*., 2020), and there are no requirements within CITES (or within fishery management bodies) to rectify this within wild-capture fishery industries[39].

The misdirection of sustainable exploitation

Moving from a focus on individual victimisation to justifications for exploitation, within the three case studies attempts were often made to compromise the anthropocentric (instrumental value) position afforded toward each species by appealing to ecocentric sustainable use values. Here, major narratives surrounding each of the species' exploitation rested on ideas surrounding sustainability. For the minke whale subsistence and traditional use was often described as an exception for exploitation, provided this was managed sustainably. For the queen conch and ABFT, consumption was also often described as a local necessity, and in some cases the sustainability of supply was simply assumed on the basis that trade was permissible, available, and seemingly well-managed. However, by focussing on sustainability, harm recognition becomes realised at the level of the state and industry. Through these means, the victimisation of the species becomes positioned in economic terms rather than by a recognition for the pain, suffering, and death of those wildlife who are exploited. Concepts for sustainable exploitation, development, and growth have been further criticised by Goyes (2019, p.109), who poses that:

39 Despite the lack of attention towards wild-capture fisheries, the issue of welfare is increasingly recognised and discussed within aquaculture (fish-farming) industries (Segner et al., 2019).

‘sustainable development has been designed to ensure the endless human exploitation of nature’. As discussed earlier in the thesis – sustainable (blue) development, motivated by goals for economic growth, frequently involves environmental degradation and ecological discrimination (Blaustein *et al*., 2020; Goyes, 2019, Heydon, 2019; McDonnell, Abelvik-Lawson & Short, 2020). From a nonspeciesist position there is nothing *sustainable* about a ‘blue growth’ relationship, as wildlife are commodified and harmed under the guise of sustainability.

The discussions within this thesis have demonstrated how interpretations of what sustainability should or could mean are vastly different among groups. Within the interviews the concept of sustainability often took on a broad, holistic meaning, that encompassed environmental considerations and concern for non-target (bycatch) species. However, for fishers and industry, sustainability was (and is) defined as fishing at a level to ensure maximum sustainable yield (MSY). Within a CITES context, concerns revolve only around trade that threatens the survival of a species. As such, the Convention is not concerned with fishing beyond MSY (or with illegal, unreported, or unregulated fishing) unless these activities threaten a species’ survival (and only when listed within CITES). The role of CITES then, is not to focus on sustainability *for all*, but sustainability at the *species level* and only for those species who are considered threatened. In their current context, the above definitions for sustainability are narrow rather than broad, concerned with a species as a group and not with the interconnected system that they are individually part of. Equally, definitions for sustainable exploitation do not contain any concept within for improvement at the global food-system level (Tlusty *et al*., 2019). Ultimately, if the exploitation of a marine species is regarded as sustainable (at the level of MSY, to maximise profits) then there is less impetus for any form of improvement especially toward ecological sustainability or social equality (Ramesh & Namboothri, 2018; Giron-Nava *et al*., 2019).

Broader harms

Harms to people

When considering harms toward people, it is essential to recognise that people have largely had balanced and sustainable relationships with marine species (and wildlife generally) for millennia. Although, there are obviously numerous exceptions to this. The overexploitation that we see today, and for which CITES was formed to moderate, is not the result of unstable relationships between Indigenous people, fisherfolk, peasants or the rural poor, but is the result of an extractive capitalist system (driven by colonial expansion) that has sought to turn wild species into commodities (Moore, 2015; Dawson, 2016). Regulations to manage fisheries (e.g., ICCAT) and conventions to manage wildlife trade (e.g., CITES) have developed alongside the increasing commodification and destruction of wildlife. As described above, marine species who are commercially exploited are both devalued and objectified. However, it is not just those exploited

wildlife who can be understood as victims, so too are the vulnerable and Indigenous people who are suffering the impacts of capitalist exploitation. To this, Mies and Shiva (2014 preface xvii) contend that: 'an economics of commodification creates a culture of commodification, where everything has a price and nothing has value'. Under this exploitative system the intrinsic value of wildlife, the environment, and people are all reduced.

This was a prominent issue particularly within the queen conch case (described previously within this chapter) whereby local fishers are understood to face extreme personal dangers, with their exploitation running in parallel with the exploitation of the queen conch. In addition to the poor treatment and exploitation of people, issues around the costs of implementing regulations were also raised in both the queen conch and ABFT cases (this ties to the previous discussion on the cost of management and disproportionate impact on marginalised groups (Tan, 2021)). Here, prohibitive costs of management prevent small-scale fishers from accessing the market, which is increasingly geared toward large, industrialised (and government subsidized) fleets (especially the case in the ABFT study).

Chapter summary

This chapter has examined the three research questions across each of the three case studies. I have presented further cross-comparative analysis through the evaluation of the speciesism and Western agreeability scales. I have also highlighted key themes running throughout the cases. These revolved around; 1. power asymmetries underlying the creation of conservation narratives (or the protection of trade interests) by the power-elite; 2. hierarchies of value related to the socially normalised and mediated construction of consumption – and potentially also to speciesist value judgements; 3. perceptions of ownership over marine wildlife and global inequalities in access; 4. the minimisation of exploited individuals in contrast to the recognition of harms toward people and industry; and 5. the illusion of sustainability in supporting the current blue-growth based model of extractive capitalism which can also be seen to contribute to the oppression of both wildlife and people. The following chapter presents the conclusion of the thesis, highlighting my original contributions to knowledge and reflecting on opportunities for future research.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

Chapter overview

This final chapter presents a summary of findings for the thesis. I begin by describing the development of the first four chapters (1. Introduction, 2. CITES and case study context, 3. Conceptual framework development, and 4. Methodology). Then, I present a summary of findings from each of the case studies (5. Minke whale, 6. Queen conch, and 7. Atlantic bluefin tuna) and highlight how these cases make an original contribution to knowledge. I then discuss the overarching narratives brought together in the previous chapter (8. Discussion) and focus on how the study has answered the research objective. Following this, I reflect on the implications and limitations of the study, before discussing potential solutions to broaden the socio-cultural perceptions of harm and victimhood, and further recognise a nonspeciesist and animal rights based position which is sensitive to the intrinsic value of marine species. I conclude the thesis by providing recommendations for future areas of research.

Summary of findings and contributions to knowledge

Chapter 1: Introduction

I introduced the thesis with an overview of the threats facing marine species, focussing specifically on marine species who are also commercially exploited. It is well documented that marine species are under increasing pressures from climate change, acidification of oceans, and intensification of extractive ocean industries. For those species who are also regarded as *food resources*, they face additional pressures from human exploitation. To address this issue, I positioned the research approach within the fields of green-cultural and Southern criminology and explained how this combined conceptual framework would support an investigation into the legally perpetuated harms toward marine species. Following this, I elaborated on the current management systems in place for marine species who are commercially exploited and introduced the conflicts between trade and conservation management. I then focused on the issue of defining sustainability and described how definitions here influence the commercial or conservation interests surrounding different species. Bringing these themes together I then concluded the chapter by outlining my research objective and three research questions.

Chapter 2: CITES and case study context

This chapter furthered the case for the underrepresentation of marine species within the CITES appendices. I suggested that marine species, especially those who are commercially exploited, may not always be viewed as victims of harm to the same extent as other wildlife. With this

established, I then presented potential issues impacting the recognition of marine species within CITES. First, I described the potential for CITES to reflect or recreate Western norms surrounding wildlife conservation and use. I then reflected on the potential for speciesism in the attention toward different taxa within CITES and further emphasised the lack of visibility toward commercially exploited marine species within the appendices. Following this, I introduced each of the case study species. I described the route through CITES that each has taken and detailed conflicts in perspectives between their conservation or commodification. The chapter concluded by describing how these combined case studies compliment the research investigation to shine a light on the divergence of attitudes between wildlife conservation and fishery management objectives. Through these means, the case studies presented in this thesis give a snapshot of how three very different marine species have come to be exploited, providing evidence for the social and cultural contexts that support either the species' commodification or their conservation.

Chapter 3: Conceptual foundations

The third chapter developed the conceptual framework and introduced the three criminological approaches (green, cultural, and Southern) that support the research objective. The chapter began with an overview of green criminological perspectives. This discussion enabled the supporting eco-philosophical positions and justice frameworks (environmental, species, and ecological) to be developed upon. I also introduced the issue of speciesism in further detail and described how this focus resonates with a species justice position. From here, I established how the nonspeciesist approach would be used to underpin the study and expand on the perception that humans are the sole recipients of moral concern (Sollund, 2008). Following this, I described how the inclusion of a cultural criminological standpoint would further support the research objective. Relevant areas of interest within cultural criminology were introduced, focussing on cultures of violence, institutionalised harms of commodification, and the political constructs of crime. The intersection of green and cultural criminology also enables a further critique on the influence of power imbalances in supporting wildlife exploitation. To further situate the research objective within a green-cultural criminological tradition, Passas' (2005) concept of 'lawful but awful' was also introduced to demonstrate how harms toward wildlife can be socially constructed as normal and acceptable. Finally, I reflected on the situated nature of the study (from a Global North standpoint – albeit a critical one), and the necessity of including Southern criminological perspectives. To this end, I described how the exploitation of marine species is an issue of global significance, and responses to harm and victimhood must recognise the combined and divergent realities, perspectives, and narratives from both the Global North and South. This positionality became an essential underpinning throughout the study and a focus to better situate the impact of marginalisation and exploitation (of both people and wildlife) within the context of an overarching growth driven wildlife economy. Together, these combined criminological orientations have

supported the research to examine the social and cultural contextual drivers of harm and the visibility of victimhood toward marine species.

Contribution to knowledge

This thesis has contributed to the field of green criminology by engaging with the emerging combined perspectives of Southern (Goyes, 2019; Carrington, Hogg & Sozzo, 2016), green-cultural (Brisman & South, 2013, 2014; Brisman, 2017), and Southern green-cultural (Goyes *et al.*, 2021) criminological spheres. Each element of the conceptual framework is complementary. The green criminological approach provides the focus and emphasis on nonspeciesist and animal rights perspectives, is attentive toward harm, and recognises the victimisation of non-human species. The combined green-cultural criminological focus has enabled a reflection on how socio-cultural attitudes (and mediated constructions) towards the commodification of wildlife can act to diminish the visibility of harm for some species, while holding others to greater levels of esteem (and protection). This framework also establishes that these perceptions are ultimately based within culturally contextual and ever-shifting value perspectives. In addition, the Southern criminological focus on the injustices toward non-human animals and ecological discrimination is additionally critical of the culturalist and speciesist practices that perpetuate global inequalities. Together, this combined conceptual framework supports a reflection on the entwined and parallel oppression of marine species and other marginalised (human) groups to situate perceptions of harm and victimhood within their socio-cultural and political-economic contexts.

Chapter 4: Methodological approach

The fourth chapter developed the methodological approach taken to address the research objective and answer the research questions. I began the chapter with a reflection on reflexivity and described the constructionist ontology and interpretivist epistemological position that has underpinned the investigation into what it *means* (to people) when they make moral decisions about wildlife, and how these perceptions can be made visible or not within research. I then described my own positionality, and discussed the importance of reflection, sensitivity, and engagement when taking a nonspeciesist position. Following this I described the methods for data collection. I detailed how the three case studies are bound by an overarching survey that seeks to capture public/non-specialist opinion on the exploitation and consumption of marine species. Next, I described how I invited interview contributions from governing body (management), socio-cultural (local interest), fishery (industry bodies), and conservation (independent researchers and academics) sectors. Following this, the use of secondary data was described. Together, the thesis has captured data from 162 survey participants from 24 countries. In addition, 35 interviews have been conducted, encompassing 11 governing body representatives, 5 socio-cultural representatives, 5 more from the fishery sector, and 13 from the conservation and research

sector. Within this chapter I also detailed the statistical and thematic content analysis approach used to interpret the data. The chapter concluded with a reflection on limitations, particularly surrounding online (not in-person) data collection and how this would limit the scope of those who were able to contribute to the study.

Contribution to knowledge

The interpretivist epistemology and constructionist ontology informing this research has provided a springboard that is sensitive to multiple worldviews and is open to exploring new ways of meaning. This approach is sensitive to calls from Southern criminologists and scholars to move beyond Northern epistemic traditions (in terms of knowledge generation, scope, and validity) (Brown, 2021; Carrington, Hogg & Sozzo, 2016). Although my research cannot claim to be an ideal representation of a Southern-green criminological union (through my positionality as a Western researcher, and the lack of contribution from those in the Global/metaphorical South), the interpretivist approach I have taken to understand and describe the situated meanings behind wildlife exploitation is sensitive to Goyes' (2019, p.37) assertion that Southern-green criminological approaches should 'be about understanding and interpreting the world. Not about imposing views and determining methods'. Through my combined qualitative and quantitative methodological design, and dialectic philosophical positionality, I have demonstrated how a nonspeciesist position can be held without making other forms of meaning surrounding victimisation and inequality less visible. This has enabled me to produce a novel analysis and interpretation of the workings of CITES in the context of each of the three species. The survey information and secondary trade data have provided context and broad themes to investigate the normalcy, legitimacy, and perceptions of harm for each species. In addition, the combined interviews provide an indication of the local and global impacts of the species' conservation management interventions and reveal how harm and victimisation become perceived within (and influenced by) existing systems of management. Together this approach enables favourable (and less-favourable) perspectives toward wildlife conservation and commodification to be identified (situated within the nonspeciesist approach) and provides an understanding of how different species are discriminated against.

Chapter 5: The minke whale

The first case study focussed on the trade in the minke whale, which is globally considered illegal but semi-legally perpetuated through legal loopholes. This case has highlighted how the visibility of victimisation is fluidly constructed, with uneven perceptions of harm identified at the local (subsistence and traditional) and international (commercial and industrial) levels. This divergence of perspectives resonates with a Southern criminological position, to recognise the inconsistencies in value (and harm) judgements both toward the minke whale themselves and also toward those

who continue to exploit them. The chapter additionally expanded on the nonspeciesist and rights based approach, advancing an understanding here by demonstrating the subjective nature of value perceptions surrounding the species. I also expanded on the green-cultural conceptual underpinnings by demonstrating how consumption of the species becomes socially motivated through mediated constructions of quality, delicacy, and tradition. Together the case study revealed how moral perspectives and perceptions of value toward the species generally conform to the CITES listing. However, I also highlighted the significance of speciesism in the consideration of harm and victimisation afforded to different wildlife (based on subjective, hierarchical, and aesthetic qualities). Furthermore, I highlighted a trend for the marginalisation of people through the replication of power asymmetries and political exclusion. While the CITES listing acts to minimise harms toward the minke whale, conflicts surrounding the exploitability of the species cloud the effectiveness of CITES and support the continued conflict between pro and anti-whaling groups.

Chapter 6: The queen conch

The second case study concerned the legal trade in the Appendix II listed queen conch. The large-scale trade emanating from Caribbean countries has both legal and illegal elements and the species has been the focus of two CITES Significant Trade Reviews, indicating a generalised acceptance toward their instrumental value. Within this case I highlighted how the CITES listing is generally seen as a success. However, drawing from the Southern criminological underpinning, I also demonstrate how power asymmetries (reminiscent of neo-colonial relationships) have underlain the management of the species, creating a system stymied by corruption, bribery, and the exploitation of a marginalised and vulnerable workforce. This discussion contributes to a green criminological attentiveness to the crimes of the powerful (Stretesky *et al.*, 2013), connecting also with concerns arising from Southern and decolonial movements (Alatas, 2015; Moosavi, 2019; Ciocchini & Greener, 2021). The chapter also expanded on the normalisation and acceptance of consumption, adding to the green-criminological dialogue on the ordinary and everyday acts that contribute to ecocide (Agnew, 2020). I described how the exploitation of the queen conch (as a form of cultural food tourism, as well as potentially driven by the movement of diaspora communities) is a more recent development in our entangled relationship with the animal. Here, queen conch food festivals appear to serve as a celebration of a cultural identity in a way that very few human-animal relationships replicate. This case has provided a strong example for the anthropocentrically (economically, politically, and culturally) driven exploitation of wildlife, wherein there appears to be little recognition for any form of value beyond instrumental use. A preoccupation with maintaining trade interests (commercial viability) and meeting external consumer demand leaves little space to increase the visibility of the individual victimisation of

the queen conch themselves. Subsequently, perceptions advocated within CITES do little to improve upon the above noted environmental or species justice issues.

Chapter 7: The Atlantic bluefin tuna

The third case study focussed on the ABFT, a much debated non-CITES listed species. This case has been particularly enlightening in terms of the representation of science and the conflicts (and motivations) between conservation and trade groups in management decision making. As with the queen conch case, I have demonstrated how the ABFT is primarily regarded as a food resource – a perspective which aligns with an anthropocentric moral position and recognises only the commodity value of the species. As such, political and economic interests in the species appear to supersede conservation concern. Drawing from the cultural criminological underpinning, I expanded on the motivations for consumption, highlighting the contrasts between themes of everyday consumption and status, alongside the mediated construction of the vulnerability (and charisma appeal) of the species. Within this discussion I also highlighted the packaging of meaning surrounding the species (where they are both framed as charismatic, endangered and in need of protection, whilst simultaneously also central to the political and economic interests of nation states). I suggest that this dual characterisation of the species is damaging not only to individuals and the population who are exploited, but also prevents meaningful discussion on sustainability, equality, and the institutionalised damage arising from a blue-growth driven model for exploitation. As such, this case has expanded on the issue of *sustainability* and emphasised how perceptions of sustainability can either act to normalise harms toward wildlife, or alternatively shift moral consideration to a more biocentric position. Additionally, motivation for illegal consumption also advances discussion on perceptions of ownership, food sovereignty, and control of resources – highlighting the anthropocentric and trade orientated nature of the species' management. To this end, the case study has further highlighted the influence of powerful players in decision making and brought to consideration the impact on marginalised (human) groups, as well as the unknown impact on the species themselves.

Chapter 8: Discussion

The final chapter brought together the three case studies and presented an overarching discussion of the three research questions. To begin with legal and moral perspectives, I described how power asymmetries have shaped conservation and trade narratives for each of the species. I have demonstrated how political and economic interests considerably shape management perspectives, emphasising how the anthropocentric architecture of CITES is not immune to replicating global power asymmetries when defining the scope of legality for the exploitation of marine species. Specifically, here, the minke whale case has evidenced how conflicting values and potentially speciesist attitudes (toward the intelligence and inherent value of the species) have shaped the

definitions of harm within management decision making. In addition, the queen conch and ABFT cases further add to the discussion and reflection on crimes of the powerful. To this, I evidenced how CITES trade measures may be considered to mirror neo-colonial relationships (via the imposition of cultural, political, and economic ideologies). This actively benefits consumers in the West, whilst disadvantaging those in range countries by contributing to both species and social injustices. Within the ABFT case, I further demonstrated how powerful groups (in this case environmental NGOs and the media) have acted to shape the conservation narrative for the ABFT, providing resistance to the equally powerful fishery industry and calling into question the sustainability of trade. This conflict of powers seemingly perpetuates existing conflicts between trade and conservation groups, potentially minimising or misrepresenting the visibility of harms toward commercially exploited marine species to suit the various agendas of both industry and conservation groups.

Drawing from the survey results I further discussed the relationship between speciesism and the hierarchical perception of marine species as food rather than as wildlife. Here, I suggested that nonspeciesist moral attitudes do not necessarily equate to changes in consumption motivation (especially when there is a normalised culture of consumption surrounding the species – as evidenced within the queen conch case). To this, I furthered the discussion on 'lawful but awful' practices (Passas, 2005), highlighting how management interventions or debates for these species have tended to relate to the preservation of economic interests rather than a conservation concern for the species. While moral considerations toward marine species appear to be constrained by hierarchical and potentially speciesist judgements, the case studies have additionally evidenced how judgements of value also become a reflection of social and political interests which either normalise objectification or elicit conservation concern. This advances the idea that decisions around wildlife management are less focused on moral positionality (although clearly CITES is anthropocentrically driven) but are more so influenced by the political and economic interests of the powerful governing elite.

Further to the above, I evidenced how concerns over the sustainability of exploitation can fail to expand moral or legal considerations for marine species who are commercially exploited, largely due to a misalignment between public and industry definitions for sustainability combined with perceptions of ownership and normalcy. Together these misalignments in moral consideration and definitions for sustainability create ample space for conflicts on the legal status of each species.

For the second research question on trade and consumption motivation, the results of my study highlight how perceptions of value (concerning the conservation or commodification for each of the species) are constrained by cultural norms and experiences. I described how perspectives

toward each species are connected to political, social, and cultural food ontologies, which curate them as either *food* or *wildlife*. On this note, I evidenced how cultures of consumption reinforce Agnew's (2020) description of *ordinary acts* that contribute to ecocide, especially when these acts are viewed as harmless (Heckenberg & White, 2020). I then furthered the discussion on moral disengagement and described how motivations for consumption (for each of the species) can be seen to revolve around hedonistic value perceptions of enjoyability, tradition, excitement, and sentimentality. I further added to the cultural criminological knowledge contribution by highlighting how cultures of consumption (surrounding each of the species) are mediated through potentially idealised perceptions of cultural traditions (relating to visions of cultural heritage and traditional or authentic cultural experiences). I then reflected further on trade motivations and the protection of trade interests. Here, issues intersected again with the above discussion on power asymmetries, with trade interests reinforcing structural geo-political inequalities (connecting readily with a Southern criminological position). This discussion further adds to existing knowledge from Southern criminological scholars to demonstrate how consumers (and trade interests) in the Global North (including diaspora groups) are benefiting from the exploitation of species, degradation of environments, and the marginalisation of people in the global (or metaphorical) South.

In the third comparative section on harm recognition, I contributed to the ongoing discussion within green criminology (and more broadly within the social sciences) to recognise and reject violence toward non-human animals. I demonstrated how perceptions of harm and victimhood for each species have been crafted around both the socio-cultural and political-economic interests underlying trade management. For instance, I have evidenced how harms toward individual wildlife were frequently minimised in relation to harms toward people and industry within the three cases. In addition, I discussed how the structure of language and the structure of CITES and trade reporting mechanisms essentially renders the individual victimisation of the queen conch and the ABFT invisible, while the minke whale receives slightly greater consideration. I also furthered the nonspeciesist and animal rights position by evidencing how the exploitation of each of the species revolves around judgements of (and protections for) reproductive capacity. This positionality is both objectifying and devaluing toward the recognition of each species' individual and inherent worth and cannot be upheld by a nonspeciesist position. On a similar note, I further added to the green criminological position by highlighting how welfare (even when infrequently considered) is not borne from an animal-rights or animal liberation perspective, as it confers and implies the necessity of management within killing, *not* the protection of interests for living.

Despite the nonspeciesist positionality, the analysis here also highlights how perceptions of victimhood are not solely constrained to those wildlife who are exploited. Here, I discussed how

the broader visibility of victimhood (to wildlife, people, and the wider environment) is often constrained by anthropocentric motivations for the commodification and exploitation of each species. I furthered this discussion to problematise the concept of *sustainability*, evidencing how the term is often misrepresented by consumers (who frequently hold broader, holistic definitions for the term). I also emphasised how definitions for sustainability – as a measure of exploitation and commodification of wildlife – are limited in scope to reduce the harms toward individuals and the wider marine environment. Following this, I highlighted how the oppression of each of the marine species runs in parallel with the oppression of marginalised (human) groups, reinforcing both species and environmental injustices. In doing so I have built on the Southern criminological orientation to illustrate how human groups may be marginalised or victimised by CITES (or ICCAT) trade management interventions – specifically relating to participatory exclusion in decision making, conflicting interests toward food sovereignty and control, and exploitation of labour. Throughout this discussion I have highlighted how the commodification of wildlife not only devalues the species and individuals who are directly victimised, but also devalues and perpetuates much wider reaching social and environmental harms.

Now that the original contributions to knowledge have been defined, and the research question answered, the following section reflects on the outcomes of the study, including the successes, limitations, and potential improvements to the methodological design. I then discuss some solutions to reframe the recognition of harm and victimhood surrounding marine species.

Resolving the research objective and concluding remarks

This thesis has sought to investigate how cultural and social narratives surrounding the harm and victimhood status of marine species act to shape the visibility of victims within CITES trade management. As such, the impact of this investigation serves to increase awareness and visibility of the differential treatment toward maire species within international governance structures. By highlighting the differential perspectives and treatment surrounding these three species, this research contributes to a green-cultural and Southern criminological position to raise awareness of the normalised and invisible harms surrounding the commodification and exploitation of marine species. Additionally, it is possible to extend the nonspeciesist case for animal rights by highlighting how the focus on species level threats within CITES neglects individual wildlife and their right to respectful treatment. This species level focus also establishes a hierarchy of victimhood that cannot be morally justified under a species justice approach. Ultimately then, while CITES remains focussed on species level extinctions, rather than individual harms, marine species (especially fishes) will struggle to receive attention within the Convention, and the broadening of moral consideration for them is made increasingly unlikely.

Reflection on fictional narratives: recognising victims

From my nonspeciesist position, my primary goal within each of these case studies has been to highlight the animal victims of exploitation and build a recognition for these species that moves beyond their definitions of instrumental (commercial) value. To address this aim, each of the case studies began with a descriptive victim centred narrative, placing the reader in the event of each animals' exploitation and eventual death. These fictional narratives intertwine a green criminological focus on the unseen and unrecognised harms toward wildlife who are exploited (Sollund, 2013a, 2019; Wyatt *et al*., 2021) with an animal narratology tradition to draw closer attention to the exploitation of animal lives (Freeman, Bekoff & Bexell, 2011; Herman, 2018; Jacobs, 2020). As such, these passages are intended to demonstrate that each of these individuals experience their place in the world, and through demonstrating this capacity, add to an interspecies justice discussion to question our relationship with other animals (Cochrane, 2018; Barrett *et al*., 2021; Healey & Pepper, 2021).

As described in chapter four, the third-person narrative sought to closely describe and imagine the experience of the individual without straying too far into anthropomorphism or the complexities of each individuals' unknown inner-mind and experiences. However, by focussing on the moments in which each individual comes into contact with humans, their lives are once again forced to revolve around human activity, and their rich and unique lives are rendered absent. By speaking for animals in this way these narratives run the risk of misrepresentation or erasure of experiences (DeMello, 2013). As Vance (1995, p.239) describes:

> 'Giving a voice to something that does not speak is a challenge we should not take lightly…the test, I think, for determining whether the voice we give to animals is accurate will lie in the behaviour it calls forth from humans. If an animal's "voice" dictates action that serves human ends but compromises the animal, we had best try listening more carefully'.

As such, the measure of success for these narratives will be in their ability to invite and encourage readers to identify with the species as fellow living beings (DeMello, 2013). In doing so, I hope that these narratives (and the thesis more broadly) will contribute to the deconstruction of socially constructed hierarchies between humans and other animals. By these means, these descriptive victim vignettes contribute to a nonspeciesist green criminological position by emphasising the intrinsic and moral value of the minke whale, the queen conch, and the Atlantic bluefin tuna – perceptions which are otherwise often overlooked within trade and conservation management decision making.

Improving survey methods

Another novel element of the study involved the use of sensitive questioning and the unmatched count technique. These methods enabled an estimation of the level of potentially illegal consumption within the survey group. In addition, trends highlighted here also helped to describe how the consumption of the minke whale and the queen conch was viewed more broadly by participants. While the number of responses may have limited the statistical strength of the analysis, the overall trends reveal how comfortable people are (or not) when discussing potentially stigmatised consumptive behaviours. To improve the use of this technique, a prior trial of the statements could be run to test their applicability (see: Hinsley *et al*., 2019), as well as reaching out to a greater number and more diverse group of participants (for example very few of the survey respondents were familiar with the queen conch, limiting accuracy and reach here).

While the speciesism scale has appeared to work well within this study (modified to focus on marine species), in the context of the other questions it has also highlighted how low measures of speciesist attitudes are not necessarily reflected in the consumptive choices of participants, indicating that other factors beyond speciesism may be influencing consumer choices. While the speciesism scale was adapted from existing models, the Western agreeability questions were self-defined and as such have not undergone rigorous testing to confer that the underlying attitudes are indeed directed at Western peer-group dominance. Alternative models within psychology include the Social-Dominance-Orientation scale (Pratto *et al.*, 2000), which could be used to assess attitudes toward Western derived perceptions of conservation and environmentalism (see generally: Milfont *et al*., 2018; Kuşdil & Akoğlu, 2014).

Reflection on visibility and representation

To further reflect on the scope of the three case studies, obtaining expert and stakeholder interviews for the minke whale proved to be the most challenging. Despite having relevant gatekeepers to conservation groups and numerous introductions to government institutions and organisations, many were unable to respond to interview requests or supplement information (despite often outwardly agreeing to do so). During the interview process, I was bounced between relevant fishery, governmental, and scientific authorities. None of which felt able to contribute to the study. While the lack of voices from these groups is important in itself, it is also significant in telling what people in these positions feel they can share or contribute when the conversation centres on the victimisation of exploited species.

Throughout all the interviews that were conducted across the case studies, I often felt that interviewees were careful and cautious around any criticism of whaling. On the whole, interviewees were generally open minded and accepting of whaling (of minkes) under a

sustainable system. A position not often shared by some of the more outspoken (Western) conservation groups – and also infrequently raised within the survey. I can only speculate that this narrative amongst some more outspoken groups that whaling is *barbaric* and *archaic* and must be stopped at all costs was possibly a contributing factor in the hesitance of industry and governmental groups to partake in the research (for a similar discussion on this see: Catalinac & Chan, 2010). With these limitations in mind, those who did contribute to the interviews were forthcoming, highly knowledgeable, and open to reflecting on and discussing the delicate matter of consumption versus conservation of the species.

Potential solutions: Surviving CITES

Rethinking and reconceptualising value

While my research has sought to understand how these three marine species are valued in international management frameworks, the above-mentioned balancing act between conservation, socio-cultural, and political-economic concerns is becoming increasingly fragile in the light of the climate emergency. While all marine species will undoubtedly feel the effects of the climate crisis, pressures are (and will), further impact each of these case study species. For instance, reductions in sea ice are impacting prey availability for the minke whale in the Southern hemisphere (Tulloch *et al*. 2019). Additionally, increasing ocean temperatures and acidity is a looming threat for the queen conch, potentially impacting their early life development and the growth of their protective shell (Aranda and Manzano 2017). Increasing sea temperatures and changing prey availability will also likely impact the warm blooded Atlantic bluefin tuna, and there is evidence that they are expanding their range northwards (MacKenzie *et al*. 2014; Rose 2005). These additional climatic pressures on marine wildlife will have a lasting impact on how populations are exploited and managed into the future. As such, the impact of the climate crisis on the Earth's systems may force a hastier reconceptualization of how harm is understood, and how marine species (among others) are valued by those international frameworks that currently seek to promote sustainability through capitalist and growth driven models of exploitation. Following this recognition, I devote the conclusion of this chapter to a discussion on potential solutions to reformulating these damaging and exploitative human animal relationships.

Focus on the greatest good

As highlighted throughout this thesis, the defining objective within CITES is to prevent extinction of species caused by excessive and unsustainable trade. Certainly, the extinction of a species should be considered with the upmost severity. However, focussing attention at the point a species becomes at risk of such a catastrophic decline is, in my view, setting the bar very low. Rather than focusing on the extinction of species, the nonspeciesist and animal rights orientated approach

adopted within this thesis views all species equally, irrespective of their social or cultural value to humans, or how we feel about their beauty, sentience, intelligence – or palatability on our plates (for similar see: Montford & Taylor, 2020; Beirne, 2018; Bowman, 2013). When we consider species to be equal victims in their exploitation, the very process of listing wildlife on three CITES appendixes makes species unequal in their protections, privileging some with higher safeguards (Appendix I), while enabling the continued exploitation and suffering of others (Appendix II and III). Equally, all wildlife not listed on CITES are seemingly unregulated and disregarded (providing other national laws or legislation are not in place for their protection).

In recognising the intrinsic value of wildlife, this hierarchical view of harm is problematic both in terms of animal rights as well as for its potential to reflect speciesist driven ideologies about acceptable wildlife exploitation. However, this hierarchical valuation of species also begs the question of how to prevent harms to wildlife when, as Gibney and Wyatt (2020, p.101) describe: 'all nourishment comes from either ending the life of another sentient creature or extracting resources from the environment that could have been used by another'. In this sense, understanding, ordering, and minimising competing harms is essentially morally (and legalistically) infeasible. Continuing this topic, Gibney and Wyatt (2020) propose reframing the focus of *harm* (which seeks to balance moral judgements of good and bad) and instead focus attention on achieving the *greatest good* by seeking to make *all* life more resilient (and less fragile). This also resonates Lampkin's (2021) call for green criminologists to encompass principles of Earth Jurisprudence (described in Chapter 3), and with McClanahan and Brisman's (2015, p.417) ecocentric orientated 'peace treaty with the earth' which promotes a reconfiguration and recognition of the entangled relationships between humans and nature.

Total liberation from oppression

By representing non-human species through a nonspeciesist (greatest good) approach, this enables a further reflection on the often-concurrent marginalisation of people, and acknowledgement that working towards the greatest good must also address ecological and environmental injustices towards vulnerable people (e.g., people of colour, Indigenous, marginalised, and impoverished groups) (Pellow, 2020). While this thesis is orientated from a nonspeciesist standpoint (in recognition that the human-centred environmental justice philosophical perspective fails to recognise the victimisation of wildlife), the issue of the marginalisation and exploitation of people was prominent particularly within the second case study and has amplified the concurrent environmental justice concerns established alongside the issues of species injustice in the exploitation of marine species. In addition, a nonspeciesist centred approach (which calls for species justice and an end to animal oppression) conflicts with other visions for environmental and social justice. This tension was discussed early in Chapter 4 (Methodology) and was one of

the reasons supporting the constructivist-interpretivist approach and the care taken to reflect on, and morally engage with, all forms of harm as they are described (to individuals and populations – human and non-human, as well as to the wider environment). The broader encompassing descriptions of harm arising from the case studies highlight how the prospect of redefining the consumption of marine species as morally wrong would be a challenging and highly contentious endeavour for those who live in tandem with (and rely upon) marine species. Through this reflection, promoting a nonspeciesist and animal rights based position can potentially act to make human struggles less visible. In addition, a nonspeciesist approach may also inadvertently ignore a history of differential (and racist) oppression and domination of humans through their association with nature (Pellow, 2020). By recognising and establishing this tension as a central underlying issue, this furthers the potential connectivity and overlap between a Southern and green criminological position to question how a species justice centred approach may unify with environmental justice perspectives to recognise the joint and often parallel oppression of wildlife and people.

In order to find a common-ground between the marginalisation of non-human animals and the marginalisation of people, Best and Nocella (2006) contend that partnerships should not seek to equate or diminish the suffering between groups. Instead, these partnerships must recognise that each suffering is part of the same system of exploitation. Under this system harm becomes negotiated and defined by powerful institutions who are concerned primarily with the preservation of trade and power (and thus the perpetuation of injustices and exploitation). In addition, Best and Nocella (2006) further describe how these are unified oppressions and unified struggles – perpetuated by capitalism, racism, speciesism, anthropocentrism, and the domination of *others*. As such social and environmental justice issues can and *should* be linked to animal rights and species justice movements to end the oppression of *all* beings. To this, Pellow (2020) suggests areas of convergence and collaboration between an animal rights and environmental justice position, suggesting that to reduce moral conflicts between human and non-human oppression – a shift from an animal rights position to one of radical animal liberation and total liberation is needed. Pellow (2020, p.555) describes radical animal liberation as: 'a movement that calls attention to the ways in which human beings are harmed by intra- and inter-species hierarchies, and that strives for 'total liberation' (TL) – liberation from all forms of inequality (e.g., ageism, disablism, heterosexism, patriarchy, racism)'. Here too, speciesism can be included as a recognition of the oppression and domination of other species. By converging these interests in this way, these social justice movements include and necessitate environmental and species protection, but do not centre the needs (or recognition of rights) of non-human animals and other species above the needs of disadvantaged people. In effect such an approach is more eco-

centrically aligned and resonates with Gibney and Wyatt's (2020) vision for doing the greatest good.

Sustainability and blue degrowth

Following the above discussion on the convergence between an animal rights and environmental justice position, there seems a natural progression here to reflect on calls for blue degrowth (introduced in Chapter 3), especially as this movement ties to discussions throughout the thesis on perceptions of sustainability and the sustainable exploitation and management of wildlife. As discussed in the previous chapter, the exploitation of each of the case study species was often described as normal and necessary for food provisioning. Here, human consumption of marine meat can be understood as an *ordinary act* contributing to ecocide, borne from conformity rather than criminality (Agnew, 2020). Yet, while consumers are generally becoming increasingly aware of the environmental impact of meat consumption (Sanchez-Sabate & Sabaté, 2019), the same is not necessarily true for seafood species. Rather, seafood consumption is often described as an environmentally cleaner alternative to other meat sources[40] (Coleman, 2021; Costello *et al*., 2020; Wu *et al*., 2019; Gephart *et al*., 2021). This was particularly prominent in the minke whale case where wild minke whales were (sometimes) regarded as more sustainable and ethical compared to domesticated meat production.

While sustainability has been a major theme running throughout the cases, this issue of the constructed nature of sustainability is central to the blue growth movement (the issue of blue-(de)growth was introduced in the third chapter when discussing Southern alternate worldviews). Globally governments are seeking to sustainably maximise both economic profits *and* industry growth from the promised development of the 'blue economy' (European Commission, 2021). However, alongside these promises of economic and eco-centrically minded growth, are growing concerns toward the over-exploitation of marine species who are increasingly overfished and fished at maximum capacity (as described in Chapter 1). Moreover, as highlighted within this thesis, marine species who are commercially exploited are rarely considered within CITES, and when they are, economic considerations often underscore the debate process (an issue demonstrated within the ABFT case). There exists a disconnect between promises of future growth and future food provisioning in the face of marine species' population decline. Critiques of blue growth align with increasing calls for a blue *degrowth* movement which recognises the

40 In addition, increased consumption of seafood is seen as an alternative to terrestrial meat consumption (Hoegh-Guldberg et al., 2019). This was also a prominent theme within the Norwegian-UK Seafood summit in 2020 whereby fishery industry groups viewed consumer trends for reduced meat consumption as an opportunity to promote greater seafood consumption (described during Session 3: Captivating the Consumer).

fallacy of blue growth and the notion that the ocean economy can expand without harming the planet (Ertör & Hadjimichael, 2020; Bogadóttir, 2020; Childs, 2020). Those supporting blue degrowth contend that discussions over the future of the ocean need to be more radical and critical of the growth economy narrative. This also resonates with the discussion in the ABFT chapter surrounding the limited scope for sustainability under the fishery management concept of maximum sustainable yield.

To overcome the oppressive capitalist systems that are at the very core of the issues raised throughout this thesis (and simultaneously underscore the blue growth narrative), once again the Southern criminological roots of this study can add support and balance to the discussion. For example, Shiva (2006) contends that behaviours and consumption habits in the Global North must move toward self-sufficiency and sustainability. Yet as discussed above notions of sustainability (as they stand) are not necessarily free from judgments of permanent growth. As a result, the concept of sustainable development (and sustainable blue growth) can be viewed as an oxymoron of competing ideals (Brown, 2015; Spaiser *et al*., 2017). Furthermore, the degrowth movement can also be criticised for reproducing neo-colonial power asymmetries, wherein powers of the Global North set the transformation agenda for those in the Global South (Dengler & Seebacher, 2019). While degrowth is necessary for those that overconsume resources, it should not be a priority for those that remain marginalised by the current system of extractive capitalism. To this, Dengler and Seebacher (2019) also contend that a degrowth position is not unique to Western scholarship, and concepts of radical ecological democracy (India), post-extractivism (Latin-America), and Ubuntu (South Africa) champion post-development movements (the contention that concepts of development are both Western and Euro-centric as well as being deeply unsustainable – see: Escobar, 2000; Rahnema, 2000; Demaria & Kothari, 2017).

While movements for blue degrowth help to overcome the unsustainable and economically driven exploitation of marine species, there is the potential here to further discriminate against people (rural fisherfolk and marginalised communities), and therefore conflict with a total liberation or greatest good approach. Another alternative to this Western driven extractive-capitalist model for exploitation is suggested by Mies and Shiva (2014) and helps to further align with the Southern and cultural criminological position underpinning this study. Here, Mies and Shiva reason that alternative cultural visions for a harmonious entanglement with nature must reconfigure perspectives to be cooperative rather than competitive, centred on a respect for nature and a liberation from inequalities and oppressions. As such, this approach forms the basis for an ethically centred *moral economy* in complete contrast to the capitalist, extractive principles underlying current market economies. Furthermore, Goyes *et al* (2021) highlights the importance of making visible cultural representations of nature that promote mutually beneficial relationships

between humans and nature. By recognising these alternative worldviews, Celermajer and colleagues (2021) also highlight the importance of recognising how Western sensitivity toward ecocentric or biocentric approaches may potentially appropriate Indigenous worldviews (by recognising the inherent value of wildlife), without also acknowledging the spiritual or cultural connections that are central to these Indigenous perspectives. This then runs the risk of reinforcing dualisms between Western and Indigenous cultures, and similarly again between humans and nature.

From the above discussion, I have described how the nonspeciesist approach which underpins the positionality of this research can be enhanced by a total liberation position (inclusive of social and environmental justice movements), to recognise the parallel oppression of both wildlife, humans, and the environment – an issue that is complicated when focussing solely on species justice perspectives. Through these means, I suggest that the focus on harm (central to the research objective) may be better served by repositioning the conceptual approach to one that is focussed on the greatest good. This inclusive nonspeciesist approach also further opens criticism to the concept of sustainability and sustainable growth (and thus also supports a blue degrowth perspective that is emerging from scholars in the Global South). However, the recognition throughout this thesis surrounding global power asymmetries and inequalities between North and South (whether physical or metaphorical), further highlights how exploitation that is driven by a powerful elite (whether situated in the Global North or maintained through cultural and diasporic connections to wildlife as food) are damaging to both people and the planet. The (necessary) repositioning of socio-cultural narratives must therefore be careful not to reproduce neo-colonial pressures and injustices – mindful also of the socially constructed value of exploited species – when forging balanced and resilient relationships between humans and marine species.

Future research directions

Future projects should continue to expand on the integration of a nonspeciesist approach when examining wildlife trade. I suggest that such research will be best situated by a recognition of the intertwined oppression of both humans and other animals, from a standpoint that seeks to enhance and improve outcomes toward the greatest good through the minimisation of parallel oppressions and harms (this enables the convergence between a species justice and environmental justice perspectives). I also suggest that the impact toward species' culture, and a focus on individual victimisation (opposed to species level perspectives) will provide numerous avenues of interest within green criminological scholarship and further an animal rights based position.

Future research may also seek to integrate more fully cultural criminological perspectives, for instance the influence of news media, social media, and advertising on the value and visibility afforded toward different species. This would provide additional avenues to continue the

investigation of the triangular nexus (highlighted in the third case study) between scientists, policy makers and citizens in management decision making and policy design. Furthermore, this thesis has also discussed the role of powerful political and economic elites in defining crime. The cultural relationship between powerful elites (whether Western or diasporic) as drivers of wildlife consumption – combined with the minimisation of Western driven environmental, species, and social harms – also deserves further reflection. Additionally, refining the survey questions on Western agreeability to wildlife conservation and trade norms (discussed in this chapter) would enable the focus on Western drivers of wildlife consumption to be narrowed down further. Greater attention should also be given to the neo-colonial nature of internationally situated trade measures for wildlife, by further scrutinising Western epistemologies and liberating knowledge production and cosmologies from the Global South. Through this expansion of knowledge production, it is hoped that discussions may expand on the moral consideration for wildlife, to reconceptualise the meaning of harm (and greatest good) to fully cement a place for species justice and animal rights in legal discourse.

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Appendix 1. Survey transcript

Copy of: Consuming marine wildlife - where do we draw the line?

Firstly, I'd like to know a little more about your background and where you are from.
[Demographic questions]

If you represent an organization or group that is happy to be identified and named in the research, please let us know below. *Optional*

.....

i. Where do you live? [*Drop down list]*

.....

ii-a. Is this the same country you were born in?

.....

ii-b. If not, which country were you born in?

.....

iii-a. What is your ethnicity?

- White - Caucasian
- Black or African American
- American Indian or Alaskan native
- East Asian
- South Asian
- Southeast Asian
- Hispanic or Latino
- Middle Eastern
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- Multi-ethnic or other
- Prefer not to say

iii-b. If you selected multi-ethnic or other, please specify:

.....

iv-a. What gender do you identify as?

- Woman
- Man
- Non-binary
- Other
- Prefer not to say

iv-b. If you selected other, please specify:

.....

v. What is your age?

○	Under 18	18-29	30-39
○	40-49	50-59	60-69
○	70-79	80+	

vi-a. What is your religious preference (if any)?

○	Catholic	Protestant	Christian Orthodox
○	Jewish	Muslim (Islam)	Sikh
○	Hindu	Buddhist	No religion (Atheist etc.)
○	Prefer not to say	Other (please specify)	

vi-b. If you selected Other, please specify:

.....

As this study is all about marine animals, it would be helpful to know the following about you.

vii. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about wildlife?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
Morally, animal interestswill always count for less than human interests.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Humans have the right to use animals however they want to (e.g., for food, medicine, resources).	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is morally acceptable to hunt wild animals for sport.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is morally acceptable to trade animals like possessions.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Intelligent animals like chimpanzees and dolphins should have basic legal rights (e.g., a right to life and protection from torture).	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

viii. How often do you eat the following seafood?

	Never	Occasionally (less than once a month)	Every now and then (a few times amonth)	Often (a few times a week)	Frequently (daily)
Red fish (e.g., salmon,tuna, mackerel, anchovies)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
White fish (e.g., cod,flatfish, grouper)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Freshwater fish (e.g.,carp, bass, trout)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Shellfish - mollusks (e.g.,clams, conch, oysters, mussels, octopus)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Shellfish - crustaceans(e.g., shrimp, prawns, crabs, lobster)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Whale meat	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sashimi (whale ordolphin meat only)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

ix-a. Overall, which best describes your eating preferences?

- ○ Meat eater
- ○ Vegetarian (does not eat meat or fish)
- ○ Pescatarian (vegetarian but eats fish)
- ○ Flexitarian (sometimes eats meat)
- ○ Vegan
- ○ Other (please specify)

ix-b. If you selected Other, please specify:

.....

X-a. Do your eating choices (seafood) reflect those of the people around you (family, friends, the wider community etc.)?

X-b If not, how are they different?

.....

In this section, I am interested in how morally acceptable you think eating different wild animals is.There's room for you to elaborate on your choice if needed. [Section 1]

1. Do you think it is morally acceptable to eat Salmon?


- Yes
- No
- Not sure

If you would like to elaborate, please do: *Optional*

.....

2. Do you think it is morally acceptable to eat Tuna?


- Yes
- No
- Not sure

If you would like to elaborate, please do: *Optional*

.....

3. Do you think it is morally acceptable to eat Oyster?


- Yes
- No
- Not sure

If you would like to elaborate, please do: *Optional*

.....

4. Do you think it is morally acceptable to eat Conch?


- Yes
- No
- Not sure

If you would like to elaborate, please do: *Optional*

.....

5. Do you think it is morally acceptable to eat Crocodile?


- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Not sure

If you would like to elaborate, please do: *Optional*

.....

6. Do you think it is morally acceptable to eat Dolphin?


- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Not sure

If you would like to elaborate, please do: *Optional*

.....

7. Do you think it is morally acceptable to eat Whale?


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- Yes
- No
- Not sure

If you would like to elaborate, please do: *Optional*

.....

8. Do you think it is morally acceptable to eat Eel?


- Yes
- No
- Not sure

If you would like to elaborate, please do: *Optional*

.....

I'd now like to know a little bit more about what factors influence yourdecision to eat (or abstain from eating) seafood?

9. How do you feel about marine animals as a food source?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
Marine wildlife is a natural resource and can be utilized for trade.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I do not think there is anything wrong with hunting wild animals forhuman nutrition.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is perfectly acceptable for marine wildlife to be farmed forhuman consumption.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People have always eaten seafood and it'simportant that this continues.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. How much do each of these factors influence whether or not you would eat seafood?

	Not at all	Not really	Undecided	Some what	Very much	I have never eaten seafood
Rarity of the species.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Welfare of fishing practices.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Intelligence of the species.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sustainability of trade.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Now that we've looked at different types of seafood, I'm interested to know how you think marine species should be managed, even if you donot eat them personally.

11. How should we manage the use of marine wildlife?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
National governmentsshould focus more onmarine wildlife conservation.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
There need to be international agreements to protectwildlife from over-exploitation.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is our responsibility to protect wildlife, even if itis not in our own country.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People who work in thefishery sector should beconsidered when introducing trade laws so that their jobs are protected.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
There should be restrictions on fishing ifthe species is threatened.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Traditional and cultural practices around usingmarine wildlife should be preserved.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
If there is a high demand for a certain species trade should be enabled to continue.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Highly valuable species should have increased protection to prevent over-exploitation.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

12. Are you familiar with CITES, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Faunaand Flora?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

This section will focus on 3 marine animals: the Minke whale, the Queen conch and the Atlantic bluefintuna.

Minke whale

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Atlantic bluefin tuna

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Queen conch

13. Which words best describe how you think of the Minke whale (or whales in general). Maximum 3.

a. If you have another description, please let us know.

☐ Majestic	☐ Beautiful	☐ Cute
☐ Vulnerable	☐ Rare	☐ Tasty
☐ Desirable	☐ Gross	☐ Food
☐ Delicious	☐ Wild	☐ Sentient
☐ Non-sentient	☐ Other - something else	

.....

14. Which words best describe how you think of the Atlantic bluefin tuna -or tuna in general. Maximum 3.

☐ Majestic	☐ Beautiful	☐ Cute
☐ Vulnerable	☐ Rare	☐ Tasty
☐ Desirable	☐ Gross	☐ Food
☐ Delicious	☐ Wild	☐ Sentient
☐ Non-sentient	☐ Other - something else	

a. If you have another description, please let us know.

.....

15. Which words best describe how you think of the Queen conch (or shellfish in general). Maximum 3.

☐ Majestic	☐ Beautiful	☐ Cute
☐ Vulnerable	☐ Rare	☐ Tasty
☐ Desirable	☐ Gross	☐ Food
☐ Delicious	☐ Wild	☐ Sentient
☐ Non-sentient	☐ Other - something else	

a. If you have another description, please let us know.

.....

For each species, please estimate how at-risk you think they are from extinction.

	No risk	Slightly threatened	Threatened	Severe risk	Not sure
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. Please state what level of trade protection (from over-exploitation) you think each species has. If you don'tknow, please estimate.

	No protection	Low protection	Medium protection	High protection
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐

17. How important do you think it is that conservation efforts focus on each species?

	Not important	Slightly important	Moderately important	Important	Very important
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Please read the following statements and count how many are true for you

- I have been whale watching
- I have been fishing either, recreationally or for food
- I have eaten whale meat outside of Norway, Iceland and JapanI have attended a food festival that served seafood
- I have never seen a whale in real life

18. How many of the above statements apply to you?

○ None	○ 1	○ 2
○ 3	○ 4	○ 5

Please read the following statements and count how many are true for you

- I have kept fish (or other marine animals) as pets
- I have brought or prepared fish (to eat) in the last 12 monthsI have never been to the Caribbean
- I have seen Queen conch for sale

19. How many of the above statements apply to you?

○ None	○ 1	○ 2
○ 3	○ 4	

Please expand on your experiences and views concerning the consumption andtrade of each of the three species

20. How likely do you think it is that someone you know has eaten this species?

	Very likely	Likely	Not sure	Unlikely	Very unlikely
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. If it is not available to buy where you live, do you know anyone that has ever brought meat from this speciesinto the country?

	Yes	No	Not sure	It is availableto buy whereI live
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐

If you have ever eaten (or have chosen not to eat) any of the three species, pleasedetail your motivations and experiences in the space below.


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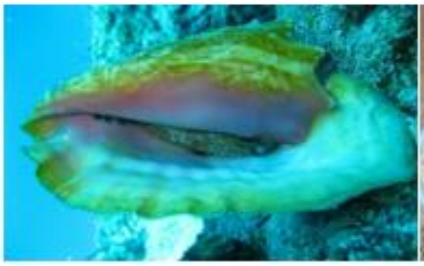
22. Your views and experiences of eating Minke whale: *Optional*

.....




23. Your views and experiences of eating Queen conch: *Optional*

.....


24. Your views and experiences of eating Atlantic bluefin tuna: *Optional*

.....

Before answering the final set of questions, please read the following details on how each species is currently traded.

Minke whale

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Minke whales are commercially hunted in Norway, Iceland, and Japan. Populations are stable and where they are hunted, national governments issue quotas and catch limits to control the numbers that are killed. Whales are killed using harpoons targeted at their head, these explode once inside the whale.

Queen conch

Queen conch are found throughout the Caribbean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico, and South Florida. Catch quotas vary by country and international trade is limited in Nicaragua, Jamaica, and Honduras. Grenada and Haiti are currently not permitted to export any Queen conch while trade levels are being determined. Conch are mostly caught by hand, by divers. A hammer and a sharp blade are used to cut them out of their shell and kill them.

Atlantic bluefin tuna

Atlantic bluefin tuna are found throughout the North Atlantic Ocean. Fishing quotas are in place, but populations may be in decline. Tuna are either caught by nets (purse-seines), with long-lines (series of baited hooks), harpoons, or traps. When caught in nets they are often transported to sea-cages to be fattened up. They are typically killed using a bolt gun or spike (to the brain) or in some cases, their spinal cord is severed with thick wire.

In what instances do you think it is acceptable to use each species?

25. Local and indigenous groups should be able to use this species for food.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

26. Everyone should have the option whether or not they can eat food from this species.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

How much do you agree or disagree with the following?

27. I would have no problem with eating meat from this species if it was available to buy where I live.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

28. The killing of this animal for food should be stopped even if it means some people will lose their jobs andway of life.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

29. The method of killing and welfare of the animals is a concern to me.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

30. Which statement do you agree with most for each species?

	There are too many protections in place and there could be less.	The current level of protection is fine for protecting the species.	There needs to be more protection for the species.	Don't know
Minke whale	☐	☐	☐	☐
Queen conch	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atlantic bluefin tuna	☐	☐	☐	☐

Finally, as this survey has focused on how management practices like catch quotas and trade bans can be used to prevent over-exploitation, is there anything else you think we can be doing to protect marine wildlife? *Optional*

31. Please detail below:

.....