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The value of non-human animals

A study of member parties to CITES views of non-human
animals' value connected to the illegal wildlife trade at
CoP19

Abstract

The illegal wildlife trade (IWT) is the fourth largest global illegal crime, and it threatens the balance of ecosystems, biodiversity, and human security. The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) is an international treaty, which purpose is to guarantee that international wildlife trade is legal, sustainable, and traceable. This study explores how member parties to CITES view non-human animals' value connected to the IWT, and the Global South–Global North dynamics. By using a theoretical framework including anthropocentrism, posthumanism (welfarist, ecological, and basic rights approach) and ecofeminism, the study analysis how member parties to CITES from the Global South respectively the Global North views align and/or differ. Interviews with member parties to CITES, official CITES documents, and observation from Committee II's meetings at the Nineteenth Conference of the Parties to the Convention (CoP19), that took place in Panama City in November 2022, reveal both an overall alignment and in general differentiations between the Global South and the Global North depending on the species. The Global South has more anthropocentric, ecological, and basic rights views, while the Global North views are more welfarist.

Key words: CITES, Illegal wildlife trade, CoP19, The Global South, The Global North

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List of abbreviations

CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CoP	Conference of the Parties
Doc.	Document
EU	European Union
IWT	Illegal Wildlife Trade
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
U.S.	United States

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

The illegal wildlife trade (IWT) is an environmental crime that is threatening the balance of ecosystems, biodiversity conservation, and human security. The consequences have often been diminishing of species, and even complete populations have gone extinct (Anagnostou, 2021, p. 1; Berec *et al.*, 2018, p. 111). Alarming figures show that on average 69 percent of the population volumes of mammals, fish, birds, reptiles, and amphibians have been lost between 1970 and 2018 (World Wildlife Fund, 2022). The present extinction rate for mammals, birds, reptiles, and amphibians is being rapider than any rate recorded over the last million years, in which a sixth mass extinction of species is in progress (Halbwax, 2020, p. 1).

IWT includes the total illegal supply chain of wildlife crime including capturing, poaching, killing, smuggling, exchanging, purchasing, selling, possessing, and collecting animals and plants that are related to quotas, regulated by permits, and violates domestic and international laws. IWT comprises of live non-domesticated animals, body parts and plants. Further, illegal wildlife goods consist of live pets, trophies, ivory, horns, jewelry, fashion accessories, traditional medicine, bushmeat, cultural objects, and other goods connected to utility, amusement, and culture (‘t Sas-Rolfes *et al.*, 2019, p. 202).

The IWT is one of the most lucrative globally criminal businesses, and it is one of the fastest-expanding illegal trades internationally. After drugs, humans and arms the IWT is considered being the fourth largest global illegal crime having a worth of between 7 billion USD and 23 billion USD per year (Berec *et al.*, 2018, p. 111; Lehmacher, 2016; Nelleman *et al.*, 2014, p. 19, 23).

As the IWT involves governance, poverty, and is regularly concealed in the legal trade it is complex (Nelleman *et al.*, 2014, p. 13). Moreover, Internet enables the IWT, and because of the global Internet marketplace, tracing if the trade is legal or illegal is problematic (Todd and Place, n.d.).

The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, also called CITES or the Washington Convention, was signed in Washington D.C. in March 1973. It came into force in July 1975. CITES is an international treaty between governments that in 2023 has 184 member parties, including 183 member states and the European Union (EU) (CITES a, b, g). CITES purpose is to guarantee that international wildlife trade is “legal, sustainable and traceable” (CITES, 2019).

CITES regulates about 36 000 species. Plants make up 84 percent of them. These species have different degrees of protection which are categorized in the following three appendices: Appendix I, Appendix II and Appendix III. (CITES, 2019; 't Sas-Rolfes et al., 2019, p. 211). Around 5000 animal species are listed as threatened in the CITES appendices (Aslaug Sollund, 2015, p. 147).

Furthermore, CITES regulates international wildlife trade by issuing permits and certificates. Over one million CITES permits and certificates are being issued yearly, involving hundreds of millions plant and animal specimens assessed to be valued billions of dollars (CITES, 2019).

The treaty is only legally binding if its requirements are replicated in member parties' domestic laws. Therefore, it is crucial that member parties have legislation in place enabling them to implement all aspects of the Convention. Only through sufficient legislation that is permanently updated, and being effectively enforced, can CITES fully function (CITES c).

Parties comply voluntarily to CITES, but loyalty to CITES regulations is mandatory. Noncompliance can result in sanctions, but for that to happen the other parties must mutually agree upon it. An example of a sanction is to prevent a specific country from trading in CITES-listed species. The economic consequences of such a sanction would be evident for many countries (Nuwer, 2018). Another consequence for noncompliance is the risk for extinction of entire species populations (CITES d). However, sanctions are rarely passed, which may depend on that CITES parties, and not the Secretariat, determine who should be sanctioned, and many countries are overly influenced by superstates like China and U.S. to ever consider issuing sanctions towards them (Nuwer, 2018).

One approach to improve the effectiveness of the Convention is recommendations from the Conference of the Parties for certain member parties to suspend trade in specimens of CITES-listed species (CITES e).

Although, the legitimacy and effectiveness of CITES have been questioned, especially concerning the urgency of mammal species, and in particular elephants and rhinos ('t Sas-Rolfes et al., 2019, p. 203). Further, the legal wildlife trade is generating a dilemma, as there are several ways to bypass the legalization, for example via falsification of CITES permits, which also bring about money laundering and corruption (Aslaug Sollund, 2015, p. 159). Wiersema (2017, p. 208) means that CITES is relevant in the discussion about combating the IWT, due to how CITES interacts with legal and non-legal efforts to combat the IWT.

There is a discrepancy between the Global South and the Global North in global governance arrangement, including CITES. This discrepancy creates a "North-South dynamics". CITES can be considered as an international establishment that maintains discrepancy between the Global South and the Global North, which is due to the economic globalization development (Duffy, 2013, p. 223, 228).

"CITES may be criticised as a form of capitalist "neo-colonialism" or "eco-colonialism" due to its underlying acceptance of neoliberal market hegemony, as well as power imbalances between members, with richer Global North actors seen as imposing values to the detriment of the economically poorer Global South" (Hutchinson, 2022, p. 195).

Member parties to CITES have meetings every two to three years. These meetings are known as the Conference of the Parties “CoPs”. The purpose of the meetings is to evaluate the implementation of the Convention. The latest CoP, the Nineteenth Conference of the Parties to the Convention (CoP19), took place in Panama City between 14-25 November 2022 (CITES f; CITES h; CITES, 2021).

1.2 Purpose and research question

The purpose of this empirical study is to explore how member parties to CITES from the Global South and the Global North view non-human animals’ value connected to the IWT in the decision-making process at CoP19. Additionally, to look at the Global South–Global North dynamics, how member parties to CITES from the Global South respectively the Global North views align and/or differ, and the reasons for their alignments and/or differentiations.

Considering the topicality of CoP19, there is currently no established academic research from the decision-making process at CoP19, whereas I see an opportunity to address this research gap with the assistance of theories including anthropocentrism, posthumanism and ecofeminism. This study aims to answer the following main research question:

- *How do member parties to CITES from the Global South and the Global North view non-human animals’ value connected to illegal wildlife trade in the decision-making process at CoP19?*

Having the intention of deepening the formulation of the research question, follows the sub question:

- *How do member parties to CITES from the Global South vs. the Global North align and/or differ regarding their views on non-human animals’ value connected to the illegal wildlife trade at CoP19, and why do they align and/or differ?*

2 Explanations

The CITES Appendices, The Committees, and the Global South and the Global North are explained in this chapter.

The CITES Appendices

Animal and plant species have different degrees of protection and regulation, therefore they are listed in three Appendices.

- *Appendix I*: includes species threatened with extinction. Therefore, trade must be strictly regulated and only authorized in exceptional circumstances (CITES i; Wijnstekers, 2011, p. 47).
- *Appendix II*: species are not necessarily now threatened with extinction but may become so unless trade is strictly regulated (CITES i; Wijnstekers, 2011, p. 47).
- *Appendix III*: contains species that are subject to regulation within the jurisdiction of a Party and for which the cooperation of other Parties is needed to control the trade (CITES i; Wijnstekers, 2011, p. 47).

The Committees

At CoP19 there were two Committees that arranged daily meetings. Member parties to CITES, NGOs, and observers could attend the meetings held by the Committees. This study focuses solely on Committee II, mainly due to time limitations at CoP19.

- *Committee I*: discussed and made recommendations about proposals to amend the Appendices, quotas and ranching operations, and other scientific issues.
- *Committee II*: discussed and made recommendations about the implementation and operation of the Convention.

The Global South and the Global North

Global South and *Global North* can be defined by taking into account: geography and economic development.

- *The Global South*: refers to developing countries located mainly in the southern hemisphere, with generally low-income levels facing different structural problems (Kowalski, 2021, p. 1).
- *The Global North*: signifies developed countries concentrated primarily to the northern hemisphere, characterized by high levels of income, technological developments, well-developed infrastructure, and macroeconomic and political stability (Kowalski, 2021, p. 1).

3 Previous research

The last two decades extensive research has focused on the IWT of non-human animals listed in the Appendices of CITES. This literature review is divided into following themes in which my study is built upon; The illegal wildlife trade, CITES and CoPs, and the value of non-human animals. Finally, I present the position of my study in this context.

3.1 The illegal wildlife trade

Gradually more researchers have been studying the IWT the last two decades, for example Zimmerman, Pires and Moreto, Sollund, Wyatt, and Petrossian and Clark (van Uhm and Wong, 2018, p. 23).

Aslaug Sollund has contributed with extensive research on the legal and illegal trade in endangered animal species. Throughout her book *The Crimes of Wildlife Trafficking: Issues of Justice, Legality and Morality* (2020), Sollund sees non-human animals as free-born sovereigns, is concerned about the suffering of non-human animals, and criticizes anthropocentrism (Afana, 2021, p. 335). This appears interesting as Sollund not only research the IWT, but she also opposes anthropocentrism by arguing from an animal rights approach. Further, she is repeatedly connecting her research to CITES which permeates several of her books and articles. In her article *Wildlife Crime: A Crime of Hegemonic Masculinity?* (2020), she also connects the IWT to CITES from an ecofeminist perspective.

Aslaug Sollund has in her research given several case study examples from the IWT and trafficked non-human animals and/or animal-derived products in Norway (Afana, 2021, p. 335; Aslaug Sollund, 2015, p. 147).

Further, regarding research on the IWT connected to China. China has become the world's largest market for illegal wildlife products, due to China's rapid economic development the last decade (Chang, 2017, p. 408). Despite this fact, research in the illegal wildlife hub China is limited. There are some exceptions. For example, van Uhm and Wong study *Establishing Trust in the Illegal Wildlife Trade in China* (2019) focuses on "the role of trust in the illegal distribution of protected wildlife" in China" (van Uhm and Wong, 2018, p. 23). This section about China is relevant I think, as China is a member party to CITES participating at CoP19.

The IWT also thrives in European states. The EU is both a major transit point and a final destination for the IWT (Halbwax, 2020, p. 1). This has resulted in

growing research on the EU connected to the IWT. For example, Kakarouka has focused on the EU connected to the security aspect. Her research paper *Wildlife Trafficking: An Emerging Threat to European Security?* examines in which ways wildlife trafficking is a security threat, in terms of risks to the environment and public health, to the EU, and what the EU can do to address the problems (Kakarouka, 2021, p. 196).

Similarly, Halbwx addresses the risk that the IWT has on public health. His research paper *Addressing the illegal wildlife trade in the European Union as a public health issue to draw decision makers attention* brings up the devastated outcomes of zoonotic infectious diseases, such as SARS-CoV-2 due to the IWT, that should be a wakeup call for the EU to take further actions (Halbwax, 2020, p. 1). Research about the IWT connected to the EU is, just like China, worth mentioning in this chapter, as the EU is a member party to CITES taking part at CoP19.

3.2 CITES and CoPs

Just as research on the IWT has emerged the last two decades, such has research on CITES, including CITES connected to the IWT. The focus is often on enforcement, conservation, and listing in the CITES appendices. Also, much of the research document regional and domestic illegal trade in endangered species, for example illegal trade in Pangolin scales to China, or the illegal trade of live reptiles in the European Market. I am not explaining this further as there is an abundance of papers researching domestic and regional illegal trade in endangered species. However, it can still be connected to my study in terms of member parties to CITES views on endangered species.

Further, research on CITES and the IWT does not often concentrate on CoP-meetings. Some authors refer to Cop-meetings overall, but not a specific CoP-meeting throughout the research.

For example, Chandran *et al.*'s study *CITES enforcement information sharing—if you don't know where you've come from ... you don't know where you're going* explores the development of the CITES treaty from a historical perspective. They investigate how different political and economic mechanisms, related to enforcement matters, have changed the route of the decision-making process on wildlife in CITES. Their study focuses on CoP and standing committee meetings from the origin of the treaty until CoP18. The discussion and conclusion of the study reveals the complexity in the decision-making process and the sharing information on CITES enforcement matters. (Chandran *et al.*, 2021, p. 343, 363).

Further, Hutchinson *et al.* (2022, p. 192, 195) analyze which species are listed and how some of them shift between the CITES Appendices in their paper *Speciesism and the Wildlife Trade: Who gets Listed, Downlisted and Uplisted in CITES?*. The authors intend to answer following question: "To what extent can CITES classifications be said to perpetuate speciesist thinking?". They are using a

green criminological non-speciesist theoretical framework. Regarding the methodology the species in the CITES Appendix listings are being analyzed and compared with the IUCN Red List which is another wildlife trade data. Occasionally the authors refer to CITES CoP16 and CoP17.

3.3 The placement of non-human animals

Anthropocentrism, posthumanism and ecofeminism are often being discussed in different contexts, for example climate change and animal rights. Some researchers have focused on the debate between anthropocentrism and posthumanism, which is often posthumanist critique of anthropocentrism.

Wolfe covers a great deal of the spectrum of posthumanism in his *What is Posthumanism?*. He demonstrates that writings on non-human animals are visible in several different disciplines, which all of them seem to support an anthropocentric position. He means that posthumanism is directly engaged with the problem of anthropocentrism. Further, Wolfe discusses the underlying cultural factors that bring about the perception of human superiority over non-humans (Ratelle, 2011, p. 147-149). Wolfe provokes a theoretical debate which criticize anthropocentrism and give room for the acknowledgement of non-human animals (Glasson, 2020, p. 230).

Donovan and Adams have for many years argued that animal rights give an insufficient ground for the liberation of non-human animals being exploited by humans. The authors discuss that animal rights create a patriarchy, where humans are ranked higher than non-humans. They argue in their book *Beyond Animal Rights: A Feminist Caring Ethic for the Treatment of Animals* that a feminist approach must be applied in the theoretical discussions which goes beyond animals' rights, that will import the concept "the ethic of care". This will add values such as "care, love, friendship, trust, and appropriate reciprocity" to the debate, as they find such values lacking in animal rights views being "emotionless" (Francione, 1996, p. 95-96).

3.4 Positioning this study

This study is a combination of the themes that have been mentioned in this chapter; The illegal wildlife trade, CITES and CoPs, and the placement of non-human animals. This combination seems to be unique in the research field. Therefore, I saw an opportunity to merge them with the focus on the topicality of CoP19. By addressing this knowledge gap, this study can hopefully contribute with new findings.

4 Theoretical framework

The theories selected for this study, being used as a base for the findings and analysis in chapter 6, are anthropocentrism, posthumanism, and ecofeminism. Posthumanism and ecofeminism are similar schools of thought, and they have a theoretical connection. I believe that it can be fruitful to use both theories to get a wider perspective and providing different angles within the same umbrella. Ecofeminism is complementing posthumanism in this study, by adding further concepts, such as patriarchy. Both posthumanism and ecofeminism are ambitious theories aiming for fundamentally political changes. Posthumanism and ecofeminism oppose anthropocentrism, which considers humans' supremacy over non-humans. Using anthropocentrism, posthumans and ecofeminism in this study I believe can contribute to dynamic findings. Furthermore, posthumanism is divided into three approaches in this study: welfarist, ecological and basic rights. A central difference between these three theories and worldviews lies in the placement of non-human animals in the world.

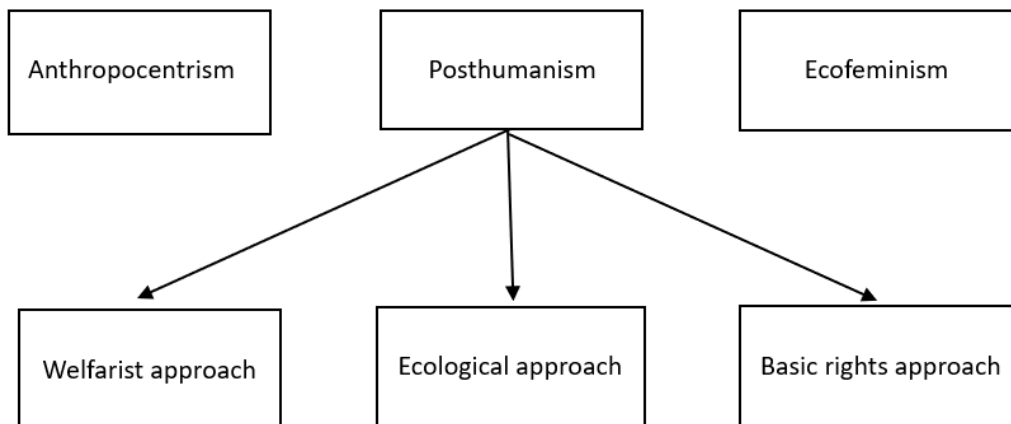


Figure: The theoretical framework of this study

4.1 Anthropocentrism

Anthropocentrism is a worldview that puts humans at the center of ethical systems that humans have created. The anthropocentric approach means that humans are “the central or most important element of existence” having supremacy over non-humans (non-human animals, plants, ecosystems, machines) (Ferrante and Sartori, 2016, p. 176; Goralnik and Nelson, 2012, p. 145; Kopnina, 2019, p. 1).

Anthropocentrism is usually associated with speciesism. The term speciesism can be described as having unjustified preference for humans over non-human animals (O'Neill, 1997, p. 128).

Non-humans of any kind only have value when being in a serving position to humans, and they are existing for humans' ends and possessions (Goralnik and Nelson, 2012, p. 145). In accordance with anthropocentrism non-humans is not protected by humans unless there is an economic value (Kopnina, 2019, p. 3). In this context, humans are unique and privileged compared to non-humans (ontology), humans are the only obtainer of knowledge (epistemology), and the only bearer of morality (ethics) (Ferrante and Sartori, 2016, p. 176).

The anthropocentric approach morally advantages indigenous rights and traditions, although it concurrently neglects ecological justice and animal rights (Kopnina, 2019, p. 4). Further, anthropocentrism could be seen as the dominant paradigm in the western world (Ferrante and Sartori, 2016, p. 176).

The traditional anthropocentric approach is often accused of the worldview that has led to the environmental crisis. This worldview does not protect biodiversity unless humans are being affected negatively, and species that are not contributing to human welfare are abandoned. If non-humans only have value for humans if they give humans benefits, then there is no interest to treat other living beings with respect (Goralnik and Nelson, 2012, p. 147; Kopnina, 2019, p. 3).

Pedersen (2021, p. 168) means that keeping non-human animals in for example zoos and aquariums are connected with human exceptionalism and anthropocentric setups. There are historical cases when captive suffering non-human animals have violently resisted their restraint liberty in the "edutainment" industry of zoos, aquariums, and theme parks, by "often killing their trainers" (Pedersen, 2021, p. 168). *Ex situ* conservation efforts include "captive breeding, holding animals indefinitely in zoos as "insurance populations," wildlife rescue and rehabilitation, reintroductions and research on captive animals" (Beausoleil *et al.* (2018, p. 2).

CITES purpose is to protect endangered non-human animals in the international wildlife trade. However, Aslaug Sollund (2015, p. 160) means that the anthropocentric approach makes species threatened. She considers that trafficking animals (live, dead, whole or body parts) is a crime regardless of being legally or illegally traded, if the species are endangered or not, geographical location, and the purpose of the trade such as medicine, Zoos, pets, or trophies. These animals "are or have been, individuals, and they are therefore victims of exploitation and abuse" (Aslaug Sollund, 2015, p. 160). Finally, Sollund declares that "CITES is an anthropocentric trade convention objectifying animals" (Sollund, 2022, p. 1019).

4.2 Posthumanism

Posthumanism features a framework for reevaluating the human role within non-human nature. The core of posthumanism is to "challenge the notion of human

exceptionalism”. The view of human exceptionalism separates humans from the diversity of non-human animals because of humans’ special characteristics, for example the possession of linguistic skills and having free will (Cudworth and Hobden, 2018, p. 41).

Posthumanism is a recent development (Hobden, 2014, p. 179). The term posthumanism can be traced back to at least the 1960s, but it became more common within contemporary critical discourse in humanities and social sciences in the 1990s (Wolfe, 2010, p. xii). Today posthumanism appears in several research disciplines such as literature, arts, media studies, gender studies, and animal studies (Ferrante and Sartori, 2016, p. 177). Posthumanism is also vital when being critical involved in environmental politics (Hobden, 2014, p. 175).

Posthumanism suggests that humans’ ethical responsibilities are not limited to only the human race, but they are also extended beyond species barriers (Hobden, 2014, p. 175). Posthumanism therefore rejects anthropocentrism and speciesism and implies that their viewpoints must change (Wolfe, 2010, p. xix).

Posthumanism implies a fundamental change in the notion of what it is like to be human, meaning a profound change in cultural and historical ideas (Wolfe, 2010, p. xvii). Fetherston (2020, p. 100) means that posthumanism is a suitable theory to use when trying to understand what humans have become when non-human animals that are closely linked to humans’ evolutionary and cultural history disappear or their populations are declining.

Below follows three distinct approaches within posthumanism, in which much of the debate on animal issues operates within: welfarist approach, ecological approach, and basic rights approach. This division of posthumanism is inspired by Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlica’s “three main approaches to the transformation of human relations with other creatures”: welfarist approach, ecological approach, and basic rights approach (Cudworth and Hobden, 2018, p. 91; Donaldson and Kymlica, 2011, p. 3).

4.2.1 Welfarist approach

The welfarist approach believes in the importance of animal welfare. Humans are interested in animal welfare, although there is a clear hierarchy in which humans are superior to non-human animals (Vayr, 2017, p. 822). However, non-human animals are not being perceived as machines, they are living sentient beings who suffer, in which their suffering has moral importance (Donaldson and Kymlica, 2011, p. 3). Welfarists want to limit the uttermost forms of cruelty and exploitation of non-human animals caused by humans (Cudworth and Hobden, 2018, p. 91). Marcus (2005, p. 79) means that welfarism is a tool in political debates to create a less oppressive future for non-human animals.

The welfarist approach might prevent a great deal of cruelty, such as violence or abuse, although it becomes less powerful when there are human interests involved in animal exploitation. The welfarist approach could therefore shortly be explained as “the humane use of animals by humans” (Donaldson and Kymlica, 2011, p. 3-4).

The welfarist approach considers that even if non-human animals don't have rights and are being unequal to humans, humans still have a moral responsibility to be kind to non-human animals. This kind of responsibility has often been expressed as “treating animals humanely and avoiding unnecessary suffering”, instead of non-human animals having an intrinsic moral right to this kind of treatment. This type of act comprises an informal balancing between human and animal interests (Vayr, 2017, p. 822-823).

Regarding conservation, there is increased evidence of animal welfare connected with *in situ* conservation efforts, such as “habitat management, field research, and management of rare and overabundant native animals, as well as, of invasive species” (Beausoleil *et al.*, 2018, p. 2).

Nowadays most countries have at least one great and well-established animal welfare community to make sure that non-human animals are not being cruelty treated. However, sometimes political actions are needed and the only thing that can improve the conditions for animals (Singer, 1977, p. 228).

Wyatt *et al.* (2022, p. 69) mean that only sometimes the political discussions focus on animal welfare when being legally or illegally traded. They point out that animal welfare is important in any discussion or policy regarding wildlife trade, both for the sake of non-human animals and humans. CITES is considered more a trade than a welfare treaty, but the treaty also proposes several references to welfare of non-human animals. This can be seen in CITES convention text, for example it says that rescue centers are having the authority to look after the welfare of non-human animals ending up in these rescue centers due to the legal and illegal wildlife trade (Wyatt *et al.*, 2022, p. 69).

Even if Bowman (1998, p. 9-10) points out the success of CITES, because the treaty serves beneficial animal welfare objectives, he still suggests that the parties to CITES should put even more effort into ensuring that the implementation of animal welfare will be further realized via “stricter enforcement measures, enactment of national legislation and an interpretation of treaty provisions”.

4.2.2 Ecological approach

Donaldson and Kymlica (2011, p. 3) describe “ecological” as an approach that attentions the health of ecosystems, in which non-human animals is a vital part of. The health of an ecosystem can often be determined by its biodiversity. When some species are threatened and endangered that might influence the functioning and stability of ecosystems (EPA, 2023). That is why ecologists advocate for conservation of biodiversity to maintain ecosystem functioning, so called ecological conservation (Srivastava and Vellend, 2005, p. 267).

Human activities that harm non-human animals, for example habitat destruction and pollution from factory farming, are being criticized by ecologists. Although when the killing of non-human animals has a positive effect on ecosystems, such as sustainable hunting or cattle farming, then the ecological approach prefers the conservation, protection, and restoration of ecosystems over saving non-human animals lives (Donaldson and Kymlica 2011, p. 3).

Singer (2009, p. 192) means that the ecological approach is not opposed to eating caught fish instead of farmed fish. He points out that there is no grain or soybean being wasted by feeding them to fish in the ocean. However, the massive commercial fishing of the oceans nowadays emptying the oceans of fish, the ecological approach is against. Some fish that used to be abundant, such as herrings in Northern Europe and the California sardines, are now being threatened and close to extinction due to commercial fishing.

Indigenous people in different parts of the world are normally deeply connected to nature. In the Western world people often view nature as passive and human as active. Such a Western dichotomy of human/nature results in the oppression of nature, including non-human animals residing in it (Fetherston, 2020, p. 104).

In Atwood's ecological posthumanist, both human and non-human aspects need to be included, when discussing the term "ecocatastrophe". Atwood highlights the negative sides of our consumption culture. The privileged individuals' decision to be consumers shows their refusal to do anything about their exploitation of non-humans (Fetherston, 2020, p. 112-113).

No matter legal or illegal wildlife trade it still contributes to crimes against ecojustice, environmental justice, and species justice. One of CITES focus is to ensure sustainable trade, but as long as both the legal wildlife trade and the IWT are taking place, the cost of the trade is high, as it will harm ecosystems, the environment, and non-human animals, Sollund declares (2022, p. 1017).

4.2.3 Basic rights approach

In response to the welfarist approach and ecological approach, the basic rights approach suggests that all conscious and sentient beings should have absolute rights. In this case non-human animals should have the "right to humane treatment" and "justice" (Donaldson and Kymlica, 2011, p. 19).

Vayr (2017, p. 824) means that non-human animals ought to have intrinsic moral rights that should be protected by the law. Animal rights supporters want to strengthen the moral and legal protection of non-human animals beyond human kindness. Instead of balancing human rights and animal interests the law will ensure that humans would not have profited if there would not have been such a law in place. In other words, animals are "legal persons" qualified to have rights no matter the inconvenience for humans (Vayr, 2017, p. 817).

Non-human animals just like humans have the right not to be tortured, imprisoned, subjected to medical experimentation, forced to be separated from their families etcetera. This approach contains no master and slave relation between non-human animals and humans (Donaldson and Kymlica, 2011, p. 4).

Since non-human animals are able to suffer and feel enjoyment and happiness that give them permission to be equal with humans. Just because humans are homo sapiens, they should not be superior to non-human animals, which is immoral discrimination that can be labelled as "speciesism". In fact, the majority

of humans are speciesists, for example consuming products that involve animal cruelty (Singer, 1977, p. 6-9).

The goal for basic rights advocates is to make non-human animals independent of human society and the termination of animal exploitation. The meaning of this is that having domesticated animals should end, and wild animals should be untouched (Donaldson and Kymlica, 2011, p. 8).

Donaldson and Kymlica (2011, p. 4) mean that only this approach has full protection against animal exploitation, and for that to be achieved there must be a shift from the welfarist and ecological approaches to the basic rights approach. The basic rights approach is an extension of the principle of human rights, although it is still politically limited. However, its ideas have, for the last forty years, become more usual and sophisticated academically. But there is no engagement from the general academic world, only a specific group of scholars engaged in vegan outreach and other immediate actions for non-human animals (Donaldson and Kymlica, 2011, p. 4-5).

The basic rights approach is facing both cultural and economic challenges. In the western world and in most non-western countries there is a hierarchy in which animals are being considered lower than humans. Therefore, it is considered that humans have the right to exploit non-human animals. This belief has been strong for centuries and spans over several religions. It is embedded in humans' daily practices and rituals, and animal exploitation is deeply rooted in the system. It is a profound challenge to overcome this cultural heritage and given this challenge it might not be a surprise that the movement that wants to end animal exploitation has had few accomplishments in the political sphere (Donaldson and Kymlica, 2011, p. 5).

Enforcement of CITES is rather concerning conservation than animal rights, which is the goal for the member parties of CITES (Myers, 1999, p. 152). Even if no countries have fully adopted an animal rights approach to this point, there has been steps taken towards acknowledging human-like rights for some non-human animal species (Wyatt *et al.*, 2022, p. 76).

4.3 Ecofeminism

Ecofeminism, which is a strand of feminism originated from the 1970s, derives theoretically from both critical politics of feminism and political ecologism. Ecofeminism has faced critiques for concentrating entirely on gender and the environment. However, recently ecofeminism has become more contemporary also focusing on intersectionality questions which include non-human animals (Cudworth, 2014, p. 91). Ecofeminism connects men's domination over women and humans' domination over non-human animals (Myers, 1999, p. 146-147). Myers (1999, p. 147) means that "neither will be liberated unless and until both are liberated".

The core of ecofeminism are different forms of systematic inequalities, such as the interconnected domination of women, non-human animals, and nature.

Concepts of power dichotomies are being criticized by ecofeminists, for instance: human/nature, male/female, culture/nature, mind/body, and master/slave. This criticism of duality is an important way of thinking in ecofeminism, and it has contributed to oppression related debates (Cudworth, 2014, p. 93).

In accordance with ecofeminism there are multiple ways in which the earth is exploited, “including the depletion of endangered species”, which can be somehow explained by the gender-aspect. “Masculine” ways of thinking are well established in society, which allows for the domination of objects and subjects considered being “feminine”, including non-human animals and the earth (Myers, 1999, p. 147). The oppressive patriarchal framework features a logic of domination of women and non-humans. The rhetoric being used in this context can be interpreted as being both sexist and speciesist (Myers, 1999, p. 147).

From an ecofeminist perspective, how humans treat non-human animals are naturally embedded in patriarchal values. Attitudes and practices are formed by patriarchal values based on hegemonic masculinity (Sollund, 2020, p. 3)

Several ecofeminists have adopted the concept of patriarchy in their work. They mean that the patriarchy causes environmental destruction and suppression of women and non-human lives (Cudworth, 2014, p. 92-93).

Ecofeminism challenges the dominant discourse about animals. When explaining how animals are being treated in a patriarchal society ecofeminism can be useful. Just like humans’ large mammals seem to be a group which is often being considered “masculine”. For instance, animals in this group are often seen as being “ferocious, dangerous, or savage”, characteristics more associated with men than women (Myers, 1999, p. 143-144).

Myers (1999, p. 148-149) divides non-human animals into two categories: “masculinized animals” and “feminized animals”. Masculinized animals receive a greater level of respect from humans than feminized animals. Masculinized animals can be seen as wild mega-fauna, such as elephants and rhinos, that are managed by conservation officers or park rangers, and they are not forced to live under the same cruel conditions as feminized animals. Feminized animals can be seen as domesticated farm animals, but also companion animals such as dogs and parrots.

Further, feminized non-human animals are regularly used or killed for food, whereas masculinized non-human animals are frequently used and killed for other reasons, to enrich the male “virility”. Mega-fauna, including endangered species, are commonly killed for either their body parts and/or blood for example being used in traditional Chinese medicine, or for sports and trophies (Myers, 1999, p. 149).

Regarding discussions about hunting and poaching gender must be taken into account. Adams (1995, p. 80) claims that “violence against animals cannot be understood without a feminist analysis, because this violence is one aspect of patriarchal culture-arising within and receiving legitimization from the way male sexual identity is constituted as dominance”. However, CITES permits a limited trade of trophy hunting of endangered species (Myers, 1999, p. 151).

Myers (1999, p. 143) means that ecofeminism can be used when writing about the enforcement of CITES. Even if CITES is designed to protect endangered species, it still gives allowance to trade them (Myers, 1999, p. 143).

5 Method

This chapter firstly clarifies the research design, including its methodological position, and the ontological and epistemological standings. Thereafter, the data collection methods are being presented. Structured observation, semi-structured interviews, official CITES documents and social media are methods that have been selected constituting this study's research design. Regarding the data analysis strategy, a qualitative text analysis is being used. Finally, validity and reliability, and limitations, will be accounted for in this chapter.

5.1 Research design

5.1.1 Methodological position

This study employs “multimethod” research. A multimethod approach combines at least two methods from the same method type in one research, for example a combination of at least two quantitative methods or at least two qualitative methods (Levy, 2017, p. 164). My study contains four qualitative methods of data collection, including observation, interviews, documents, and social media. In recent years qualitative methods of data collection involving interviews, observation, and document analysis, have been included under the umbrella term of “ethnographic methods” (Kawulich, 2005, p. 1). The dominance of non-qualitative strands of political science has been a challenge for qualitative method within the discipline. However, qualitative method can contribute with the importance of “meaning, context and history” (Marsh and Stoker, 2010, p. 255). The emphasis of qualitative methods in political science lies within detailed and text-based answers that are mainly historical which include personal observations and reflections from participants in “political institutions, events, issues or processes” (Vromen, 2018, p. 237).

5.1.2 Ontological and epistemological standings

This research has ontologically taken on an anti-foundationalist standing, in which the world is socially constructed and can be interpreted in various ways. Anti-foundationalism is similarly seen as constructivism or relativism. All constructivists place a main emphasis on interpretation (Lowndes *et al.*, 2018, p.

78-79, 178). This type of ontological standing has led to an epistemological interpretivism. These ontological and epistemological standings will also methodologically go along with qualitative research. Ontology, epistemology and methodology can therefore be seen as connected. In terms of this study, ontologically the world exists out there dependently on actors (the member parties to CITES) and observers' (me as a researcher) knowledge of it, in which the world is socially constructed. That also refers to "double hermeneutic", in which the world can be interpreted and understood on two levels, firstly by the actors (one hermeneutic level), and then their interpretation is interpreted by the observer (a second hermeneutic level) (Lowndes *et al.*, 2018, p. 9). On the other hand, epistemologically reflects on how we can make sense of ontology, in this case what actors (the member parties to CITES) and the observer (me as a researcher) can know about the world based on our knowledge (Lowndes *et al.*, 2018, p. 178-179). The knowledge that we have obtained depends for instance on cultural, religious and gender factors. Methodologically, this is a qualitative case study.

5.2 Data collection methods

5.2.1 Structured observation

Observation as a method is more uncommon in political research, than in other fields such as sociology and psychology. However, observation can be valuable in qualitative research, as it can help answering the "how, where, when and why" in political qualitative research (Dargie, 1998, p. 65).

Structured observation is the technique used in this study. Structured observations can be explained as the observer take notes of the situation and sometimes also record it (Dargie, 1998, p. 68). My role as a researcher in this case is therefore covert, and not overt.

A fundamental advantage with observation as a method is the principle of understanding the context and the environment where actions happen and decisions are made (Dargie, 1998, p. 65). Dargie (1998, p. 66) means that observation can be helpful in several areas of political research, for example:

- "Where political actors interact in an organizational or group setting
- Where context is important
- Investigating how decisions are made
- Where there is process and practice
- Researching policy formulation and implementation
- Analyzing behavior"

Further, observation can provide rich data material. For example, multiple pages of detailed notes about the research topic can be produced when observing only one meeting (Dargie, 1998, p. 66-67).

Using observation as a method in qualitative research also has disadvantages. Gaining access can be a challenge, as there are many reasons why access can be denied. My strategy to get access to CoP19 was to send an e-mail to the registration team for CoP19 at the CITES Secretariat explaining clearly why I requested to attend CoP19 as an observer. Further, observing meetings at only CoP19 might not portray a representative picture of the work that member parties to CITES do on a long-term basis. However, it still gives a good range of activities in current situations, which is sufficient for this study to answer my research questions.

5.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews is widely used as a data collection method in qualitative research. Interviews is a treasured method that can contribute with in-depth data as it gives an insight into the respondents' views, understandings, and knowledges (Ryan *et al.*, 2009, p. 309).

This study has taken on a semi-structured interviews approach. Semi-structured interviews encompasses both theoretically focused and open-ended questions. They take on data based on experiences of the respondents, combined with data of existing matter within the specific field which one is conducting research (Galletta, 2013, p. 45).

5.2.3 Three segments in semi-structured interviews

This study's interview strategy follows Galletta's division of semi-structured interviews into three segments: open segment, middle segment and concluding segment. I found Galletta's approach to semi-structured interviews useful and inspiring, as it would help me to be structured and to connect my questions with the theoretical framework in this study.

In the open segment Galletta (2013, p. 46-47) highlights several steps the researcher should act upon before the interview starts. For example, the researcher should state the purpose of the study and express gratitude for the respondent's participation. The researcher should also inform the respondent of his or her rights, including not having to answer every question and to end the interview whenever he or she may feel like it. This segment is usually the most flexible with open-ended questions (Galletta, 2013, p. 46-47).

In the middle segment the focus lays on obtaining more specific data and broaden the levels of contexts. This middle part includes questions that will guarantee that the research topic is being effectively explored (Galletta, 2013, p. 50).

The concluding segment suggests a possibility to return to matters in the respondent's narrative that might still need to be discovered. More nuanced and in-depth questions can now be created (Galletta, 2013, p. 51).

The process from the open segment, containing more broad questions, to the closing segment, including more in-depth questions, demonstrates the opportunities given by using semi-structured interviews as a method (Galletta, 2013, p. 51).

5.2.4 Interview sampling

Robinson (2014, p. 25) means that sampling is fundamental in qualitative methods. However, there is not much attention being paid to sampling compared with data collection and analysis.

To achieve a clear sampling procedure, this sub-chapter will follow Robinson's "four-point approach to sampling in qualitative interview-based research": 1. defining a sample universe, 2. deciding upon a sample size, 3. selecting a sampling strategy, and 4. sample sourcing. To the degree of how these four approaches are fulfilled affect the level of consistency, transparency, and credibility in a qualitative study (Robinson, 2014, p. 25).

Regarding the first point approach potential interview respondents were basically all members parties to CITES attending CoP19.

The second point approach I did not have either a minimum or a maximum of my sample size. I was pleased to get as many interviews as possible.

The third point approach, my strategy to get interviews was to send email requests to delegates from different member parties to CITES, including reminders to those I had already contacted not replying to me. I also spontaneously reached out to delegates on the spot at CoP19 when I got an opportunity to do so.

Finally, the fourth point approach, to avoid bias my goal was to interview delegates from member parties to CITES from both the Global South and the Global North in an equal manner.

5.2.5 Interview types

This study has taken on face-to-face interviews, video-call interviews, and email interviews. Traditional face-to-face interviews can contribute with in-depth and trustworthy data. However, due to technical advancement the last decades contemporary internet-based interviews, such as email interviews and video-call interviews, have become more common and recognized when collecting data in qualitative research (Dahlin, 2021, p. 2; Janghorban *et al.*, 2014, p. 1).

The advantages of Internet-based interviews are that they are time saving and cost-effective for the researcher. The disadvantages are that you can't observe the respondents body language in email interviews and only partially in video-call interviews (Dahlin, 2021, p. 2; Janghorban *et al.*, 2014, p. 1). I believe that

conducting 14 of my interviews face-to-face combined with 4 internet-based interviews, have provided me with useful data for this research.

5.2.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations in research include the individuals' right to know "the boundaries of voluntary participation, informed consent, anonymity, privacy, or confidential treatment of their data", and the responsibilities of the researcher to protect their rights and interests (Billups, 2022, p. 11).

In ethical research practices, especially connected with qualitative research, one of the most common concerns is the establishment and development of the relationship between the participants and the researcher (Billups, 2022, p. 11).

My intention was to establish and maintain a trustworthy relationship between the respondents and myself. I informed them that I could guarantee them both "anonymity" and "confidentiality". The face-to-face interviews were taken place at Panama Convention Center where CoP19 took place. I made sure that the respondents were comfortable in the places where the interviews were being conducted.

Further, I made sure that my notes from the interviews were being stored in a safe place. Throughout the interview process, my goal was to be transparent with the respondents, for example letting them know about the intention of my research. Nothing was forced upon the respondents, for example I let them know that there was no obligation for them to answer all my questions if they were not comfortable in doing so. Finally, I offered all the respondents to read my thesis when finished to make sure that the information in my thesis is correct with what they have answered me.

5.2.7 Official CITES documents

Often, documentary evidence is combined with data from interviews and observation to minimize bias and create credibility (Bowen, 2009, p. 38). Official CITES documents as empirical data are functioning as a complement to the interviews and observation in this study to get a greater understanding of how member parties to CITES view non-human animals value connected to the IWT, and how member parties from the Global South and the Global North align and/or differ regarding this matter. The official CITES documents selected for this study are proposed by either member parties to CITES or the CITES Secretariat, and these documents are being discussed at the Committee II's meetings at CoP19.

5.2.8 Social media

There has been a growing interest in using social media as a method in research lately. YouTube can be considered a social media platform, in which it is possible

to share videos online (Nau *et al.*, 2022, p. 3,7). Using social media as a method provides a more rich and diverse datasets (Bryda and Costa, 2023, p. 570, 1).

Committee II's meetings at CoP19 can be found on YouTube. I have attended all meetings either firsthand or digitally on YouTube for my data collection.

5.3 Data analysis strategy

The empirical data is analyzed by taken the theoretical framework of this study into consideration to discover member parties to CITES views on non-human animals' value connected to the IWT at CoP19, and the alignment and/or differentiation between the Global South and the Global North.

When the three words “quality”, “data”, and “analysis” are linked together qualitative data analysis is evident. Further, qualitative data analysis means analysis of qualitative data such as texts, images, and films (Kuckartz, 2014, p. 2).

The empirical data in this study, including observation (live and social media), interviews (face-to-face, video calls, and emails), and official CITES documents, is analyzed by using a qualitative text analysis approach. It calls “the concept of triangulation”, which is a “combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon”. That includes observation, interviews, documents, and physical objects (Bowen, 2009, p. 28; Denzin, 1989, p. 234).

When analyzing empirical data from interviews and observation in this study, the data is being converted into text by using transcription. Transcription is recorded audio and video, which are spoken words, that are converted into written text that can be used to analyze a certain event or phenomenon (King *et al.*, 2019, p. 193; McMullin, 2023, p. 140). When taking precise notes from my interviews with member parties to CITES and from observing Committee II's meetings at CoP19, spoken words are being converted into text, which are my notes, in line with transcription.

5.4 Validity and reliability

When collecting data through multiple methods it is possible for the researcher to uphold findings across data sets, which can reduce the risk of potential biases (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). Using a triangulate method in this study, including observation, interviews and documents, should help increase the validity and reliability of the results.

A lengthy observation, in which the researcher spends a significant amount of time in the research field in order to understand participants' perspectives, should also contributes to minimize the researcher's own bias (Billups, 2022, p. 7). I have attended all meetings in Committee II at CoP19, both firsthand in Panama and digitally on YouTube from both Panama and Sweden. Spending this amount of

time at these meetings gave a robust data collection for this study and therefore ought to make the validity believable and reliability consistent.

Since I didn't have accreditation to attend any group meetings at CoP19, I might have missed out on relevant information that could have contributed to my study. All researchers should pay attention to the "validity problem" that can possibly arise with observation. This is relevant as there is a large population and it is up to the researcher to make appropriate selections based on this (Yin, 2006, p.112). Therefore, I have also used interviews as a method to produce greater depth and coverage, and to yield stable findings.

To tackle reliability issues, I have adopted a transparency approach, in which I have remained honest throughout my research. For example, I have made sure that I understood interview respondents' answers entirely and taking proper and detailed notes from both the meetings and the interviews.

5.5 Limitations

A limitation is that this study does not generalize the results. However, that is not the purpose either as qualitative methodology intends to "understand a complex reality and the meaning of actions in a given context" (Almeida, 2017, p. 369).

Another limitation is that observation can be time-consuming as it takes time to organize and analyze. Research needs to be planned long beforehand. A decided observation might be cancelled last-minute, so it is a "high-risk strategy" (Dargie, 1998, p. 67). Interview as a method is also time-consuming and uncertain as respondents can cancel the interview within short notice. I was aware of this, and therefore I planned and prepared for the observation and interviews in advance as much as possible.

Finally, a limitation is the risk for researcher bias. For example, the researcher influencing interview respondents by the formation of the questions. To overcome this, I have tried not to use leading questions that can persuade the participants to respond in favor of a particular view.

6 Findings and analysis

This chapter presents the findings from observing Committee II's meetings at CoP19, interviewing delegates from member parties to CITES, and information based on official CITES documents. The chapter is divided in two primary sections: a Global South section and a Global North section. These two sections are having the same structure following the theoretical framework in this study (anthropocentric views, posthumanist: welfarist views, posthumanist: ecological views, posthumanist: basic rights views, and ecofeminist views). This chapter is answering the main research question of this study. In the next chapter 7 there will be a discussion taken place based on the findings from this chapter.

6.1 The Global South's views on non-human animals' value

6.1.1 Anthropocentric views

Doc. 66.1 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* prepared by the Secretariat, is about "the trade in elephant specimens" directed to all range states (Doc. 66.1, 2022-07-04, p. 1). China states:

Efforts to study trade in Asian elephants and its possible impact on elephant ivory is highly unlikely to yield useful results, as we have seen before. Regulating use of elephant ivory should be discouraged. The Secretariat is already overloaded and should not further spend any more valuable resources on it.

(Committee II a., 2022-11-17, China)

China opposes doc. 66.1 and points out its negative view towards researching which effect trade on Asian elephants has on elephant ivory. Even if research before on this matter did not contribute to useful results, according to China, it could still do so in the future. China also means that regulating the use of elephant ivory should be prevented, because it is a waste of resources for the CITES Secretariat. This argument shows clearly that China is prioritizing saving resources, which can be understood as financial resources, at the expense of the protection of elephants. These views are in accordance with anthropocentrism in which non-human animals are not protected by humans unless there is an economic value to protect them.

Doc. 66.3 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* and the “closure of domestic ivory markets by evaluating open domestic ivory markets to ensure they are not contributing to poaching or the illegal ivory trade”, is submitted by Benin, Burkina Faso, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Liberia, Niger, Senegal and Togo (Doc. 66.3, 2022-07-04, p. 1). Thailand expresses:

In case of Thailand the domestic trade is a sovereign right that has been practiced for a long period of time for almost a century. The trade is in compliance with the national law and is controlled by Thailand. [...] Thailand is not listed by any countries being affected by the illegal ivory trade, so there is no reason for the closure of the domestic market.

(Committee II a., 2022-11-17, Thailand)

Thailand’s statement can be considered anthropocentric. Thailand is relying on cultural practices and traditions on behalf of non-human animals’ suffering and lives, in this case elephant specimens. Also, having a legal domestic ivory trade can contribute to the illegal trade in elephant ivory. Andersson *et al.* (2021, p. 2) mean that “legal wildlife trade correlates positively with illegal trade”.

Regarding the same document 66.3, South Africa declares:

South Africa has a small domestic ivory market, which has not contributed to the illegal trade. We believe that South Africa has a sovereign right to sustainably use its natural resources and does not support the closure of the domestic markets.

(Committee II, 2022-11-17, South Africa)

South Africa considers elephants as being humans’ properties by labeling them “natural resources”. Natural resources can be defined as “any biological, mineral, or aesthetic asset afforded by nature without human intervention that can be used for some form of benefit, whether material (economic) or immaterial” (Britannia, 2023). South Africa “uses” elephants, that is endangered and threatened by poaching and illegal trade for their own benefit. South Africa’s view is clearly anthropocentric, not viewing elephants as living sentient beings, instead being looked at as properties.

A similar statement as South Africa is made by Zimbabwe regarding the same document 66.3, which is also typical anthropocentric, viewing elephants as “resources”:

CITES should stick to the mandate of regulating the international trade and leave the domestic trade to the sovereignty of the nations to make sure that there would be a sustainable use of their resources.

(Committee II a., 2022-11-17, Zimbabwe)

Further, Zimbabwe informs that they have the second largest elephant population in the world, and that they have presented a case study about elephants at Committee I at CoP19 (Zimbabwe, 2022-11-25). Prop. 4 was presented by Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe in Committee I which the Zimbabwean delegate refers to. This proposal brings up for instance “Apart from

photographic tourism, elephants are also utilized in hunting in Africa: ivory, skin and hair are made into a variety of products; elephant meat is also a source of protein, whilst some live elephants are put in zoos for educational purposes and other leisure activities” (Prop. 4, 2023-10-16, p. 7). Zimbabwe allows endangered elephants to be exploited by humans for photography, hunting, consumption, and being put in Zoos, which are clear anthropocentric characteristics.

Thailand, South Africa, and Zimbabwe reject doc. 66.3. Other parties from the Global South that oppose this document are Antigua and Barbuda, Bahrain, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cuba, El Salvador, Eswatini, Laos, Malaysia, Maldives, Mexico, Namibia, Nepal, Peru, Solomon Islands, Tonga, UAE, Tanzania, and Zambia.

Regarding conservation efforts the Senegalese delegate says that Senegal’s legislation includes confiscated species, and it depends on the case, but the non-human animals can be entrusted to a zoo. “The products are kept for educational purposes” (Senegal, 2022-12-14). Here are two characteristics of anthropocentrism. Firstly, non-human animals being kept in zoos, which is *ex situ* conservation, and secondly naming non-human animals the “products”, being looked at as objectives instead of subjectives.

Further, Tanzania mentions that Thailand confiscated 360 reptiles originated from Tanzania in the IWT. Tanzania was required to bring them back to Tanzania. However, the Tanzanian delegate means that “why should we pay for them?”, and “we have to look at the economic value, if it is worth bringing them back” Thailand kept the reptiles (Tanzania, 2022-11-22). Tanzania finding the economic value more important than the reptiles value is anthropocentric. It could be interpreted that if there would be an economic benefit for Tanzania to bring back the reptiles to their home country, Tanzania would have done so.

Doc. 71.2 on *Pangolins (Manis spp.)* is proposed by the UK and Northern Ireland, and it is directed to all pangolin range states to “take urgent steps to develop and implement *in situ* pangolin management and conservation programmes” (Doc. 71.2, 2022-07-04, p. 1). China says: “China believes that it is not necessary to close all legal markets to combat the illegal trade. We believe that domestic markets do not contribute to or stimulate illegal trade” (Committee II b., 2022-11-21, China). This statement can be interpreted as China has an economic interest in keeping the legal domestic markets of pangolins open. There is a high market demand of pangolins in China, as pangolins are for instance being used in The Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), which is also a major driver for the IWT in pangolins, confiscation reports show (Wang, 2020, p. 903). Therefore, there is also a cultural desire for China to keep domestic markets of pangolins opened, which supports China’s statement. Risking the extinction of pangolins, which is the most trafficked species in the world, due to having both economic and cultural interests shows clearly anthropocentric characteristics. Further, Vietnam does not support doc. 71.2 either, because they think that this document did not require enough information from member parties.

The delegate from Antigua and Barbuda mentions the queen conch, which is a large marine snail. It is native to the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean and is valued for seafood. “The queen conch is listed in Appendix II, but it is very

important seafood for the Caribbean people. We exported a lot to the U.S. I don't want it to be that listed so it is not possible to export it". (Antigua and Barbuda, 2022-11-18). Antigua and Barbuda knows that the queen conch is illegally fished and traded, but the local's desire to consume this seafood comes first. The anthropocentric approach morally advantages indigenous rights and traditions over animal rights. Therefore, Antigua and Barbuda's statement can be considered anthropocentrism. Also, wanting to export the queen conch can be motivated by economic desires. Doc. 77 on *Queen conch (Strombus gigas)* is directed to in particular range states of queen conch and encourage them to for instance "collaborate on combatting illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing activity" (Doc. 77, 2022-07-08, p. 1).

Doc. 29.2.2 on *Totoaba (Totoaba macdonaldi)* is submitted by the U.S. *Totoaba* is a critical endangered large fish native to the Sea of Cortez at the Gulf of California, Mexico. The illegal *totoaba* fishery, due to the demand of its swim bladders, is also responsible for the rapid decline of *vaquita* due to bycatch from the illegal fishing (Doc. 29.2.2, 2022-07-04, p. 1). The U.S. urges Mexico to take further steps to protect these critically endangered fishes both being listed under Appendix I of CITES. Mexico's response is that they have taken significant measures to fight the illegal *totoaba* fishing and trade:

When it comes to illegal *totoaba* trafficking we modified our federal criminal code since CoP18 and eleven sentences have been handed down for possession of *Totoaba* swim bladders against 15 individuals who were sanctioned with prison sentences, fines, and remade to pay compensation for the environment. This shows that there is no impunity. Although Mexico has made positive advantages by multiplying and diversifying its efforts institutions involved in these issues including fisheries, marine defense, environmental customs, and treasury and financial institutions we are aware that we must strengthen our coordination and ensure that each aspect of our regulation is enforced effectively.

(Committee II, 2022-11-18, Mexico)

The efforts taken by Mexico show that Mexico believes in the importance of saving *totoaba* and *vaquita*. However, the illegal fishing is still ongoing, and it has even reached a critical point now for the survival of these fishes despite Mexico's measures. Also, Mexico admits that more efforts need to be taken. Mexico does not accept doc. 29.2.2 as there are errors in this document, they mean. It can be interpreted that Mexico has economic interests in "allowing" the illegal trade of *totoaba* and *vaquita* for decades despite these fishes being critically threatened. It seems like Mexico has put humans at the center of ethical systems in line with anthropocentrism. Several member parties from the Global South support doc. 29.2.2, including Benin, Niger, and Senegal.

6.1.2 Posthumanist: Welfarist views

Senegal means that "the welfare of wild animals is felt as a priority through the discussions at CoP19. For this reason, some amendments such as reducing a

species from Appendix 1 to Appendix 2 are rejected. [...] This shows the concern for conservation that animates countries” (Senegal, 2022-12-14). Keeping endangered non-human animals in Appendix I indicates that the welfare of non-human animals is prioritized.

Jordan believes that humans have a responsibility towards non-human animals:

Human beings are the most responsible of all species. We have a responsibility because we are different from other species. If you look at history most destroys comes from humans. Destroying happens much faster than creation. And the illegal trade in animals is a huge part of that. We are in higher position than animals. We have the technology. Therefore, we have the responsibility to protect and conserve animals.

(Jordan, 2022-11-24)

Jordan’s statement contains welfarist approach characteristics. Jordan means that humans have a moral responsibility towards non-human animals. Even if Jordan wants to protect and conserve non-human animals, there is still a clear hierarchy in which humans are superior to non-human animals.

Regarding doc. 66.3 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* and “the closure of domestic ivory markets”, Senegal wants to close domestic ivory markets to combat the IWT, and therefore stop the uttermost form of cruelty and suffering for elephants in line with the welfarist approach.

Senegal is agreeing with others who have supported this proposal, for example the UK and Gabon. I do think that it is time for us to face facts. We have accepted an end to international trade in ivory, which means that we should close domestic markets too because it is an ongoing problem and poaching continues to supply these legal markets.

(Committee II a., 2022-11-17, Senegal)

Senegal supports doc. 66.3, such as Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Senegal, Suriname, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, and Vietnam, from the Global South.

When discussing doc. 66.4.1 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* and the “international trade in live African elephants specimens”, submitted by Benin, Burkina Faso, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Niger, Senegal and Togo (Doc. 66.4.1, 2022-07-04, p. 1), Mali shows its concern for African elephants:

When it comes to the trade of wild caught African elephants they should be limited to secure our areas. Today we are not allowed to take kangaroos from Australia and bring them to the Mali desert. [...] And this also applies to elephants. We must demonstrate wisdom. One day otherwise our great grandchildren will no longer know what an elephant is. [...] It’s time now to find a solution and stop the bleeding. Elephants must remain within their ecosystem alongside their local communities.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-17, Mali)

Mali wants elephants to stay in their native environments, and therefore stop the worse bleeding and exploitation of elephants. Mali mentions the ecosystem, but points more at elephants' welfare than the health of the ecosystem. Therefore, this statement best matches the welfarist approach.

Regarding doc. 71.2 on *Pangolins (Manis spp.)*, submitted by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Burkina Faso is deeply concerned:

Pangolins do not exist anymore in Burkina Faso. That has been the case for some 10 years now. This is a species of great concern to us. [...] We do think that range states, transit and consumers states of parts and derivatives of pangolins have to take additional measures in order to fight trafficking in the species. We do know that there is a poaching problem as well as illegal trade in pangolins and that's why we do need to ensure that markets are closing in order to prevent all illegal trade.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-21, Burkina Faso)

Burkina Faso wants to close down the legal markets to save pangolins. Burkina Faso wants to end the worse exploitation of pangolins in line with the welfarist approach. Burkina Faso supports doc. 71.2, just as Gabon, India, Kenya, Niger, and Senegal.

Mocambique expresses that humans and non-human animals complement each other. The Mocambican delegate thinks that there is a difference between how Africans and Europeans view non-human animals. "In Africa we have a different perspective than in Europe. Europe is paradise of the pets, while in Africa the spirit of people is linked to the animals. In Africa we respect animals". Mocambique's statement can be interpreted as Africa is more welfarist and Europe is more anthropocentric. Mocambique added that they are attending Cop19 to fight for lions, pangolins, elephants etcetera, those animals native to Africa (Mocambique, 2022-11-22).

Solomon Islands informs that marine turtles are listed in Appendix I in CITES, and that conservation of marine turtles have been discussed in Committee I at CoP19. The delegate from Solomon Islands explains that they have stopped the hunting and trade of marine turtles, and their laws are now in line with CITES recommendations. They have the "turtle marine park rangers" looking after the marine turtles and their eggs. This is *ex situ* conservation in line with the welfarist approach. Thereafter, the delegate says that "in Salomon Islands people eat marine turtles, it's good, and it's a traditional practice". The delegate added that they have to balance this cultural practice with sustainability, meaning eating marine turtles, but to do it in a sustainable way (Solomon Islands, 2022-11-23). This matches the welfarist approach in which human and animals' interests should be balanced.

6.1.3 Posthumanist: Ecological views

Doc. 12 is regarding the *World Wildlife Trade Report*, submitted by South Africa, whereas Colombia highlights the importance of biodiversity in line with the ecological approach:

We would agree to have this kind of report, but we do stress that we do need to have support for countries that are mega biodiverse such as Colombia, and to ensure the biodiversity in all countries.

(Committee II, 2022-11-16, Colombia)

When discussing doc. 66.2.2 on Elephants (*Elephantidae spp.*) and “establishing a fund accessible to range states upon non-commercial disposal of ivory stockpiles”, proposed by Kenya (Doc. 66.2.2, 2022-07-04, p. 1), Gabon says:

Gabon has 95 000 elephants, that is over 60 percent of the total Forest elephants. [...] Given the high cost of conservation Gabon supports the idea that countries should receive compensation for their conservation efforts. The benefits of which have been proven particularly when it comes to Central African forest elephants’ major role in preventing climate change and global warming. Forest elephants are essential within this ecosystem and play a vital role in carbon storage within these forests. The survival of these elephants is essential to the survival of the planet.

(Committee II, 2022-11-18, Gabon)

Gabon views forest elephants as a vital part of its ecosystem and that these elephants have a major role in preventing climate change and global warming. Gabon is serious when saying that the planet will not survive without the forest elephants, and therefore agrees with Kenya and supports doc. 66.2.2. Gabon clearly considers the health of ecosystems, in this case the forest elephants’ vital part in its ecosystem, in line with the ecological approach.

Panama informs about the endangered glass frog species native to Panama. These glass frog species are often exploited illegally for the pet trade. When hunters are being arrested, they put the frogs in a rehabilitation center, for them to get used again to their natural environment of Panama. The Panamanian delegate continues:

If the frogs would be released in nature directly, they would probably going to die. To make sure that the species is well we give the frogs specific insects that they eat in nature. When the frog is hunted and not there anymore, the insects get overpopulated, and it will affect all chain of the ecosystem. Everyone will suffer. That is why it’s so important to protect glass frogs.

(Panama, 2022-11-18)

Panama is concerned by the hunting and illegal trade in glass frogs creating imbalance and unhealthiness in their ecosystem, which Panama’s views are in line

with the ecological approach. The Panamanian delegate also informed that Panama together with a number of other countries has at CoP19 proposed for all glass frogs to become listed in Appendix II (Panama, 2022-11-18).

Costa Rica introduces doc. 73.2 on *Jaguars (Panthera onca)*, submitted by Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, and Peru. Costa Rica highlights:

We seek to protect Jaguars from all threats, including illegal trade, and jaguars, their parts and derivatives. This is because of significance for jaguars but also for our ecosystems, as well as our cultures. [...] We recognize illegal trade as a very serious threat to jaguars. [...] We also hope to ensure to have habitat protection as well as corridors. [...] We really do hope that this will enable us to work together to guarantee the survival of this species. And we also hope that our social and climate biodiversity aims will be met.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-21, Costa Rica)

Costa Rica emphasizes how important it is to protect and save jaguars from extinction, due to jaguars' value, but also "ecosystems" and "climate biodiversity". Costa Rica's statement is therefore in line with the ecological approach.

Another South and Central America country Bolivia agrees with Costa Rica and doc. 73.2:

Jaguars are flagship species in South America, partly for its role in our natural environment as well as ecosystems protection. It also plays an important role in a number of indigenous cultural systems and has for centuries. A number of the range states of the species have like Bolivia noted an increase in trade in its parts and derivatives particular teeth, and this is comparable to the situations in Asia. Given the situation we would urge parties to support all actions necessary for the conservation and protection of this flagship species which is key to the near tropical regions conservation.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-21, Bolivia)

Brazil "would like to echo the words pronounced by Costa Rica. Brazil is the country with the largest population of jaguars. [...] It is made that about 55 000 jaguars are in the Brazilian territory. [...] It is essential to help us in the efforts to combat poachers and progress to the conservation of this species" (Committee II b., 2022-11-21, Brazil). Additionally, Brazil informs how important it is to combat the IWT overall from an ecological viewpoint. "Illegal trade represents a serious threat to the conservation of wild fauna and flora species, thus contributing to the loss of biodiversity. [...] combating illegal trade is imperative in the context of protecting biodiversity for present and future generations" (Brazil, 2022-03-09).

Panama continues in the same spirit as former speakers:

Panama has some of the best habitats of this region for jaguars which is indeed one of the phlegmatic and iconic species of our tropical woods. [...] we would urge parties to agree with the decisions in 73.2 [...] so that we can control the illegal trade and to do something about the demand, because demand for their parts and derivatives are a threat to our wildlife.

[...] Jaguars have a significance for us both culturally as well as ecologically. [...] We support the proposal made by Costa Rica and other range states.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-21, Panama)

Costa Rica, Bolivia, Brazil, and Panama align concerning combating the illegal trade in Jaguars for the sake of the health of ecosystems and biodiversity. Having views in accordance with the ecological approach.

6.1.4 Posthumanist: Basic rights views

When discussing doc. 66.1 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* and the “trade in elephant specimens”, India clearly shows its compassion and respect for elephants, which are fully protected under Indian law:

The Asian elephant is the national heritage animal of India, which reflects a special place in Indian culture. It receives the highest degree of protection under Indian law. Indian’s wildlife protection since 1972 bans the trade of all ivory in elephants and the ivory market and the ivory carving industry every that have been closed permanently in India since 1990. The high level of protection has led to a stable population of the Asian elephant in the country. We therefore support measures to close the legal markets which are contributing to poaching of elephants in the illegal trade of ivory. [...] We do not support the Secretariats proposal that this proposition applicable only to elephant range states [...] it must be directed to all parties.

(Committee II a., 2022-11-17, India)

It can be interpreted from this statement that India views Asian elephants value as highly as humans, and that India sees elephants as equal with humans. In India the Asian elephants’ have intrinsic legal rights. This in fact means that Asian elephants are “legal persons” in India, in line with the basic rights approach.

India does not support doc. 66.1, as they want this proposal to be applicable to all parties and not only range states. That shows that India also wants other member parties to CITES to strengthen their moral and legal protection of elephants, which goes beyond the human kindness for India. Benin, Indonesia, Mexico, Sri Lanka, and Thailand also oppose doc. 66.1.

Regarding doc. 66.2.2 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* and “establishing a fund accessible to range states upon non-commercial disposal of ivory stockpiles” (Doc. 66.2.2, 2022-07-04, p. 1). Sri Lanka expresses that “there is no difference between an elephant’s tusk and a human tooth” (Sri Lanka, 2022-11-23), clearly stating that humans and elephants are equal in this case, in line with basic rights views.

Moving on to doc. 66.4.1 *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* on “International Trade in Live African Elephant Specimens” (Doc. 66.4.1, 2022-07-04, p. 1). Burkina Faso means:

Sending species beyond the continent has no benefit for conservation. Often the capture methods and the living conditions of captured elephants are particularly poor. This applies to all African elephants regardless of which countries they were captured in. [...] African elephants have no place in captivity and less so on the other side of the world.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-17, Burkina Faso)

Burkina Faso is clear when announcing that African elephants should be free and not placed in captivity. Burkina Faso wants African elephants to have rights in the sense of letting them live in freedom without being exploited by humans, which the basic rights approach advocates.

Doc. 66.6 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* and “Report on the elephant trade information system (ETIS)”, has been prepared by the CITES Secretariat.

Malaysia expresses “Malaysia continuously to combat illegal trade of ivory on many levels, including at the grassroot level” (Committee II a., 2022-11-17, Malaysia). This statement shows that Malaysia appreciates the movement for animals on a grassroot level in Malaysia combating the IWT, for example by challenging the political system. Siegel (1989, p. 30) means that the grassroots movement is more about animal rights than animal welfare. Organizations operating on a grassroot level have a goal to “abolish entirely the exploitative practices that the welfarists had failed to reform” (Siegel, 1989, p. 30). Therefore, Malaysia’s statement is matching the basic rights approach.

India’s response on doc. 69.2 on *Seahorses (Hippocampus spp.)* and the “Next steps toward successful implementation of Appendix II listing of Seahorses”, that was introduced by the U.S.:

The report contains a recommendation that India removes its stricter measures for seahorses. It is important to underscore here that seahorses [...] the highest degree of legal protection in the country. The hunting and trade of seahorses is completely prohibited [...]. The recommendations in 69.2 seem to have been drawn from project seahorse report. We do not support the draft decisions in this document 69.2.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-21, India)

India has stricter measures for seahorses than CITES recommends, as hunting and trade of seahorses is completely prohibited in India. Therefore, India does not support doc. 63.2. There is no exploitation of seahorses, and the seahorse species has full legal protection in India. Even if there would not have been such a law or laws for seahorses in place in India, India is still not interested in profiting from trade in seahorses, in line with the basic right approach.

Doc. 59 is about the illegal trade in cheetahs (*Acinonyx jubatus*). Ethiopia presents doc. 59:

Today cheetah population is declining to the extent that local extinction becomes a phenomenon mainly due to illegal trade, despite our increased law enforcement efforts to control illegal trade. Cheetah cubs trafficking is significantly increasing. Incidents involving the illegal capture and trade in cheetah cubs are continuing and are indeed

happening now as we speak. This document proposes to take concrete steps in protecting cheetahs from further illegal trade.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-21, Ethiopia)

Further, doc. 59 highlights that Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia are range states of cheetahs, while Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and UAE are the most common transit and destination countries. Between March 2020 and February 2021, the illegal trade in cheetahs has increased 58 percent from previous year, for the Horn of Africa-Yemen trade route. 90 percent of incidents in this time period, involved minimum 4,184 live cheetahs, parts and products, that were advertised on social media (Doc. 59, 2022-07-04, p. 1-2).

The UAE's response to doc. 59 and Ethiopia is:

The UAE has issued several legislations that contributes to conserve biodiversity and to combat the illegal trade in wildlife, such as federal law number 11. We have also issued federal law number 22 of 2016 which is an amendment which organize the position of endangered animals and that includes all big cats. Fails to comply with that law would be more than 200 000 dollars and maybe accompanying by jail time up to six months and confiscation of the animals. [...] After tracking advertisements for sale of endangered animals online most of these ads were posted by fake communication channels outside the country. And as a result, 60 percent of such sites were abandoned in the UAE. With the experience of the UAE these websites are unreliable sources of information [...]. Therefore, we cannot support the data presented in this document as it has used mass media and other unreliable sources of information such as advertisements and Instagram posts which does not reflected reality. According to the UAE's statistics the issue of cheetah's trafficking no longer exist within the UAE as strict legislations are in place and prevent the position of this species.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-21, UAE)

The UAE has, due to strict legalization actions, no illegal trade in cheetahs today, according to the UAE delegate. In this case cheetahs have justice, and they are protected by the law in UAE, in line with the basic rights approach. However, the UAE has only banned 60 percent of sites containing advertisements regarding sales of endangered animals, which can be questionable why the UAE did not ban 100 percent of such unreliable sites. Still due to the comprehensive legislation in place in the UAE today and for declaring that there is no more trafficking of cheetahs to the UAE, the UAE's views of cheetahs can be considered align with the basic rights approach. Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia join the UAE's position and do not support doc. 59.

However, Tanzania declares that "In the last ten years on average 420 individuals were traded illegally between horn of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula countries and most of them were advertised online" (Committee II c., 2022-11-21, Tanzania). Benin, Kenya, Liberia, Niger, Senegal, and Tanzania support doc. 59 meaning that the illegal trade of cheetahs from Africa to Southwest Asia is still taken place, and if actions are not taken now, then there is a high risk for regional extinction in the horn of Africa. Even if African member

parties and Southwest Asian member parties to CITES disagree with each other, all of these parties seem to have similar goals, and that is to combat the illegal trade in cheetahs and give cheetahs the highest legal protection and justice, views in line with the basic rights approach.

6.1.5 Ecofeminist views

Tanzania believes that we must take the biological position into consideration when deciding which endangered non-human animals are more important to save from extinction than others. “It takes a long time, in fact many years for rhinos to reproduce. Rhinos have maybe only 4-5 calves in a lifetime” (Tanzania, 2022-11-22). Wild mega-fauna including rhinos, elephants, and tigers have a long reproduction, and these kinds of non-human animals are also being viewed as “masculine”. It can therefore be interpreted that Tanzania priorities saving non-human animals viewed as being “masculinized animals” from extinction, over non-human animals looked at being “feminized animals” such as birds, due to the time reproduction, which is criticized by ecofeminists.

When discussing doc. 68 (Rev. 1) on *Asian Big Cats (Felidae Spp.)* and “Conservation of and trade in tigers and other Appendix I Asian big cat species”, India declares that India is the only range state for all the Asian big cats species, and home to 70 percent of the world’s wild tiger population. India points out that “India is committed to maintain wildlife population of these charismatic species for future generations” (Committee II a., 2022-11-21, India). India calls Asian Big Cats “charismatic”, in which these species can be considered “masculinized animals”. Big cats, like tigers, are often seen as being “ferocious, dangerous, or savage”, characteristics more associated with men than women (Myers, 1999, p. 143-144). Would India also call endangered snakes or endangered parrots, illegally traded destined to become pets, “charismatic”. Snakes and parrots are in this context considered “feminized animals”. Possibly India would not be as committed to conserve snakes or parrots as tigers. This view is naturally embedded in patriarchal values, which goes against the ecofeminist perspective.

Finally, the Malaysian delegate informs that Malaysia is a proponent of two proposals in Committee I at CoP19 regarding increased protection for birds. Proposal 8 is about including *the White-rumped Shama* in Appendix II, while proposal 9 concerns a transfer of *the Straw-headed bulbul* from Appendix II to Appendix I. “Both birds are being heavily traded illegally, and their populations are decreasing rapidly” (Malaysia, 2022-11-23). Birds are considered “feminized animals”. It seems like Malaysia priorities to save birds from extinction rather than mammals, which is not in line with a patriarchy mindset, but with ecofeminists views.

6.2 The Global North's views on non-human animals' value

6.2.1 Anthropocentric views

Doc. 66.4.2 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* is about “Clarifying the Framework: Proposal of the European Union” (Doc. 66.4.2, 2022-07-04, p. 1). The EU states:

We stand ready to work together with the African range states to develop a coherent and legal framework for the trade and live elephants. [...] Trade elephants can be done for commercial purposes or not depending on the Appendix in which the population is listed. Above all, it should be done in a transparent manner which will generate conservation benefits.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-17, The EU)

Even if EU's statement follows CITES mandate, the EU is not against commercial trade with non-human animals and the exploitation of elephants. Commercial trade can cause illegal trade operations, which also several member parties to CITES have pointed out in Committee II's meetings at CoP19. Further, transparency should hinder for the IWT, but it cannot guarantee it.

Regarding “conservation benefits”, it is not clear what EU means who is benefiting from conservation. Paquet and Darimont (2010, p. 177) mean that an ethical and recognized foundation for animal conservation that take animal interests into consideration is lacking. Further, Scholtz (2017, p. 463) also points out that conservation of non-human animals often rejects animal interests. Conservation does not often recognize the moral value of non-human animals and maintains the dichotomy conservation/animal interests. Therefore, EU's statement can be interpreted as anthropocentric.

Denmark also believes in conservation. The Danish delegate says that “it is not every year that we see live animals' confiscation. But when that happens, we do everything that we can not to kill them” (Denmark, 2022-11-22). The Danish delegate means that if the confiscated animals from the IWT can be integrated into a breeding program that is a possibility, such as being placed in Zoos. Zoos are a typical way of *ex situ* conservation of non-human animals, in line with anthropocentrism.

6.2.2 Posthumanist: Welfarist views

Regarding doc. 66.1 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* and the “trade in elephant specimens”, which includes closure of domestic ivory markets. the U.S. states:

For the trade in Asian elephants Annex 3 we align our views with India and Thailand and know that the illegal trade in Asian elephants and their parts and derivatives is not limited to Asian elephant range states and suggests that it should be directed to the parties. Regarding the minimum marking and tracing system of live Asian elephants should also include an instructor directing the Secretariat working with relevant experts in the trade of live Asian elephants, including the IUCN (Asian Elephant Specialist Group) to identify, consider and collaborate with existing or planned range states efforts, with partners to develop and implement a registration system.

(Committee II a., 2022-11-17, The U.S)

The U.S. cares about the Asian elephants' welfare as they want doc. 66.1 to be applicable to all member parties to CITES, and not only range states. Also, the U.S. wants to improve the registration system in range states and gives suggestion on how that can be achieved, being engaged in the welfare of Asian Elephants despite that they are not native to the U.S.

Concerning doc. 66.3 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* and the closure of domestic ivory markets the UK urges parties to close their domestic markets because they contribute to the IWT:

The UK urges parties to close their domestic markets, as they are contributing to poaching and illegal international trade. Legal domestic markets of ivory may increase risk to elephant populations and local communities. Due to the opportunity creates for laundering of the illegal trade under the guise of legality. The UK therefore considers closing of legal ivory markets as an effort to protect elephant populations.

(Committee II a., 2022-11-17, The UK)

In 2018 the UK Government banned ivory sales, in which one of the world's largest legal domestic ivory markets was being shut down (Environmental Investigation Agency, 2018). Therefore, the UK cannot do more than urging other parties to follow in their footsteps closing their domestic ivory markets, to combat the IWT and for the protection and welfare of elephants, and also for the benefit of local communities. The UK supports doc. 66.3, just as Israel and the U.S from the Global North. Japan rejects doc. 66.3, meaning that it is not based on a scientific background.

Further, the EU delegate says that it is a matter of resources for member parties to CITES to be able to combat the IWT. West Africa gets financial fundings from the European Union to reduce the IWT via law enforcement capacity and improving the nature conservation, which leads to expectations from the donors. The EU delegate means that the responsibility is shifting, and that "we know that it is there, but it is not that pronounced at CoP19" (The EU, 2022-11-25). The EU giving financial support to West Africa for them to enhance their law enforcement and *in situ* conservation, shows that EU's views in this case are in line with the welfarist approach.

The Israeli delegate means that humans have developed a role in this world, that has given humans responsibility. "I will not say never to eat an animal or to

use an animal. I don't believe in animal rights, but I believe in animal welfare". He continues "I don't think of animals as individuals, but as populations. You have to look at the population. There are issues with ivory trade in CITES which is also visible at CoP19, but if a small trade would be allowed, that would help local communities." He adds that it is important to minimize the suffering for the animals (Israel, 2022-11-25). This statement shows clearly that Israel believes that killing non-human animals should be allowed in favor of humans, but that the uttermost forms of cruelty and suffering for non-human animals must be limited in line with the welfarist approach. Israel points out that they want to see more welfare in the Convention, that CITES should work more on conservation of species. "I come here to fight for conservation. If you care about conservation, this is your battlefield", the Israeli delegate finally says (Israel, 2022-11-25).

Latvia, just like Israel, believes that welfare is not prioritized in the Convention:

What I have heard is that welfare is a very small part in the debate. One agenda about transportation I've heard. [...] The welfare issues have already been written about in the resolutions before. But they are not that regulated, not at least in the paper. It's not a big priority to the parties.

(Latvia, 2022-12-02)

Norway means that animal welfare, both connected to the legal and illegal trade, are outside of CITES mandate. That "it is not at the center of CITES now, but perhaps in the future". The Norwegian delegate continues "there are organizations dealing with that more directly, for example the UN, and CITES is cooperating with the UN. Also, national countries do their jobs, if not, then CITES can sanction them" (Norway, 2022-12-09). CITES is not directly handling animal welfare, but indirectly via cooperation partnerships. CoP19 was opened to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) accredited by the CoP to CITES. NGOs such as World Wildlife Fund (WWF), Four Paws, and TRAFFIC attended CoP19. Therefore, CITES still contributes to animal welfare via cooperation partners, Norway implies (Norway, 2022-12-09).

Doc. 59 on illegal trade in cheetahs (*Acinonyx jubatus*), is presented by Ethiopia. The U.S. supports this document stating:

The United States shares Ethiopia's concerns about the impact of trafficking of cheetah populations in the horn of Africa. Through a new initiative United States is supporting a number of projects to address cheetah trafficking with an emphasis on understanding the complex driver compelling this trade and with the aim to build collaboration and information sharing between source and destination countries. The United States supports the recommendations included in doc. CoP 59. [...] We recommend adoption of a new paragraph that would direct the parties affected by the illegal trade in cheetahs that would encourage them to report to the Secretariat in advance of the 77th meeting of the Standing Committee on implementation of this decision.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-21, U.S.)

The U.S. has taken several measures to protect the survival of cheetahs. Exactly what kind of measures they mean is not fully clear, but they mention “information sharing” which can be interpreted as sharing reports, research, and other kind of administrative information between member parties that are affected by the illegal trade in cheetahs. The U.S. does not mention anything about legal protection for cheetahs. Further, the U.S. talks about adding a new paragraph in doc. 59 regarding reporting administratively to the Secretariat. The U.S. points at administrative actions to protect cheetahs, and not legal actions to give cheetahs complete justice, in which their views can be seen as matching the welfarist approach. The EU and the UK align with the U.S. The UK points out that “the illegal wildlife trade poses a historic and ongoing threat to cheetah populations. Without urgent and coordinated actions there is a risk that the species may disappear from the horn of Africa within our lifetime. [...] we support the amendments from the United States of America” (Committee II b., 2022-11-21, The UK).

Doc. 71.2 concerns *Pangolins (Manis spp.)* and “Conservation of and trade in pangolins”. It is proposed by the UK and Northern Ireland. Doc. 71.2 is directed to all pangolin range states to take urgent steps “to develop and implement *in situ* pangolin management and conservation programmes, which include population assessments, the making of non-detriment findings for trade in the species, monitoring, and management and conservation measures” (Doc. 71.2, 2022-07-04, p. 1, 7). The UK states:

The threats to pangolins by overexploitation remain a significant concern. Incentives for the harvest of illegal trade of pangolins and its parts remain high driven by financial value, particularly for their scales. Between 2016 and 2020 there were 955 seizures involving pangolins in 33 countries. Estimated to an amount of 259 000 pangolins. This is indicative of highly criminal operations, and it is just the tip of the iceberg. [...] But we can’t escape the fact that pangolins remain the most trafficked mammal in the world, and improved reporting is essential in helping to address this. [...] So robust reporting will insure we better understand conservation implication of international trade, poaching, and control of enforcement efforts. [...] The fact that the recent questionnaire circulated to parties by the Secretariat regarding stocks and stockpiles management did not yield a comprehensive return.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-21, The UK)

The UK and Northern Ireland’s proposal is connected to the welfarist approach as the UK urges range states of pangolins to implement “*in situ* pangolin management and conservation programmes”, including proper reporting to the CITES Secretariat as a part of the work in combating the illegal trade in pangolins.

The EU supports doc. 71.2 and says “due to the lack of up-to-date knowledge and data about pangolin abundance and population trends determining the true impact of poaching and illegal trade remain a challenge. [...] We would like to thank the United Kingdom for their document, and we support the recommendation suggested” (Committee II b., 2022-11-21, The EU).

Also, Israel and the U.S. align themselves with the UK and the EU. The U.S. states “The U.S. is extremely concern with the continued trafficking of pangolins and we welcome these documents to strengthen the conservation of pangolins” (Committee II b., 2022-11-21, The U.S.).

Further, when debating doc. 75 (Rev. 1) on *Rhinoceroses (Rhinocerotidae spp.)* and the “Conservation of and trade in African and Asian rhinoceroses”, the UK again urges other parties to act due to its urgency:

Yet illegal killing of rhinos persists and demand for rhino’s horns remains high. [...] The UK would recommend Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe and we hope that these parties will agree to this. [...] In considering rhinos. We recommend and desire to work together to tackle the illegal trade in rhinos. [...] We strongly support reconvening rhinoceros enforcement tasks force, which we consider to be an essential forum for the strengthen enforcement cooperation. But to be effective it must involve National Enforcement Agencies including those tasks with addressing organized crime from range, transit, and consumer countries. [...] We would insert Botswana and South Africa should report to the Secretariat including any relevant information on the outcomes of any prosecutions, seizures, and financial investigations undertaken relating to the illegal killing of rhinoceroses and the illegal trade in rhinoceroses’ horn.

(Committee II a., 2022-11-21, The UK)

The UK views rhinos right to humane treatment and justice by implying that authorities, in this case National Enforcement Agencies, need to be involved to tackle the illegal trade in rhino horns effectively. The UK also urges the range states Botswana and South Africa to report to the CITES Secretariat relevant information that is connected to the illegal trade in rhino horns, for example reporting on results from field research, which is a form of *in situ* conservation, in line with the welfarist approach. The U.S. agrees with the UK by saying “we would like to echo and support the comment made from United Kingdom” (Committee II a., 2022-11-21, The U.S.). Boswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe reject the UK’s proposals and doc. 75 (Rev. 1).

Moving on to doc. 69.2 on *Seahorses (Hippocampus spp.)* and the “Next steps toward successful implementation of Appendix II listing of Seahorses”. It is submitted by the Maldives, Monaco, Nigeria, Peru, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Togo, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. The U.S. introduces doc. 69.2:

[...] doc. 69.2 which is aimed at addressing the challenges that have hindered effective implementation of international trade in seahorses and promoting further conservation of these exceptional and magnificent species. [...] for over a decade the United States has worked diligently within CITES to ensure the international trade is legal and their used sustainable.

(Committee II b., 2022-11-21, The U.S)

The U.S emphasizes the importance of conservation of seahorses. It can be interpreted as the U.S. means *in situ* conservation in line with the welfarist

approach, protecting seahorses in its natural marine environment, called “marine conservation”. For example, CITES has a partnership with *Project Seahorse Advancing Marine Conservation*, who is an international alliance of individuals committed to saving seahorses by for instance establishing protected marine areas (Project Seahorse, 2021).

6.2.3 Posthumanist: Ecological views

When discussing doc. 66.2.2, on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* on “Establishing a fund accessible to range states upon non-commercial disposal of ivory stockpiles”, the UK points out the importance of reversing biodiversity loss and conservation of elephants by providing funding to range states of elephants, and therefore supports doc. 66.2.2. Conservation due to concerns for biodiversity can be seen as having ecological views.

Finding innovative solutions for sustainable nature financing is absolutely critical, if we are going to successfully reverse biodiversity loss. [...] The UK remains of the view that any resumption of commercial trading in ivory risk stimulating demand which will quickly outstrip supply automatically and incentivizing poaching and driving further declines in elephant populations. However, we do acknowledge the financial burden that management of stockpiles places on parties and as such we are keen to see solutions coming forward that support range states and conserving elephants.

(Committee II, 2022-11-18, The UK)

Latvia rejects the dichotomy of human/nature and human/non-human animals that is a common view for Western countries:

Humans are also animals. We look at all the animal kingdoms as we are part of it. Not separated. If species change the ecosystem and environment, we have to address that. We have to take more responsibility for our actions.

(Latvia, 2022-12-02)

Latvia’s views are in line with Atwood’s ecological posthumanist, in which that both humans and non-human animals should be considered when discussing humans’ exploitation of non-human animals having ecological consequences (Fetherston, 2020, p. 112-113). Latvia points out that humans should be more responsible for their actions in order to protect ecosystems, environment, and non-human animals. That goes for humans involving in the legal trade, but also to combat the IWT.

Further, Latvia believes that “from a practical side more valuable saving the ones seeing as umbrella species” (Latvia, 2022-12-02). Umbrella species comprehensively represent an ecosystem, and when protecting umbrella species numerous other species will also be protected that make up the ecological community of their habitat. (Nakamura, 2018, p.2).

Also, Israel mentions umbrella species “species affecting ecosystems the most called umbrella species, which are connected widely in their ecosystems. Examples of umbrella species are certain kinds of parrots. By saving these parrots we will also save their habitat” (Israel, 2022-11-25).

Saving umbrella species, will increase the protection of ecosystems, in line with the ecological approach.

6.2.4 Posthumanist: Basic rights views

The U.S. submitted doc. 29.2.2 on *Totoaba* (*Totoaba macdonaldi*). The U.S. clearly shows its worries:

In this unique case we have not taken action to ensure compliance with the Convention. Appendix I listed species totoaba will continue to decline from already dangerous low population levels while another one Appendix I listed species vaquita faces eminent extinction because of illegal international trade fueled by illegal harvesting. There are around ten vaquitas left in the world. If meaningful action is not taken to immediately halt the illegal gillnet fishing the vaquita may not be here for CoP20. [...] The listings of both species in Appendix I have not protected these species because Mexico has not implemented and enforced laws and regulations to prevent illegal harvest and commercial export of totoaba. [...] Efforts by Mexico to address illegal harvest and trafficking of totoaba have not been sufficient and remain largely ineffective. [...] To strengthen the surveillance and the enforcement in the zero-tolerance area in the upper Gulf of California including timely reporting. [...] We believe to prevent extinction.

(Committee II, 2022-11-18, The U.S.)

The U.S. urges Mexico to take immediate official and legal actions, with the aim of saving totoaba and vaquita, and giving them justice by stopping the exploitation of these fishes. The situation is urgent, as the U.S. points out as “according to experts, there are only an estimated 10 individual vaquitas remaining in the world” (Doc. 29.2.2, 2022-07-04, p. 1). It can be interpreted that the U.S. means that, due to this urgency, those few totoaba and vaquita left in the world should become fully protected by laws, becoming “legal persons”, which is in line with the basic rights approach.

Several member parties from the Global North support the U.S. and doc. 29.2.2, for example, Canada, EU, UK, and New Zealand. Also, Switzerland is in deep concern:

I have listened for more than 20 years about excuses around the vaquita and totoaba. More than 20 years ago we had more than 900 vaquitas left and many urged Mexico to do something. [...] Now from more than 900 animals we are down to 10 animals. [...] It's hard to believe that involved parties really did what they should have to do. I'm extremely disappointed and of course we will support and hope that there will be a common ground regarding these two papers, but probably it's too late for the vaquita, maybe we can save the totoaba. But I believe that we missed the chance to do a lot more than we did.

Israel also means that the enforcement from the Mexican government to save totoaba and vaquita is poor (Israel, 2022-11-25). While Latvia is saying that “most blame it on Mexico, because of the fishing. But the countries that are using these fishes should also take the blame” (Latvia, 2022-12-02). Finally, Japan does not support doc. 29.2.2 “because the approach of the document places all the efforts to combat this illegal trade to a single party” (Committee II, 2022-11-18, Japan).

6.2.5 Ecofeminist views

Israel believes that it is valuable to save “charismatic” species, which are mega animals, for example, elephants and whales. Humans have an “emotional touch to these animals”. The Israeli delegate declares that if we can save those mega animals, then that will hopefully attract attention, and then it might be easier to save other species thereafter (Israel, 2022-11-25). “Charismatic” species are being considered “masculine”.

The UK delegate means that all species matters. The UK highlights that there nonetheless is much focus on “charismatic” animals. “Eels are critical endangered, but people do value some species more than others. Also, at CoP19 there is much focus on charismatic species” (The UK, 2022-11-24). Ecofeminists oppose such patriarchal way of thinking that “charismatic” and masculine characteristic non-human animals should get more attention than feminine characteristics non-human animals.

Regarding European eels, which can be seen as “feminized animals”, both Denmark and Sweden are advocators for the protection of European eels. The Swedish delegate informs that Sweden some years ago submitted a proposal of the protection of European eels, which resulted in that European eels got listed in CITES Appendix II (Sweden, 2022-11-24). This happened at CoP14, held in the Hague Netherlands, in 2009. The Danish delegate says that European eels have more protection in Europe than in CITES. In Europe the protection of European eels is equivalent with Appendix I in CITES (Denmark, 2022-11-22). At CoP19 doc. 61 on *European eels (Anguilla spp.)* was submitted by the Standing Committee. Doc. 61 is about recommendations for range states of European eels. Such recommendations concern for instance implementation of European eel management plans at national level and reporting to the CITES Secretariat on measures that have been taken to protect the species (Doc. 61, 2022-07-04, p. 1). Since both Denmark and Sweden have higher national protection of European eels than what is overall recommended in doc. 61, Denmark and Sweden view the “feminine” European eels highly. It can be interpreted that the primary reason for this is because the European eels is native to both Denmark and Sweden.

Denmark means further that we should not treat non-human animals differently, but they totally understand that Indians fight for elephants. Non-human animals in Appendix I are the most urgent animals to save, means Denmark (Denmark, 2022-11-22). There are many “masculine animals” included

in Appendix I, such as “gorillas, tigers, leopards, Asiatic lions, rhinoceros, Asian elephants and some populations of African elephants” (European Commission, n.d.). The ecofeminist perspective condemns the patriarchy world we live in that causes many “masculinized animals” to end up in Appendix I, just because they are more attractive to exploit and worth more money, than “feminized animals” in the IWT.

7 Discussion and conclusion

This final chapter compares the Global South and the Global North's views on non-human animals' value connected to the IWT in the decision-making process at CoP19, and discusses their alignments and differentiations. It also suggests prospects for future research and gives some concluded remarks. This chapter is answering the research sub-question of this study.

7.1 Comparison Global South and Global North

Findings from the analysis in this study show that member parties to CITES from both the Global South and the Global North have anthropocentric views, that can be interpreted due to socio-economic factors. This study has also revealed that member parties from both the Global South and the Global North have welfarist, ecological, basic rights and ecofeminist views, depending on the species.

Further, this study reveals that overall there are more anthropocentrism in Global South parties views (in particular China) on non-human animals value connected to the IWT than Global North parties views. However, there are also in general more basic rights views (for instance India and Sri Lanka) within the Global South than within the Global North. Even if several member parties from the Global North highlighted that welfarism is outside of CITES mandate and that there have not been much welfarism discussion at CoP19, member parties from the Global North still seem to advocate for welfarism (such as Israel and the UK) more than anthropocentrism and basic rights approach. Also, perhaps more than the Global South with the exception of Africa. The Global South parties' views, mainly South and Central America, matches the ecological approach, and member parties from the Global North spoke less about ecosystems and biodiversity.

All member parties to CITES, no matter from the Global South or the Global North, are somehow driven by preventing endangered species from going extinct. However, member parties can have different motives and priorities when it comes to implementation, conservation, regulation, and trade. This depends on for example cultural, geographical, and socio-economic factors. Findings from the analysis in chapter 6 show that member parties from the Global South respectively the Global North are overall aligned regarding some species, while they generally differ concerning other species, in the decision-making process at Committee II's meetings at CoP19.

Member parties from the Global North are overall aligned, in particular Canada, Israel, the EU, Switzerland, the UK, and the U.S. An exception is Japan that occasionally has different views than the rest of the Global North member

parties, for example Japan is against doc. 29.2.2. on *Totoaba (Totoaba macdonaldi)*, while the EU, Switzerland, UK, and the U.S. support it. Japan is overall against listing marine species in CITES Appendices, which can depend on that Japan is a fish and seafood consumer country, and therefore has socio-economic interests. Australia did barely take the floor in Committee II's meetings that I attended, and I did not interview Australia either, so Australia's views are lacking in this study. However, most member parties to CITES from the Global North are align regardless of the species.

Regarding member parties from the Global South findings from the analysis in chapter 6 reveal that there are often regional differences. Northern and Central African parties often have similar views about non-human animals native to African countries, while Southern African countries tend to align, in particular regarding documents on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)*. Further, South- and Central American parties align regarding non-human animals native to their region, including doc. 73.2 on *Jaguars (Panthera onca)*. Finally, Southwest Asian countries align when discussing doc. 59 on illegal trade in cheetahs (*Acinonyx jubatus*). Therefore, it is inevitable not to take separate regions within the Global South into consideration when comparing the Global South with the Global North in this study.

7.1.1 Alignments

When non-human animal species are critically endangered, listed in CITES Appendix I, and when the situation is alarming and urgent, findings from the analysis in this study show that most member parties to CITES from both the Global South and the Global North align with each other. This is the case for both the fishes totoaba and vaquita, and pangolins.

Regarding doc. 29.2.2 on *Totoaba (Totoaba macdonaldi)*, findings from the analysis in this study show that most member parties to CITES are align and support this document no matter if they are from the Global South or the Global North. For example, Benin, Canada, EU, Israel, Niger, New Zealand, Senegal, Switzerland, the UK, and the U.S. are aligned and support it. Only Mexico and Japan rejected doc. 29.2.2. This rejection can depend on that Mexico and Japan have socio-economic interests and prioritizing human interests over the protection of the fishes totoaba and vaquita, in line with anthropocentrism. However, overall, there was a consensus among member parties to CITES from the Global South and Global North supporting doc. 29.2.2 align with the basic rights approach.

Doc. 71.2 concerns *Pangolins (Manis spp.)*. Most of the member parties from both the Global South and the Global North support doc. 71.2. These parties are for example Burkina Faso, The EU, Gabon, India, Israel, Kenya, Niger, Senegal, the UK, and the U.S. Several member parties from both the Global South and the Global North point out in Committee II's meeting that pangolins are being the most trafficked species in the world. I believe that due to this fact almost all member parties to CITES speaking up at Committee II's meeting support doc.

71.2 in favor of pangolins. However, China and Vietnam rejected doc. 71.2 based on the lack of data material in the document. China is the world's largest consumer of pangolin scales (Chong, 2023). Therefore, I think that China goes against the other member parties to CITES, that have welfarist and basic rights views regarding pangolins, and rejects doc. 71.2 not in favor of pangolins, due to having economic and cultural preferences in line with anthropocentrism. Although, most member parties from the Global South and Global North are align regarding doc. 71.2 on pangolins.

Elephants are being discussed extensively in Committee II's meetings at CoP19. Doc. 66.1 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)*, Benin, China, the EU, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Sri Lanka, Thailand, the UK and the U.S. are aligned and do not support it, which is a mix of member parties to CITES from the Global South and the Global North. However, they seem to have different motives for opposing it. India, Thailand, the UK, and the U.S. suggest that the proposal should not be applicable only to elephant range states, but that it should be directed to all parties, in line with the welfarist or basic rights approaches. Meanwhile, China argues that regulating the use of elephant ivory should be discouraged, having anthropocentric views.

7.1.2 Differentiations

When discussing doc. 66.3 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* and the "closure of domestic ivory markets" member parties from the Global South and the Global North views were scattered. In this case there are also regional differentiations within both the Global North and the Global South.

In terms of the Global North, Israel, the UK, and the U.S. align supporting doc. 66.3, while Australia, the EU, Japan, and New Zealand reject it. The Global South countries views are also divided. Member parties to CITES from the Global South both supporting and rejecting doc. 66.3 are from Africa, Asia, and South America. What these scattered views depend on is difficult to say, as there is no common denominator between member parties in terms of culture, religion, geography, climate, wealthiness, poverty etcetera grouping member parties in supporting or opposing this document.

However, South Africa and Zimbabwe have small legal domestic ivory markets open that do not contribute to the IWT according to them, so instead of closing the markets as doc. 66.3 proposes, they want to keep them open due to economic interests, in line with anthropocentrism.

Meanwhile the UK has banned the ivory trade and shut down its domestic ivory market and they support doc. 66.3. Perhaps it is a pattern in this case, that countries, no matter from the Global South or the Global North, that still have legal domestic ivory markets want to keep them open due to socio-economic interests in line with anthropocentrism, while those countries that have banned the ivory trade and their domestic ivory markets tend to support doc. 66.3 in favor of elephants, and in line with the welfarist and basic rights approach. It is not

possible for me to investigate all countries that have supported or opposed doc. 66.3 to eventually discover this, but it is a possibility.

Regarding doc. 59 on *Illegal trade in cheetahs (Acinonyx jubatus)*, there are clear differentiate views between two regions from the Global South, Africa and Southwest Asia, while the Global North overall aligns with Africa. Member parties that support doc. 59 are Benin, Ethiopia, Kenya, Liberia, Niger, Senegal, and Tanzania from the Global South, and the EU, the UK, and the U.S. from the Global North. Member parties opposing doc. 59 are Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and UAE from Southwest Asia. All member parties mentioned above are for combating the illegal trade in cheetahs, but they have different opinions on how to achieve this goal.

7.2 Other key findings

Regarding “neo-colonialism” in CITES. This study reveals that regarding doc. 75 (Rev. 1) on *Rhinoceroses (Rhinocerotidae spp.)* the UK recommend African countries including Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe to report to the Secretariat about the illegal trade in rhinoceroses’ horn in which these countries are involved. Neither Botswana, South Africa nor Zimbabwe support this recommendation from the UK. This is an example in which “neo-colonialism” is visible in the decision-making process at CoP19.

Although, according to the EU when I interviewed them, there seem to be a shift now in which the responsibility will be transferred from member parties from the Global North to member parties from the Global South. Perhaps this “neo-colonialism” within CITES is slowly fading away.

Another key finding in this study is that endangered non-human animal species being considered “masculinized animals”, like *Elephants*, *Rhinoceroses* and *Big cats*, seem to be a priority overall for member parties to CITES, no matter from the Global South or the Global North, to protect and save from extinction.

Nonetheless, there is also a case in the decision-making process at Committee II’s meetings at CoP19 when the birds *the White-rumped Shama* and *the Straw-headed bulbul*, animal species viewed as “feminized animals” are a priority for Malaysia and its proponents to protect from going extinct, which ecofeminists support.

A further key finding from the analysis in chapter 6 show that member parties to CITES seem to view non-human animal species native to their own countries high, when being range states. For example, South- and Central American countries are in Committee II’s meeting speaking up in favor of *Jaguars (Panthera onca)* when discussing doc. 73.2.

A visible pattern is that Japan several times argues in Committee II’s meetings that species should not be listed in CITES, or having lower protection than what other parties proposed. Japan stressed that several proposals in documents were not based on science and should therefore be rejected. For example, Japan rejected

doc. 66.3 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* for not being based on a scientific background.

Finally, an interesting finding in this study is that one member party to CITES is distinguished for having several basic rights views and that is India. That was shown when discussing doc. 66.1 on *Elephants (Elephantidae spp.)* and doc. 69.2 on *Seahorses (Hippocampus spp.)*, both species being fully protected under Indian law.

7.3 Future research

Since this study is a “snapshot” focusing specifically on the decision-making process at Committee II’s meetings at CoP19, there are several opportunities for continued research that can build upon the findings from this study. One suggestion for future research is to follow up this topic at CITES CoP20. CITES has not yet officially announced where and when CoP20 will take place.

Another suggestion for future research is not to focus on the Global South–the Global North dynamics, but instead explore one member party to CITES, or two or several member parties for a comparative analysis. China is an interesting country in this case, and as Chapter 3 Previous research in this study informs, there is currently limited research on the IWT and CITES connected to China.

Also, there are different specific topics that can be researched further in regard to CITES and the IWT, for example enforcement, conservation, CITES appendices, and security and health.

7.4 Concluded remarks

This study has explored member parties to CITES views on non-human animals’ value connected to the IWT in the decision-making progress at CoP19. This study has also compared member parties to the Global South with member parties to the Global North, how their views align and/or differ.

CITES has in different contexts, such as previous research, been criticized for being an anthropocentric treaty. Findings from this study show that member parties to CITES from both the Global South and the Global North have anthropocentric views, due to socio-economic factors. However, there seem to be an overall will among member parties to CITES to hinder the legal trade in some species due to it encouraging the illegal trade, and the fact that some of these species are critically endangered, which there is a high risk for them to go extinct within the nearest future.

Furthermore, what has been revealed in this study is that member parties from both the Global South and the Global North also have welfarist, ecological, and

basic rights views. The views among member parties to CITES mainly opposes ecofeminist views, however there are a few exceptions in line with ecofeminism.

Further studies involving other cases than CoP19 are needed to be able to make generalizable claims about member parties to CITES views on non-human animals' value in the IWT.

Finally, it is CITES responsibility to make sure that the trade in wildlife is legal, sustainable, and traceable. I think that the CITES treaty helps, and that the current situation would have been even worse if CITES did not exist, but the CITES treaty is still being much anthropocentric. I believe that member parties to CITES from both the Global South and the Global North need to phase out anthropocentric views and apply more welfarist, ecological, basic rights, and ecofeminist views, in order to save the few remaining endangered wild species from going extinct. It is also member parties to CITES responsibility to comply with CITES on national level. If that will fail, then I believe that the ongoing sixth mass extinction will be finalized, which will have devastated consequences for our planet and future generations. Humans still have a change to reverse that, but our time is running out.

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9 Appendix 1 – Interview respondents

Country of respondents	Date of interview
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Face-to-face interviews

Antigua and Barbuda	2022-11-18
Denmark	2022-11-22
European Union	2022-11-25
Israel	2022-11-25
Jordan	2022-11-24
Malaysia	2022-11-23
Mocambique	2022-11-22
Panama	2022-11-18
Sri Lanka	2022-11-23
Solomon Islands	2022-11-23
Sweden	2022-11-24
Tanzania	2022-11-22
United Kingdom	2022-11-24
Zimbabwe	2022-11-25

Video-call interviews

Latvia	2022-12-02
Norway	2022-12-09

Email interviews

Brazil	2023-03-09
Senegal	2022-12-14

10 Appendix 2 – Interview protocol in English

Name:

Member Party:

Gender:

Date:

Opening Segment: Creating Space for a Narrative Grounded in Participant Experience

1. Why do you think combating the illegal wildlife trade is important?
2. Do you believe that there are any animal species that are more valuable to save from extinction than others? If yes, which animal species and why?
3. What are your thoughts about humans in relation to non-human animals?

Middle Segment: Questions of Greater Specificity

4. In what ways did your member party to CITES contributed to combat the illegal wildlife trade in the decision-making process at CoP19?
5. Was the welfare of non-human animals prioritized in the decision-making process at CoP19, in accordance with your opinion? If not, which other factors might have been more important?
6. Regarding confiscation of illegally traded animal specimens, what kind of measures does your country take in this matter? What happens to the confiscated non-human animals?

Concluding Segment: Revisiting the Opening Narrative for Important Theoretical Connections and Moving toward Closure

7. Were member parties to CITES mainly aligned or divided when discussing non-human animals in the illegal wildlife trade at CoP19? Were there any alignments or differentiations between regions, such as the Global South and the Global North, visible? What are the reasons for these alignments or differentiations, you think?

11 Appendix 3 – Interview protocol in French

Nom:

Parti à la CITES:

Sexe:

Date:

Début: Créer un espace pour un récit fondé sur l'expérience des participants

1. Pourquoi est-ce que c'est important de combattre le commerce illégal d'espèces sauvages selon vous?
2. Selon vous, est-ce qu'il y a des espèces animales qui sont plus importantes à sauver de la disparition que d'autres? Si oui, quelles espèces animales et pourquoi?
3. Quelles sont vos pensées sur les humains en relation avec les animaux non-humains?

Corps: Questions plus spécifiques

4. De quelle manière a votre Partie à la CITES collaboré pour combattre le commerce illégal d'espèces sauvages dans les négociations à CoP19?
5. Est-ce que le bien-être des animaux non-humains a été priorisé dans le processus de prise de décision à CoP19 selon vous? Sinon, quels autres facteurs auraient pu être plus importants?
6. En ce qui concerne la confiscation des spécimens d'animaux échangés illégalement, quel type de mesures prenez votre pays dans cette question? Que se passe-t-il avec les animaux non-humains confisqués?

Conclusion: Revisiter le récit d'ouverture pour découvrir des liens théoriques important et progresser vers la conclusion

7. Est-ce que les Parties à la CITES étaient surtout unies ou divisées en discutant les animaux non-humains dans le commerce illégal d'espèces sauvages à CoP19? Est-ce qu'il y avait des alignements ou différenciations

visibles entre les régions, comme le Sud global et le Nord global? Quels sont les raisons pour ces alignements ou différenciations selon vous?

12 Appendix 4 – Interview protocol in Spanish

Nombre:
Organización:
Género :
Fecha:

Introducción: Crear espacio para una narrativa basada en la experiencia del participante

1. ¿Por qué piensas que es importante combatir el comercio de la vida silvestre?
2. ¿Crees que hay especies de animales que son más valiosas para salvar de la extinción que otras? En caso afirmativo, ¿cuáles especies y por qué?
3. Cuáles son sus pensamientos sobre los humanos en relación con los animales no humanos?

Contenido: Preguntas de mayor especificidad

4. De qué manera contribuyó su organización miembro de CITES a combatir el comercio ilegal de vida silvestre en las negociaciones de la CoP19?
5. Según su opinión, ¿Se priorizó el bienestar de los animales no humanos en el proceso de toma de decisiones en la CoP19? En caso contrario ¿Cuáles otros factores podrían haber sido más importantes?
6. En relación a la confiscación de especímenes animales comercializados ilegalmente, ¿Qué medidas toma su país al respecto? ¿Qué sucede con los animales no humanos confiscados?

Conclusión: Revisar la narrativa de apertura para conexiones teóricas importantes y avanzar hacia el cierre

7. Estaban los miembros de CITES en su mayoría de acuerdo o divididos cuando discutían sobre los animales no humanos en el comercio ilegal de vida silvestre en la CoP19? ¿Hubo acuerdos o diferencias visibles entre

regiones como el Sur Global o el Norte Global? ¿Cuáles piensas que son las razones de estos acuerdos o diferencias?