How can behavioural insights research help reduce demand for products of illegal wildlife trade?

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Table of Contents

Summary ......................................................................................................................................... 3
The complexities of the Illegal Wildlife Trade market .................................................................. 3
Potentially confusing array of frameworks for understanding consumer behaviour .................. 4
Evaluation and measurement must be improved for the system to learn .................................... 5
Segmentation and consumer targeting are valuable approaches, but require an understanding of the consumers ........................................................................................................................ 5
Experimenting with innovative approaches and moving the focus beyond large mammals remains challenging ........................................................................................................................ 6
Opportunities for further engagement .......................................................................................... 6
Introduction .................................................................................................................................... 7
Workshop Summary ...................................................................................................................... 7
Day One .......................................................................................................................................... 8
Presentations .................................................................................................................................. 8
Illegal wildlife trade: policy background ....................................................................................... 8
The role of the London conference 2018 ....................................................................................... 8
Reducing demand for illegal wildlife products: the global policy context ............................... 8
The UK’s role, e.g. in international ivory ban ............................................................................... 9
Behavioural interventions and IWT policy .................................................................................... 9
Changing wildlife product consumer choice ................................................................................ 9
Key points from discussion .......................................................................................................... 9
Day Two ......................................................................................................................................... 11
Presentations .................................................................................................................................. 11
Frameworks and tools for monitoring and evaluating IWT interventions .................................... 11
A cultural approach to behavioural insights and frameworks and tools for designing and implementing behaviour change programmes ................................................................. 11
Key points of discussion ............................................................................................................. 12
Group work session 1 – Intervention design ............................................................................. 12
Presentation on Corruption .......................................................................................................... 16
Thoughts on corruption and the illegal wildlife trade ................................................................ 16
Key points of discussion ............................................................................................................. 16
Group work session 2: Identifying common challenges, insights, useful frameworks, and key actions ................................................................................................................................... 17
List of participants ....................................................................................................................... 19
Agenda........................................................................................................................................... 20
Summary

The Illegal Wildlife Trade (IWT) is a major global concern and is estimated to be worth up to £17 billion per year. In recent years, it has attracted the increasing attention of the UK Government. The 2014 London conference on IWT identified four pillars for tackling the trade in illegal wildlife:

- eradicating the market for illegal wildlife products
- ensuring effective legal frameworks and deterrents
- strengthening law enforcement
- supporting sustainable livelihoods and economic development

The forthcoming 2018 London conference on IWT is underpinned by these four pillars and has three themes: (1) Tackling IWT as a serious organised crime: strengthening end to end law enforcement; (2) Building coalitions: engaging the private sector, NGOs and academia; harnessing technology and innovation; (3) Closing markets for illegally traded wildlife products. Demand reduction comes within the third theme.

This Cambridge workshop on demand reduction, aimed to inform preparations for the 2018 London conference by providing a forum for the FCO and Defra to engage in conversations around key issues and discussions of evidence sources. Demand reduction has an increasing profile and is widely considered a promising approach, but currently receives little of the resource, especially compared to law enforcement.

The workshop brought together 22 experts and practitioners over 2 days to discuss and debate the challenge of IWT demand reduction (see appendix 1 for list of participants). We have drawn on our notes, materials produced by the delegates, and the presentation slides of speakers to summarise the discussions.

Our summary draws out key aspects that separate IWT demand reduction from other areas before summarising the key challenges and promising ideas and approaches identified. The body of the report is set out in chronological order, according to the workshop timetable (see appendix 2 for agenda), and provides detail on the presentations, discussion and group work. This work was funded by the FCO and supported by Defra but the report is an independent assessment of the issues and does not necessarily reflect UK policy.

The complexities of the Illegal Wildlife Trade market

The workshop highlighted complexities of IWT that make demand reduction particularly challenging. Three features need to be borne in mind when looking to learn from demand reduction and behaviour changes in other sectors.

Firstly, mixed legal and illegal trade of wildlife and wildlife products complicates consumer choice, and renders law enforcement for illegally traded products more challenging. In the case of taxonomies that are divided into legal and illegal species, such as rosewood and orchids, identifying and differentiating between these is also complicated. Behaviour change approaches offer promising solutions for addressing these challenges, as consumers can be encouraged to consume responsibly, both as part of efforts to reduce illegal trade and to promote trade that is more sustainable.

Secondly, corruption, weak states and ineffective legal systems make formal interventions less effective.

Thirdly, participants at the workshop highlighted the dynamic nature of the market for IWT products where one product may gain new uses. Products such as rhino horn are not only multi-purpose, but have also been repurposed – as one use becomes unacceptable, or as one market closes, a new one arises. Those selling these products appear able to stay one step ahead, identifying new markets
very quickly. These changes of use may come in response to effective demand reduction as suppliers seek to create new markets to replace shrinking ones, which presents clear challenges on the effectiveness of targeted demand reduction campaigns.

There is clear potential for lessons to be learned from effective behaviour change interventions for health behaviours, but the extent to which these can be applied to IWT was debated. One attendee noted that when considering parallels, IWT markets may be more akin to alcohol than tobacco as many smokers have some desire to quit, whereas most drinkers see it as a positive experience.

**Potentially confusing array of frameworks for understanding consumer behaviour**

The discussions highlighted the range of frameworks for considering demand reduction and behaviour change and suggested this might be causing a degree of confusion and slowing progress. Whilst valuable resources are shared and available on a community of practice site, for example, there is potential to improve curation and visibility of resources, to support more effective research and intervention design.

From the presentations and discussion it was clear there were a variety of frameworks that could be used in intervention design. Practice theory and the Individual, Social, Material approaches were noted as theoretical and practical ways of ensuring interventions consider the social web of practices and meanings around particular acts of consumption – rather than leaving the focus on the individual.

It was generally agreed that development of behaviour change interventions based on consumer segmentation is key to developing effective reduction demand initiatives.

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Delegates generally felt that Individual, Social, Material (ISM) tool was an example of a useful conceptual framework and the 4Es the most effective implementation framework – although these two definitions overlap somewhat.

**Conceptual Framework – Individual, Social, Material**

The ISM tool was developed by Andrew Darnton and has been used by the Scottish government. The ISM Principles of Change include intervening in multiple contexts and involving multiple stakeholders.²

**Implementation Framework**

The 4Es – based on a framework developed in 2008 by Defra, uses the approach of population segmentation followed by intervention design/mapping using each of the 4Es for each population segment.³ The 4Es are:

- **Enable** – Remove barriers, provide alternatives, educate, train and provide capacity
- **Encourage** – Incentives and penalties, enforcement
- **Engage** – Work with trusted intermediaries, social networks, co-produce changes
- **Exemplify** – Lead by example, consistent policies, show others are acting

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1 changewildlifecustomers.org,
Evaluation and measurement must be improved for the system to learn

Participants agreed that effective evaluation of demand reduction initiatives is crucial to developing effective strategies. Currently, whilst evaluation happens, it captures little information about the outcomes and impacts of interventions, focusing mainly on the ‘reach’ of interventions: how many people are exposed to the intervention, making it difficult to determine what works most effectively. Part of the problem is that the plethora of interventions are generally evaluated individually by their sponsor or implementers resulting in large numbers of under-resourced studies. Evaluation also tends to be completed immediately after project completion so there is little information on whether sustained behaviour changes have been secured.

Delays in publication, a lack of data sharing, and a lack of standards to allow different sources of data to be combined when they are available were noted as challenges that reduced the ability of the system to learn and improve. In this context, it was stressed that both qualitative evaluation to explore meaning and reasoning was needed alongside quantitative research to measure the impact of projects and programmes, and wider society attitude changes.

Delegates suggested the key objective was an overall evaluation system that enables learning and development of effective intervention design. This could be accelerated through:

**Increasing data sharing** across evaluations and studies. This could be enabled by open data or by collation and analysis by a trusted third party in situations where data was sensitive or proprietary.

**Developing and promoting minimum evaluation standards** to make it easier to combine data from multiple studies.

**Building a cross-cutting overarching monitoring and evaluation** approach would allow baseline and time course data to be collected on which individual evaluations could draw – reducing duplication and improving quality. Such a system would also allow longer term impacts, and the relationship between early outputs and longer-term impact to be tested. National governments and international bodies could have a role in providing such capacity.

Segmentation and consumer targeting are valuable approaches, but require an understanding of the consumers

During the workshop there was considerable discussion about the importance and challenges of targeting effective messages at particular segments of IWT consumers. There was also concern about whether the use of role models and celebrities had the same traction in IWT as in other areas of marketing. These discussions gave rise to a series of observations that draw on social marketing approaches and experience in other sectors.

**Make use of social influencers:** those with high ‘connectedness’ in social networks. One example here was working with wedding planners to affect consumption of foods such as shark fin soup at celebratory events.

**Address ‘retail’ or ‘wholesale’ demand:** those individuals or institutions involved in the supply of products. A non-CITES example noted here was targeting hospitals who procure endangered species products for Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) treatment, and the training courses for TCM practitioners.

**Work to avoid conflicting messages:** where there is a parallel legal and illegal trade, for example in rosewood, building mechanisms to differentiate the two trades, such as through
certification, could have the potential to avoid the conflicting messages that rosewood is both desirable and inappropriate.

**Use social media messaging:** as trade increasingly moves online the importance of social media messaging will continue to increase. In this context it is positive to see an alliance of 58 tech companies including Facebook, Tencent, Baidu, Microsoft and Google⁴ adding their weight to efforts to decrease trade.

**Be wary of overlapping consumer groups:** it was agreed that refined targeting was important for the effectiveness of messaging; however, as a result of such targeting the same segment of the population may end up targeted by messages about multiple products. If so, these messages should be coordinated. One of the delegates gave a non-IWT example in which a government social marketing strategy had been changed after it identified a particular group of citizens targeted by more than twenty different initiatives designed to provide specific forms of assistance.

Experimenting with innovative approaches and moving the focus beyond large mammals remains challenging

Delegates felt there was great potential for innovative approaches using social and behavioural change communications and behavioural science to demand reduction, and that there was a need for projects to test new approaches. Yet at the same time, discussions tended to focus on current activities and interventions that are known or widely believed to be effective, rather than on testing alternative new approaches.

The delegates at the workshop repeatedly recognised the need to move beyond large mammals such as elephants and rhinos to less visible but equally important taxa. As part of the poster session one of the groups focused on rosewood and raised interesting points about the importance of certification and the potential of insurance companies to provide a mechanism of intervention for high value items. However, it was also recognised that animals such as elephants and rhinos capture public and political imagination and are therefore important to raising awareness about IWT.

It was clear from the presentations and discussion at the workshop that this is a crucial time for demand reduction in IWT. Interest in the area is growing rapidly as illustrated by demand reductions increasing profile in international agreements and CITES discussion. Alongside this, there is a rapidly growing body of evaluation work examining IWT demand reduction initiatives; however, much of this is methodologically weak. The challenge is to build on the policy momentum while developing the learning capacity of the sector to improve and demonstrate the effectiveness of interventions.

**Opportunities for further engagement**

Opportunities for follow-up dialogue around the themes and ideas raised during the workshop, relevant to the London Conference and other such international events, exist through participation in the SBCC Community of Practice. Those interested in joining this Community should visit [www.changewildlifeconsumers.org](http://www.changewildlifeconsumers.org) for more information.

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Introduction

The Illegal Wildlife Trade (IWT) is a major global concern, estimated to be worth up to £17 billion per year. In recent years IWT has attracted increasing attention worldwide. On the day of this workshop the WWF, wildlife trade monitoring network TRAFFIC and International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) announced that 21 leading tech companies had pledged to reduce online wildlife trafficking by 80% in the next 2 years. These companies included Google, Microsoft, eBay, Etsy, Facebook and Instagram. IWT is also a major concern for the UK Government, and in October 2018, it will host a major international conference on Illegal Wildlife Trade. Illustrating the degree of cross-departmental concern the conference will be co-hosted by the FCO, Defra and DFID.

In 2014, the London conference on Illegal Wildlife Trade identified four pillars for tackling the trade in illegal wildlife. These were eradicating markets for illegal wildlife products, ensuring effective deterrents, strengthening enforcement and supporting sustainable livelihoods. The forthcoming 2018 London conference has three themes: (1) Tackling IWT as a serious organised crime: strengthening end-to-end law enforcement; (2) Building coalitions: engaging the private sector, NGOs and academia; harnessing technology and innovation; (3) Closing markets for illegally traded wildlife products.

Demand reduction comes within the third theme. These themes are underpinned by the four pillars.

Demand reduction is receiving increasingly high-level policy recognition in the UK and there is a growing emphasis on demand reduction in policy documents internationally. Alongside this, there is an expanding, although limited, body of research on its effectiveness in tackling IWT. Yet demand reduction receives little of the available resources. Whilst the UK government is investing £26m to take practical action to reduce demand, strengthen enforcement, ensure effective legal frameworks and develop sustainable livelihoods for communities affected by IWT – including £14 million through the IWT Challenge Fund – demand reduction receives only a small percentage of this. On the other hand, law enforcement and criminal justice systems receive over half of the money from the Challenge Fund. As the workshop found, demand reduction is a complex and challenging process, which limits the opportunities to fund projects that will clearly deliver results. Innovation, evaluation and evidence will be of crucial importance in order for progress to be made in the area.

Workshop Summary

Day one started with a range of brief scene-setting presentations, followed by a discussion to introduce attendees to the issues and each other, as well as building a safe space for debate and dialogue.

The presentations covered a range of perspectives setting out the state of play in IWT consumer demand reduction and some of the successes and challenges of behavioural insights research, alongside examples of its use in the IWT context.

Day two focused on the concrete application of behavioural science approaches. Initial presentations outlined the key frameworks and approaches in behavioural science and social marketing. Mixed groups then co-designed hypothetical, but grounded, IWT demand reduction approaches. A presentation on research about the challenges and measurement of corruption provided an additional perspective before the groups were mixed to consider common challenges, insights, useful frameworks, and key actions.

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5 see footnote 4, p6
Day One

Presentations

Day one began with a series of presentations from representatives from the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra), the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO), TRAFFIC and the WWF.

Illegal wildlife trade: policy background

Will Pryer, a senior policy adviser at Defra, gave a brief overview of the illegal wildlife trade and its scale, as well as discussing recent responses to the problem and focusing in particular on the UK government’s response since the 2014 conference. The 2014 conference had identified four pillars for tackling the trade in illegal wildlife:

1. Eradicating the market for illegal wildlife products
2. Ensuring effective legal frameworks and deterrents
3. Strengthening law enforcement
4. Supporting sustainable livelihoods and economic development

He noted that because demand reduction as projects often took many years to deliver and monitor their impacts, they presented more challenges to fund than other work under the four pillars – particularly law enforcement.

The role of the London conference 2018

Dr Emma Hennessey, Deputy Chief Scientific Adviser at the Foreign & Commonwealth Office, gave a presentation on the upcoming London Conference. She discussed the role of the FCO and the personal commitment of the Foreign Secretary for combatting IWT as a key driver for UK engagement. Building on the four pillars approach developed in 2014, she outlined the three themes of the 2018 conference:

1. Tackling IWT as a serious organised crime
2. Building coalitions – having groups of people in different organisations including academics, NGOs and government working together to deliver sustainable difference
3. Closing down markets for illegal wildlife – including demand reduction.

She highlighted the need to understand what drives people to want IWT products, and how to change behaviour to reduce demand.

Reducing demand for illegal wildlife products: the global policy context

Sabri Zain, Director of Policy at TRAFFIC, presented the policy context in which activity on demand reduction is happening. He emphasised the importance of taking stock of developments since 2014, making note of progress that had been made, before identifying the gaps and next steps that need to be taken to enable a productive output for the conference.

He noted that whilst in the past much of the narrative had focussed on law enforcement, the problem was now seen as more complex and there was a growing realisation that IWT must be addressed through both enforcement and behaviour change. Mr Zain stressed that demand reduction should take a twin-track approach:

1. Messaging to shape individual motivation and attitudes
2. Use of mechanisms to impose social control, such as policy change, to provide a supportive environment
He noted the cultural significance of national action – drawing attention to the Chinese ivory ban – and the increasing profile of demand reduction elements in international and CITES resolutions.

The UK’s role, e.g. in international ivory ban
Heather Sohl, Chief Adviser on Species at WWF, gave a presentation on the role of the UK in tackling IWT, with a particular focus on the ivory trade. She outlined the UK’s strong international voice both in the EU and beyond, identifying the high-level engagement of the UK government during the 2014 London conference, and the enthusiasm of the then Foreign and Environment Secretaries – William Hague and Owen Patterson respectively. She also highlighted the influence of the Royal Family, particularly Prince Charles and the younger Royals, and their contribution to drawing media attention and raising awareness abroad. Finally, she outlined provisional findings from an upcoming WWF report on demand reduction.

Behavioural interventions and IWT policy
Sara Eppel, co-founder of Eppel Sustainability Ltd, gave a presentation on the UK government’s experience of promoting sustainable living based on her experiences at Defra. She illustrated how similar approaches could be used when approaching IWT. Key insights included how people are more likely to make changes when they feel they are part of a bigger movement. At Defra she developed a set of five headline and 12 sub-behavioural goals, based on environmental benefits, each designed to be specific, measurable and with a timescale for implementation. She outlined Defra’s population segmentation of UK citizens’ attitudes, motivations and behaviours as providing the foundation for the initiative. Seven segments of the population were identified and approaches to address each were designed using the ‘4Es’ framework:

- Enable (remove barriers, provide alternatives, educate, train, provide capacity)
- Encourage (incentives and penalties, enforcement)
- Engage (work with trusted intermediaries, social networks, co-produce changes)
- Exemplify (lead by example, consistent policies, show others are acting).

She suggested one of the key benefits of the approach was through engaging wider decision-makers and stakeholders ensuring joint understanding and engagement.

Changing wildlife product consumer choice
Gayle Burgess, Behavioural Change Coordinator at TRAFFIC, gave a presentation on their recent project on changing rhino horn consumer attitudes and choice in Vietnam (the Chi initiative). A five-step process to behavioural change was used to tackle consumption of rhino horn for social status display. She emphasised the importance of being clear about the behaviour being tackled, carrying out in-depth audience segmentation, including attitudinal segmentation, and using social marketing frameworks. She touched on the importance of messengers and how overly ‘evangelical’ messengers can be counter-productive. She also emphasised the importance of balancing a behavioural science approach with legal enforcement, and collaborating with a variety of stakeholders including NGOs, governments, religious leaders and private companies. She noted the changewildlifeconsumers.org toolkit as valuable a resource.

Key points from discussion
Presentations were followed by an open discussion, and a further roundtable discussion over dinner. Some of the key points raised during these discussions included:
The importance of beginning ‘where people are’ – e.g. as consumers who have desires for IWT products, or display of status – and not ‘where you would like them to be’

The alternative behavioural models (returned to on day two) of rational choice and unthinking habit. For example: models make an assumption that consumers make decisions, but a lot of our consumption does not happen in a deliberative way.

That the consumption of some IWT products (such as ivory) is linked more stabily to a particular set of uses, in other cases the uses have been seen to substantially change over type (rhino horn, which has been used medically, for social status, etc.)

Is it possible to identify how resources could best be focussed for different markets across wildlife protection, enforcement and demand reduction?

The danger that for some consumers illegality makes something more appealing

The potential for using social media data to identify and target actual or likely consumers

In many cases, consumers do not value the IWT product directly, but the social context of the object – this could allow more sustainable products to act as replacements/substitutes

The value of taking a systems approach or ‘decentring the consumer’ to look more broadly at how policy makers, criminals and consumers all mesh together to create demand for IWT
Day Two

Presentations

Frameworks and tools for monitoring and evaluating IWT interventions
Dr Diogo Verissimo, Oxford Martin Fellow at the Oxford Martin Programme on Illegal Wildlife Trade, summarised the findings of a recent study he had carried out reviewing existing evaluations on demand reduction. He noted that in the last ten years we have seen an increasing number of campaigns attempting to drive demand reduction, but concluded that evaluation evidence is still weak.

Evaluations tend to focus on output metrics and indicators that provide big numbers but which aren’t necessarily meaningful, such as the number of posters printed. He stressed that these studies don’t show that demand reduction doesn’t work, they are simply too weak to demonstrate its effectiveness.

More positively he noted that more recent studies contained higher quality evidence and they were increasing in number. More problematically, whilst they had identified lots of studies, extracting and collating information is difficult making synthesis and learning challenging. He urged conservationists to start using more robust statistical tools, for example, providing error margins.

A cultural approach to behavioural insights and frameworks and tools for designing and implementing behaviour change programmes
Dr Fiona Spotswood, Senior Lecturer in Marketing and Behaviour Change at the Bristol Business School, UWE Bristol gave a presentation on behaviour change interventions, particularly in public health. She described three theoretical approaches to behaviour change which can be stereotyped as:

1. Social Psychology – the most common theoretical basis for behaviour change – suggests individuals are largely deliberative beings, making decisions based on their views and influenced by those around them
2. Behavioural Economics – suggests people are predictably irrational, and much behaviour is driven by established patterns and habit, but that these can be derailed or changed
3. Sociological Approach – suggests reducing the focus on the individual and focussing instead on particular patterns of behaviour, and looking at the diversity of ways this can be affected – through context, decision making or social influence etc

Dr Spotswood explained that to shape behaviour, there need to be facilitating conditions interacting with an individual’s values and behaviour. For example, in health promotion it is important to spend time on shaping social structures rather than focusing solely on individuals. She discussed the plastic bag charge as an example of behavioural economics, noting that whilst it is effective in changing behaviour, it can only alter behaviour around use of plastic bags. She argued that a sociological approach enables more ambitious and disruptive change. She suggested that human social life is organised by patterns and practices, and that instead of understanding individual changes, we should try to understand practices. She urged workshop attendees to consider whether the use of IWT products was a conscious decision, or a part of the way that things are. She identified four steps for creating practice change:

1. Create new practices
2. Modify existing practices
3. Practice disruption/interruption

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6 Available as a pre-print at https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/642pb/
4. Practice substitution

Key points of discussion

Key points raised in the open discussion that followed the presentations included:

- A lot of conservation projects struggle to demonstrate behaviour change
- Many NGOs struggle with resources to conduct high quality evaluation, including RCTs
- Could Defra work with major funders such as the World Bank to establish an over-arching monitoring framework, including an attitudinal survey that could be drawn on by many projects?
- As well as consumers, the IWT is driven by the traffickers and wholesalers – they have proved adept at promoting new uses for particular products, such as rhino horn, as demand reduction initiatives or legislation have removed old markets.

Group work session 1 – Intervention design

Following the presentations and discussions, delegates were divided into three groups and developed intervention plans to reduce demand for an IWT product of their choice. The aim of the exercise was to provide a concrete opportunity to reflect on and use the outcomes of the previous presentations and discussions. This would then provide the basis for drawing out common themes.

The groups choose to focus on rosewood, ivory and pangolin scales. Each group was set a scenario where they had asked to plan a £1million project and were asked to develop a design and allocate their resources – detailing their plans on posters that were provided. Each group then presented their plans and they were discussed by all the delegates.

The transcribed posters are presented on the following pages.
We are...
Rosewood rebels
The trade is...
Rosewood spp.

Our ambition is to...
- Reduce the illegal consumption of rosewood sp. (in particular furniture + household display items) in HKSAR + other East Asian countries
- Promote responsible sourcing + purchasing up by 30% by 2020

The context is...
- All 800 sp. On App. 2: permitting system lax/needs improv.
- Visibility – confusing consumers mix of legal/illegal, provenance hard to prove?
- High quality product; status purchase
- Once in a lifetime purchase? Lots of material in the item

We need to know...
- What’s the product utility + how to replace with acceptable alternatives/divert demand
- (Can legal supply meet demand?)
- Balance of responsibility between OTES authority resp. to purchase process? Key life change intervention points?
- Relationships between regulatory systems/grey markets

How we will find out...
- Research into market + consumer dynamics: when, where, why, how, who
- Trade routes, etc./traders
- “Coalition building” + sourcing consumer research process

...Intervene...
- Working with OTES process to improve practice
- Disruptive messaging/diverting demand through e.g. consumer forum
- Improving the certification/labelling of products for consumers
- Identifying the best intervention points along the trade route
- FDC lobbying
- Engaging timber industry and Chinese government as sourcing/state owned
- Interventions in weddings/Hairdressers
- How can we strengthen the enabling environment? “Permits” for consumers owning a “legal” bed
- Working with insurance companies, risk managers

...evaluate...
- Yes!
- Evaluation – important
- Baselines
- Adaptive management
- Performance
- Impact
- Annual where possible

Wild ideas, where we dream...
- “insurance requirements”
- management systems
**We are...**

**The trade is...**
- Pangolin scales for medicinal use

**Our ambition is to...**
- Prevent doctors from prescribing pangolin scales to treat illness.

**The context is...**
- Legal and illegal trade of scales (incl. farms and stoeppiles)
- Long-standing traditional use of scales in TOM > 1500 years
- Other pangolin products are traded which may influence product
- TOM overall is expanding + government is supportive of that
- There are potential substitutes, some are sustainable, some are unsustainable – doctors want alternative options rather than substitutes

**We need to know...**
- Why doctors prescribe pangolin
- The role of other uses of pangolin scales + how that influences trade
- Assess scale of legislative change
- Prevalence of behaviour in size of hospital
- Geographical differences in the trade
- What are the substitutes + are they sustainable?

**How we will find out...**
- Design sampling protocol for hospitals
- Compare with rhino horn trade
- Practitioner survey

**...intervene...**
- Engage TOM bodies to speak out against use of pangolin scales
- Lobby for legislation
- Address supply decisions made by hospitals (they make decisions independently)
- Training in TOM universities for future practitioners in final year
- Behaviour change comm based on survey results e.g. doctor magazines eg 2. pharmacy reps.

**...evaluate...**
- Conduct study of prescribing behaviour against control (6 months)

**Wild ideas, we dream we might...**
We are... **Consortium of ivory ban supporters (Government, NGOs, private sector, academics)**

The trade is... **Ivory**

Our ambition is to...
- Ensure the ban is effective through legal enforcement + consumer behaviour change

The context is...
- Ban occurred but likely to be illegal activity around it e.g. online + from neighbouring countries
- Need Chinese government to accept that illicit activity is still their problem e.g. through pressing Chinese image abroad

We need to know...
- Evidence of leakage (buying)
- Cultural knowledge about Chinese approach
- Government officials need to be empowered
- Monitoring system on effectiveness – funded (£150k)
- Online profiling of purchasers
- Tourists to neighbouring countries + move of purchasing to low-tourist cities

How we will find out...
- Know already China officials need to lead it.
- Monitoring system for online profile
- Mystery shopper approach to find illicit products (consistent methodology)
- Predictive profiling (socio-economic) following enforcement resistance model
- Survey of behavioural intent + monitoring annually (representative sampling)

...intervene...
- With Chinese officials on a 4 Es process so they are empowered to deliver
- High status person to lead the partnership + support person (£150k)
- Direct intervention with tourist operators (to Vietnam etc.) - letters first, then strong enforcement
- President Xi leadership (from Government machine and Communist party?)
- London conference
- OWA – Chinese NGO government agency
- State forestry admin + minorities (ind. information)

...evaluate...
- Baseline from monitoring in year 1
- Track every year
- Final evaluation (£250k) of availability of behaviour change interventions
- Publishing all data + insight (£50k)
- Translation costs (£100k)
- For officials and NGOs

Wild ideas, we dream we might...
- Same approach for Orchids
- The lead for the partnership as a Chinese Ambassador

Spend £1m...** Match of £1m from philanthropy + private sector**
Presentation on Corruption

Thoughts on corruption and the illegal wildlife trade

Dr Mihaly Fazekas, Research Associate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Cambridge, offered a slightly different perspective on IWT in his presentation on illegal trade and corruption.

He discussed the nature of corruption, noting that high-level corruption is organised and systemic, with people consistently disregarding the laws of society. He argued that the power of such corruption to organise and set rules and business norms should not be underestimated. He also noted that corrupt money is frequently invested in further criminal enterprises and is used to set up organisations and buy-off politicians and bureaucrats.

He highlighted two recent innovations in measuring corruption:

1. Comparing different data sets – for example, comparing an individual’s formal sources of income, and their social media posts to identify discrepancies, for example individuals with small incomes pictured with expensive cars. This method has been used to identify those benefiting from corruption.
2. Text-mining of semi-structured texts, such as government documents, legal filings or tax returns, provides a new way to spot patterns indicative of corruption across large amounts of official data.

He then outlined two provocative approaches to combat corruption. Firstly, corrupt and inefficient markets may be removed by providing formal mechanisms to replace corruption – for example, by allowing people to pay extra for rapid renewal of their passports or issue of visas, rather than leaving a situation where officials provide that service for a bribe. This approach is only appropriate where nature of the activity is not harmful and where there are suitable structures to deliver the formalised mechanism.

Secondly, in the context of sustainability he highlighted the importance of ownership – suggesting that those with a stake in the preservation of a resource are likely to act as better guardians. The provocative possibility emerging from this is that in states with high levels of corruption, it might be possible to protect natural resources by giving organisations and communities ownership and responsibility for their resources – even if they are controlled by criminal elements, provided those elements have an interest in preserving the long-term future of the resource.

Key points of discussion

Key points raised in the open discussion that followed the presentations included:

- Corrupt groups are very skilled at using formal hierarchies to pursue their own goals
- Formal organisations (for example the Chinese Communist Party), rather than individuals, can be the guardians of long term power. Tying such formal organisations to the future of a resource may provide a way to protect the resource.
Group work session 2: Identifying common challenges, insights, useful frameworks, and key actions

The three groups of delegates were mixed into two new groups to review their IWT interventions and the prior discussions to identify key barriers and enablers for behaviour change interventions in IWT, looking both at those they considered might be specific to certain markets and those they considered more generic. They were then asked to identify particular frameworks, insights of approaches that had emerged during the workshop that they felt were particularly salient. The ideas of the two groups have been combined and their suggestions are transcribed below.

**Barriers and enablers**

**Generic**
- Collaborations and partnerships
- Technological advances
- Political momentum
- Data sharing
- Minimum data standards
- Certification
- Funding and monitoring
- Shaping consumption

**Specific**
- Partnership with Chinese Gov
- Consortia with joined up thinking, strong leadership and data sharing
- Corporate engagement
- Cultural specificity

**Enablers**
- Lack of personal incentives to change
- Offering definitions of illegal and context
- Low capacity of those involved
- Weak government and governance
- Corruption
- Getting beyond awareness raising
- Confusion with animal welfare rights
- Conflicting interventions
- Poor local data
- Short term donor perspective

**Key frameworks, insights and approaches**

- System mapping of complex systems.
  - Change requires multiple approaches and solutions.
  - Legislation, demand reduction and enforcement in step.
- Categorise markets by geography, taxonomy and product transformation to identify likely common interventions.
- Empowerment work with governments in partnerships to develop sustainable programmes.
- Behaviour change interventions based on consumer typology to affect multiple products with one message.
- 4 Es framework (Enable, Encourage, Engage, Exemplify)
- Evaluation - short, medium and long term.
- Shared databases and resources for all to use and feed into.
In a final activity delegates suggested key actions to improve how demand reduction could be used to address the IWT. Suggestions that received support from delegates included:

- More funding for academic research on IWT
- Commitment by organisations to put data related to demand reduction and combating IWT on shared repository / use template and enable more open access. TRAFFIC offered www.changewildlifeconsumers.org as a platform that could support such sharing.
- Minimum standards for market and consumer research underpinning demand reduction initiatives
- Meta-evaluation of demand reduction projects funded by major funders
- Broaden focus in tackling IWT, including pet trade and plant species, in many countries
- Include some domestic focus on UK and improve sentencing guidelines in UK for wildlife crime
- Advice to governments on clarifying their laws, e.g. illegal trade in plants
Appendix 1: List of participants

- **Steven Broad**, Executive Director, TRAFFIC
- **Gayle Burgess**, Behavioural Change Coordinator, TRAFFIC
- **Dr Ernest Caldwell**, Lecturer in Laws of China and Taiwan, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies
- **Josephine Chambers**, PhD student in conservation, Department of Geography, University of Cambridge
- **Sara Eppel**, Co-founder, Eppel Sustainability Ltd
- **Nafeesaa Esmail**, Programme Coordinator, Oxford Martin Programme on Illegal Wildlife Trade
- **Mihaly Fazekas**, Research Associate, Department of Sociology, University of Cambridge
- **Sarah Ferguson**, Head of Office for Vietnam, TRAFFIC
- **Dr Emma Hennessey**, Deputy Chief Scientific Adviser, Foreign & Commonwealth Office
- **Dr Amy Hinsley**, Research Fellow, Oxford Martin Programme on Illegal Wildlife Trade
- **Muandao Keaw Kongwanarat**, Social and Behavioural Change Communication Programme Officer, TRAFFIC
- **Victoria Price**, Programme Officer, Conservation Science & Design, Flora and Fauna International
- **Will Pryer**, Senior Policy Adviser, Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
- **Dr David Roberts**, Oxford Martin Fellow, Oxford Martin Programme on Illegal Wildlife Trade
- **Heather Sohl**, Chief adviser on Species, WWF
- **Dr Fiona Spotswood**, Senior Lecturer in Marketing and Behaviour Change Bristol Business School, UWE Bristol
- **Professor William Sutherland**, Miriam Rothschild Professor in Conservation Biology, Department of Zoology, University of Cambridge
- **Laura Thomas-Walters**, PhD Student, School of Anthropology & Conservation, University of Kent
- **Dr Milica Vasiljevic**, Behaviour and Health Research Unit, University of Cambridge
- **Dr Diogo Veríssimo**, Oxford Martin Fellow, Oxford Martin Programme on Illegal Wildlife Trade
- **Yifu Wang**, PhD candidate, Department of Geography, University of Cambridge
- **Sabri Zain**, Director of Policy, TRAFFIC

Centre for Science and Policy Team

- **Kasia Brzezinska**, AHRC Policy Intern
- **Nicola Buckley**, Associate Director
- **Dr Robert Doubleday**, Executive Director
- **Laura Hyde**, Events Coordinator
- **Dr Steven Wooding**, Lead for Research and Analysis
Appendix 2: Agenda

**Day 1**

16:00   Arrival & tea  
16:15   Welcome and introductions  
16:30   Presentations:  
   - Policy background: Will Pryer, Defra  
   - Role of London conference 2018: Emma Hennessey, FCO  
   - Policy drivers for behaviour change to tackle IWT: Sabri Zain, TRAFFIC  
   - UK’s role, e.g. in international ivory bans: Heather Sohl, WWF UK  
   - Perspective on using behavioural insights research to inform policy: Sara Eppel  
   - Oversight of some case studies of interventions targeting behaviour change to reduce demand for IWT: Gayle Burgess, TRAFFIC  
17:30   Chaired discussion to set out the challenge and the context and include examples of previous behaviour-change work  

**Day 2**

09:00   Welcome & introduction to the day  
09:10   Overview of behaviour change frameworks and approached to understanding behaviour  
   - Fiona Spotswood (UWE Bristol) - A cultural approach to behavioural insights and frameworks and tools for designing and implementing behaviour change programmes  
   - Diogo Verissimo (Oxford Martin Programme on Illegal Wildlife Trade) - Frameworks and tools for monitoring and evaluating IWT interventions  
10:30   Tea & Coffee break  
10:45   Working in groups to develop ideas  
12:30   Lunch  
13:15   Report back to plenary on plans  
13:30   Thoughts on monitoring illegal markets and behaviour  
13:45   Group Discussion  
14:30   Tea & Coffee break  
14:45   Discussion in mixed groups  
15:40   Plenary reporting and discussion  
16:00   Wrap up & next steps  
16:15   Close