

# What is the evidence that counter-wildlife crime interventions are effective for conserving African, Asian and Latin American wildlife directly threatened by exploitation? A systematic map

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## Abstract

1. Counter-wildlife crime (CWC) interventions—those that directly protect target wildlife from illegal harvest/persecution, detect and sanction rule-breakers, and interdict and control illegal wildlife commodities—are widely applied to address biodiversity loss. This systematic map provides an overview of the literature on the effectiveness of CWC interventions for conserving African, Asian and Latin American wildlife directly threatened by exploitation, including human–wildlife conflicts that trigger poaching.
2. Following our systematic map protocol (Rytwinski, Öckerman, et al., 2021), we compiled peer-reviewed and grey literature and screened articles using pre-defined inclusion criteria. Included studies were coded for key variables of interest, from which we produced a searchable database, interactive map and structured heatmaps.
3. A total of 530 studies from 477 articles were included in the systematic map. Most studies were from Africa and Asia (81% of studies) and focused on African and Asian elephants (16%), felids (14%) and turtles and tortoises (11%). Most

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evaluations of CWC interventions targeted wildlife products (rather than species) and the transfer of those products along the wildlife crime continuum (40% of cases). Population/species outcomes were most commonly measured via indicators of threat reduction (65% of cases) and intermediate outcomes (25%).

4. We identified knowledge clusters where studies investigated the links between (1) patrols and other preventative actions to increase detection and population abundance and (2) information analysis and sharing and wildlife crime/trade levels. However, the effectiveness of most interventions was not rigorously evaluated. Most investigations used post-implementation monitoring only (e.g. lacking a comparator), and no experimental designs were found. We identified several key knowledge gaps including a paucity of studies by geography (Latin America), taxonomy (plants, birds and reptiles), interventions (non-patrol-based CWC interventions) and outcomes (biological and the combination of biological and human well-being outcomes).
5. Our map reveals an opportunity to improve the rigour and documentation of CWC intervention evaluations, which would enable the evidence-based selection of effective approaches to improve wildlife conservation and national security.

#### KEYWORDS

evidence map, evidence synthesis, evidence-based conservation, illegal harvest, illegal trade, law enforcement, retaliatory killings, wildlife trade

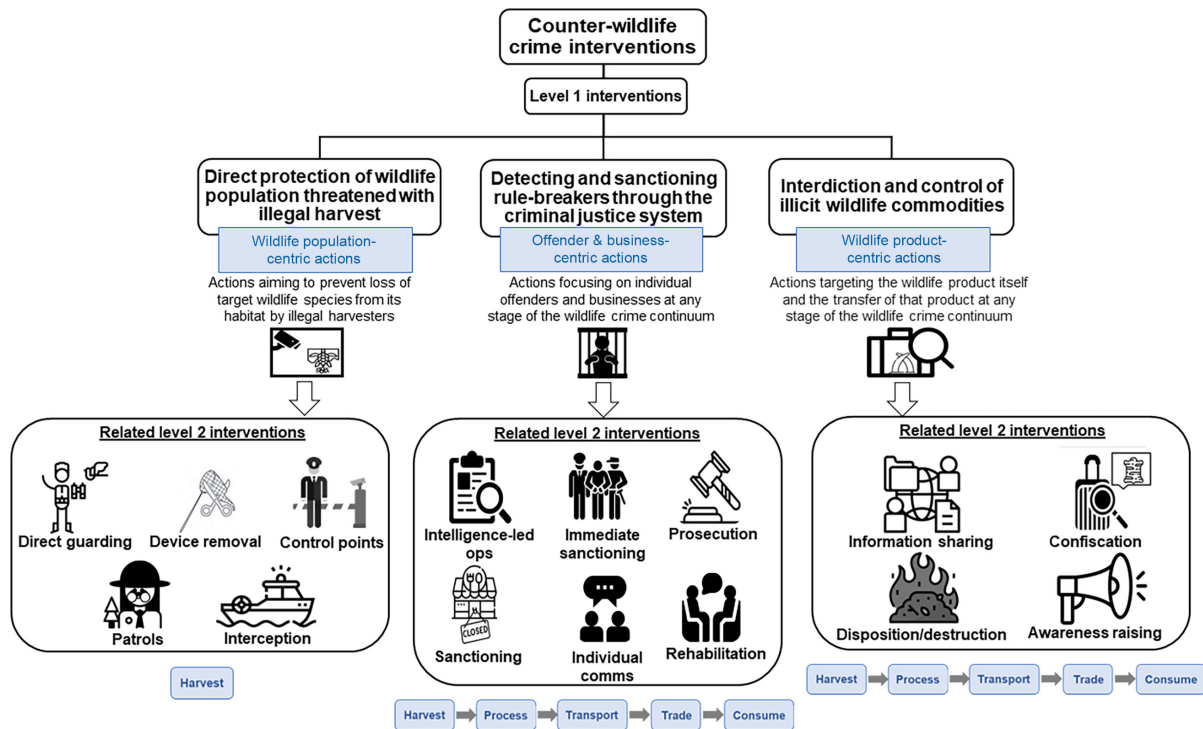
## 1 | INTRODUCTION

One of the main drivers of biodiversity decline (second to habitat loss) is direct exploitation of species (Diaz et al., 2019). To help address species exploitation, a range of conservation interventions have been implemented to directly protect target wildlife from illegal harvest/persecution, detect and sanction rule-breakers, and interdict and control illegal wildlife commodities here referred to as counter-wildlife crime (CWC) interventions (Figure 1). Given the recent emphasis on the use of these CWC interventions (Challender & MacMillan, 2014; Wright et al., 2016), there is a clear need to summarize the available evidence on biological and threat reduction outcomes of such actions to help make evidence-informed policy, management and funding decisions.

Here, we use a systematic map approach to provide a collated summary of the existing body of literature addressing the effectiveness of CWC interventions for conserving African, Asian and Latin American wildlife directly threatened by exploitation (including illegal harming of wild animals and plants whether by harvest as a resource or for control/persecution). Staff from the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service (USFWS) and the Canadian Centre for Evidence-Based Conservation collaborated to develop this question in the context of the plant and animal species targeted by the agency's international grant programmes and law enforcement activities. The aim of this project was to better understand and help build the evidence base that supports grant-making programmes and decisions and to shed light on a topic of increasing policy relevance and

attention. Although USFWS initiated the collaboration, this question is of broader relevance as governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) worldwide with a focus on nature conservation routinely make decisions about investment of limited resources with goals of having maximal conservation benefit (Brockington & Scholfield, 2010; Waldron et al., 2013). For further details on background, topic identification, stakeholder involvement and intervention framework development, see our systematic map protocol (stage 1 registered report; Rytwinski, Öckerman, et al., 2021). Through this mapping exercise, we describe the quantity and key characteristics of the available evidence, and we identify knowledge clusters (subsets of evidence that may be suitable for secondary research) and knowledge gaps (topics that are underrepresented in the evidence base that require future primary research). Specifically, we address the following research questions:

1. What are the frequency and types of CWC interventions used either alone or in combination with other CWCs or with other non-CWC conservation interventions (e.g. species or land management, legal and policy frameworks) for conserving wildlife directly threatened by exploitation, for which evidence on effectiveness exists?
2. What are the frequency and types of CWC interventions performed by actors with law enforcement authority (i.e. defined here as people with authority to enforce laws in a broad sense, for example confiscate firearms, spot fine or arrest offenders when encountered and including criminal justice interventions like



**FIGURE 1** The three eligible broad groups of counter-wildlife crime (CWC; level 1) interventions implemented to address wildlife crimes, their associated subcategories (level 2) interventions, and where these interventions fall along the wildlife crime continuum (bottom blue boxes). See [Table 1](#) for further details and [Table 2](#) for definitions and examples. Note, icons included here for each CWC intervention are used throughout when presenting map findings.

prosecuting and sanctioning wildlife crime), non-law enforcement authority (e.g. civil society, industry not trained or given authority to enforce laws) or both?

3. What are the key characteristics of the evidence base addressing the effectiveness of CWC interventions in terms of geographical locations, species or taxonomic groups, outcome measures, study designs and monitoring/assessment methods?
4. What are the knowledge clusters and gaps in the evidence base?

## 2 | MATERIALS AND METHODS

This systematic map followed detailed methods described in the stage 1 registered report (Rytwinski, Öckerman, et al., 2021). In doing so, it was performed following, as closely as possible, the guidelines of the Collaboration for Environmental Evidence (CEE (Collaboration for Environmental Evidence), 2018) and conforms to ROSES reporting standards (i.e. detailed forms for ensuring evidence syntheses report their methods to the highest possible standards; see Haddaway et al., 2018; [Supporting Information 1](#)).

### 2.1 | Search strategy

This mapping exercise was based on literature searches conducted in 2021 using four publication databases, one web-based search

engine (Google Scholar) and 36 specialist websites and online databases (see [Supporting Information 2](#) for full details and search results). Reference sections of 66 relevant reviews identified from this mapping exercise were hand-searched to evaluate relevant titles that may not have been found using the search strategy. We also issued a call for evidence to target sources of grey literature through relevant mailing lists, social media and distribution to relevant networks and colleagues by the Advisory Team, which was a project-specific consultation group composed of 12 stakeholders and scientific experts consisting of wildlife biologists, conservation scientists and criminologists from the USA, Central Africa, México, Indonesia, South East Asia and the Netherlands.

### 2.2 | Article screening and study eligibility criteria

Articles found by database searches, the search engine and specialist websites were screened in two distinct stages: (1) title and abstract and (2) full text. Articles or datasets found by other means (i.e. searching bibliographies of relevant reviews, social media, etc.) were entered at the second stage of this screening process (i.e. full text). Due to the very large number of search results from database searches alone (i.e. 36,430 records after duplicate removal), we used a semi-automated approach by employing a text-based machine learning algorithm in the EPPI-Reviewer Web software (<https://eppi.ioe.ac.uk/EPPIReviewer-Web/home>) to prioritize relevant articles.

In a deviation from our protocol, in which we proposed to use priority screening to increase efficiency but still screen all database articles, we instead used priority screening to come up with a logical cutoff point (i.e. a plateau where new articles were no longer being included) at which screening was stopped. Specifically, after screening nearly 70% of database articles (i.e. ~25,045/36,430 articles) and having not included a single article in 6500 consecutive articles, we stopped title and abstract screening. This left 11,385 database articles unscreened and assumed irrelevant (see [Supporting Information 3](#) for further details on priority screening using EPPI-Reviewer). Prior to screening articles, a consistency check was done at each stage on a subset of articles and discrepancies discussed (see [Supporting Information 3](#) for further details on consistency checks).

All of the articles were screened according to the established eligibility criteria developed in consultation with the Advisory Team ([Tables 1 and 2](#); see also [Figure 2](#) and [Supporting Information 3](#) for further details on eligibility criteria). Articles were included only when all six criteria were met. Given the broad objective and scope of this map, no formal study validity assessment (i.e. study susceptibility to bias) was performed on the included articles. Metadata on aspects of study design were extracted from included studies to provide a basic overview of the robustness and relevance of the evidence. However, the primary purpose of extracting this metadata was to aid with more in-depth synthesis of studies on subtopics of interest identified from this mapping exercise. A list of articles excluded at the full-text screening stage or during the data extraction stage, with reasons for exclusion, is provided in [Supporting Information 4](#).

### 2.3 | Data coding and extraction strategy

Following full-text screening of articles, relevant studies were extracted from the included articles (i.e. where multiple studies were reported within one article they were entered as independent lines in the database). We defined a study (case studies) to be an investigation/experiment of a single CWC intervention or a combination of CWC interventions conducted at a specific study location (but could include multiple study sites) over a similar specified time period. Studies were separated by line when separate relevant comparisons were reported for the same or different species and different: (1) CWC interventions (level 1 or 2) and/or (2) outcome categories and/or subcategories.

In developing the data extraction form and codebook (i.e. code sheet for all codes used in extraction form), the following key variables were identified through scoping activities and discussion with the Advisory Team: (1) bibliographic information; (2) geographical location (e.g. country, latitude/longitude); (3) species (or taxonomic group) information; (4) direct threat information; (5) intervention details (e.g. CWC intervention type [see [Table 2](#)], actor(s) implementing CWC intervention [law enforcement actors, non-law enforcement actors, both], whether a CWC intervention was combined with a non-CWC intervention); (6) study design and comparator information; (7) outcome details (e.g. outcome

category [biological, threat reduction, intermediate] and subcategories within [e.g. abundance, biomass, behaviour, poaching incidents, wildlife crime/trade levels, evidence of illegal activities, incidence of offender arrests], whether human well-being outcomes were also measured [Y/N], and if Y, which human well-being outcomes<sup>1</sup>; (9) assessment method details (e.g. outcome data collection in the field or court, via interviews/surveys). Coding options within these key variables were then compiled in a partly iterative process, expanding the range of options as they were encountered during extraction. To ensure that data were being extracted in a consistent and repeatable manner, the Review Team conducted a consistency check on a subset of articles and discrepancies were discussed (see [Supporting Information 3](#) for further details on consistency checks). The finalized extraction form and codebook for this review (along with descriptions of each metadata/coding field) is shown in Rytwinski et al. (2024).

### 2.4 | Data synthesis and presentation

Our primary outputs from this systematic map are a searchable, coded database (MS-Excel) along with an interactive map (evidence atlas) of studies, created using the open access, open-source software tool EviAtlas (<https://estech.shinyapps.io/eviatlas/>; Haddaway et al., 2019). The software accepts input data as spreadsheets (e.g. .csv format). This evidence atlas plots the location of all studies in geographical space, allowing the user to interrogate and filter datasets according to categories of interest (e.g. country, taxonomic group, CWC intervention, threats) and see their summary information. The input file for viewing the studies as an evidence atlas using the online EviAtlas portal is in [Supporting Information 5](#). Descriptive statistics were used to describe the overall amount (e.g. number of articles, number of studies) and key characteristics of evidence available (e.g. geographic locations, species, interventions, wildlife crimes, outcome measures, study designs and monitoring/assessment methods). Key knowledge gaps (areas that are underrepresented in the evidence base and could warrant further research) and knowledge clusters (areas of evidence that may be suitable for secondary research) were identified using structured heatmaps showing linkages between examined CWC interventions (rows) and measured outcomes (columns). As studies within individual articles can examine links between more than one CWC intervention and outcome type, individual studies were mapped to more than one cell when applicable (i.e. referred to as cases). Note, these heatmaps do not quantify or validate the effectiveness of CWC interventions for protecting and conserving wildlife but rather aim to describe the distribution of research efforts and were used to identify knowledge clusters and gaps.

<sup>1</sup>Given the importance of conservation interventions striving for not only biological but also human well-being objectives (e.g. Biedenweg & Gross-Camp, 2018; Kaplan-Hallam & Bennett, 2018), information on human well-being outcomes were coded from studies when these were reported in addition to relevant direct and/or indirect measures.

**TABLE 1** Article inclusion and exclusion criteria summarized from the stage 1 registered report (Rytwinski, Öckerman, et al., 2021). Further criteria for consideration that were developed post-publication of the stage 1 report are shown in italic font.

| Included   | Excluded  |
|--|---|
| <i>Subject (population)</i>  |   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Any wild animal and plant species and taxonomic groups native to Africa, Asia or Latin America that are targeted by USFWS international activities, including the following broad taxonomic groups: African and Asian elephants, African and Asian rhinos, bovids, felids, pangolins, giraffes and okapi, parrots, ducks, geese and swans, shorebirds, songbirds and other passerines, Old World vultures, hornbills, hummingbirds, primates, turtles and tortoises, crocodiles, boas, pythons, chameleons, typical geckos, monitor lizards, girdle-tail lizards, cycads, succulents, cactus, aloes, elephant trunks, mahoganies, and rosewoods (but see <a href="#">Table S3.1</a> in <a href="#">Supporting Information 3</a> for a more complete list of eligible species).</li> <li>While not comprehensive of all the species involved in USFWS international assistance, this species list is representative of the taxonomic groups targeted by the international activities of the agency's financial assistance programmes, Office of Law Enforcement, Migratory Bird Programme and international wildlife trade programme.</li> <li>For the purposes of this exercise, Latin America included all the Americas south of the United States (i.e. South America, Caribbean, Central America including Mexico).</li> <li>Any study where the intervention was not targeting any species or taxonomic group specifically (e.g. no species were mentioned or only a general list of species in the area was provided) or it was unclear whether it was explicitly targeting a relevant species or taxonomic group, AND the intervention was implemented in Africa, Asia or Latin America, AND all other criteria were met, were included and coded as UNCLEAR population.</li> <li>For passerines only, if the species was not listed under one of the eligible families listed in <a href="#">Table S3.1</a> in <a href="#">Supporting Information 3</a> BUT was native to Africa, Asia and Latin America, AND all other criteria were met, we included these studies.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Any species or taxonomic group (1) not native to Africa, Asia or Latin America or (2) native to these regions but not targeted by USFWS international activities (i.e. not within an eligible Family identified in <a href="#">Table S3.1</a> in <a href="#">Supporting Information 3</a>). <i>Captive animals without a direct link to the conservation of the wild population of an eligible species or taxonomic group (e.g. captive animals from pet trade that are then sent to zoos).</i></li> </ul> |
| <i>Intervention/exposure</i>   |   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Any CWC intervention established, adopted or implemented to prevent the loss of target wildlife, discourage non-compliance, raising awareness of or enforce compliance with existing laws and policies at all levels performed by actors with and/or without the authority to arrest, prosecute and/or sanction alleged wildlife crimes.</li> <li>We proposed three broad groups of CWC interventions primarily implemented to address direct threats: (1) Wildlife population-centric actions; (2) Offender and business-centric actions; and (3) Wildlife product-centric actions (<a href="#">Figure 1</a>; <a href="#">Table 2</a>; <a href="#">Figure S3.2</a> in <a href="#">Supporting Information 3</a>).</li> <li>Eligible articles included an evaluation of a single CWC intervention, combinations of CWC interventions or the combination of one or more CWC interventions and one or more non-CWC conservation interventions.</li> <li>Non-CWC conservation interventions, when combined with CWC intervention(s) were identified and coded drawing upon the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and Conservation Measures Partnership's (CMP) Conservation Actions Classification v2.0 (Salafsky et al., 2008; CMP (Conservation Measures Partnership), 2016) and included the following (level 1 action) categories: (i) Protected Area Management, (ii) Land/Water Management, (iii) Species Management, (iv) Livelihood, Economic and Moral Incentives, (v) Conservation Designation and Planning, (vi) Legal and Policy Frameworks, (vii) Research and Monitoring, (viii) Education and Training and (ix) Institutional Development. Note, non-CWC intervention category numbers do not align with those used in the IUCN-CMP Action classification because we consider 'Law Enforcement &amp; Prosecution' and 'Awareness Raising' in our CWC interventions and added a different category 'Protected Area Management' to categorize those studies that address protected area management in general.</li> </ul>                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Articles that only implement non-CWC conservation interventions(s) (i.e. any intervention from categories i-ix, with no CWC interventions) to conserve wildlife. <i>Also, studies that evaluated the effectiveness of a general management/conservation strategy(ies) for a protected area and it was clear (or unclear) that a CWC intervention was not included in this broad management strategy.</i></li> </ul>  |
| <i>Direct threat(s)</i>  |   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Relevant direct threats (i.e. wildlife crimes) included various forms of exploitation, broadly defined as the collection, harvest or killing of terrestrial animals or animal products (i.e. hunting and collecting terrestrial animals), plants (i.e. gathering terrestrial plants) or trees (i.e. logging and wood harvest) for a resource or control/persecution reasons (i.e. human-wildlife conflicts).</li> <li>Although the word 'crime' implies illegal activities and that is indeed the focus of our mapping exercise, not all papers clearly identified a threat as being legal/illegal. Furthermore, legality varies across geographical locales and over time with changes in legislation (see t' Sas-Rolfes et al., 2019). Therefore, we assumed that if a CWC intervention was applied, the threat was considered illegal.</li> <li>Our selection and definitions of eligible wildlife crimes primarily drew from the Arizona State University Center for Problem-Oriented Policing's (POP) Taxonomy of Wilderness Problems (<a href="https://popcenter.asu.edu/content/resources">https://popcenter.asu.edu/content/resources</a>) and partly from the CMP Direct Threat Classification (CMP (Conservation Measures Partnership), 2016 v2.0). Further subcategorization of wildlife crimes was made as the review progressed drawing from the taxonomies of the POP centre and the IUCN-CMP level 2 and 3 threats (see <a href="#">Table S3.2</a> in <a href="#">Supporting Information 3</a> for further details).</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Activities that are clearly identified as legal but may be associated with unsustainable harvesting. Studies that focus on fishing or harvesting aquatic animals and plants (note, however, bycatch was included).</li> </ul>  |

(Continues)

TABLE 1 (Continued)

| Included  | Excluded   |
|---|--|
| <p><i>Outcome</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Measures of change in biological outcomes (e.g. metrics related to abundance, biomass, reproduction, recruitment, behaviour) and threat reduction outcomes [e.g. metrics related to poaching incidence (number of poached animals), changes in wildlife crime levels (number of wildlife products available for sale at markets)], as well as other threat and/or intermediate indicators (e.g. presence of patrols deters poachers evaluated by comparisons of the number of poachers, incidence of illegal activity detected by CWC interventions evaluated by comparisons of the number of snares, gunshots heard or shell casings discovered); for further details see <a href="#">Table S3.3</a> in <a href="#">Supporting Information 3</a>.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Intermediate outcomes farther removed from ultimate conservation targets, including indicators related to (1) intervention effort (e.g. total days or distance patrolled) and (2) awareness, attitudes or knowledge outcomes (e.g. percentage of people that indicate they will consume less bushmeat, change in attitudes towards poaching, number of rangers trained in new techniques). Articles reporting ecological outcomes (e.g. outcomes focusing on change in ecosystem processes and conditions or community conditions), evolutionary phenomena and processes, and exclusively human well-being outcomes were excluded.</li> </ul> |
| <p><i>Comparator and study design and type</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We included all primary research studies that included a qualitative and/or quantitative evaluation of intervention effectiveness.</li> <li>Where present, the absence of intervention either over time and/or between sites (hereafter: <i>true comparators</i>), associated with the following study designs: (i) Before/After (BA), (ii) Continuous time series (CONT TS; trend over time that includes baseline/before data with no gaps in time), (iii) Interrupted time series (INTER TS; trend over time that includes baseline/before data with gaps in time), (iv) Control/Impact (CI), (vi) Before/After/Control/Impact (BACI); see <a href="#">Figure 2a</a>.</li> <li>Also, <i>alternate intervention comparators</i> that do not include a comparison to the absence of an intervention, associated with the following study designs that compared: (vii) Spatial locations with the same intervention, (viii) Among groups (i.e. comparing between populations of people or species) or (ix) Interventions (i.e. comparing between alternate levels of the same intervention or different types of interventions; see <a href="#">Figure 2b</a>).</li> <li>Finally, studies that do not include a comparator (<i>No comparators</i>), associated with (x) After-only study designs (a single or multiple during or after time periods at a single impacted site, that has no before/baseline data or spatial comparator; see <a href="#">Figure 2c</a>).</li> <li>Studies using an experimental approach (i.e. random assignment of sites/groups to treated [experimental] and untreated [control] sites/groups), quasi-experimental approach (similar to experimental but lacks random assignment), non-experimental approach (non-manipulative or observational studies where researcher takes advantage of changes that have happened [by using existing data] or about to happen [by taking measurements] to understand its effect, for example correlational, comparative or longitudinal), qualitative approach (focus almost exclusively on the sampling framework and not statistical power or how exposed and unexposed cases are compared) or theoretical approach (estimating impact of an intervention based on simulation modelling or theory exclusively).</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Comparator: No studies were excluded based on a comparator (or lack thereof). Study design: Review papers and policy discussions.</li> </ul>  |
| <p><i>Language</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English at full text.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Any study that was not in English at full text.</li> </ul>  |

### 3 | RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1 | Review descriptive statistics







A total of 530 studies from 477 articles met our inclusion criteria and were subsequently included in the systematic map, corresponding to

3183 outcome lines (see [Figure S6.1](#) in [Supporting Information 6](#), for a ROSES flow diagram depicting the full review process). Article publication dates ranged from 1965 to 2021, with relatively few articles published prior to 1996, and the majority in the last 10 years (74% of articles). The observed increase in publications in the last decade tracks with other related reviews (e.g. Cheng et al., 2017; Mirin & Klinck, 2021)

and coincides with the timeline of growing attention on biodiversity loss and widespread illegal trade in political and conservation agendas (e.g. U.S. National Strategy for Combating Wildlife Trafficking, wildlife

crime made a priority in 2014 by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Declaration from the 2014 London Conference on Illegal Wildlife Trade, Declaration from the 2015 International Conference

TABLE 2 Definitions and examples of eligible counter-wildlife crime interventions.

| Interventions  | Definition   | Examples  |
|--|--|---|
| <b>Wildlife Population-Centric Actions</b>   |  |   |
| <p>1.1 Direct Protection of Wildlife Threatened with Illegal Harvest</p> <p><i>Discouraging and/or removing opportunity structures used by harvesters to enter, extract wildlife products, and leave with the product through...</i></p> <p>1.1.1 Direct guarding of wildlife or key features</p>  <p>Direct guarding</p> | <p>Actions aiming to prevent loss of target wildlife species from its habitat by illegal harvesters (not specifically to detect and arrest a harvester)</p> <p>Actions dissuading attempts to harvest by physical presence of guardian</p>   | <p>Camping at locations of a nesting bird, camping on beaches during turtle egg laying to dissuade egg theft, directly following individual rhinos</p>  |
| <p>1.1.2 Removal/destruction/control of traps, weapons, tools and infrastructure used by wildlife criminals</p>  <p>Device removal</p>   | <p>Actions removing from circulation a device or tool that will either directly kill/catch or facilitate that process</p>  | <p>Removal/destruction of traps and harvester tools and infrastructure (e.g. snare sweeps to collect abandoned wire used to make snare, destruction of poacher huts, or conveyances)</p> <p>Weapons amnesty (e.g. firearms are exchanged for farming tools)</p> |
| <p>1.1.3 Control of entry and exit points</p>  <p>Control points</p>  | <p>Actions discouraging illegal harvesters attempting to enter the species' protected habitat</p>  | <p>Guard posts and checkpoints</p>  |
| <p>1.1.4 Patrols and other actions to increase detection<sup>a</sup></p>  <p>Patrols</p>  | <p>Actions dissuading attempts to illegally harvest wildlife due to offender awareness of the elevated certainty of detection. This includes the deployment of technical sensors, or facilitating tip-offs from community members and tourists via a hotline<sup>a</sup></p>                 | <p>Informant</p> <p>Drone/poacher camp/gunshot detector/geosensor/bioacoustics</p> <p>Patrol team</p> <p>Tourists, workers informing through some form of hotline</p>   |
| <p>1.1.5 Interception of illegal harvest attempt</p>  <p>Interception</p>   | <p>Actions confronting illegal harvesters making an attempted incursion (ideally prior to extraction of resource). Here, actions result in a push out of the harvesting team, but no actual sanctioning occurs (cases of detention of individual harvesters, would fall under 1.2 below)</p> | <p>A coast guard patrol vessel intercepting an illegal trawler in a marine protected area</p>   |
| <b>Offender and Business-Centric Actions</b>   |  |   |
| <p>1.2 Detection &amp; Sanction of Rule-Breakers Through the Criminal Justice System</p>   |  <p>Actions focusing on individual offenders and businesses at whatever stage of the wildlife crime continuum</p>   |   |

(Continues)

TABLE 2 (Continued)

*Reducing, deterring and/or incapacitating illegal behaviors of offenders and businesses through...*1.2.1 Intelligence-led operations<sup>a</sup>

Activities<sup>b</sup> supporting wildlife investigations. Here, information collection and analysis is used to guide operations

Tip lines

Pre-enforcement action plans - deter illegal activity

Target exploitation (def. building out threat profile)

Link analysis (def: identifying network of individuals or businesses)

Financial/Asset analysis

Timeline structure

Telephone (Toll Analysis)

Imagery Interpretation

Trend Analysis

Short and long-term collection requirements (identifying gaps in information and addressing them to strengthen law enforcement cases)

Shipping or database alerts

## 1.2.2 Sanctioning at time of encounter with offender



Actions focusing on the immediate sanctioning of an offender at the time of encounter

Detain

Arrest

Confiscate and/or destroy items

Formal Warning

Verbal Warning

Spot fine (e.g. fines for angling without correct permit)

Eviction (e.g. removal of illegal land squatters)

## 1.2.3 Prosecuting and trying of alleged crimes



Actions building prosecution cases and trying suspects in court

Holding trials for alleged law breakers

## 1.2.4 Sanctioning following prosecution and sentencing of offender



Actions focusing on sanctions following offender prosecution





Incarceration

Financial penalty

Forfeiture of assets (e.g. conveyances used in commission of crime such as vessels, vehicles)






TABLE 2 (Continued)

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
|  |  | Freezing of bank account (e.g. use of anti-money laundering acts to prevent profiting from crime)   |
|  |  | Repatriate (in cases of foreign criminals)  |
|  |  | Closure of business (e.g. restaurant repeatedly selling bushmeat, businesses acting as shell companies or legal fronts)                                     |
|  |  | Removal of benefits (e.g. conservation credits, vouchers for health clinic, government benefits)  |
|  |  | Job loss  |
| 1.2.5 Individual communications  | Actions (communication related) supporting individual offender and potential offender compliance   | Verbal communication about legality (e.g. during customs screening or in-person investigations)   |
| <br>Individual comms      |  | Targeted communication with repeat offenders  |
|  |  | Letters to individuals and businesses (e.g. letters sent from U.S. Customs and Border Protection to potential offenders about federal laws and regulations) |
| 1.2.6 Rehabilitation   | Actions supporting offender rehabilitation   | Counseling programs, educational programs   |
| <br>Rehabilitation      |  |   |
| <b>Wildlife Product-Centric Actions</b>  |  |   |
|  |   |   |
| 1.3 Interdiction & Control of Illicit Wildlife Commodities   | Actions targeting the wildlife product itself (including wildlife or wildlife parts, derivatives, or by-products) and the transfer of that product from person to person, place to place at whatever stage of the wildlife crime continuum |   |
|  |  | <i>Detecting, disrupting, and securing the post-harvest supply chain of wildlife products by...</i>   |
| 1.3.1 Information analysis and sharing   | Activities <sup>b</sup> using information to support interdiction investigations of wildlife and wildlife products   | Hotspot and trade analysis  |
| <br>Information sharing |  | Sharing information within and among law enforcement agencies (coordination)  |
|  |  | CITES species identification guides   |
|  |  | Training videos to improve identification and detection of wildlife contraband  |

on Illegal Exploitation and Illicit Trade in Wild Flora and Fauna in Brazzaville). Additionally, in the overall evidence base, commercially published literature accounted for a higher frequency of included

articles than grey literature (72% vs. 28%, respectively), and this pattern remained relatively consistent among years over the last two decades (see [Figure S6.2](#) in [Supporting Information 6](#)).

TABLE 2 (Continued)

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 1.3.2 Detecting and confiscating illegal wildlife products   | Actions detecting and confiscating illegal wildlife products  | Inspection  |
| <br>Confiscation                |   | Inspection using various tools to enhance procedures to detect, and then confiscate illegal products (e.g. detection dogs, thermo guns, xray machines)  |
| 1.3.3 Disposition and/or destructing seized illegal wildlife products  | Actions controlling, disposing, and/or destructing illicit wildlife commodities after detection to remove it from circulation   | Disposition of illegal products to remove it from circulation (e.g. returning to country of origin or place of transit, burning of products)  |
| <br>Disposition/<br>destruction |   | Management of stockpiled wildlife products (e.g. ivory, horns, timber)  |
| <i>Reducing the trafficking of illegal wildlife products by...</i>   |   |   |
| 1.3.4 Awareness raising related to the transfer of illegal wildlife products                                     | Actions making people aware of the illegality and/or penalties associated with illegal harvest, transit, trade, purchase, and/or consumption of illicit wildlife products | Reported media (e.g. TV, radio)<br><br>Electronic media (e.g. social networks, chat platforms)<br><br>Public service announcements (e.g. voice statements at transit hubs on the legal status of wildlife trade)<br><br>Displays (e.g. Customs and CITES exhibits at borders, airports, poster or billboard campaigns)<br><br>Person-to-person awareness engagement (e.g. info booth) |
| <br>Awareness raising           |   |   |

<sup>a</sup> Modifications to naming conventions and/or definitions that were developed post-publication of the stage 1 report.

<sup>b</sup> Considered here as activities that enhance CWC intervention execution success rather than as an intervention per se.

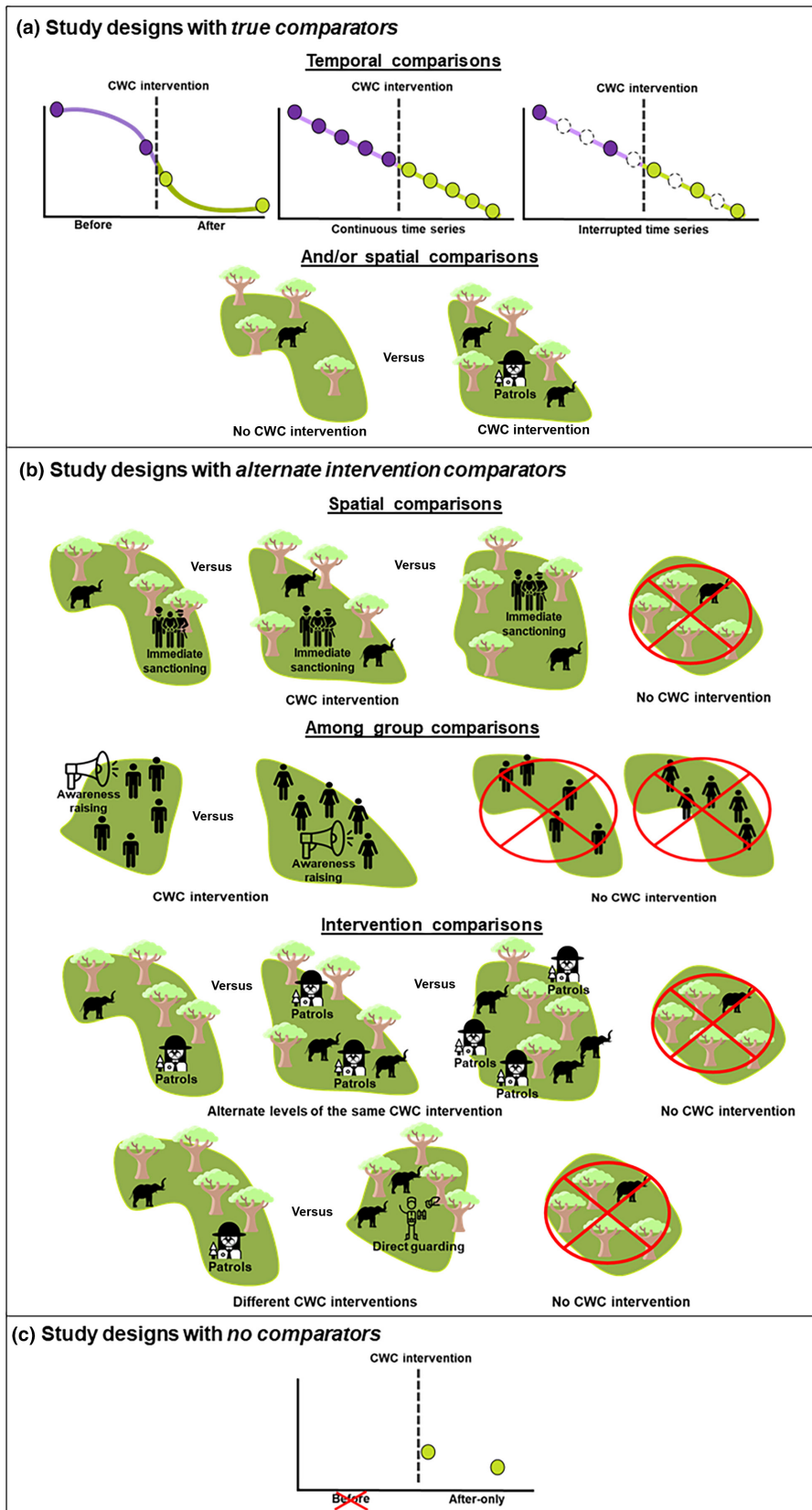
## 3.2 | Summary of the evidence base

### 3.2.1 | Study location

Studies on the effectiveness of CWC interventions were most often conducted in Africa and Asia (41% and 40% of studies, respectively), with relatively fewer in Latin America (13%). While we acknowledge that this geographical imbalance could be due in part to a language bias in the map (see Section 3.5.1 below), we believe

this does represent a 'real' imbalance in knowledge. Indeed, a general lack of attention, data and funding for CWC investigations and interventions in Latin America has been noted previously by others (e.g. Gluszek et al., 2021; Reuter et al., 2018; UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime), 2020). In a few studies, CWC interventions were implemented in other regions (e.g. inspections at North American or European airports), reporting relevant outcomes for species or taxonomic groups native to Africa, Asia or Latin America (7% of studies). Of the 34 included African countries, most

**FIGURE 2** Eligible comparators and study designs, including: (a) *true comparators*: designs that include a comparison (of outcome data) with the absence of intervention either over time (baseline/before data) and/or between sites (spatial control site(s)), associated with Before/After, Continuous time series (no gaps in time), Interrupted time series (gaps in time), Control/Impact or Before/After/Control/Impact designs; (b) *alternate intervention comparators*: designs that lack a comparison with the absence of an intervention (denoted with red circled Xs) but instead compared the impact of a particular CWC intervention across locations (spatial comparisons not treated as replicates in a study), between populations of people or species (among group comparisons) or between alternate levels of the same intervention (e.g. regular patrols versus intelligence-led patrols) or different types of interventions (patrols versus direct guarding of wildlife) (i.e. intervention comparisons); or (c) *no comparators*: study designs completely lacking a comparison such as After-only designs where a single or multiple during/after time periods at a single impacted site, that is no before/baseline data or spatial comparator).



studies were from Tanzania, Uganda, Cameroon and South Africa (>20 studies each; Figure 3). For Asia, 32 countries were captured in our database, with most studies from Indonesia, China, Thailand

and Malaysia. Comparatively, 24 countries were included from Latin America, with studies predominantly from Brazil (Figure 3). An exemplary screenshot of the interactive evidence atlas showing the

locations of all CWC intervention investigations can be seen in [Figure 4](#).

### 3.2.2 | Study designs

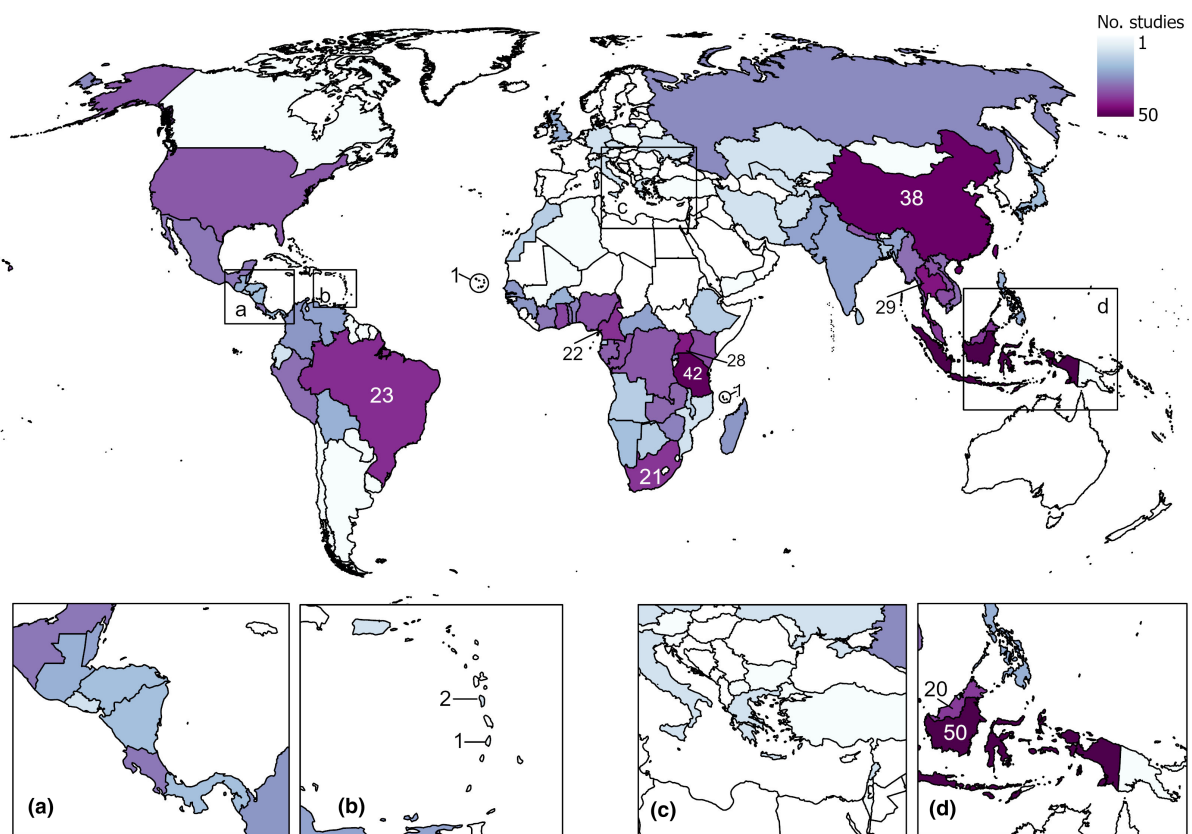
Most studies (82%; 435/530) used a non-experimental study type to investigate the effectiveness of CWC interventions (see [Table 1](#) for definitions). There were no experimental studies captured in the evidence base (i.e. those using random assignment of the intervention to different sites or groups). Only 59 unique studies (11% of the evidence base) employed a study design that included a *true comparator*. Comparatively, many studies used an *alternate intervention comparator* ([Figure 5](#); see [Figure 2](#) for examples and descriptions). While designs that use an alternate intervention comparator may show a difference in CWC intervention effectiveness between the comparisons, our ability to infer intervention effectiveness is limited in the absence of a true comparator (i.e. a comparison with the absence of intervention either over time and/or between sites). Overall, the vast majority of studies used an After-only design (i.e. no before/baseline intervention data or spatial comparator; [Figure 5](#)). Without employing an appropriate temporal or spatial comparator, a study is unable to attribute any observed changes in an outcome to the studied CWC intervention because changes in the outcome could

have occurred without the intervention (e.g. due to natural seasonal changes, changes in land-use, market fluctuations, impact of education strategies; Christie et al., 2020). See Section 3.5.2 below for further discussion.

Approximately 73% of studies collected relevant direct and/or indirect outcome data from the field (e.g. biological surveys in protected areas) or the courtroom/police station (e.g. cases of CWC intervention related to prosecuting and trying alleged crimes), whereas fewer studies measured outcomes via social science (i.e. interviews or surveys with people; 16%) or both in-field and social science (4%). Remaining studies used theoretical modelling to obtain (predicted) outcome data.

### 3.2.3 | Population

Nearly three quarters of the studies evaluating CWC intervention effectiveness targeted at least one relevant wildlife species (i.e. 380/530 studies reported at the species level; see [Table S3.1](#) in [Supporting Information 3](#) for a complete list of eligible species), of which most (49%) targeted a single species (range: 1 to 145 target species). For the remaining studies, there was either (1) no mention of target species and no indication of which species were found in the study area, but the intervention was implemented in Africa,



**FIGURE 3** Geographical distribution of evidence, displaying the number of studies per country. Studies undertaken across more than one country are counted within each study country. Insets (a-d) are used to provide a closer view of the more densely populated areas of the map (i.e. smaller sized countries/islands).

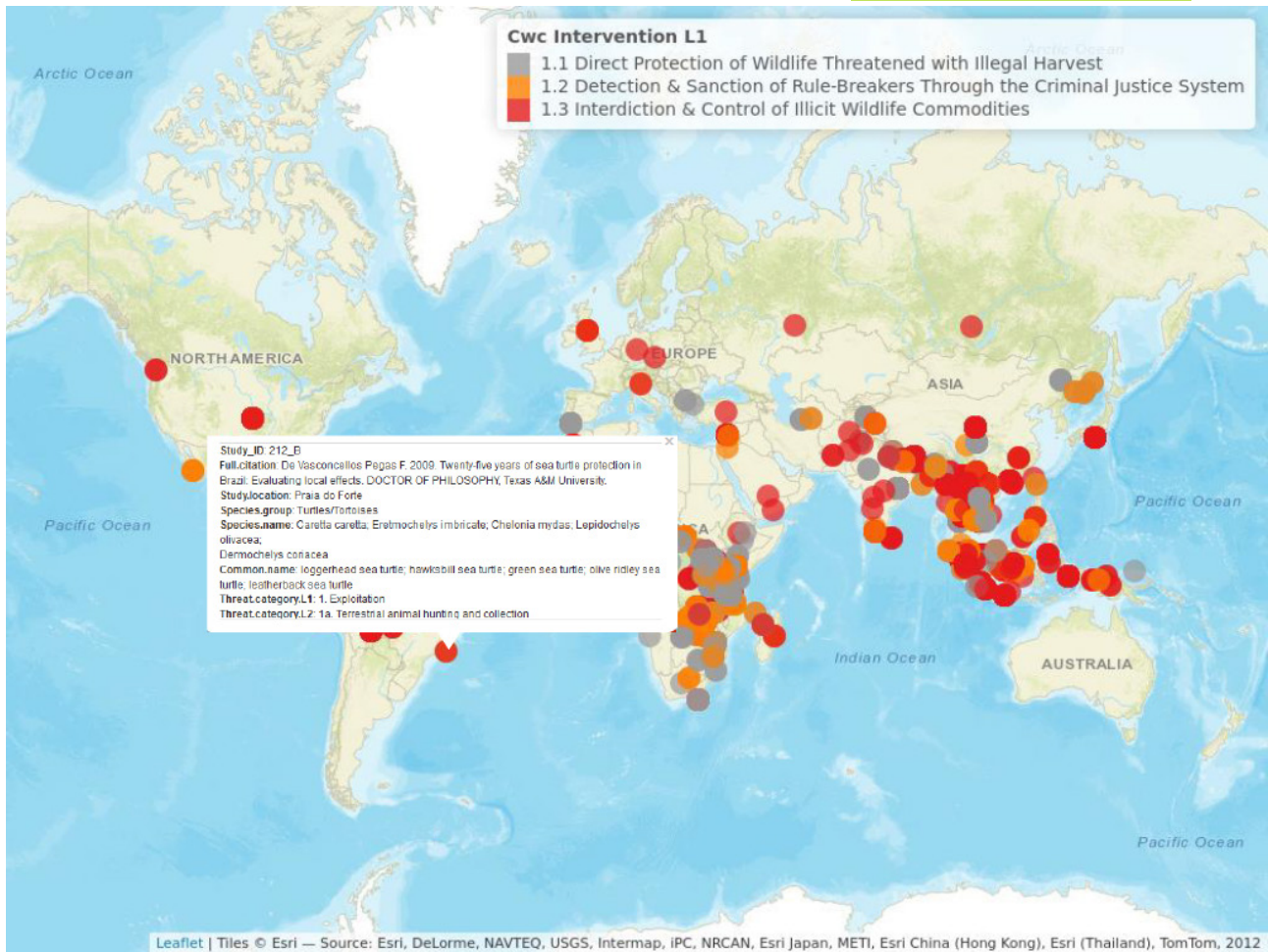


FIGURE 4 Screenshot of the interactive evidence atlas showing the location of all CWC intervention investigations in the 530 included studies (from 477 articles) across the 3183 outcome cases. The popup contains descriptive metadata and a link to the article on Google Scholar.

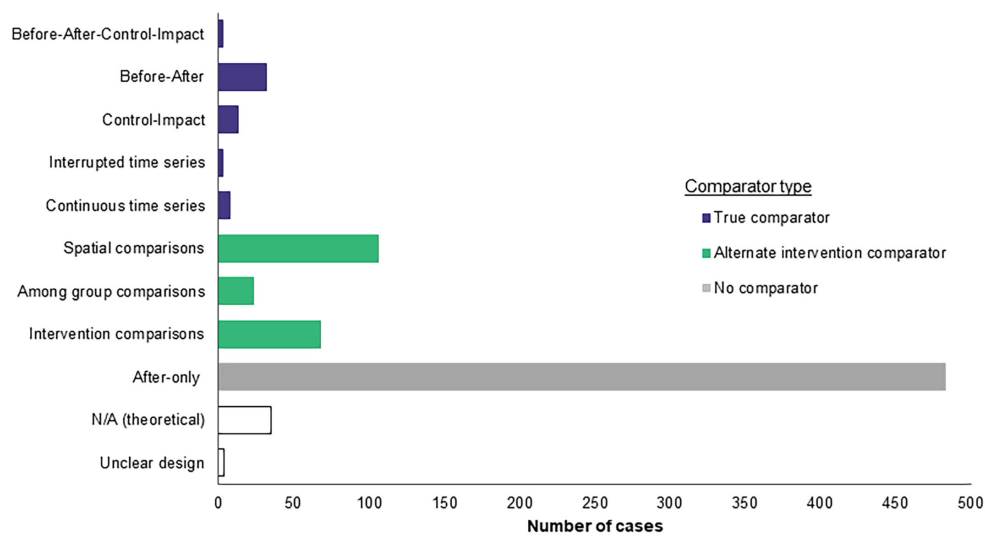


FIGURE 5 Frequency of cases in relation to study design and comparator type. The total number of cases exceeds the number of studies since some studies used more than one study design.

Asia and/or Latin America or (2) a list of species found in the study area was provided, with at least one relevant to this map, but no direct link was made stating that the intervention was specifically

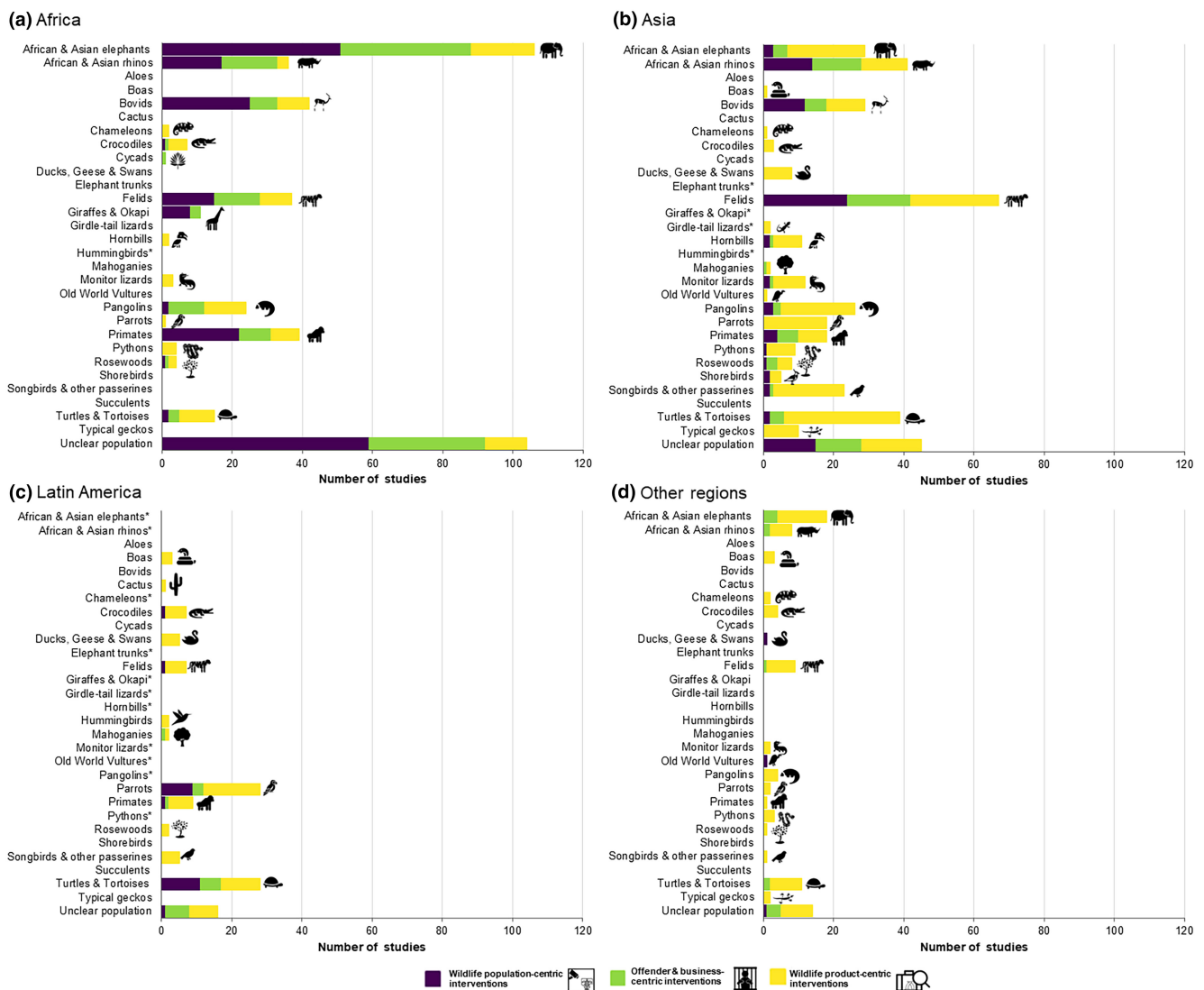
implemented to target all or some of those species. This was common for cases where the study was, for instance, evaluating anti-poaching efforts such as the removal/destruction of traps with

studies reporting outcomes such as the number of snares destroyed, or actions focusing on the sanctioning of an offender and reported outcomes were the number of poachers arrested but, in either case, without mention to species (here termed *Unclear population*).

When studies reported a relevant wildlife species or taxonomic group, the most common group of conservation focus overall were African and Asian elephants (16% of studies), followed by felids (14%) and turtles and tortoises (11%). All remaining taxonomic groups were included in fewer than 8% of the evidence base. There was an overall paucity of studies on plant groups, with only a few studies on relevant rosewoods (1% or 10 studies), mahoganies (2

studies) and cycads (1 study), and no studies on relevant succulents, aloes or elephant trunks. This finding is not surprising given the lack of attention (research, policy, funding related) for flora noted previously by others in the illegal wildlife trade space, otherwise known as “plant blindness” (Margulies et al., 2019; Pires & Marteache, 2023; Wandersee & Schussler, 1999).

Sixteen taxonomic groups were captured in the evidence base for CWC interventions implemented in Africa, with the majority of studies focusing on conserving African elephants (*Loxodonta africana*, *Loxodonta cyclotis*) (Figure 6a). There were also relatively similar numbers of studies for African rhinos (*Ceratotherium simum*, *Diceros*



**FIGURE 6** Number of studies by taxonomic groups in each relevant broad region where CWC interventions (level 1) were implemented: (a) Africa, (b) Asia, (c) Latin America, and (d) Other regions (e.g. an inspection at a North American airport reporting a relevant outcome for a species native to Africa, Asia, or Latin America). Unclear population: the CWC intervention was not targeting any species or taxonomic group specifically or it was unclear whether it is explicitly targeting a relevant species or taxonomic group, but the intervention was implemented in Africa, Asia or Latin America. Note, all the same taxonomic groups are included for each broad geographical region panel regardless of whether relevant native species exist for that group in each region; however, asterisks beside groups for a given geographical area were used to indicate such cases where taxonomic groups would not be expected to have relevant native species for that region, yet it was possible a CWC intervention was implemented there (e.g. seizures at ports). The number of studies shown exceeds the number of included studies because many studies considered multiple taxonomic groups.

*bicornis*), bovids (e.g. *Syncerus caffer*, *Tragelaphus scriptus*, *Aepyceros melampus*), felids (e.g. *Panthera pardus*, *Panthera leo*, *Acinonyx jubatus*) and primates (e.g. *Pan troglodytes*, *Gorilla beringei beringei*, *Gorilla gorilla*). In all such groups, while all three broad groups of CWC interventions were implemented, most studies focused on evaluating the effectiveness of interventions aimed to prevent the loss of target wildlife species from its habitat by illegal activities by directly protecting the wildlife (Figure 6a).

Asia had the largest number of taxonomic groups represented in the evidence base (21 groups), with the highest concentration of studies focused on felids (e.g. *Panthera tigris*, *Prionailurus bengalensis*, *Panthera pardus*), Asian rhinos (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) and turtles and tortoises (e.g. *Amyda cartilaginea*, *Geochelone elegans*, *Cuora amboinensis*). For Asian felids, rhinos and bovids, all three broad CWC interventions were implemented in relatively equal proportion among studies; however, for all other taxonomic groups, most studies evaluated the effectiveness of interventions aimed to target illegal wildlife products (wildlife or wildlife parts, derivatives or by-products) and their removal from circulation by interdiction and control (Figure 6b).

Only 12 taxonomic groups were captured in the evidence base for Latin America, with most studies focused on conserving parrots (e.g. *Ara macao*, *A. militaris*, *Amazona farinose*) and turtles and tortoises (*Lepidochelys olivacea*, *Chelonia mydas*, *Podocnemis unifilis*). For both taxonomic groups, studies evaluating the effectiveness of CWC interventions were captured for all three broad CWC intervention groups. For all other taxonomic groups, most or all the studies focused on evaluating interventions related to the interdiction and control of illicit wildlife commodities (Figure 6c).

When CWC interventions were implemented in other regions, 17 taxonomic groups were included with wildlife native to Africa, Asia or Latin America. Most of these studies were evaluations of interventions related to the interdiction and control of illicit wildlife commodities, primarily for elephants, felids, rhinos and turtles/tortoises (Figure 6d).

### 3.2.4 | Threats

The most frequent direct threat (i.e. wildlife crime) reported resulting in the need for CWC interventions was *Exploitation* (91% of cases). Most studies involving *Exploitation* identified *terrestrial animal hunting and collection* as the main (level 2) threat (440/489 *Exploitation* cases). Considering there were relatively few studies focused on plants captured in the evidence base, *logging/wood harvest* and *gathering terrestrial plants* made up a small proportion of the *Exploitation* crimes (21 and 2 unique studies, respectively). There were only four studies that reported *Human-wildlife conflicts* as the main direct threat, all from Africa, and related to conflicts with elephants, felids and primates. This relatively low prevalence of *Human-wildlife conflicts* as a main threat is likely due to an information gap in linking retaliatory killings from *Human-wildlife conflicts* and opportunistic attempts to sell wildlife products derived from those animals. Indeed, most of the studies captured in our search focused on preventing

or reducing *Human-wildlife conflicts* by implementing interventions related to species management actions (i.e. actions directly managing or restoring specific species or taxonomic groups; and these were excluded from the map) rather than reporting on CWC implications of retaliatory killings (i.e. the subsequent illegal trade) and/or CWC intervention effectiveness (but see Nowell et al., 2016). Lastly, the combination of *Exploitation* and *Human-wildlife conflicts* threats was reported in 42 unique studies, with most focusing on conserving felids, elephants and primates.

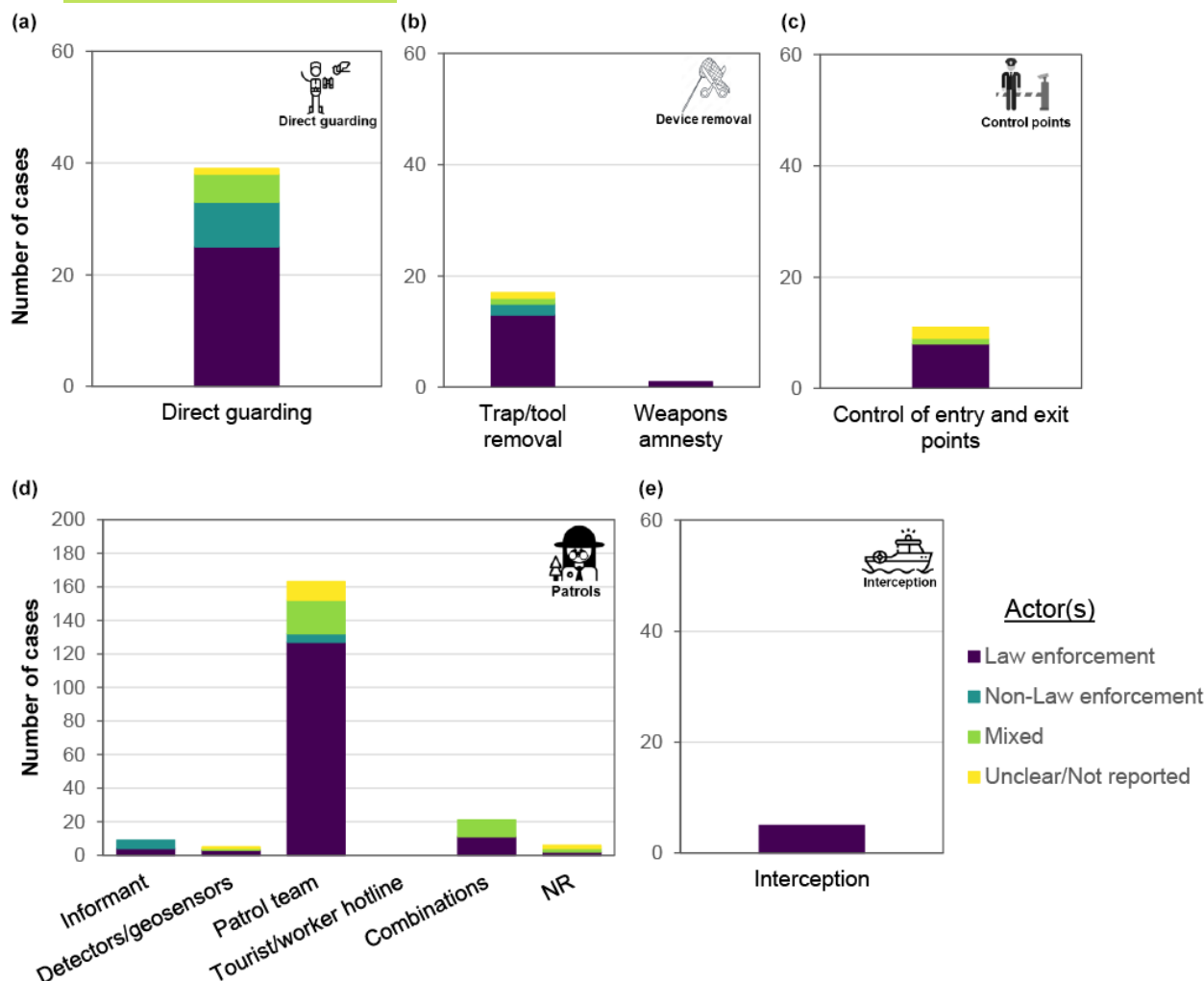
### 3.2.5 | Interventions

The most common broad group of CWC interventions implemented to address direct threats was wildlife product-centric actions (274 cases), followed by wildlife population-centric actions (235 cases) and offender and business-centric actions (178 cases). Overall, 48% of cases implemented a single CWC intervention, whereas the remaining cases were either combinations of CWC interventions (43%; at any intervention level) or it was unclear whether a single or multiple interventions were implemented (9%). When CWC interventions were combined, most frequent combinations involved direct protection of wildlife (e.g. through patrols) and detection and sanctioning of rule-breakers (e.g. sanctioning at time of encounter with offender) (68/231 combination cases; 29%), followed by combinations of interdiction and control of wildlife commodities (e.g. hotspot and trade analysis and inspections) (18%) and combinations of direct protection of wildlife (e.g. patrols and removal of traps) (15%). CWC interventions were often implemented with non-CWC interventions (67% of cases), primarily simultaneous with, for example, protected area management, species management, legal/policy frameworks and/or livelihood, economic and moral incentives.

With respect to wildlife population-centric actions, most cases involved one or more forms of patrols or other actions to increase detection (Figure 7). These actions were performed most frequently by actors with law enforcement authority, although there were a few interventions also implemented by non-law enforcement authorities (e.g. direct guarding of wildlife, informants).

For offender and business-centric actions, most cases involved one or more forms of sanctioning at the time of encounter with offenders, most commonly, arrests and confiscation of items (Figure 8). There were relatively fewer cases of activities related to intelligence-led operations and actions related to sanctioning following prosecutions/sentencing of offenders, and no studies that investigated the effectiveness of individual communication (e.g. verbal communication about legality, target communication with repeat offenders) or offender rehabilitation actions. Similar to wildlife population-centric actions, most actions were performed by actors with law enforcement authority.

Lastly, for wildlife product-centric actions, cases were dominated by hotspot and trade analysis activities, a form of information analysis and sharing (Figure 9). There were also several cases related to detecting and confiscating illegal wildlife products via inspections, but relatively fewer cases of actions related to disposition and/or



**FIGURE 7** Number of cases in relation to level 2 (panels) and 3 (columns within panels) wildlife population-centric actions by the actors involved in implementation: (a) Direct guarding of wildlife or key features; (b) Removal/destruction/control of traps, weapons, tools and infrastructure used by wildlife criminals; (c) Control of entry and exit points; (d) Patrols and other actions to increase detection; (e) Interception of illegal harvest attempt. NR: not reported. Note the difference in scale for (d) compared to other panels.

destruction of seized illegal wildlife products or awareness raising related to the transfer of these products. Most wildlife product-centric actions were performed by actors with law enforcement authority, except for hotspot and trade analysis and awareness-raising actions which were also implemented by non-law enforcement authorities.

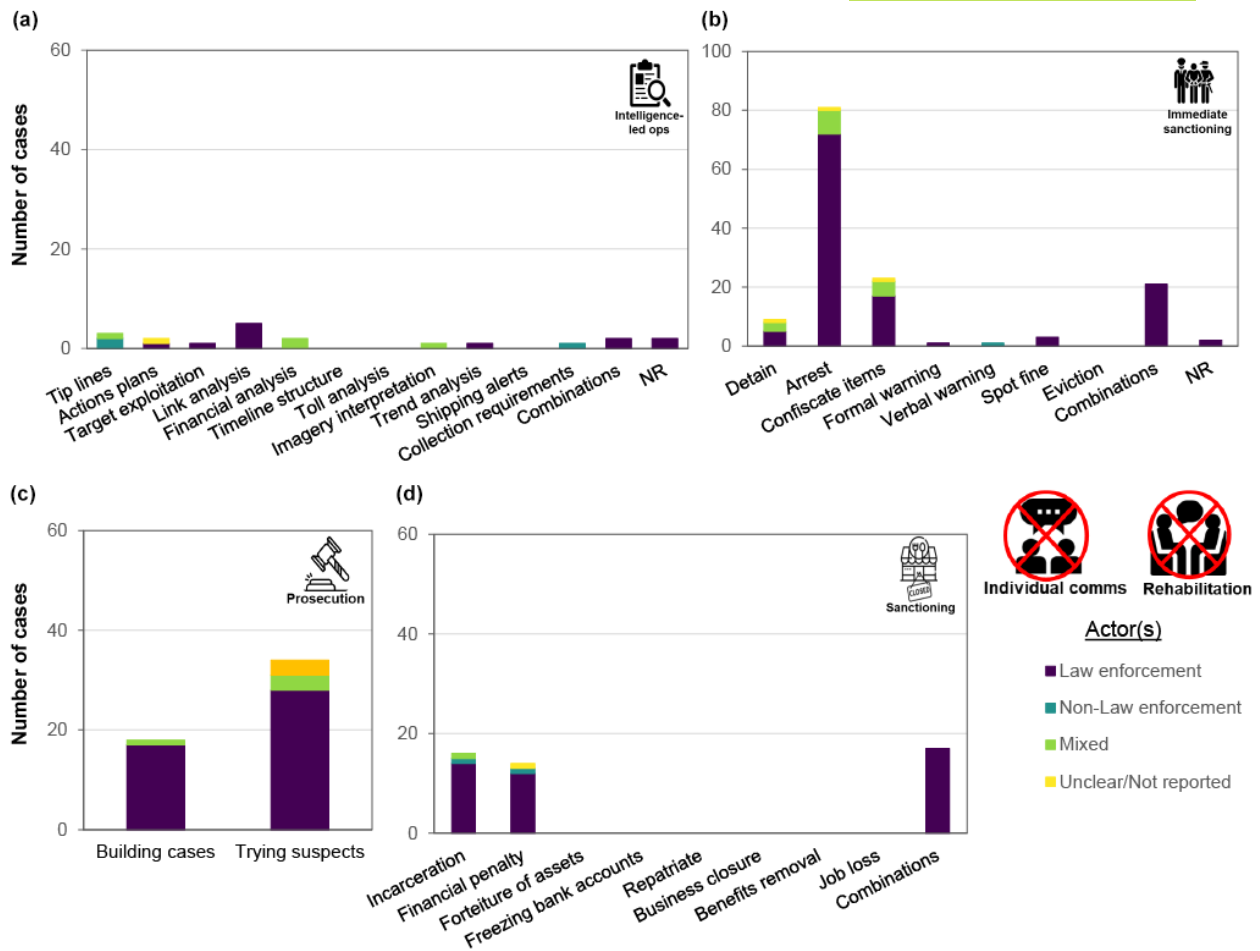
### 3.2.6 | Measured outcomes

Only 11% of all cases used a direct (biological) measure to evaluate CWC intervention effectiveness. Most often, threat reduction or intermediate outcomes were used as indicators of a potential or perceived change in population/species outcomes (65% and 24% of cases, respectively). When a biological measure was used, outcome metrics related to abundance were the most frequently studied (Figure 10). There were relatively few articles evaluating other biological measures (e.g. biomass, recruitment, behaviour, dispersal). For threat reduction measures, outcome metrics related to wildlife crime/trade levels

dominated in terms of subcategories (Figure 10). Most outcomes of wildlife crime/trade levels related to (i) the number or price of wildlife products available for sale in markets/online shops and/or spatial/temporal trends in such metrics (~45% of cases), (ii) the number or weight of wildlife contraband confiscated/seized (~34%) or (iii) the number/volume of wildlife/wildlife products from export/import records and/or spatial/temporal trends in such metrics (~18%). Within intermediate outcomes, most studies measured outcomes associated with evidence of illegal activities (e.g. number of poacher camps or snare traps encountered, number of confiscated guns), incidence of offender arrests (e.g. number of arrests) and successful offender prosecutions/sentences/fine payments (e.g. number or length of prison sentences, number and amount of fine payments).

Articles that only reported on human well-being outcomes were excluded from this evidence synthesis; however, we identified articles that provided a measure(s) of human well-being outcomes in addition to reporting on relevant direct and/or indirect measures. We found few studies that examined both forms of outcomes (i.e. 16%; 83/530 studies





**FIGURE 8** Number of cases in relation to level 2 (panels) and 3 (columns within panels) offender and business-centric actions by the actors involved in implementation: (a) Intelligence-led operations; (b) Sanctioning at time of encounter with offender; (c) Prosecuting and trying of alleged crimes; (d) Sanctioning following prosecution and sentencing of offender. Individual comms: Individual communications; NR, not reported. Note the difference in scale for (b) compared to other panels.

also included human well-being outcomes). When studies did evaluate human well-being outcomes, most related to economics (e.g. employment and livelihoods and/or income and assets), either alone (41 studies) or in combination with other human well-being domain impacts (21 studies; for example health, social, culture and cognition).

### 3.3 | Intersection of CWC interventions and measured outcomes

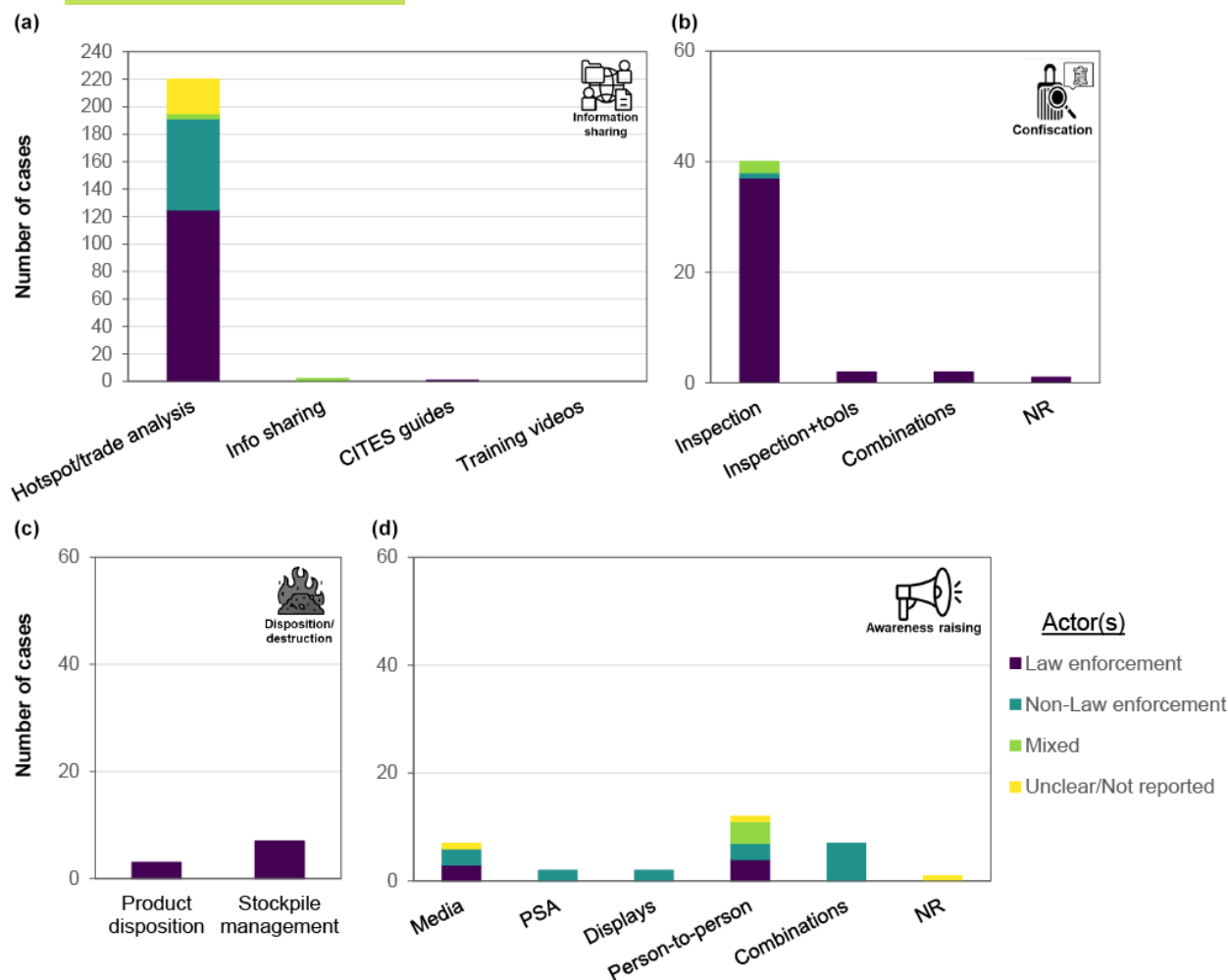
Figure 11 presents a heatmap of the distribution and frequency of all cases regardless of study designs used in evaluating the effectiveness of CWC interventions on biological, threat reduction and intermediate outcomes for African, Asian and Latin American wildlife directly threatened by exploitation and human-wildlife conflicts.

Focusing on wildlife population-centric actions (i.e. direct protection of wildlife), most cases investigated outcome metrics related to wildlife abundance (biological), poaching/killing incidents (threat reduction), evidence of illegal activities and key informant estimates

of poaching (intermediate), especially for surveillance interventions. Out of the three broad groupings of CWC interventions, overall, wildlife population-centric actions had the most even distribution of cases among outcome types (Figure 11).

Cases examining offender and business-centric actions (i.e. detection and sanctioning of rule-breakers) focused heavily on intermediate outcomes, with clear concentrations of evidence for sanctioning at the time of encounter with offenders and incidents of offender arrests, and prosecuting and trying of alleged crimes and incidence of successful prosecutions, with comparatively few cases exploring relationships between offender and business-centric actions and biological and threat reduction outcomes (Figure 11).

Focusing on wildlife product-centric actions (i.e. interdiction and control), cases were dominated by wildlife crime/trade level metrics, in particular in relation to information analysis and sharing (Figure 11). Overall, relatively few studies focused on examining changes in biological and intermediate outcomes for all level 2 wildlife product-centric actions.



**FIGURE 9** Number of cases in relation to level 2 (panels) and 3 (columns within panels) wildlife product-centric actions by the actors involved in implementation: (a) Information analysis and sharing; (b) Detecting and confiscating illegal wildlife products; (c) Disposition and/or destructing seized illegal wildlife products; (d) Awareness raising related to the transfer of illegal wildlife products. CITES: Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora; PSA: public service announcement; NR, not reported. Note the difference in scale for (a) compared to other panels.

### 3.4 | Knowledge clusters and gaps

#### 3.4.1 | Knowledge clusters

This mapping exercise identifies a number of subtopics that warrant further evidence synthesis (Figure 11). While many of the subtopics identified in Figure 11 have sufficient numbers to permit further review, the majority relate to evidence that, in general, is susceptible to bias. Specifically, our ability to infer CWC intervention effectiveness is hindered by study designs that lack *true comparators*. As such, we provide additional heatmaps that include only those linkages between CWC interventions and outcomes for cases (noting there could be more than one case from a given study if there were linkages for multiple species; Figure 12a) and unique studies (Figure 12b) that include *true comparators* (e.g. BA or CI designs). We used the heatmaps in Figure 12 to identify the following subtopics perhaps most suitable for further synthesis (defined here as linkages with >25 cases that include *true comparators* from at least three unique studies):

1. The effectiveness of surveillance interventions on population abundance (46 cases from 16 studies)
2. The effectiveness of information analysis and sharing on wildlife crime/trade levels (46 cases from 3 studies)

#### 3.4.2 | Knowledge gaps

Based on our analysis of the evidence base, we suggest the following knowledge gaps, which could benefit from primary research (presented in no particular order):

1. Geographical coverage for studies in Latin America.
2. Research on the effectiveness of CWC interventions for relevant plant groups (i.e. rosewoods, mahoganies, cycads, succulents, aloes, elephant trunks).
3. Research on the effectiveness of CWC interventions for relevant bird (e.g. hummingbirds, old world vultures, shorebirds) and reptile

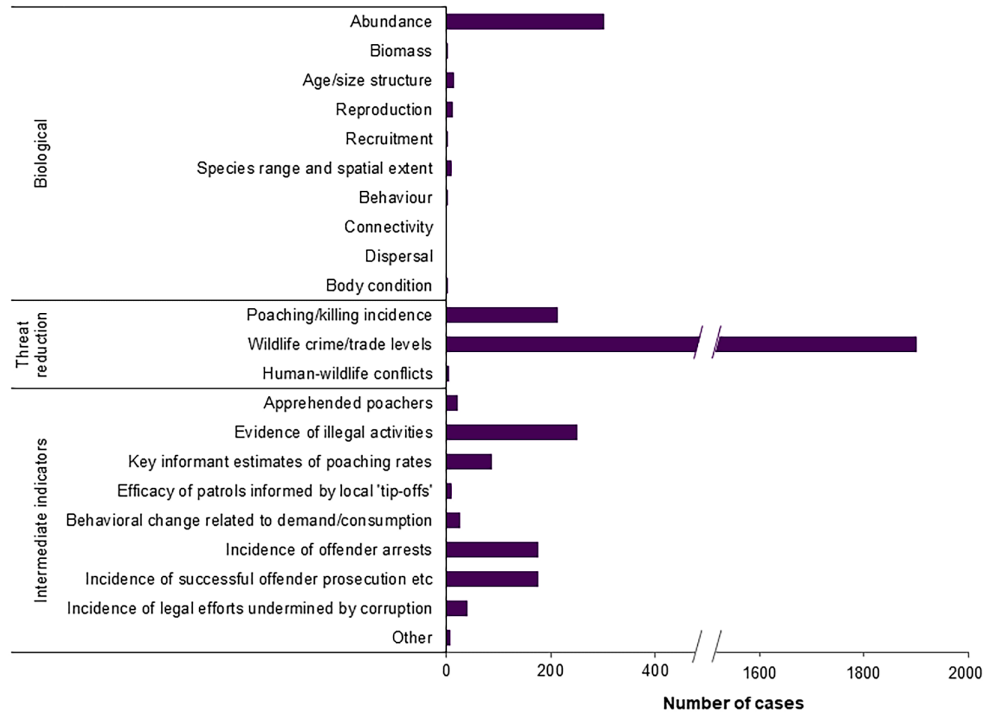


FIGURE 10 Number of cases in relation to outcome categories and subcategories used to evaluate CWC intervention effectiveness.

|  |   | Biological   |         |                    |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                | Threat reduction |                            |                             | Intermediate indicators  |                      |                                |                                     |  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |
|--|---|--|---------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------|---|---|-------|---|---|
|  |   | Abundance  | Biomass | Age/Size structure | Reproduction | Recruitment | Species range and spatial extent | Behaviour | Connectivity | Dispersal | Body condition | Adaptability     | Poaching/killing incidence | Wildlife crime/trade levels | Human-wildlife conflicts | Apprehended poachers | Evidence of illegal activities | Key informant estimates of poaching | Efficacy of patrols informed by local 'tip-offs' | Behavioural change related to demand/consumption | Incidence of offender arrests | Incidence of successful offender prosecution etc. | Incidence of legal efforts undermined by corruption | Other |   |   |
| CWC Interventions                                  | 1.1 Direct Protection of Wildlife         | 1.1.1 Direct guarding of wildlife or key features  | 30      |                    | 2            | 9           |                                  | 4         |              |           |                |                  | 16                         |                             | 9                        |                      | 17                             |                                     |  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |
|  |   | 1.1.2 Removal/destruction/control of 'tools'       | 11      |                    |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                |                  | 1                          |                             |                          |                      | 26                             |                                     |  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |
|  |   | 1.1.3 Control of entry and exit points             | 15      |                    |              |             |                                  |           | 1            |           |                |                  | 6                          |                             |                          |                      | 1                              | 1                                   |  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |
|  |   | 1.1.4 Surveillance                                 | 177     | 2                  | 1            | 1           | 1                                | 3         | 1            |           |                |                  | 142                        | 12                          |                          |                      | 122                            | 59                                  | 5  | 3  |                               |   |   |       | 2 |   |
|  |   | 1.1.5 Interception of illegal harvest attempt      |         |                    |              |             |                                  | 1         |              |           |                |                  | 2                          |                             |                          |                      | 3                              |                                     |  |  | 1                             |   |   |       |   |   |
|  | Not reported                              | 7  |         |                    |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                |                  |                            |                             |                          |                      |                                |                                     |  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |
|  | 1.2 Detection & Sanction of Rule-Breakers | 1.2.1 Intelligence                                 | 5       |                    |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                | 8                | 6                          |                             |                          | 1                    | 5                              | 1                                   | 1  |  |                               |   |   |       |   | 4 |
|  |   | 1.2.2 Sanctioning at time of encounter             | 22      |                    | 1            |             | 1                                |           |              |           |                | 11               | 19                         |                             |                          | 17                   | 25                             | 4                                   |  | 1  | 174                           | 8   | 2   |       |   |   |
|  |   | 1.2.3 Prosecuting and trying of alleged crimes     | 1       |                    |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                | 2                | 1                          |                             |                          | 37                   | 1                              | 1                                   |  |  |                               |   | 104   | 35    |   |   |
|  |   | 1.2.4 Sanctioning following prosecution/sentencing | 5       |                    |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                | 3                | 1                          |                             |                          | 1                    | 2                              | 7                                   |  |  |                               |   | 63  |       |   |   |
|  |   | 1.2.5 Individual communications                    |         |                    |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                |                  |                            |                             |                          |                      |                                |                                     |  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |
|  |   | 1.2.6 Rehabilitation                               |         |                    |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                |                  |                            |                             |                          |                      |                                |                                     |  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |
|  | Not reported                              |  |         |                    |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                |                  |                            |                             |                          |                      |                                |                                     |  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |
|  | 1.3 Interdiction & Control                | 1.3.1 Information analysis and sharing             | 3       |                    | 5            |             |                                  |           |              |           | 1              |                  | 18                         | 1609                        |                          |                      | 10                             | 1                                   | 1  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |
|  |   | 1.3.2 Detecting/confiscating illegal products      | 1       |                    | 1            |             |                                  |           |              |           |                | 3                | 129                        |                             |                          |                      | 1                              |                                     | 1  |  |                               |   |   | 1     | 1 |   |
| 1.3.3 Disposition/destruction of wildlife products |   | 2  |         | 2                  |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                | 9                |                            |                             |                          |                      |                                |                                     |  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |
| 1.3.4 Awareness raising                            |   | 22   |         | 1                  |              |             |                                  |           |              |           | 5              | 58               |                            |                             | 5                        | 1                    |                                | 17                                  |  |  |                               |   |   | 1     |   |   |
| Not reported                                       |   |  |         |                    |              |             |                                  |           |              |           |                |                  |                            |                             |                          |                      |                                |                                     |  |  |                               |   |   |       |   |   |

FIGURE 11 Distribution and frequency of all cases (regardless of study designs used) examining the effectiveness of CWC interventions (level 1 and 2s) on biological, threat reduction and intermediate outcomes (and subcategories therein). In this matrix of counts, darker coloured cells indicate a higher frequency of occurrence of the evidence, while lighter colours indicate a lower occurrence.

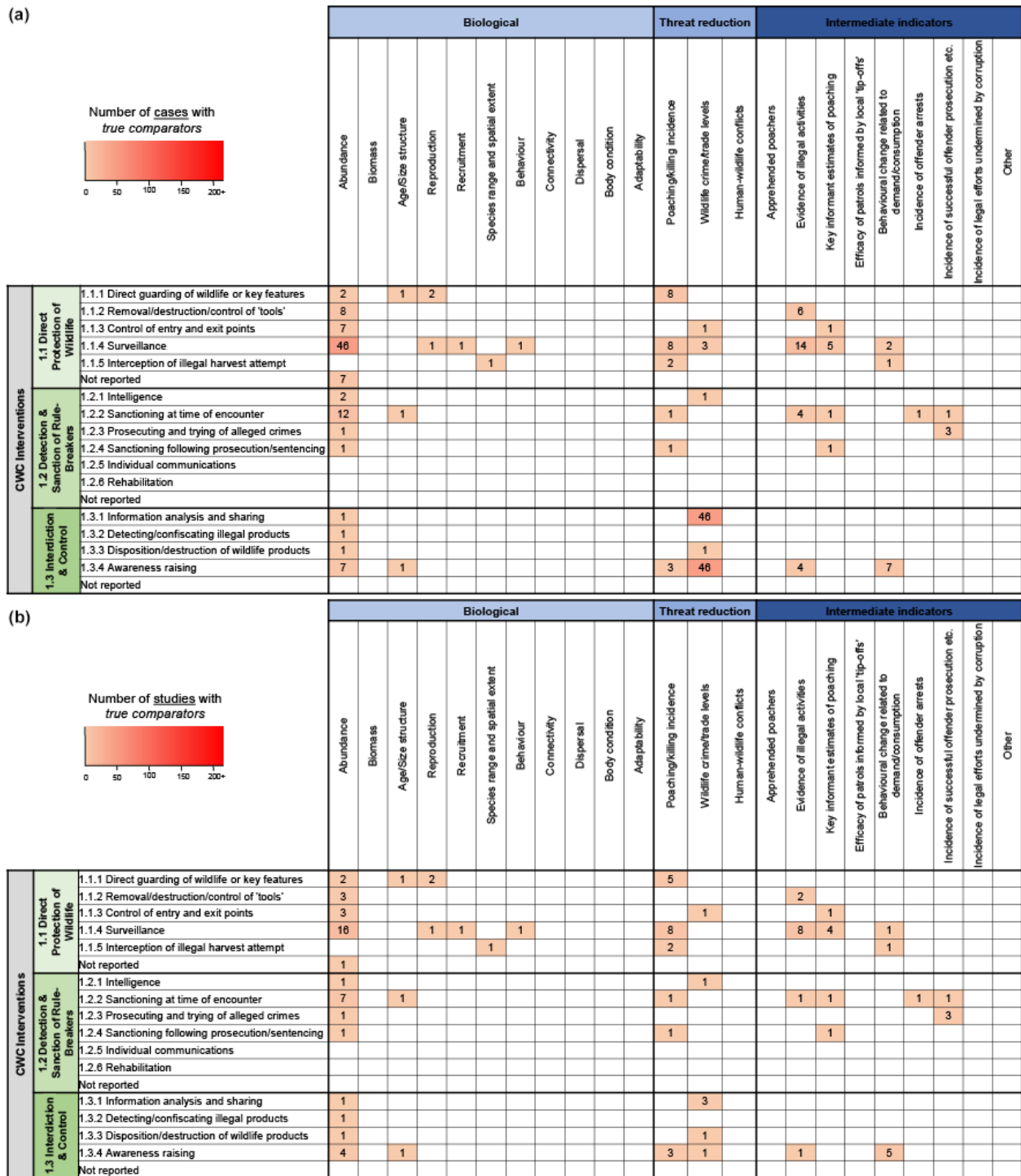


FIGURE 12 Distribution and frequency of cases examining the effectiveness of CWC interventions (level 1 and 2s) on biological, threat reduction and intermediate outcomes (and subcategories therein) including (a) only cases that include *true comparators* (e.g. BA or CI designs) and (b) the number of studies that include *true comparators*. In this matrix of counts [cases for (a) or studies for (b)], darker coloured cells indicate a higher frequency of occurrence of the evidence, while lighter colours indicate a lower occurrence.

- groups (e.g. boas, chameleons, girdle-tailed lizards), especially related to wildlife population-centric actions (rather than wildlife product-centric actions).
4. Research on the effectiveness of individual communication (e.g. verbal communication about legality, target communication with repeat offenders) or offender rehabilitation interventions.

5. Biological outcomes at the population and species levels (i.e. ultimate conservation targets, for example abundance, biomass, reproduction).

Given that most investigations of intervention effectiveness lacked true comparators, and no experimental designs were found,

we emphasize that more rigorous study designs are needed when addressing these knowledge gaps to ensure we are building a strong evidence base (see Christie et al., 2019, 2020 and the Conclusions section below for further recommendations).

### 3.5 | Systematic map limitations

#### 3.5.1 | Limitations of the mapping methods

There were a few potential limitations of our mapping methods. First, the search strategy used to generate this map may not have captured all relevant investigations on CWC intervention effectiveness. To identify the grey literature and/or articles that might have been missed with our search strategy despite our extensive scoping efforts (see supporting information in Rytwinski, Öckerman, et al., 2021), we issued evidence call-outs (e.g. via mailing lists, social media, networks) and undertook supplemental bibliographic and website searching, screening the reference lists of nearly 70 relevant reviews and 36 specialist websites and online databases. This supplemental searching proved well worth the effort, representing 34% (i.e. 234/695 articles) of the captured evidence base included at the full-text screening stage. However, through these supplemental searches and discussions with our Advisory Team members, it was evident that there were other projects and datasets that had not been documented and made publicly available. This failure to document or share knowledge on past efforts is not unique to our review topic (e.g. Davies et al., 2008; Ramstead et al., 2012; Rytwinski et al., 2019; Rytwinski, Kelly, et al., 2021) but limits the insights of our synthesis. Indeed, many management practitioners and NGOs implementing CWC interventions are not provided support to evaluate (rigorously or otherwise) the effectiveness of an intervention(s) (Ferraro & Pattanayak, 2006). This gap highlights the need for making such information available so that it can be used by others to avoid duplicated research (Buxton et al., 2021) and be included in evidence syntheses about the effectiveness of CWC interventions.

Second, our search was limited to English language literature, presenting a potential language bias (Konno et al., 2020). We acknowledge that additional evidence likely exists in other languages; however, we did not have the resources to conduct these searches. Only seven non-English articles were identified by our search strategy (i.e. had English abstracts) but were excluded (Spanish, 2; German, Russian, Portuguese, Chinese, French, 1 each respectively). It is unclear how many of these articles would have met all the inclusion criteria; however, the ability to include these untranslated articles, as well as to conduct searches in other languages, would add strength to the accuracy of the map and any resultant syntheses.

Third, we were unable to source 20 articles because (i) the articles were not accessible with our institution's subscriptions (10) or (ii) there was insufficient bibliographic information to locate them (10). This is a relatively small number of papers, and here too, it is unclear how many of these articles would have been eligible for inclusion.

Lastly, we encountered some challenges in coding the CWC interventions and outcomes into our pre-defined classification framework. Our interventions classification framework and codes were developed in consultation with the Advisory Team during the protocol development stage of this systematic map. Although coding was scoped and tested on a subset of the evidence base during framework development and when checking data extraction consistency, as with any attempt to classify a heterogeneous data set into pre-defined categories, we encountered some difficulties. For example, when studies reported the confiscation of a wildlife product(s) as an outcome (e.g. X number of tusks seized) and the confiscation was carried out by a patrol regime, it was at times difficult to differentiate whether the patrols were targeting the offender (relating to an offender and business-centric action, that is 1.2.2 *Sanctioning at time of encounter with offender* from Table 2 but also see Rytwinski et al., 2024) or the wildlife product itself (relating to a wildlife product-centric action, that is 1.3.2 *Detecting and confiscating illegal wildlife products*). Unless the patrol regime was explicitly described by authors as focused on detecting and confiscating illegal wildlife products, we consistently coded these cases as an offender-centric action. Relatedly, due to a lack of descriptive reporting of CWC interventions in many studies, we sometimes used reported outcomes to help distinguish between interventions. For instance, author(s) frequently used offender apprehensions synonymously with making arrests in describing sanctions at the time of encounter with an offender. If the outcome was reported as apprehensions, rather than arrests, we coded the intervention as *Detain* (coded as 1.2.2A from Table 2) and the intermediate outcome as *Apprehended poachers*; however, if the indicator was reported as arrests, the intervention was coded as *Arrest* (coded as 1.2.2B from Table 2) and the outcome as *Incidence of offender arrests*. These challenges were a normal part of this subject matter, and we handled them as consistently as possible to reduce bias and variability.

#### 3.5.2 | Limitations of the evidence base

Due to the scope of the topic and the highly heterogeneous nature of the studies, this systematic map did not conduct a formal in-depth critical appraisal of the included studies (i.e. assessment of study reliability or susceptibility to bias). Instead, metadata on aspects of study design were extracted from included studies to provide a very basic overview of the robustness of the evidence. From this metadata extraction, a few aspects of the evidence base were highlighted.

First, CWC interventions implemented to conserve African, Asian and Latin American wildlife directly threatened by exploitation have not been subject to rigorous evaluations of their effectiveness. Most investigations evaluated the effectiveness of CWC intervention efforts through post-implementation monitoring (i.e. After-only designs with no pre-intervention data or spatial comparator), and typically either reported a single value for an outcome (e.g. number of arrests made at time X) or correlated change in an outcome over time or in relation to implementation effort.

After-only designs are considered to have the weakest standard of evidence (low scientific inference) because the causal effect of an intervention on an outcome is very difficult to evidence quantitatively without a comparator (Stewart-Oaten & Bence, 2001) and they cannot control over potentially confounding variables (Christie et al., 2020; Treves et al., 2016). The generally high proportion of studies lacking a *true comparator* in this evidence base will restrict the ability of reviews to draw conclusions on the effectiveness of particular CWC interventions and/or combine studies in meta-analyses.

Furthermore, of the relatively few studies that included a *true comparator* (i.e. only 11% of studies), none were experimental in design, whereby, there was random allocation of the CWC intervention(s) to treatment and control groups/sites (e.g. randomized CI or BACI designs). Randomization is a key element of study design for yielding strong inference results because this technique can avoid confounding biases (e.g. baseline difference among treatment groups/sites—groups/sites that differ initially cannot reveal treatment differences; Christie et al., 2020; Cooke et al., 2017; Treves et al., 2016). This is particularly concerning here, because most evaluations of a CWC intervention were confounded by the implementation of more than one conservation action (i.e. 430/530 studies combined >1 CWC interventions and/or combined a CWC intervention(s) with a non-CWC intervention(s) either simultaneously or consecutively). Most frequently, uncontrolled observational designs were used in comparative studies instead (e.g. BA designs; Figure 5). However, the paucity of studies employing an experimental design is not unique to our review topic, as this finding has been reported in related reviews (e.g. wildlife trade practices and policies: Cheng et al., 2017; crime prevention in the social sciences: Sherman et al., 1998), other subfields of conservation (e.g. human-wildlife conflict mitigation: van Eeden et al., 2018; road mitigation for wildlife: van der Ree et al., 2015), as well as biodiversity conservation in general (e.g. Christie et al., 2020). Randomized experiments to evaluate CWC intervention effectiveness is challenging because there are often ethical, cultural, logistical and economic constraints that prevent the use of these designs in this field. Indeed, true randomization of experimental units is more difficult in conservation (and ecology in general) with threatened species and large-scale sites such as protected areas compared to other fields such as health care (Larsen et al., 2019). We also echo statements from Treves et al. (2016) that “Often well-intentioned and highly competent researchers encounter flaws in research design because of inescapable challenges presented by field conditions”. Furthermore, most often, these interventions are implemented to address wildlife crimes, not necessarily to generate new information that can facilitate learning about the effectiveness of these measures. Therefore, taken together, it was not surprising to observe an evidence base of generally low rigour. Nevertheless, a lack of rigorous evaluations of intervention effectiveness has important implications for the credibility of the results and any decisions that are based on them. Some related fields have made strides in improving intervention effectiveness evaluations. For instance, the evidence-based policing movement is trying to change

the status quo of implementing interventions to reduce crime and disorder without checking the effectiveness of interventions (see Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy, 2024). Given the increasing popularity of CWC interventions and the high-profile nature of wildlife crime, it would be beneficial for both wildlife conservation and national security to invest time and resources in evaluating the effectiveness of interventions to counter wildlife crime.

Another limitation of the evidence base is that many studies were poorly documented. In particular, we encountered limited descriptive information for the evaluated CWC interventions (e.g. how and when the CWC intervention(s) was implemented, whether combined with other CWC interventions or non-CWC intervention(s), what actor(s) were involved in the implementation). These limitations affect the comprehensiveness of our narrative description of the current evidence base. Furthermore, the lack of information reported on these key aspects of the implemented interventions limit further secondary review (e.g. quantitative synthesis) in determining how and why a particular CWC intervention worked or did not work and in what context (Pawson & Tilley, 1997).

## 4 | CONCLUSIONS

This systematic map provides an overview of the existing English language literature on the effectiveness of CWC interventions for conserving African, Asian and Latin American wildlife directly threatened by exploitation. This narrative and visual description of the evidence base provides important first steps towards improving our understanding of CWC intervention effectiveness and helping to make evidence-informed management and funding decisions. The database (Rytwinski et al., 2024) and heatmaps (Figures 11 and 12) reveal the distribution of research effort for subtopics of the evidence base (e.g. particular linkages between CWC interventions and outcomes, geographical locations, taxonomic groups). However, this mapping exercise does not quantify or validate the effectiveness of CWC interventions for conserving wildlife, nor provide a formal, in-depth assessment of the validity of individual studies. Only with further systematic review of the knowledge clusters identified herein, can the full depth and validity of evidence be assessed. Importantly, we identified several understudied topic areas, which can help inform decision-making by managers and funding agencies about the allocation of future funding and resources for research on the effectiveness of CWC interventions. Furthermore, this systematic map highlights important limitations in the current evidence base, which can be used to improve future study design and methods, as well as research reporting and knowledge sharing. Below we highlight some implications for consideration for researchers, management/funding agencies and policy-makers.

A major finding highlighted from this systematic mapping effort is the overall lack of studies that included a comparator. Despite a relatively large evidence base (i.e. 530 studies from 477 articles included in the map), only 11% of studies used a design that included

an appropriate temporal and/or spatial comparator, and there were no experimental designs. Given this, the evidence base should be treated with caution regarding its strength of evidence. There is considerable scope for improving the rigour of future evaluations of CWC interventions, a responsibility to be shared by researchers, managers and funding agencies.

For researchers, we recommend designing studies to assess the effectiveness of a management intervention (or impact of a threat) by building on the recommendations of prior research. For instance, Christie et al. (2020) found that experimental designs such as randomized Control/Impact (CI) and randomized Before/After/Control/Impact (BACI) designs produced less biased quantitative estimates of intervention effectiveness than simpler observational designs (i.e. CI or Before/After [BA] designs). However, if randomization is not feasible or there are restricted financial resources or ethical issues, researchers should choose a non-randomized BACI design, followed by a CI design (if pre-impact sampling is impossible and as long as control and impact sites are well-matched; see Rytwinski et al., 2016), then a BA design (if appropriate controls cannot be found; Christie et al., 2019, 2020). Several studies captured in our map employed a non-randomized BACI design (e.g. Critchlow et al., 2017; Lee, 2018), suggesting that these designs are feasible in some cases. In particular, a BACI design should be considered when prior knowledge exists in the timing of the implementation of a CWC intervention or where there is already pre-intervention data available (Christie et al., 2019; De Palma et al., 2018).

For managers and funding agencies, ensuring adequate long-term investments in research effort and funding is critical to building a robust evidence base to support evidence-informed decision-making. We observed that most studies (55% regardless of study design) involved <5 years of post-CWC intervention implementation monitoring, with the majority of these (32% of studies) for  $\leq 1$  year. Therefore, we emphasize the need for investments to include longer-term monitoring to facilitate improved understanding of CWC intervention effectiveness, especially for population-level outcomes (i.e. ultimate conservation outcomes) and the potential for time-lags in responses to management actions. This may be particularly important for species of conservation concern that have longer generation times and/or lower reproductive rates that may be less able to rebound quickly from population declines caused by exploitation (Chichorro et al., 2022; Kablan et al., 2019; Owens & Bennett, 2000). If we continue to support poorly designed and/or executed research, we run the risk of providing incomplete or incorrect information that could lead to ineffective or even harmful decisions (Sells et al., 2018). Therefore, managers and funding agencies should support longer-term monitoring (this is good programme management) but also evidence building (more robust study designs for making strong inferences on the effectiveness of conservation interventions), two separate but equally important needs to help advance the field.

In addition to improving the rigour of CWC intervention evaluations, this systematic map identified the need for improved reporting. To facilitate the knowledge base required for better evaluations of CWC intervention effectiveness, we need to provide comprehensive

information on CWC interventions, that is how and when the CWC intervention(s) was implemented and by whom specifically and whether combined with other CWC interventions or non-CWC intervention(s). Where possible, we recommend that this information be reported in publications directly; however, where information cannot fit within published studies, details should be included in Supplementary Materials and data should be shared in archivers or repositories to aid in future reviews (for further guidance, see for example Lowndes et al., 2017; White et al., 2013; Wilkinson et al., 2016).

This systematic map also highlights the important need for finding ways to ensure project information is made broadly available in accessible formats so that it can be used by others and included in future evidence syntheses. One approach to help ensure CWC intervention evaluations are documented could be to form collaborations between practitioners or NGOs and scientists from universities, government agencies or other organizations that may have more time and resources to help disseminate the information (Ramstead et al., 2012). Also, practical field reports or short papers are welcomed by several peer-reviewed journals, including for example, *Environmental Management, Conservation Science and Practice, Ecological Solutions and Evidence, Journal of Fish and Wildlife Management*. Further, to overcome a lack of reporting or documentation to ensure the global conservation community benefits from the investment, funding/permit agencies and/or institutions could consider (i) increasing funding to organizations/salaries to ensure adequate time and monetary support for writing/documentation, (ii) increasing resources to overcome language barriers, (iii) requiring proof that research was adequately shared/reported before further funding is granted or permits renewed to applicant(s) and/or (iv) requiring data management plans (DMPs) to describe how the data anticipated from a project will be managed, analysed, stored, reported and shared/preserved (e.g. in an online data repository; Buxton et al., 2021; for further guidance, see also for example Michener, 2015; Wilkinson et al., 2016).

There were several knowledge gaps identified from this mapping exercise that deserve further study. First, in general, given the overall low rigour of the evidence base, more robust primary research evaluations on all CWC interventions are needed before we can confidently and accurately say what works and what does not work for conserving African, Asian and Latin American wildlife threatened by exploitation. However, if management/conservation decisions are urgent for a particular species and/or location (i.e. waiting for more primary studies to allow for such investigations is not an option), the outputs of this systematic map provide managers with a comprehensive evidence base that they can use to assess the available evidence that is relevant to their specific contexts and/or regions. Second, to address geographic and taxonomic gaps, further study is needed focusing on evaluating CWC interventions (i) in Latin America and/or (ii) for conserving plants (i.e. rosewoods, mahoganies, cycads, succulents, aloes, elephant trunks), birds (e.g. hummingbirds, old world vultures, shorebirds) and reptiles (e.g. boas, chameleons, girdle-tailed lizards), especially related to wildlife population-centric actions. Note, we did not search or collate

evidence for amphibians, fungi, arthropods and fish for this mapping exercise; therefore, it remains unclear whether there are gaps in these taxonomic areas. Third, we found no studies investigating the effectiveness of individual communication or offender rehabilitation actions. Interestingly, these interventions were identified by staff from the USFWS Office of Law Enforcement as commonly used interventions during the development of our CWC interventions framework. As such, further attention and evaluation may be warranted for these action types. Lastly, we identified a clear knowledge gap in evidence for the effect of CWC interventions on biological outcomes at the population and species levels. We recommend this as a focus area for future primary research efforts, ideally, accompanied with human well-being objectives, as others have encouraged before (e.g. Biedenweg & Gross-Camp, 2018; Kaplan-Hallam & Bennett, 2018).

### AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Siri LA Öckerman, Jessica J. Taylor and Trina Rytwinski carried out literature searches. Adrienne Smith, Siri LA Öckerman and Trina Rytwinski performed screening. Trina Rytwinski, Siri LA Öckerman, Adrienne Smith and Lisa A. Kelly conducted coding and extraction of articles. Trina Rytwinski and Adrienne Smith performed descriptive statistics. Trina Rytwinski led the writing of the manuscript. All authors assisted in the design of methodology, interpretation of data, contributed critically to the drafts and gave final approval for publication.

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### CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

### PEER REVIEW

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### DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

All-important additional information is provided in Supporting Information. The systematic map database containing the coding (extracted data) for all articles/studies included in the map can be found here: <http://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.25451692.v1> (Rytwinski et al., 2024).

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## SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

**Supporting Information 1.** ROSES systematic map report.

**Supporting Information 2.** Search strategy and results.

**Supporting Information 3.** Consistency checks and study eligibility criteria.

**Supporting Information 4.** List of records excluded at full-text screening with reasons.

**Supporting Information 5.** Input file for evidence atlas.

**Supporting Information 6.** Review descriptive statistics.

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