

# UK TROPICAL FOREST FORUM

## BUSHMEAT WORKING GROUP

4<sup>TH</sup> December 2006

14:00 – 17:00

Bartlett Meeting Room, Zoological Society of London

### Meeting report

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#### Summary

This was the first meeting of the group this year. The Forum is an informal group and a neutral mechanism for dialogue on bushmeat related issues, where different views, free discussion and radical proposals are welcome.

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#### Attendees List

Ambika Aiyadurai, Imperial College London & Nature Conservation Foundation, India  
Sophie Allebone-Webb, Institute of Zoology, ZSL  
David Brown, Overseas Development Institute (ODI)  
Lauren Coad, Imperial College London  
Guy Cowlshaw, Institute of Zoology, ZSL  
Glyn Davies, Director of Conservation Programmes, ZSL  
Sanjay Gubbi, WCS-India  
Matthew Hatchwell, Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS)  
Olly Hymas, Projet Gibie, Gabon  
Nanki Kaur, Overseas Development Institute (ODI)  
Noelle Kumpel, Institute of Zoology, ZSL  
Neil Maddison, Bristol Zoo  
Ruth Malleson, University College London (UCL)  
EJ Milner-Gulland, Imperial College London  
Ian Redmond, Ape Alliance  
Bjorn Schulte-Herbruggen, Institute of Zoology, ZSL  
Juliet Wright, Oxford Brookes University

#### Welcoming remarks and introduction

1. **The Chair, Dr Glyn Davies**, Director of Conservation Programmes, ZSL, welcomed participants and reminded them that the Forum is an informal group and a neutral mechanism for dialogue, where different views, free discussion and radical proposals are welcome. He pointed out that the meeting had been due last year, but people had been away, and then it was thought best to wait until the government bushmeat report was published. We shall hear a talk about the report from **David Brown** in this meeting.
2. Attendees introduced themselves. The Chair drew attention to the agenda.

#### **Cause and effect: Incentives for sustainable hunting of bushmeat in Equatorial Guinea Dr Noelle Kumpel**

3. **Dr Noelle Kumpel** completed her PhD in December 2005, and presented an overview of her study. She has been looking at the incentives for sustainable bushmeat hunting, trying to

understand the complex and dynamic interactions between market, hunter and prey, which ultimately determine the causes and effects of hunting.

4. The study was done in Rio Muni, continental Equatorial Guinea, focussing on the village of Sendje 10km west of the Monte Alen National Park and 41km south of the regional capital, Bata. Rio Muni is heavily forested and contains many flagship species, such as gorilla, chimpanzee and forest elephant. After independence from Spain in 1968, the first dictatorial president banned guns, and as a consequence there has been less gun-hunting here than in some surrounding countries. In 1995, the discovery of off-shore oil led the previously stagnant economy into an economic boom, which has had large impacts on the demand for bushmeat. This study follows work done by Fa & Garcia Yuste (2001) in the same area of the Monte Alén National Park (the Monte Mitra forest) where offtake from more than 40 hunters was monitored over a 16 month period in 1998-99. **Noelle's** study therefore provides a comparison five years later. Data were collected over a period of 18 months in 2002-2004, to investigate the following issues:

- Socio-economic drivers of bushmeat hunting
- Bushmeat as a component of livelihoods
- Hunter decision making and behaviour
- Impacts of hunting on wildlife populations
- Patterns of sustainability
- Management and policy options

5. Methods used included:

- **Urban consumption:** household interviews, market consumer interviews, restaurant and chop bar surveys, market surveys, commodity chain analysis
- **Village household interviews:** 42 of 56 households in Sendje were interviewed on an 8 day cycle, giving a total 1607 interviews. These included 24 hour recall information on food consumption and livelihood activities, and 8-day recall information on income and expenditure, for all household members.
- **Hunter interviews:** Of 83 hunters in Sendje, 72 were interviewed. They were all male, between 13-74, and generally disliked hunting. 89% of bushmeat was sold, and generally trapping was more common and preferred.
- **Gun-hunter and trapper follows:** 15 camps up to 30km into the forest. 48 trappers were followed using a CyberTracker, which gives time and location data.
- **Offtake survey:** 15 months of data collected in the village and in hunter camp diaries on village offtake and trade coming through the village, details of hunting trips, animals caught and animals consumed in camp. Wastage was recorded through the follows. More than 10,000 animals were hunted in this time, 90% of which were trapped.
- **Prey density estimates:** transects were done at two sites with differing gun-hunting history and intensity, 2km and 30km from the village, over a total of 408km.

6. Results included:

- Urban consumers prefer fresh produce over frozen, but this is the opposite to what is actually consumed. Meat and fish were valued far more than vegetarian options. Consumption of broad meat and fish categories was related to price, but within the bushmeat category, preference and availability determined what species were consumed. The increased urban wealth resulting from the economic boom means that demand for all fresh produce, including bushmeat, is rising.
- Hunting is a major livelihood in Sendje. Middle-income households hunt more for trade, and top hunters can earn a lot, but most don't (median hunter income is less than half the income of paid employment).
- Traps are the main gear type in Monte Mitra, with 90% of animals killed by traps, and only 14 of 83 hunters using guns.
- Monte Mitra has lots of primates, with transect data showing high diversity and densities of primates. This is particularly true for black colobus for which the area seems to be a global stronghold, with higher densities found than in any other

study. However, black colobus are an easy target and seem to be specifically targeted, making them virtually absent from the survey site near the village.

- There is a long-term hunter camp rotation system, whereby hunters switch to a new area once the previous has been hunted out, and subsequently return after a few months presumably once prey have recovered.
- Trappers don't seem to be going any further into the forest than historically, but are setting more traps. In order to ascertain if this is to increase offtake, or merely maintain it, comparison was made with the Fa & Garcia Yuste (2001) study. Initially it seems as if there has been a massive increase in species number and biomass since the previous study. However, in the previous study there is a sudden drop in number of animals reported from the second month onwards, so if you look at data from the first month only the picture is much more similar to what Noelle found, suggesting that hunting is not as drastically unsustainable as concluded by Fa & Garcia Yuste.
- Over the course of the study, a slight change in the prey composition was seen, with an increase in the two most dominant species seen (blue duiker and brush-tailed porcupine), and a slight decrease in numbers of other species – but there appeared to be no change in mean reproductive potential (Rmax) of offtake.
- In answer to the question 'Is current hunting sustainable', it seems that some species appear robust, while other very vulnerable species may have decreased or disappeared decades ago. Overall offtake figures might be misleading as guns and cartridges are becoming more affordable and more common, and a consequent shift in gear-type (from trapping to guns) would confuse results. The difference in proportion of different taxa on sale in the Bata urban market from that seen in Sendje suggests that this gear type shift has already occurred in some other areas of Rio Muni, with up to 80% animals shot in villages near Bata.

7. In conclusion, bushmeat demand is likely to increase with the oil driven economic boom, given an absence of fresh meat/fresh alternatives. Rural people don't like to hunt, but do so when there is no other income resource. Some species can withstand this level of hunting, but others are seriously threatened. Trapping now predominates in Monte Mitra but a shift to guns is being seen and could seriously threaten gun-vulnerable species such as the black colobus. To mitigate these harmful effects, **Noelle's** policy recommendations included protection of the Monte Alen National Park; prevention of the trade in vulnerable species; provision of fresh meat/fish alternatives to decrease urban demand; and promotion of alternative livelihoods.

8. **Glyn** thanked **Noelle** for her presentation and invited questions.

9. **Dr Neil Maddison** asked whether there were large price differences between bushmeat species. **Noelle** replied that she had recorded the prices, but that often the rarest animals were the cheapest (in \$/biomass), possibly because the rarer animals were often the larger animals. For example, a black colobus is bigger than a guenon, but was often the same price per carcass or only slightly more expensive. However, because the total price gained by the hunter was still the same, they would still be hunted. In addition the common species were often preferred for consumption.

10. **Dr Matthew Hatchwell** asked if there was a preference for smoked or fresh meat. **Noelle** replied that although in Ghana there seems to be a clear preference for smoked meat, in Equatorial Guinea it seemed to depend on personal preference, and also on family size (smaller families may prefer smoked meat because it keeps for longer, while big families could eat a whole animal in one day) and the freshness of the meat. Meat that is slightly rotten is often smoked, and most people are aware of this.

11. **Ian Redmond** asked if the hunters are aware of the park boundaries. **Noelle** replied that the boundaries are not clear, but the hunters do know that they are hunting in the park. **Ian** pointed out that the illegality was therefore twofold – through where and what species they were hunting.

12. **Olly Hymas** asked if data were collected on the origin of the bushmeat in the market, as meat used to go from Equatorial Guinea to Gabon, but now appears to move the other way. **Noelle** replied her attempts to collect data on bushmeat origin had been a little over-ambitious with everything else, but that **Sophie Allebone-Webb** and **Janna Rist**, two PhD students working in Equatorial Guinea after her had done, and asked Sophie to expand. **Sophie** explained that data had been collected in the both of Bata main markets on the origin of the bushmeat, and that she was currently analysing the results. She also pointed out that INDEFOR (the Equatorial Guinea forest management organisation) were collecting data on the movement of bushmeat to and from Gabon at the border crossing at Mongomo (in the east).

### **Bushmeat, household wealth and the use of hunter incomes** **Lauren Coad**

13. **Lauren Coad** is currently writing up her PhD on bushmeat hunting in Dibouka and Kouagna, Gabon. This study looks at the links between bushmeat hunting, household wealth, and what families spend their money on. Data was collected from 311 village inhabitants and 76 hunters, in 45 households over two villages. The questions that she will discuss today include:

- Who hunts?
- How are hunting incomes spent?
- What contribution does hunting make to wealth?

14. Methods used included:

- Hunter follows - 234 follows were done over 14 months, collecting data such as trap location and success
- Hunter offtakes - 1740 animals were recorded in one year. These were weighed and the trap and location recorded. 50% of biomass was sold.
- Socio-economic data - This included demography, wealth, incomes, plantation returns, hunter returns
- Shop purchases - The shop keeper in one of the villages kept a record of who bought what over 6 months.

15. Results showed that middle-aged men catch the most animals. 70% of men hunt, half of which with guns, and non-hunters are generally old or immobile. Middle-income families hunted more, although this may be confounded by demographics, in that poorer households are often the female-headed households, or with sick people. This was reflected in an uneven distribution of hunting and hunting income across households – 10 households caught 70% of animals and hunting income showed a Gini index of 0.81 (i.e. hunting incomes are not well distributed). The proportion of catch sold actually increased with wealth.

16. Shop purchase data showed that half of the money spent in the bar by men was on alcohol, whereas half of women's spending in the bar was on food. There was a correlation between hunter income and proportion and amount of money spent on alcohol – as income increased, less money was spent on food.

17. Household purchase data showed that for men, alcohol and cigarette spending is predicted by hunter offtake only, but that spending on food does not correlate with any elements looked at. Female spending on food increased with plantation returns, but female spending on alcohol and cigarettes was unpredictable. Consequently it seems that men use hunting income to buy alcohol and cigarettes, while women use plantation income to buy food.

18. Household wealth as assessed from a PRA correlated to the number to females in the household, but didn't correlate to the amount of hunting. Wealthy households did show more activity and thus had more meat, etc.

19. In conclusion, hunting is not a resource of the 'poorest of the poor'. Hunters spend an equivalent of half their income on luxury goods, and hunting provides a source of food for households. Higher plantation income is correlated with higher spending on food.

20. **Dr Ruth Malleson** asked whether Lauren meant large plantations and paid labour with the term 'plantation' or whether she was talking about small scale farming. **Lauren** replied that the farming was small scale and agreed that perhaps the term 'farming' would be more appropriate. **Ruth** then asked if perhaps wealthy people were spending less money in the bar on food, because they could afford to travel and buy food away from the village (where perhaps it is cheaper). **Lauren** explained that it was very far to get to the nearest town, so this wasn't a common phenomenon, but of course it was difficult to get spending away from the village and some people did occasionally go to the supermarket in town. **Ruth** asked if Lauren had looked at marital status as an indicator of spending on food or alcohol. **Lauren** replied that very few hunters weren't married, and that if a hunter was in a large household they were very likely to be married.

21. **Dr Guy Cowlshaw** asked how the incomes fit with the \$/day indicator of poverty. **Lauren** replied that although she'd only done the calculations in the local currency, she thought that the incomes were all below one \$/day.

22. **Dr David Brown** asked if Lauren could take the discussion further and discuss the implications of her results to policy. **Lauren** replied that a decrease in returns for hunting may not have such a big impact on amount of food bought (as mainly used for luxury goods) but may impact household food consumption, as a fair amount of bushmeat still seems to be consumed.

23. **Noelle** asked how typical her study villages were? **Oilly** replied that Gabon has a wide range of villages and hunting levels and that in some places they hunt for sport and buy frozen fish to eat. **Ruth** wondered if luxury spending was related to the age of the hunters – younger guys are likely to hunt and spend money on luxuries? **Lauren** thought that in Gabon farming income came mainly from women. **Ruth** said that this depended on where you look – in other countries the men do farm, particularly on oil palm plantations, etc. **Oilly** pointed out that Gabon is a net importer of food and that men are often just waiting around for a ministry to offer them a job. **Lauren** agreed with this and said that there was a 'grab while you can' mentality which made them less likely to farm and that was also reflected in their hunting.

24. **Dr Glyn Davies** asked if other items were bought - i.e. if cash was going on non-luxury non-shop items? **Lauren** replied that hunter income was independently measured and that spending on alcohol equated to half their hunter income.

### **Wildlife hunting by indigenous groups in Arunachal Pradesh (AP), India Ambika Aiyadurai**

25. **Ambika** is just starting her PhD, but conducted a pilot study to investigate the range of hunting and the feasibility of her proposed project. She visited a few villages in the Arunachal Pradesh (AP), a large state in north-eastern India, bordering China, Bhutan and Myanmar.

26. Indian law prohibits hunting of virtually all wildlife, and the social and cultural customs of most of India reinforces this protection of the wildlife. However, north-east India is culturally closer to South East Asia, where attitudes towards wildlife are very different, and this has led to a difference between the law and cultural expectations. AP is part of the Eastern Himalayas, and is a biodiversity hotspot. It also has 26 major indigenous communities who use wildlife for food, sport, medicine and for rituals but there is a lack of data on hunting and other uses of this wildlife.

27. The survey objectives were to get baseline data on hunting, including:

- What species are hunted?
- How are people hunting?

- What pattern of hunting is seen?
- What is the frequency of hunting?
- What are the socio-economic drivers of hunting? (What purpose does it have?)
- To investigate potential field sites

28. The methods used included questionnaires and interviews with hunters, informal discussions, observing ceremonies and rituals, and talking to key informants.

29. The tribes visited were:

- **Meyor** – a small, Buddhist tribe (about 300 people in 15 villages) is believed to have migrated from China 100 years ago and live in the very remote areas. They are known to trade in wildlife parts.
- **Monpa** – Buddhist and pre-dominantly agro-pastoralist, they migrate to high altitudes each year.
- **Nishi** – The dominant tribe in the region, they are animist (believe in spiritual beings) and Christian. They are skilled hunters with a good knowledge of wildlife.
- **Miju Mishmi** – They are an animist group and hunt wildlife for food, sacrifices and decoration/display in their houses.

30. In total 184 people were interviewed from 51 villages – an average of 22% households/village. Only males were interviewed, and of these 184, 114 currently hunt. The proportion of people hunting varied with tribe, distance to town, and religion. Of these, the strongest determinant was distance to town (people living furthest from the nearest town were more likely hunt), then belief (animists hunt more than Buddhists). The main reasons for hunting were (in order): food, rituals, sport/hobby, and retaliatory killing. The main reasons for not hunting (in order) were: religion, government ban, old age, lack of interest. Hunting was done all year, but mainly in winter (November – March) when the snow forces animals down from the mountains. In winter, villagers are also free from agricultural work and have more time for hunting activities. Most animals were hunted for food, but some were used as part of their rituals or ceremonies (e.g. baskets of smoked bushmeat are paid as part of the bride price, and are also given to priests as gifts). Villagers thought that 10 years ago they mostly hunted 0-5 km from the village whereas now they usually travel more than 5 km from the village to hunt. People also preferred wild meat, despite 90% consumption of domestic meat. Domestic meat was also viewed as a reserve resource in some villages and wild meat as a free resource.

31. 33 mammal, 27 bird and 2 reptile species were recorded hunted, but **Ambika** thought there may be more species hunted. Hunters tend to report species that are large or preferred as food, such as ungulates. Taboo species are often not reported until their skins are shown during casual chats in the village. If visits are made during winter season, the list of hunted species can be longer. Only 34% of species recorded were reported by hunters – another 21 species were recorded from informal discussions and visits to villages. Of these, 56% of mammal species are vulnerable or threatened. There was a significant difference in number of species hunted across tribes and religion, but not across age groups. Villagers who have converted to Christianity often stop decorating their houses with animal skulls but still continue to hunt.

32. Eleven different types of hunting methods were documented, including traps, bow and arrows, guns, catapult, dogs and waiting on a raised platform. Hunters using both guns and traps hunt more species than people using only one method. Of villagers living close to the Pakke Tiger Reserve (a protected area), 87% thought that wildlife abundance had decreased, while 13% thought that it had increased. When asked 'if hunting continues will animals go extinct?' 78% said no, showing little understanding of wildlife as a limited resource. 95% of people said they follow taboos against hunting certain animals. These were mainly the big cats, and villagers believed that if a large cat is killed, the hunter will have a sudden, painful death. To avoid this, a cow or mithun is sacrificed during a long, 2-3 day ritual which is costly for the hunters.

33. After reviewing the information from her pilot trip, **Ambika** has chosen to study the Meyor and Miju Mishi tribes for her PhD study and will study the amount of biomass extracted, hunter effort and success, and dependence on hunting.

34. **Guy Cowlshaw** asked whether the illegality of hunting affected the results of the study. **Ambika** replied that there is little awareness of the wildlife laws (especially by people living in remote areas, or away from national parks). Hunting is part of their tradition and villagers take pride in talking about the hunting practices and majority of them were very willing to show skins, skulls, traps, guns, etc. **Sanjay Gubbi** commented that mainland laws in general may not be well known or applicable in remote areas. **Ambika** also pointed out that AP is a tribal state, and even Indians from other states (such as herself) needed permission to enter AP. Northeast India is seen as a separate region and AP is very peaceful and not often on the news.

35. **Ruth** asked if, given the importance of distance from town affecting likelihood of hunting, **Ambika** was going to concentrate on that issue? **Ambika** replied that she would like to study lots of factors, but she isn't sure yet what will be possible as she does have a limit on what she can do. Logistically it is difficult to get around, particularly during the monsoon season.

36. **Ian** said that he's glad she's looking at other reasons for hunting, such as for rituals and ceremonies. He asked if the Meyor group trades much wildlife northwards to China (especially if the tribe originates from China). **Ambika** replied that there is trade in musk pod and bear gall bladder in the area and these are sold at very high prices. However local villagers usually don't know the destination of things they trade, and say that they sell in local towns to middle-men.

37. **Neil** asked if there is information on wildlife populations and what species are threatened, and **Ambika** replied that several bird and mammal species are, but that there is a lack of information on wildlife population densities. She would like to investigate it more, but it's really beyond the scope of the PhD.

38. **Matt** asked what the state's capacity is to enforce hunting prohibitions. **Ambika** replied that the state is very large and protected areas often have very few staff. Conservation Projects in Pakke Tiger Reserve and Namdapha Tiger Reserve in AP have helped to make a difference. There are even examples of people giving up hunting and getting involved in wildlife monitoring, but things are happening only at a small level.

39. **David** commented that it was the 'no' replies in the surveys that were interesting – that 13% said that there was an increase in wildlife abundance. He also asked whether respondents were given the option of saying that wildlife levels had stayed the same. **Ambika** said that reply categories emerged from people's responses. People seemed happy with a very simple reply selection and wherever necessary people were led into discussion to know what they feel about the wildlife abundance. **Lauren** commented that some people in Gabon believe that the wildlife population is increasing because animals give birth to multiple young, their numbers would naturally increase. **Noelle** remarked that maybe it depends on people's dependence on wildlife. **David** mentioned the social deprivation effect, and **Ambika** pointed out that people living to a national park or protected area may see less decrease in wildlife.

**Assessment of recent bushmeat research  
and recommendations to Her Majesty's Government  
David Brown, John E. Fa & Leonie Gordon  
for DEFRA**

40. **David Brown** reported on work currently being undertaken by himself, **John E. Fa** and **Leonie Gordon** for **DEFRA**. He also passed on apologies from DEFRA.

41. **David** explained the terms of reference of the project, and that it was a study commissioned by DEFRA at the request of the Ministers on the Inter-departmental Ministerial Group on Biodiversity (IDMGB). The questions of the study focussed on three broad areas:

- Trends on the conservation status of animal species targeted in the bushmeat trade
- Bushmeat in human livelihoods
- The policy implications for HMG

Methods will include a literature review, study of previous work for DEFRA (Bowen-Jones *et al* 2002), review of MEAs and interviews with various civil servants, NGO staff and policy researchers.

42. The main findings of the study so far were presented:

- Conservation status – current offtake is a major threat to the conservation status of vulnerable bushmeat species and the sustainability of the harvest. The problem is greatest in W/C Africa.
- Bushmeat and livelihoods – bushmeat is important for livelihoods, food security and national economies, and the unsustainability of hunting is likely to have a negative affect on livelihoods and biodiversity.
- Policy implications – the evidence is compelling for the conservation and livelihoods issues outlined above. Consequently the debate is more about the policies and strategies needed to address the issue. **David** discussed various issues associated with policy, including the need for action at international and national levels, the need for flexibility in the response, why the main challenge is at the national policy level, the consequent potential for DfID involvement, potential policy entry points, problems associated with bringing the environment into national planning, and issues surrounding protein sufficiency, health and nutrition.

43. The presentation was concluded with an account of the steps taken so far, and the future of the report. The report has now been circulated to DfID, FCO, JNCC, DEFRA, members of the BWG and IDMGB officials for comment. The next meeting of the IDMGB will be early next year, following which there will be further consideration of the report, publication and HMG and other responses.

44. **Glyn** said that natural resources have been falling out of DfID favour over the last 5 years, and so he can't see that bringing natural resources into the argument will change that. However, the Stern report does bring market failure into the debate – would we get more mileage out of that? **David** replied that the route in via the economy is a strong argument, but there may also be use in including the natural resource arguments as some have suggested that DfID thinks it may have swung too much away from natural resources. The market failure debate also has to engage more – if bushmeat is as important as people say, then it should be acknowledged.

45. **Glyn** made the second point that he would like the logging issue looked into more. For example, the Voluntary Partnership Agreements (VPA) scheme in Cameroon includes indicators for legality and wildlife, and he thinks there is substantial opportunity within that. He added that he was amazed the China wants to be involved in VPA.

46. **Ollly** pointed out that European loggers are doing good things, such as closing down roads when they leave. In the long term, we need to put pressure on processed timber from C Africa. **David** replied that there are conflicts. Opening up the wilderness elsewhere is seen as a good thing, and asking timber companies to act as the state can be a double edged sword. **Matthew** said that there was a study on economic evaluation of deforestation under two scenarios, forests for conservation or timber. Conservation gives forest a higher value due to the costs of carbon emissions from deforestation, but this only becomes meaningful for conservation if funding conservation schemes are made available to local people paying the opportunity costs. **David** replied that if we're waiting for the CTM, there are many concerns. The Stern report gives ambivalent results – deforestation is bad, but the effects of industrial pollution are as well. It may only be the producer states that are keen.

47. **David** asked that people email him with any thoughts on how to involve climate change issues in the bushmeat debate.

48. **Ian** asked why MDG7 (the Millennium Development Goal on environmental sustainability) isn't mentioned as a policy entry point, especially as biodiversity is about to be recognised as one of the indicators for this goal. **David** replied that the problem is that the financial consequences of decreased biodiversity must be reported in the biodiversity risk assessments.

### **Coalition Against Wildlife Trafficking meeting update Matthew Hatchwell**

49. **Matthew Hatchwell** gave an update on the Coalition Against Wildlife Trafficking (CAWT). He explained that DEFRA had organised a meeting in November involving CAWT partners including the US State Department, DEFRA itself, other governments, the CITES Secretariat, and NGOs. The broad focus of CAWT (although this has still to be fully defined) is to address illegal wildlife trade issues not covered by existing mechanisms such as CITES. There was a sense that this negative definition of CAWT's mandate was not very satisfactory, but agreement that an additional mechanism could be useful that was less bureaucratic than CITES and could address issues not covered by CITES, including trade in species not on CITES lists, and internal (as opposed to international) trade.

50. One aim of the meeting had been to discuss CAWT statutes in anticipation of its expected launch at a ministerial meeting in February. A number of issues were raised, however, which were unresolved at the meeting. These included definitions of "wildlife" (whether it should include plants and/or marine mammals?) and "illegality" (under whose law?), whether CAWT should focus exclusively on endangered animals, whether more mention should be made of the benefits of a well-managed trade, and the institutional commitment even of CAWT's key governmental proponents. This led to questions about the whole concept of CAWT as a separate initiative to CITES, and whether its goals would be better served if they were tackled within the existing institutional framework.

51. **Matthew** asked **Ian** if this account coincided with DEFRA's own interpretation of CAWT as presented at another meeting the previous week, and **Ian** replied that definitions could be stumbling blocks, and that relationships with CITES should be carefully handled. **Matthew** replied to another question about discussions on simply expanding CITES, that some in the group seemed keen on two organisations, while others were sceptical. **Ian** asked whether CAWT was a convention, and **Matthew** replied that no, it wasn't a convention, and that it was being presented as a potentially more nimble organization than CITES.

### **Closing remarks by the chair**

52. **Glyn** thanked all the speakers for interesting talks. He reminded everyone about a talk on timber certification at ZSL on 9<sup>th</sup> January 2007. He asked if anyone had any particular issues they wanted to cover at future BWG meetings, and to let him know of any other stakeholders that might be interested in coming to the meetings. **Oilly** mentioned that the French government was organising a bushmeat meeting in Gabon for the C/W Africa region in February or March 2007 and invites should be going out soon.

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**Many thanks to all who attended**