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The Illegal Wildlife Trade in Poland – Crime Control Models¹

Abstract: Wildlife trafficking of endangered species is an international crime that is increasing in terms of its significance and position in the global crime hierarchy. This phenomenon is a significant subject of research for both traditional and green criminology. The representatives of green criminology, when discussing the criminal policy in matters related to green crimes, refer to its broad meaning. From this perspective, “green criminal policy” includes: a) the legal and social approach, b) a regulatory system that emphasizes social arrangements, norms and reforms in the production and consumption system; and c) a system of social interactions. Each of these models is presented in the article. In this context, the results of qualitative research on the state of the social control of illegal trade in wild fauna and flora in Poland will also be cited.

Keywords: illegal wildlife trade, green criminology, social control models, crime control.

Introduction

Wildlife trafficking of endangered species is an international crime that is increasing in terms of its significance and position in the global crime hier-

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archy. This phenomenon is a significant subject of research for both traditional and green criminology. First, the extent and the scale of its negative consequences for the protection of biodiversity are difficult to predict. These crimes can lead to the extinction of entire species, and their impact on the population has long-term effects on entire ecosystems. Second, it is a specific sphere in which non-governmental organizations exert a significant influence on legislation and criminal policy.² Third, there is evidence of organized crime groups involvement in wildlife crime, which is seen as safe and easy-to-profit from.³ Fourth, it is a class of phenomena that provides a rare opportunity to study informal social crime control.⁴ Representatives of green criminology, thanks to their research, highlighted the problem of the huge qualitative and quantitative differentiation of the phenomenon.⁵ Both the demand side and the supply side are diversified, not only with regard to the species of animals being the object of trade, but also the taking into account motivations of those involved in this phenomenon. Four categories distinguished due to their characteristic features may be the subject of demand. These are: (a) processed products derived from animals; b) collectors or connoisseurs; (c) products of animal origin used in traditional Asian medicine; and d) food.⁶

2 See: Wiesław Pływaczewski, “Organizacje pozarządowe na tle problematyki nielegalnego handlu chronionymi gatunkami dzikiej fauny i flory”, *Studia Prawnoustrojowe*, no. 13. 2011.

3 See Petrus C. van Duyn, “The Phantom and Threat of Organized Crime”, *Crime, Law & Social Change*, no. 24. 1996: 341–377; Moisés Naim, *Illicit: How smugglers, traffickers and copycats are hijacking the global economy*. London, 2005; Dee Cook, Martin Roberts, Jason Lowther, *The international wildlife trade and organized crime: A review of the evidence and role of the United Kingdom*, <https://www.academia.edu/8178488/The_International_Wildlife_Trade_and_Organised_Crime_a_review_of_the_evidence_and_the_role_of_the_UK>, accessed 13.02.2022.

4 See Edyta Drzazga, “Kontrola społeczna nielegalnego obrotu dziką fauną i florą Polsce” in *Prawo publiczne i prawo karne w XXI wieku. Wybrane zagadnienia*, ed. Ł. Pilarz. Lublin, 2019, 104–107.

5 Angus Nurse, *Animal Harm. Perspectives on Why People Harm and Kill Animals*. London, and New York, 2013, 169–185.

6 Tanya Wyatt, *Wildlife Trafficking A Deconstruction of the Crime, the Victims and the Offenders*. London, 2013, 17–22. Also see: Anh Cao Ngoc, and Tanya Wyatt, “A Green Criminological Exploration of Illegal Wildlife Trade in Vietnam”, *Asian Journal of Criminology* 8, no. 1. 2013: 129–142.

Just as there is no single pattern for the phenomenon of illegal wildlife trafficking, it is also impossible to maintain that the perpetrators of wildlife trafficking correspond to a single profile. In the literature on the subject, attempts are made to categorize them, taking into account the motivation to undertake such activity.⁷ The following categories of people on the supply side of wildlife trafficking can therefore be distinguished: a) people whose involvement is due to desperation or poverty. As a rule, these are perpetrators who live in close proximity to places where wild animals live. Therefore, those belonging to this category can capture them themselves and use them for their own consumption or further sale. Although it seems that they constitute a significant proportion of the category of perpetrators, and hence it is burdensome to counteract the phenomenon, it is emphasized that it is not poverty but wealth that is the main cause of the loss of biodiversity in the world, since it results in the growing demand for luxury goods; (b) people who perform other work in parallel, which allows them to exploit the environment with a low risk of their illegal activities being revealed, i.e. trappers who acquire skins; and (c) people who are specially recruited for this purpose i.e. helicopter gangs hunting rhinoceros in Africa or ornithologists in Russia and Central Asia who acquire eggs and young birds for sale, often on request, also fall into this category.

CITES

Trade in wild fauna and flora was for some time outside the sphere of legal regulations, including criminal law, but the progressive exploitation of nature has necessitated changes in this respect. The legal foundations of the modern system of global protection of endangered species of animals and plants are based on the 1973 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (also known as the Washington Convention, or in

⁷ Wyatt, *Wildlife*, 36–37.

short – CITES⁸). CITES is a solution based partly on the ecocentric model, as its purpose is to support, to a certain extent, a phenomenon that is beneficial from the point of view of human interests. Therefore, this model allows the trade in plants and animals for commercial purposes, but with the exception of species threatened with extinction. The updated lists of these species are provided in Appendices I, II and III to the Convention.

Green Criminal Policy

When discussing criminal policy in matters related to green crimes, the representatives of green criminology refer to its broad meaning. From this perspective, “green criminal policy” includes:⁹

- a legal and social approach, in which legal and criminal regulations and various attempts to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the law are of leading importance;
- a regulatory system that emphasizes social arrangements, norms and reforms in the production and consumption system;
- a system of social interactions – in which attempts to introduce fundamental social changes and striving to initiate transformation at the level of social awareness by supporting deliberative democracy,¹⁰ social movements and civil society, get the priority.

Each of the models listed will be presented below. In this context, the results of qualitative research on the state of social control of illegal trade in wild fauna and flora in Poland will also be cited.¹¹

8 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, CITES (Journal of Laws 1991, no. 27, item 112).

9 Angus Nurse, *Policing Wildlife. Perspectives on the enforcement of wildlife legislation*. Basingstoke, 2015, 94.

10 Deliberative democracy—the idea that citizens or their representatives owe each other mutually acceptable reasons for the laws they enact. See Amy Gutmann, Dennis Thompson, *Why Deliberative Democracy?*. Princeton, 2004, 7.

11 See Drzazga, *Kontrola*, 103–113.

Methodology

20 anonymous in-depth interviews conducted with various experts dealing with the problem of illegal trade in wildlife in Poland will be presented as a form of commentary. In order to obtain the widest possible range of expert opinions, the selection included: representatives of the customs and tax service, police officers who are CITES coordinators, representatives of the Department of Customs of the Ministry of Finance, the State Council for Environmental Protection, and representatives of “Salamandra” – the National Society for Nature Conservation as well as WWF Poland.

The interviews were partially categorized, a form which, unlike categorized interviews, gives the person conducting much greater room for maneuver. The interview research tool was an interview scenario developed on the basis of well-thought-out research goals and the recognition of the phenomenon based on the so-called analysis of existing data and dogmatic and legal analysis. It contained a list of obligatory questions, but both the form and the order in which they were asked was discretionary. Each interview was preceded by a short so-called briefing, i.e. introducing the respondent to the subject of the interview and ensuring anonymity. When the interview was finished, a debriefing in the form of a summary was performed. Expert interviews were recorded in an electronic medium. Then, they were transcribed and carefully analyzed, including the following stages: selection and ordering of data, creating a set of analytical categories, assigning data to appropriate categories, analyzing and interpreting data, and presenting conclusions. For this purpose, the qualitative data analysis program MAXQDA was used. The analysis process included the following stages: 1. Inductive code creation and pre-coding of two selected interviews. 2. Creation of a codebook. 3. Coding the entire material to be analyzed. 4. Creation and analysis of case representations. 5. An attempt to answer research questions.

Legal and Social Model

The legal and social model seems to correlate with the traditional concept of criminal policy. This model emphasizes the special role of establishing and applying legal regulations to expose green crimes and bring the perpetrators to justice. This solution dominates the world. At the same time, researchers draw attention to the fact that the application of the law in cases related to illegal trade in wildlife encounters problems in the practice of its application, making it ineffective.¹²

The main difficulty is the ineffective enforcement of the applicable legal provisions. The literature emphasizes that, in terms of social perception, crimes against the natural environment are seen as less serious than other crimes, both in terms of the value of the protected property and the scale and intensity of the phenomenon. Accordingly, these acts are not considered to merit intensive control efforts on the part of formalized control agencies¹³. In the opinion of police officers, they should rather be of interest to informal social groups. An additional problem with the legal and social model consists in the phenomenon of illegal trade in wildlife being perceived as so-called “victimless crimes.” This is invariably related to the anthropocentric vision of justice and the definition of a crime as a prohibited act that primarily harms human interests. Although green crimes are increasingly attracting media attention, mainly due to measures taken by NGOs, these acts are still given low priority by control agencies. Reiner pointed out that police officers classify crimes based on their compliance with the currently accepted image of the role of a policeman.¹⁴ The approved and reproduced “cop stereotype” is associated with the assessment of certain crimes as meaningless or insignificant, in which disclosure and detection is not worth investing time and effort, in contrast to “real” crimes,

12 Melanie Wellsmith, “Wildlife Crime: The Problems of Enforcement”, *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*. 2011: 125–148; Angus Nurse, “Repainting the Thin Green Line: The Enforcement of UK Wildlife Law”, *Internet Journal of Criminology* 2012: 1–20.

13 See Bilal Muhammad, *Rural Crime and Rural Policing Practises (Multicultural Law Enforcement)*. Detroit, 2002.

14 See Robert Reiner, *The Politics of the Police*. Oxford, 2000.

i.e. those that deserve such involvement from the police. In line with this way of thinking, combating homicide and other crimes against life and health is considered to be both a demanding and rewarding task.¹⁵ Against this background, there are a lot of difficulties related to the actual inclusion of green crimes in the spectrum of prohibited acts that require decisive action on the part of institutions established for this purpose. Thus, in this approach, problems related to the issue of legal effectiveness emerge. These, in relation to green crimes, cannot be considered separately from the anthropocentric view of the idea of justice and a particularly defined vision of criminal law.¹⁶

The anthropocentric argument prevails in the debate on how to stop the destructive exploitation of nature – a debate that has so far been unable to penetrate the collective consciousness. However, the problem related to such an anthropocentric impulse to counteract the phenomenon boils down to the cyclical, ill-considered and, therefore, ineffective nature of the response to it – this time at the legislative stage.¹⁷ One of the traditionally cited arguments in favor of the need to undertake research on illegal wildlife trade concerns the negative consequences of this phenomenon for human life and health. This phenomenon contributes to the spread of dangerous diseases transmitted by animals to people, the so-called zoonoses.¹⁸ The threat to public health that appears from time to time on their part lead to a series of events that turn out to be unfavorable from the point of view of the effectiveness of the control of illegal trade in wild fauna and flora. As long as the public health emergency persists, a pressure on policymakers to introduce changes at the normative level is exerted. Introduced in a hurry, not preceded by an in-depth diagnosis of the problem

15 Robert Reiner, *The Politics of the Police*. Oxford, 1992, 118.

16 Adam Weitzenfeld, and Melanie Joy, “An Overview of Anthropocentrism, Humanism, and Speciesism in Critical Animal Theory”, *Defining Critical Animal Studies*. 2014: 3–27.

17 Rob White, “Ecocentrism and criminal justice”, *Theoretical Criminology* 22, iss. 3. 2018: 345; Rob White, Diane Heckenberg, *Green Criminology. An introduction to the study of environmental harm*. London, and New York, 2014, 66.

18 See more: Marcos A. Bezerra-Santos, Jairo A. Mendoza-Roldan, R.C. Andrew Thompson, Filipe Dantas-Torres, and Domenico Otranto, “Illegal Wildlife Trade: A Gateway to Zoonotic Infectious Diseases”, *Trends in Parasitology* 37, iss. 3. 2021.

and its causes, actions on the part of the authorities take the only possible form under these conditions – a reaction (not supplemented by prevention), which is destructive (in the form of a new ban or increased punitiveness for breaking existing legal provisions) and temporary in its nature – it lasts until the threat to human interests ceases to exist.

Polish respondents were also skeptical about this model, indicating its excessive restrictiveness. According to experts, the CITES regulations implemented in Poland are considered the strictest in Europe, and generate disturbing phenomena. This is especially the case when a small quantity of a CITES specimen is transported (e.g. seaweed ointment or 3.5 cm of coral reef found on the beach) without meeting the legal conditions. Such an act is a criminal offense punishable by the same statutory penalty as smuggling in bulk. As a consequence of the existence of such a provision, which qualitatively equates, in terms of the statutory penalty, two extreme phenomena, the authorities of the broadly understood administration of justice make the following decisions. Customs Service representatives often “turn a blind eye” to petty smuggling, trying to avoid initiating a procedure that, in their opinion, is unnecessary, taking into account the gravity of the act. However, when proceedings are commenced, judges usually dismiss them in similar cases. This means that social control agendas correct the flawed criminal policy in terms of the legally regulated degree of repression, which is still not differentiated in relation to various categories of acts and perpetrators.

This, in turn, generates another disturbing phenomenon. The persistent lack of response to such “lightweight” cases makes the entire control system leaky. This, in turn, influences the phenomenon itself, encouraging a group of determined perpetrators to exploit such gaps, which proves that the priority is given to the problem of illegal trade in wildlife. As a result, it is difficult to counteract this phenomenon effectively. It happens despite the proposals for changes to the aforementioned legal regulations, submitted by experts (mainly Salamandra representatives), consisting in shifting cases of minor importance to the category of offenses.

Therefore, also in Poland, the control of illegal trade in wildlife is not free from inadequate criminalization and excessive punitiveness.

Regulatory System

Characteristic for the regulatory model of the response to illegal trade in wildlife is the regulation of the phenomenon with the use of the administrative system for monitoring trade and setting limits.¹⁹ In this model, trading is allowed under certain conditions. Such a solution is supposed to lead to a state of equilibrium in which animal populations will be preserved and people will be able to benefit from the natural environment. This model is close to the principles underlying the CITES system, i.e. the International Convention on Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora. Non-compliance may result in sanctions, but this is rare in this regulatory system. Generally, the described model is based on cooperative methods such as persuasion, negotiation, and compromises in order to obtain consensus from interested parties (e.g. convention signatories on the scope of protection of individual species).

It is characteristic of the regulatory model to prioritize and protect only certain species in the process of finding compromises while marginalizing others. Another problem concerns negotiating the conditions of protection of a given species. The failure of a country to introduce such protection, even if it is a species on the verge of extinction, could undermine efforts to internationalize trade controls. This is especially true when the country is the beneficiary of the status quo that is harmful to animals.

In the course of the analysis of the regulatory model, the question of its effectiveness arises again. According to J. Stelmach, in order for the law to be considered effective, it should meet several conditions.²⁰ First, effective law must have real results. This means that the law should operate in a real

¹⁹ Nurse, *Policing*, 94.

²⁰ Jerzy Stelmach, Bartosz Brożek, and Wojciech Załuski, *Dziesięć wykładów o ekonomii prawa*. Warszawa, 2007, 25–26.

socio-economic space; otherwise it will have the character of *lex imperfecta* – imperfect or unfinished law. Further conditions state that law should be created and applied in such a way as to maximize social and individual wealth. Moreover, the law should assume that its addressees are economically rational entities; the law should allow for the proper allocation of goods, the law should aim at self-limitation; the law should take into account the tradition, already developed habits, accepted principles and generally accepted standards; and science should focus its attention on the study of “effective law.” The paradox related to the so-defined conditions for the effectiveness of the law in the case of the control of illegal trade in wildlife – as well as many other so-called green crimes – boils down to the fact that their fulfillment, at best, neither reduces the scale of the phenomenon nor prevents the negative consequences mentioned above. In the worst case, the guarantee of the legal effectiveness of the law will perpetuate and deepen the problems related to this crime.

Again, the core of this contradiction can be found in the dominant anthropocentric vision of justice that underlies most legal systems. As already mentioned in the anthropocentric perspective, the superiority of people over other living and inanimate entities is getting conspicuous. Human interests are subordinated to the interests of the natural environment, and its instrumental value is determined by the possibilities of satisfying changing social needs. This is the perspective underlying most criminological considerations (excluding green criminology) and criminal law regulations aimed at maximizing the benefits obtained from the natural environment. The axis of this idea of justice in the modern world is to prioritize production and consumption processes over long-term benefits for the entire ecosystem. The difficulty arising from social systems based on the idea of anthropocentrism lies in its inevitable tendency to self-destruct over time and thus reduce the possibility of benefiting from the natural world – a world that is mistakenly perceived as a whole, but not encompassing the human species.²¹

21 White, *Ecocentrism*, 345; Also see White, and Heckenberg, *Green*, 66.

Of a slightly different nature, but also related to the anthropocentric vision of justice, is the consistent implementation of another condition for the effectiveness of law. It refers to the assumption that the law should take into account the tradition, already developed social habits, accepted principles and generally accepted standards in a given society. The uncompromising pursuit of this condition makes it impossible to counteract the crime of illegal trade in wild fauna and flora. This is due to the fact that its sources should be sought in certain established patterns of behavior which, due to cultural norms, often become components of “normal” life, even if they are contrary to the applicable national and international legal regulations. In certain socio-cultural systems, such a situation can lead to a real impasse. On the one hand, it is impossible to completely ignore the cultural background of a given country when making law. Its compliance with the system of values and norms of a given social group is considered a condition of its observance. On the other hand, a problem arises when there are existing and culturally legitimate behaviors that fit into the tradition of a given society or its social groups, and at the same time stand in clear contradiction to the good of the natural environment and its components.

The experts’ assessment of the effectiveness of the legislation on wildlife marketing in the internal market was strict. The respondents emphasized that in Poland there are EU regulations that include solutions for internal trade that do not have appropriate equivalents in Polish legal regulations. Although the Polish act on nature protection was considered proper at the time of its adoption, after the changes introduced to it without expert consultations it became incomprehensible. According to the respondents, the terms contained in it are used with very different meanings. In addition, there is often a reference to concepts that do not have any legal definition, and the use of a dictionary definition completely distorts the meaning of individual regulations. As a result – as respondents claim – the normative state of species protection is ambiguous and there is no political will to change this reality.

The adopted model of animal registration was unambiguously and critically assessed.²² According to experts, it does not comprise a good solution, because it is a technical activity, during which the local veterinary doctor only confirms the fact that the animal was born in captivity, without verifying its origin in any way. Therefore, from the point of view of actions taken by the Police and the Customs and Tax Service, this document has no meaning. In addition, the Minister of the Environment, in consultation with the State Council for Nature Conservation, is the only authority that decides whether a specimen can be considered to have been born in captivity. However, there are no system solutions. Currently, the registration obligation rests with the final buyer of the specimen, i.e. the one who is at the very end of the distribution chain and for whom it is most difficult to prove the legal origin of the animal. The final buyer, even if they wanted to, cannot present the relevant documents (including permits) and such a person is exempt from this obligation as those who first place the specimen on the market. When animals are born through breeding, the easiest way to prove their legal origin is through registration. Therefore, as indicated by the respondents, each farm should be registered after checking whether it owns legally obtained animals or not. It should receive a number, and the animals should be chipped and receive a document with its number and / or photo. It would be necessary, at the same time, to introduce periodic control on registered farms in order to verify whether they still breed animals from a legal source. Such a solution would definitely reduce the benefit of the perpetrator from the committed crime. In order to optimize the functioning of such a system, it would be necessary to introduce a single general register for invasive, dangerous, protected and so-called “Cites.” Moreover, such a solution would entail much lower costs than at present.

Apart from mentioning the above-described problems related to informal, permanent mechanisms of opportunism, the experts also indicated a number of other difficulties that can be divided into at least 2 groups of related problems, such as: 1) the control agendas; 2) logistics and financing.

²² See Drzazga, *Kontrola*, 109–110.

In the context of the first group of problems, it is necessary to briefly explain what formalized control agendas involved in counteracting illegal trade in wildlife are. The Minister of Justice acts as the governing body of CITES. The scientific body is the Polish Society for Nature Conservation (PROP). The control over compliance with the provisions of the Washington Convention and the corresponding regulations is exercised by the Police (primarily responsible for controlling domestic trade) and the Customs and Tax Service (responsible for international trade). Both of these institutions have CITES coordinators at voivodship levels. Since 2006, the Working Group for CITES has also operated in Poland, which is a platform for the exchange of information and cooperation of all the most important bodies, institutions and non-governmental organizations. This group presented proposals for the improvement of regulations, however, as yet they have not been taken into account. The organizational structure, management, financing and quantitative composition comprise extremely important variables that have a direct impact on the effectiveness of an institution's control. Therefore, it is not surprising that serious organizational changes that the Customs Service underwent resulted in the weakening of the effectiveness of this control agenda. In 2017, the Customs Service was combined with the fiscal control and tax administration. The main task of the new customs and tax office has become the fight against tax fraud and the collection of customs fees. On the other hand, the priority given to the control of the illegal transportation of CITES specimens has become exceptionally low in this organizational setting. As a result, the emphasis on training for officers of the Customs and Tax Service has also decreased. Along with the organizational change, several experienced CITES coordinators were removed from the service. It is to them that customs officials address their doubts regarding the qualification of fauna or flora specimen to the CITES specimen category. The respondents clearly emphasized that the effectiveness of social control of the phenomenon largely depends on the continuity of the employment of experts.

The above dependence also extends to CITES coordinators employed in the Police. Appointing them in departments for the purpose of combating economic crime meant imposing on them an additional obligation not related to the scope of their previous duties and competences. It also led to the problem of the protection of endangered species being pushed to the last place in this organizational system. In addition, the interviews show that the system of awarding promotions to experienced CITES coordinators, which is based on transferring them to other cases, additionally weakens the control of the Police over the discussed phenomenon. The replacement of experienced officers by inexperienced ones who, as in the case of CITES coordinators in customs and tax chambers, do not have sufficient knowledge of the phenomenon makes the matters worse. The remedy indicated by experts would rely inter alia on maintaining the continuity of the employment of coordinators and introducing a promotion system within the same formation.

Another group of problems mentioned – namely those pertaining to infrastructure - concerns the lack of places for live animals to be transferred to after detention. Most zoos refuse to accept such animals, which is why the Police often do not take any action despite receiving information on the functioning of illegal farms. As a result, legislation on live animals is often not enforced. Therefore, there is a need to create a central asylum and guarantee financial resources for its functioning, and to keep such a center ready to accept wild animals.

Model of Social Interactions

In the case of crime against wildlife, it is non-governmental organizations that largely shape the criminal policy and the state's response to this phenomenon.²³

This interesting issue of the role of non-governmental organizations in controlling the phenomenon also arose during the interviews. The analysis of the interviews with experts led to the conclusion that the burden of making the repre-

²³ Nurse, *Policing*, 94.

representatives of the judiciary aware of the phenomenon of illegal trade in wildlife in Poland rested on the shoulders of non-governmental organizations. An example of such activities is WWF Polska²⁴ that provides training in the so-called CITES crimes for approx. 900 people from the Police and the Public Prosecutor's Office. In addition, WWF was the first organization in Poland to issue a publication for more than 120 prosecutor's offices containing tips on conducting preparatory proceedings in cases of illegal trafficking in endangered species of fauna and flora. Then PTOPI Salamandra started cooperation with WWF in order to focus also on monitoring trade, initially in traditional distribution channels such as shops, exchanges, and the Internet.²⁵ In addition, a CITES Working Group in PL, coordinated by PTOPI Salamandra, was established, including the Minister of the Environment, representatives of the Ministry of Finance, the Customs Service, the Police and non-governmental organizations. However, despite the promising beginning, this organization has not been working for a few years, because – as the majority of respondents emphasized – it has no interest in cooperating with non-governmental organizations. This is one of the greatest difficulties that needs to be overcome in order to strengthen the control of the illegal wildlife trade of fauna and flora in Poland.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the narrowly understood concept of criminal policy corresponding to the legal and social model of reaction to crime against the natural environment, including illegal trade in wildlife, does not meet expectations, especially at the stage of applying the law. The main difficulty associated with this approach is founded on the anthropocentric idea that is central to it, thus, invariably classifying green crime in the category of acts which the organs of formal social control give one of the lowest priorities to.

²⁴ World Wildlife Fund; hereinafter: WWF.

²⁵ See Andrzej Kepel, Anna Grebieniow, and Borys Kala, *Ginące gatunki w sieci – raport. PTOPI „Salamandra”*. Poznań, 2004.

Each of the distinguished models has certain weaknesses and none of them used in isolation from the others can achieve the goals desired from the point of view of green criminology. What deserves consideration is such a modification of thinking about criminal policy that on the one hand will be supported by a solid diagnosis of green crime (which in traditional considerations on crime against the natural environment was rather on the research periphery), and on the other hand will seek appropriate methods departing from the idea of anthropocentrism. Thus, “green criminal policy” would then be inclusive in the scope of the used models of response to green crime and social actors involved in the implementation of its goals.

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