

from \$300 to \$600 per kilogram. Also, scales with a value of \$300 on arrival at Yunnan's borders are subsequently sold for \$700 by criminal cartels controlling trade, although retail markup in Chinese traditional medicine (CTM) markets is minimal.

Effective policing requires cooperation between international law enforcement agencies, but what else can be done? Regulated pangolin farming seems unpromising, partly because of the species' low reproductive rate but also because similar attempts aimed at relieving pressures on wildlife in China have failed the consumer substitutability test (Burton 2009; Dutton *et al.* 2011). Education is paramount; while government campaigns have informed the Chinese public on the flagship issues of ivory and rhino horn, many consumers of pangolin scale are simply unaware of the issues involved. Where scale is consumed for CTM, switching to modern medicine safeguards not only pangolins but also

meeting, which showcased exciting  
theoretical