

# Trade and governance drive luxury seafood serial exploitation

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## Article

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13 **Abstract**

14           Exploitation of species for luxury consumption has occurred for centuries. Luxury  
15 products are perceived as high quality status symbols, driving strong demand, low supply, and  
16 high prices. These features commonly fuel unregulated markets and harvest expansions to include  
17 new species and geographies. Yet, the drivers of such serial exploitation remain unknown. Here,  
18 we identify the drivers of serial exploitation of aquatic species for luxury trade, focusing on sharks  
19 for fins and teleosts for fish maw (gas bladders). We then predict which species and countries are  
20 likely to enter the luxury seafood market next. We find that the magnitude of bilateral trade and  
21 country-level rule of law are the strongest drivers of serial exploitation. We predict that nine  
22 species of sharks and 14 species of teleosts are likely to be luxury targets by 2030, providing  
23 actionable guidance for preemptive interventions to avoid future overexploitation.

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25 **Keywords:** Shark fins, Fish maw, wildlife trade, unregulated fisheries.

26 **Main text**

27 Exploitation of species for luxury consumption is a major driver of extinction risk. Luxury  
28 goods are commonly understood to have high demand, limited supply, and high prices<sup>1,2</sup>. In  
29 economic terms, they have small, or even positive, income elasticities of demand (i.e., price  
30 increases cause small declines or even positive increases in demand)<sup>3,4</sup>. Their high demand is  
31 driven by their ability to elevate social status, which fuels unsustainable exploitation in the  
32 absence of adequate regulation<sup>5</sup>, creates markets for new species under international wildlife  
33 trade<sup>5</sup>, and expands the geographical footprint of overexploitation to geographies with minimal  
34 previous harvests<sup>6,7</sup>.

35 Harvests of luxury aquatic products can foment illegal, unregulated, and unreported (IUU)  
36 fishing, and quickly deplete fish populations<sup>7</sup>. Shark fins and fish gas bladders (hereafter referred  
37 to as fish maw) are among the most valuable luxury seafood products by weight, reaching up to  
38 US\$2,300 kg<sup>-1</sup> and US\$6,830 kg<sup>-1</sup> respectively<sup>8,9</sup>. The shark fin market has been historically  
39 regarded as the major driver of global population declines of sharks<sup>10</sup>, while the fish maw market  
40 has caused substantial declines for select teleost species and their associated bycatch<sup>8</sup>. Declining  
41 abundance (supply) and increasing demand enable prices to rise faster than harvesting costs<sup>11</sup>.  
42 While this condition alone can drive these populations to extinction, their catch in multispecies  
43 fisheries and the synergy between their low-productivity life histories and opportunistic bycatch  
44 further enhance their extinction risk<sup>12,13</sup>. Additionally, consumers often place higher demand on  
45 rarer species<sup>14</sup>, further fueling price increases and the marginal profit of fishing another  
46 individual. Here, we predict which new shark and teleost species are likely to become exploited  
47 for luxury seafood and which countries will develop fisheries for them. This information better-  
48 positions decisionmakers to proactively prevent overexploitation and potential extinctions.

49 We explore multiple species- and country-specific features that could potentially drive  
50 serial exploitation patterns for shark fins and fish maw. To achieve this, we use a range of  
51 phylogenetic models and ordered forest models to evaluate several potential drivers of species  
52 presence in current global luxury markets and the temporal patterns of their serial exploitation by  
53 different countries. Drawing on insights from the observed decadal patterns of exploitation from  
54 1950 to 2019, we hypothesize that serial exploitation could be affected by five potential drivers:  
55 (1) more desirable products (i.e., larger shark fins and larger fish maws) are exploited first, which  
56 may have a strong phylogenetic association across species; (2) species more easily accessible to  
57 fishing (i.e., occurring in shallower water and having broader geographic distributions) are  
58 exploited before their deeper-occurring or geographically limited counterparts<sup>15</sup>; (3) supplying  
59 countries geographically closer to the end-market countries develop fisheries before countries  
60 further away<sup>16</sup>; (4) supplying countries with higher bilateral trade with the end-market countries  
61 develop fisheries before supplying countries with lower historical trade<sup>17</sup>, and (5) supplying  
62 countries with weaker rule of law develop fisheries for the species demanded before those with  
63 stronger rule of law<sup>18</sup>. Building on the findings of these historical analyses, we then predict  
64 species and countries that are likely participants in future serial exploitation. These predictions

65 identify high priorities for future preemptive conservation, trade, and fisheries management  
66 efforts to limit new overexploitation. To bolster these future efforts, we also use recent bilateral  
67 trade data from 2012 to 2019 for each product to assess what current data reporting limitations  
68 (e.g., poor taxonomic resolution) by exporting countries create potential barriers to curbing future  
69 IUU fishing for luxury seafood.

## 70 **Results**

### 71 *Serial exploitation for shark fins and fish maw increased over the last 70 years*

72 The number of countries reporting fisheries for sharks and teleosts known to be consumed  
73 as luxury seafood increased 54.1% and 48.1% from 1950 ( $n_{\text{sharks}} = 72$ ;  $n_{\text{teleosts}} = 104$ ) to 2019  
74 ( $n_{\text{sharks}} = 111$ ;  $n_{\text{teleosts}} = 154$ ), respectively. Countries reported landings of 58 shark species in 1950  
75 and this number grew to 73 in 2019 (25.8% increase). The number of teleosts consumed in the  
76 fish maw trade grew more modestly, from 51 species landed in 1950 to 59 in 2019 (15.7%  
77 increase) (Supplementary Figure S1). Over this period, most individual countries more than  
78 doubled the number of species exploited for each product (Supplementary Table S1), despite  
79 relatively modest increases overall. Although landings reporting improved over this time,  
80 partially contributing to this observation, improvements in reporting are modest compared to the  
81 diversification of exploited luxury species, with only 58.1% of the 227 species known to be  
82 exploited for luxury seafood across products.

### 83 *Phylogeny and fisheries accessibility are strong predictors of presence in the luxury market*

84 Species' presence in the luxury seafood market is significantly correlated with the  
85 phylogenies of sharks ( $D = 0.161$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ) and teleosts ( $D = 0.743$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ) (i.e., closely  
86 related species are more likely to be in the market than their counterparts). Based on the  
87 phylogenetic logistic regression models, shark species with larger total high value fin area (i.e.,  
88 first dorsal and pectoral fins, and lower caudal fin lobe;  $\beta = 0.71$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ) and larger total low  
89 value fin area (i.e., second dorsal, pelvic, and anal fins;  $\beta = 0.63$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ) are more likely to be  
90 present in the shark fin market, whereas teleost species with larger volumes are more likely to be  
91 consumed for fish maw ( $\beta = 1.24$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ) (Figure 1A-C). We predict that nine shark species  
92 and 14 teleost species not currently exploited for fins nor fish maw have a  $> 50\%$  chance of  
93 becoming exploited by future markets. This would represent a 8.2% increase in the number of  
94 shark species in the fin market, and a 12.8% increase in the number of species exploited for fish  
95 maw.

96 Using this phylogenetic model, we found that more desirable shark species categorized as  
97 Near Threatened, Vulnerable, and Endangered are more likely to be in both high and low value  
98 fin markets, while no clear trend seems to exist regarding conservation status and likelihood of  
99 being exploited for the fish maw market (Figure 1D-F). Instead, unassessed teleost species are

100 the most likely to be exploited for fish maw, irrespective of desirability. Similarly, more desirable  
101 shark species inhabiting shallow and intermediate depths are more likely to be in both high and  
102 low value fin markets, while only shallow water teleosts show a positive trend towards being  
103 consumed in the fish maw market (Figure 1G-I). Similarly, sharks and teleosts with larger  
104 geographical distributions and desirability are more likely to be present in their respective luxury  
105 seafood markets (Figure 1J-L).

### 106 *International trade and governance drive serial exploitation for shark fins and fish maw*

107 Trade level and governance are the most important predictors of when a country begins  
108 exploiting sharks and teleosts for the luxury seafood market, while species' desirability and  
109 accessibility are not strongly associated with serial exploitation patterns (Figure 2, Supplementary  
110 Figure S2). For both products, exporting countries with stronger historical trade relationships with  
111 importing countries were more likely to develop fisheries for demanded species earlier than those  
112 with weaker trade relationships. We also found that older fisheries for both products started in  
113 countries with smaller fishing fleets. For fish maw, older fisheries were more likely to exploit  
114 species occurring at shallower median depths, and newer fisheries tended to exploit species  
115 occurring deeper. As decades passed, trends reversed for some predictors for both products.  
116 Newer fisheries became more likely to be developed in countries with weaker trade relationships  
117 and larger fishing fleets. Strength of governance strongly, but inconsistently, predicted the  
118 presence of shark and fish maw products in trade, with fisheries for fish maw in the 1980s and  
119 for shark fins in the 1990s being more likely to be found in countries with stronger rule of law.  
120 We found similar inter-decadal shifts in the rule of law signal for all sensitivity analyses  
121 performed on model fitting parameters (Supplementary Figures S3-5). Generally, fisheries  
122 developed in the 2010s occurred in countries with significantly lower rule of law for both  
123 products.

### 124 *The future of shark fin and fish maw exploitation*

125 Using the ordered forest model, we predict the number of species exploited for fish maw  
126 and shark fins to increase from 227 to 250 species (10.1%; 23 species), while the number of  
127 countries reporting fisheries for sharks is expected to increase from 109 to 117 (7.3%) and for  
128 teleosts from 153 to 156 (1.9%) by 2029. We predict that five new countries will enter the fish  
129 maw market, while seven will enter the shark fin market. Future exploitation for shark fins and  
130 fish maw will likely be more species diverse in select countries in Southeast and Western Asia,  
131 Central and South America, and Africa (Supplementary Figure S6A-B). In 2019, the countries  
132 with the highest number of reported species landings exploited for fish maw were Brazil (n = 13),  
133 China (n = 13), Pakistan (n = 11), France (n = 10), and Suriname (n = 10) (Figure 3A), while  
134 Australia (n = 40 species), Spain (n = 21), United States (n = 17), Panama (n = 15), and Brazil (n  
135 = 14) exploited the highest diversity of sharks (Figure 3B). In the following decade, we predict  
136 that Myanmar (n = 14 new species), Venezuela (n = 14), Bangladesh (n = 13), Guinea-Bissau (n

137 = 9), and Oman, Togo, Solomon Islands, and Seychelles (n = 8) will have the largest increase in  
138 diversity of species exploited for fish maw (Figure 3C). For shark fins, we predict that United  
139 Arab Emirates (n = 35 new species), South Africa (n = 29), Venezuela (n = 20), Timor-Leste (n  
140 = 20), and Fiji (n = 16) will be the countries with the largest increase in diversity of shark species  
141 exploited (Figure 3D). All countries with increases in the number of species exploited for each  
142 product are shown on Supplementary Figure S7. Since it is unlikely that any of the fisheries  
143 reporting landings in 2019 will stop fishing by 2029, we consider that the number of species  
144 currently exploited in each country will not decrease, and provide an overall number of species  
145 we predict will be exploited by 2029 for fish maw (Figure 3E) and shark fins (Figure 3F).  
146 However, increases do not correspond to a proportional rise in the number of species exploited  
147 for each product. For example, we predict no new species of shark becoming exploited in Brazil,  
148 but predict the addition of three species exploited for the fish maw market.

149 Our model reveals likely future hotspots of exploitation for these luxury seafood products  
150 (i.e., countries above the 95% quantile for number of species exploited). Venezuela, Bangladesh,  
151 South Korea, China, Suriname, Myanmar are predicted to become diversity hotspots for fish maw  
152 exploitation. For shark fins, Australia, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela, the United  
153 States are future hotspots. When both products are combined, Venezuela, Australia, United Arab  
154 Emirates, South Africa, United States, South Korea, Spain, Brazil, Portugal, United Kingdom,  
155 and Japan stand out as hotspots for future luxury seafood exploitation in terms of species diversity  
156 (Supplementary Figure S8). All projected species to be exploited by country and market are listed  
157 in Supplementary Table S3.

158 Although we demonstrate that several countries will likely have a substantial increase in  
159 the number of species exploited, not all species have the same likelihood of becoming exploited  
160 (Figure 4). For example, among the shark species currently not reported by Fiji at the species  
161 level, the blacktip shark (*Carcharhinus limbatus*) has the highest probability of exploitation  
162 (67.8%) while the crocodile shark (*Pseudocarcharias kamoharui*) is just above the 50% cutoff  
163 for future exploitation. Likewise, the same species have different probabilities of being exploited  
164 by each country (e.g., 65.5% chance of grey reef shark (*C. amblyrhynchos*) exploitation in the  
165 United Arab Emirates vs. 50.6% chance in Thailand; Figure 4, Supplementary Figure S9). We  
166 observed a similar pattern for the species predicted to be exploited for fish maw. Among the  
167 species of teleosts currently not reported by fisheries in Venezuela, the smallscale weakfish  
168 (*Cynoscion microlepidotus*) has the third highest probability of being exploited (76%) compared  
169 to the Atlantic goliath grouper (*Epinephelus itajara*; 60.2%), with the same species of weakfish  
170 having a lower probability of becoming exploited in Suriname (51.1%) (Supplementary Figure  
171 S10).

172 Key biological characteristics were similarly distributed between the species currently  
173 exploited and those predicted to be for each product (Supplementary Figure S11A-B). Teleosts  
174 occupying waters below 200 m deep were more likely to be exploited both now and in the future,

175 while species with a larger body volume have the highest likelihood of being exploited in the  
176 future (Supplementary Figure S11A). For shark fins, species occupying waters between 0 and  
177 600 m deep and with medium to large total high and low value fin areas had consistently greater  
178 chances of being exploited (Supplementary Figure S11B).

### 179 *Countries with high exports report landings at high taxonomic levels*

180 While we predict country-specific species exploitation, predictions are limited by the  
181 reporting resolution and restricted to presence in exports. Based on the country-specific fisheries  
182 landings reported from 2012 to 2019, we derived a reporting resolution index (RRI) to determine  
183 the share of the landings reported at the lowest taxonomic level. Values close to one represent  
184 countries reporting most of their landings at the species level, while those close to zero represent  
185 countries reporting most of their landings at the class level (i.e., Elasmobranchii or  
186 Actinopterygii). Some of the countries with the highest exports of shark fin and fish maw report  
187 most of their landings at the lowest RRI and are clear locations for conservation interventions and  
188 improved reporting to ensure the traceability and sustainability of exports (Figure 5). Among  
189 exporters of fish maw, Togo, Mozambique, Suriname, and Guyana stand out as those with the  
190 lowest RRI and highest exports (Figure 5A). Most of the shark fin exporters report their landings  
191 at lower taxonomic levels, but some countries with important contributions to the market also  
192 have the lowest RRI values (Figure 5B). Some of these countries are also among those we  
193 predicted to develop fisheries for species exploited in these markets (Togo, Guyana, and Suriname  
194 for fish maw; Guatemala, Indonesia, Oman, and United Arab Emirates for shark fins).

195 We found that countries with the highest species diversity in exploitation were not the  
196 largest suppliers of these products to the end-market countries (Supplementary Figure S12A-B).  
197 Between 2012 and 2019, the top five exporters of shark fins by mean value were Mexico, Spain,  
198 Singapore, Namibia, and Peru. For fish maw, the top five exporters by mean value were Uganda,  
199 India, Tanzania, Brazil, and Guyana (Supplementary Figure S12C). Evaluating trade amounts by  
200 quantity (instead of value), results in Denmark being the largest exporter of fish maw, followed  
201 by Vietnam, Iceland, Uganda, and Norway, while Namibia is revealed as the largest exporter of  
202 shark fins followed by Spain, Singapore, China, and Peru (Supplementary Figure S12D).

### 203 **Discussion**

204 Unlike other aquatic harvests, the income elasticities of demand typical of luxury seafood  
205 products place a stronger incentive for geographic and taxonomic expansions, leading to more  
206 overexploitation, depletion, and higher extinction risk for more species. Our findings highlight  
207 the importance of trade strength between exporting and importing countries and the rule of law  
208 in exporting countries on the development of fisheries for these products, while species  
209 desirability is comparatively a minor driver. Our analyses predict that future serial exploitation  
210 will be focused on a subset of countries in Western and Southeast Asia, Central and South  
211 America, and Africa - geographies where landings monitoring is poorer, fisheries management is

212 weaker<sup>19,20</sup>, and IUU fishing risk is higher<sup>21</sup>. Because our predictions apply to the decade between  
213 2020 and 2029, it is likely that the species and countries predicted to enter these luxury markets  
214 may already be newly exploited though not yet present in available data.

215 Our results contrast with related studies of other luxury seafood products. Eriksson et al.<sup>22</sup>  
216 used data on the geographical distance and socioeconomic status of exporting countries to  
217 evaluate the drivers of serial exploitation patterns for sea cucumbers and found no significance in  
218 either predictor. They attributed the geographical spread of sea cucumber harvests to globalization  
219 and the growing presence of Chinese migrants outside of China. While we found limited evidence  
220 for geographical factors shaping when a country began exploiting species for luxury seafood  
221 relative to other countries, we find strong evidence for the importance of governance and  
222 economic features of the exporting countries. Despite methodological differences in the models  
223 employed, both findings underscore the minor role that geographical distance plays in  
224 determining where harvests for dried luxury seafood products occur and point to potentially  
225 distinct and product-specific drivers.

226 To our knowledge, this is the first study to use species-specific characteristics as predictors  
227 of their serial exploitation patterns. Despite species-specific desirability not being a significant  
228 predictor of when a species enters any of the luxury markets analyzed, desirability does have a  
229 significant effect on whether a species is present in luxury markets, providing strong evidence of  
230 the role of evolutionary history in species exploitation for aquatic species. Evolutionary history  
231 is known to predict desirability in luxury markets for terrestrial vertebrates<sup>23,24</sup>, and may play a  
232 similar role in luxury seafood products more generally (e.g., sea cucumbers, precious corals). The  
233 lack of large-scale resolved phylogenies at the species level for invertebrates exploited for luxury  
234 seafood prevented us from extending this assessment and should be an important focus for future  
235 research.

236 Our findings further suggest that the pool of new substitutes for shark fins is now quite  
237 small. Although we could not include batoids in our phylogenetic logistic models due to the lack  
238 of species-specific fin morphometric data, the already widespread presence of shark-like ray  
239 species<sup>25,26</sup> in the fin market suggests that this group could be the next frontier for serial  
240 exploitation for fins. Additionally, given that fins from shark-like rays and other batoids often  
241 fetch higher prices than several shark species<sup>27</sup>, exploiters might target additional batoids before  
242 the nine shark species we predict as new targets. In contrast, we found that the pool of substitutes  
243 for fish maw is much larger. Given the recent evidence suggesting that fish maw may also serve  
244 as a substitute for shark fins in the luxury seafood markets of Southeast Asia<sup>28</sup>, we consider that  
245 this can lead to high extinction risks to the teleost species exploited for fish maw and those  
246 comprising bycatch in their fisheries also demanded for luxury seafood markets (i.e., sharks and  
247 rays), as recently shown by Amepou et al.<sup>29</sup> in Papua New Guinea.

248 We provide strong evidence for which species are already exploited and should be  
249 considered for listing under existing trade regulations, as well as those that should be  
250 preemptively listed before their populations become depleted. Of the 109 species of sharks  
251 currently exploited for fins, 74 have their international trade regulated by the Convention on  
252 International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES), while only two  
253 (totoaba, *Totoaba macdonaldi*, and the kaluga sturgeon, *Sinosturio dauricus*) of the 92 teleost  
254 species consumed for fish maw are listed in CITES Appendices I and II, respectively. Currently,  
255 92 shark species are listed in CITES, none of which comprise those we predict could enter the fin  
256 market. While CITES-listing does not prevent trade, and evidence of its effectiveness in  
257 decreasing illegal and unsustainable harvests is mixed<sup>30-32</sup>, our results provide valuable  
258 information for securing future protections for species exploited for luxury markets, especially  
259 for fish maw, which have little to no protection<sup>19</sup>.

260 Our work also underscores two important data gaps. First, the lack of taxonomic resolution  
261 in reported species landings impedes a more complete analysis of species exploitation risk and  
262 undermines the ability for countries to monitor, assess, and manage vulnerable species. Several  
263 countries supplying the shark fin and fish maw markets report most of their fisheries landings at  
264 the class (i.e., Elasmobranchii and Actinopterygii) or family levels, thus precluding the inclusion  
265 of a more comprehensive species list in our analysis. Second, the lack of product- (for fish maw)  
266 and species-specific (for shark fin and fish maw) trade data reporting precluded us from analyzing  
267 the relative importance of the serial exploitation drivers directly from trade data. The recent  
268 development of the Aquatic Resource Trade in Species (ARTIS) database<sup>33</sup> is a crucial step  
269 forward to address trade related data gaps for fished species, but the lack of requirements for  
270 species-specific trade reporting and traceability stymies the development and implementation of  
271 much needed conservation measures for these species<sup>6,19</sup> and enables countries to export CITES-  
272 regulated species without reporting<sup>32</sup>.

273 Going forward, decisionmakers can use our projections to enact timely and targeted  
274 fisheries management and wildlife trade regulations at national and international levels. By  
275 proactively enhancing biodiversity protections, depletion of species most likely to be exploited  
276 for luxury seafood products and their bycatch could be preemptively avoided. Halting serial  
277 exploitation of these products will help avoid the past ecological and socioeconomic damages of  
278 overexploitation globally, and preserve the long-term sustainability of millenary cultural  
279 practices. Future studies employing our methods for other wildlife trade products (i.e., sea  
280 cucumbers, live reef fish for food, ornamental fish) can similarly identify which species and  
281 geographies are in need of proactive conservation to increase the sustainability of these markets.

## 282 **Methods**

### 283 *Overview*

284           Given the complexity and nested nature of the research questions, we follow a three-step  
285 analytical approach. First, we use phylogenetic models to evaluate if species' presence in the  
286 shark fin and fish maw markets is affected by the group's phylogeny. We then test if the  
287 distribution of species' desirability traits (i.e., total area of high and low value shark fins by  
288 species and maximum body volume for teleosts) map onto each group's phylogeny. We finish  
289 this initial step by running phylogenetic logistic regression models for each product and  
290 desirability traits to predict which new species could become a part of each market. Second, we  
291 build four datasets (one for each main importer of shark fins - China, Singapore, and Vietnam -  
292 or fish maw - China) with the year a fishery for each species of shark or teleost was developed in  
293 each country to supply each luxury market. We then match these datasets with the year- and  
294 country-specific data on the trade strength and geographic distance between exporting and  
295 importing countries, the rule of law and fishing fleet size in the importing country, and with the  
296 species desirability predictors. With these datasets, we fit a set of end-market-specific ordered  
297 forest models to identify the main drivers of serial exploitation for each product. Third, we  
298 combine the results of the phylogenetic logistic regression and the ordered forest models to predict  
299 the probability that each country develops fisheries for previously unexploited species for each  
300 product. With this analysis, we predict which species will likely become exploited next and where  
301 fisheries for them will likely develop in the next decade.

### 302 *Data collection and preparation*

303           To test these hypotheses and identify the main drivers of serial exploitation and depletion,  
304 we used published, gray literature, and personal communications with experts (Baian Lin, pers.  
305 comm.) to obtain a list of shark and teleost species recorded in shark fin and fish maw markets.  
306 In total, we identified 227 species consumed in luxury dried seafood markets, including 109  
307 teleosts and 118 sharks consumed by the fish maw and fin markets, respectively. Given the poor  
308 taxonomic resolution and short time series of the wildlife trade data available<sup>33</sup>, we collected  
309 species- and country-specific landings data from the Sea Around Us Project (SAUP)  
310 (<https://www.seaaroundus.org/>) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Although  
311 fisheries landings time series do not directly document when a country first exports products from  
312 a species (i.e., a species may be only domestically consumed for products other than luxury),  
313 given the high level of globalization of seafood trade and our focus on species byproducts that  
314 largely support international markets, time series of fisheries landings are the best proxy data  
315 available to answer our research questions. Such a proxy has been used for similar studies  
316 targeting sea cucumbers but with no species-specific information due to poor taxonomic reporting  
317 of sea cucumber fisheries landings data<sup>6</sup>. With the landings data, we recorded the year when each  
318 species was first exploited in a given country as the year the fishery for that species started and

319 thus when exports of that species are assumed to have started to supply the luxury market for that  
320 product. While both SAUP and FAO datasets report similar data, some species are only present  
321 in one or the other. Since some species and countries are also present in both datasets, we keep  
322 only the earliest record for each species-country pair, regardless of the data source. The initial  
323 dataset spanned 1950 to 2019, but we removed the first two years of landings data for all species-  
324 country pairs to remove artificial start years of exploitation.

325         Since the hypotheses we test include geographical, trade, biological, and socioeconomic  
326 variables, we used multiple sources to build the dataset to test them. To support the evaluation of  
327 the geographical hypothesis (i.e., more likely to trade with close countries), we collected bilateral  
328 marine distance between countries<sup>34</sup>. To support evaluation of the trade strength hypothesis (i.e.,  
329 more likely to trade with countries with strong and existing relationships), we collected both  
330 historical<sup>35</sup> and current<sup>36</sup> trade from the *Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations*  
331 *Internationales* (CEPII). The historical bilateral trade data spans from 1827 to 2014 and is  
332 reported in British pounds (GBP; 2014 values), while current bilateral trade spans from 2014 to  
333 2020 in current USD. We then converted the trade flow in GBP to USD using the year-specific  
334 conversion rates present in the TRADHIST dataset, and used the consumer price index (CPI) to  
335 correct for inflation and obtain the bilateral trade flow in 2019 USD values.

336         To support the evaluation of the socioeconomic hypothesis (i.e., countries with lower  
337 socioeconomic capacities develop fisheries first), we used the country- and year-specific Rule of  
338 Law index from the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Institute<sup>37</sup> as our governance predictor.  
339 This index ranges from 0 (lowest rule of law) to 1 (highest rule of law) and is calculated yearly  
340 for almost every country in the world based on three attributes: legality (i.e., laws apply to all, are  
341 clear, and predictable), procedure (i.e., laws are applied impartially, fairly, and follow due  
342 process), and institutional (i.e., independent judiciary, presence of checks and balances, absence  
343 of corruption in institutions, and separation of powers)<sup>37</sup>. Additionally, since the amount of  
344 species fished in a country will be affected by fishing effort capacity, we control for each  
345 country's capacity to fish with the estimates of each country's fishing fleet size reported by  
346 Rousseau et al.<sup>38</sup> for longlines, gillnets, trawls, seine nets, and handlines, which can all catch  
347 sharks and/or teleosts. These data only span from 1950 to 2017 and we repeat the 2017 values to  
348 fill in the information missing for 2018 and 2019 for each country's time series.

349         To evaluate the biological hypothesis (i.e., more likely to trade species with shared  
350 desirable traits), we further included species-specific morphologic variables that correlate with  
351 desirability traits for these products. For shark fins, we used fin area as the desirability metric for  
352 the two main markets: high grade (large whole fins sold individually) and low grade fins (smaller  
353 fins sold as wholesale)<sup>39,40</sup>. We used ImageJ to measure the mean area for each fin (i.e., first and  
354 second dorsal, pectoral, pelvic, anal, and lower lobe of the caudal fin) from each species'  
355 illustrations present in Ebert et al.<sup>41</sup>. These illustrations have been validated to be at scale with  
356 real life measurements<sup>42</sup> and have been extensively used to study shark morphology and

357 functional diversity<sup>43</sup>. We followed the fin grade evaluation from Vannuccini<sup>40</sup> to designate high  
358 (first dorsal, pectoral, and lower caudal fin lobe) and low (second dorsal, pelvic, and anal) value  
359 fins, and then summed the areas of each fin per fin grade to calculate the total area high and low  
360 value fins for each species. For fish maw, larger gas bladders are generally considered to fetch  
361 higher prices than smaller ones<sup>44</sup> but data on gas bladder size is not available. Thus, we calculated  
362 species maximum volume by multiplying the maximum length, maximum body depth, and  
363 maximum body width and used it as a proxy for the size of the species' gas bladder. We consider  
364 that species with larger volumes are more likely to have larger gas bladders. We obtained  
365 maximum length, body depth, and body width estimates for each species from the FishLife R  
366 package<sup>45</sup>.

367         Given that fisheries for species can only be developed if species are accessible to fishing  
368 (i.e., species occurring in shallow water are more accessible than those occurring in deeper  
369 waters), we included the median depth of occurrence for each species as a predictor to control for  
370 how accessible a species is to fisheries. These data were obtained from FishBase or IUCN Red  
371 List assessments, with preference for FishBase when both provided data. For species inhabiting  
372 freshwater ecosystems and with no depth range information available, we set the median depth  
373 of occurrence at 5 m. We then categorized these species into shallow (median depth < 100 m),  
374 intermediate (median depth between 100 and 500 m), and deep (median depth > 500 m) water  
375 inhabitants.

376         To predict which species would likely be exploited for fins or fish maw in the future, we  
377 first created a usable version of each group's phylogeny. Since there is no single phylogeny for  
378 teleost fish, we created a list of fish we considered likely to be exploited for fish maw based on  
379 (1) the presence of gas bladders<sup>46</sup>, (2) maximum total lengths between 20 and 360 cm, and (3)  
380 current occurrence of congeners in the fish maw trade. We then used the FishPhyloMaker R  
381 package<sup>47</sup> to build a phylogeny for this final list of species, and used it in all subsequent  
382 phylogenetic analyses. Sharks have an updated phylogeny, which is available as a set of 10,000  
383 trees<sup>48</sup>. We used the maxCladeCred function from the phangorn R package<sup>49</sup> to select the  
384 maximum clade credibility tree, which we then filtered to remove batoid and chimaera species,  
385 and used this phylogenetic tree for all subsequent phylogenetic analyses for sharks.

386         Given the country-specific nature of the predictions, we also needed the list of countries  
387 where each species is known to occur for serial exploitation predictions. For that, we downloaded  
388 the distribution maps from the IUCN Red List assessments for those species currently recorded  
389 in luxury consumption and for those predicted to be exploited in the future by the phylogenetic  
390 logistic regression models. We then created a 1° x 1° grid to overlay the IUCN distribution maps  
391 and transformed each of them into a grid of the same scale with the fasterize R package<sup>50</sup>. We  
392 extracted the names of the countries where they are known to occur based on each species'  
393 occurrence in cells within each countries' exclusive economic zone. For species with no species  
394 distribution maps, we extracted the number of countries from their IUCN status assessments or

395 from the locations with known records from FishBase. With the list of species and potential  
396 countries, we then included the country-specific data for the predictor variables used to fit the  
397 ordered forest models. For those that change through time (i.e., Rule of Law index, trade flow,  
398 and size of the fishing fleet), we calculated the per country rate of change across the last ten years  
399 of data and multiplied the 2019 value by the resulting rate of change to project future values for  
400 2029. For the time constant variables (i.e., maritime distance, total high and low fin areas,  
401 maximum volume, and median depth of occurrence), we used values as they were. With these  
402 data, we built the predictive dataset with potential species-country pairs that could develop  
403 fisheries for species supplying each product. Since trade flow and maritime distance are bilateral  
404 variables, we created one dataset for each consuming country as done in the inference portion of  
405 the analysis.

#### 406 *Phylogenetic analyses*

407         Since our research questions have a nested nature, we needed to answer them sequentially.  
408 First, we had to establish which species could be likely substitutes for each product based on their  
409 desirable traits. For that, we performed a multistep process. We started by using the finalized  
410 phylogenetic trees from each group to test if the presence in the luxury market and the desirable  
411 traits for each product both have phylogenetic signals. Since the former variable is binary and the  
412 latter is continuous, we use specific tests for each. To test if the presence in the luxury market has  
413 a phylogenetic signal, we use the  $D$  statistic<sup>51</sup> and we use Pagel's  $\lambda$ <sup>52</sup> to evaluate the existence of  
414 a phylogenetic signal for total high and low value fin areas for sharks, and volume for teleosts.  
415 For these analyses, we used R packages *caper*<sup>53</sup> and *phytools*<sup>54</sup>, respectively. Similar analyses  
416 have been used to evaluate which birds are traded as pets<sup>24</sup> and which terrestrial vertebrates are  
417 traded for multiple products<sup>23</sup>. Both tests are fitted to the phylogenies of each group and do not  
418 have response variables.

419         Second, since both shark fin variables (total high value fin area  $\lambda = 0.811$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ;  
420 total low value fin area  $\lambda = 0.782$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ) and teleost (maximum volume  $\lambda = 0.873$ ,  $p <$   
421  $0.0001$ ) have strong phylogenetic signals, we can use them to evaluate the role of each group's  
422 evolutionary history on species' desirability and their likelihood of being in the market for each  
423 product. We then used a phylogenetic logistic regression model<sup>55</sup> to predict the probability that  
424 species would be exploited for luxury as a function of their desirable traits. From the shark and  
425 teleost species in each phylogeny, we assigned their presence or absence in the luxury seafood  
426 market based on published records. We used the model to predict the probability of each species  
427 being exploited for fins or fish maw. We then considered the species predicted to have a  $> 50\%$   
428 chance of becoming exploited for these products as potential substitutes and likely to enter the  
429 markets in the future, and thus included them in the datasets for serial exploitation prediction.

430         Finally, to analyze how each desirable trait interacted with species' extinction risk and the  
431 likelihood of being fished, we fitted three other phylogenetic logistic regression models. First, we

432 fitted models evaluating the interaction between each desirable trait to species' IUCN Red List  
433 status (i.e., Near Threatened, Vulnerable, Endangered). Second, we fitted models for the  
434 interaction between each desirable trait and species' depth distribution, hypothesizing that those  
435 occurring in shallower water are more likely to be exploited than their counterparts<sup>15</sup>. For that,  
436 we categorized species into how accessible they were to fishing based on their depth distribution.  
437 Species with median depths of occurrence up to 100 m deep were assigned as shallow, between  
438 100 m and 500 m as intermediate, and beyond 500 m as deep water inhabitants. Finally,  
439 hypothesizing that species occurring in more countries are also more likely to be fished and traded  
440 internationally, we calculated the interquartile range for the number of countries where each  
441 species occurred and assigned species to these low, medium, and high distribution quantiles. We  
442 then fitted models for the interaction between species' desirable traits and the geographic  
443 distribution quantiles. All model formulas and the respective research questions they are set up to  
444 answer are described in Supplementary Table S4.

#### 445 *Serial exploitation modeling*

446 With the phylogenetic analyses finalized, we then moved on to the serial exploitation  
447 modeling. Due to the ordered nature of the response variable (i.e., year a country started a fishery  
448 for a given species), we used an Ordered Forest algorithm<sup>56</sup> with the orf R package<sup>57</sup>, which uses  
449 random forests to perform inference and predictions for ordered response variables. Ordered  
450 Forest models are more robust to imbalanced data settings than regular parametric ordinal  
451 regression models, while still holding either similar or superior predictive power to recently  
452 developed ordinal random forest algorithms<sup>56,58</sup>. Another advantage of using the Ordered Forest  
453 model is that it allows for the conditional calculation of marginal effects for inference, a feature  
454 currently unavailable in other random forest algorithms for ordered response variables.

455 Due to the country-specific nature of the bilateral datasets (i.e., geographical distance and  
456 trade flows), these models can only be run for each consuming country at a time. To maintain the  
457 project's feasibility and real-world applicability, we selected the top three countries known to  
458 consume each product and fitted a model for each. Given the more widespread consumption of  
459 shark fins, we used bilateral trade data from the BACI bilateral trade database<sup>59</sup> to calculate each  
460 country's participation in the imports and exports for each product. The harmonized system (HS)  
461 trade codes for shark fins have only started being adopted in 2012, thus our calculations are an  
462 average between 2012 and 2020 by imported value and quantity. China is by far the largest  
463 importer and consumer of shark fins (63.2%), but Singapore (21.5%) and Vietnam (3.7%) are  
464 further ranked as second and third importers of shark fins globally. Since China is the only country  
465 with meaningful reports of fish maw consumption, we only fit the ordered forest model to it.

466 Given the imbalanced number of species-country pairs recorded for each year, we created  
467 seven 10-year bins for each country-specific dataset. By doing this, we decrease data imbalance  
468 and create a better model fit setting for both inference and prediction with no meaningful loss of

469 statistical power. To guarantee proportional representation of each 10-year bin in the model fitting  
 470 workflow for all importing countries, we split each importing country-specific dataset into 80%  
 471 training and 20% testing data with stratification by bins, and scaled predictor variables. We then  
 472 fitted the shark fin ordered forest model for China (n = 695), Singapore (n = 705), and Vietnam  
 473 (n = 745), and the fish maw model for China only (n = 465) using the following equations:

$$475 P[Y_{m,s} = m | X_s = x] = High\ area_i + Low\ area_i + Depth_i + Distance_{e,j} + Trade_{e,j} + ROL_e +$$

$$476 Fleet_e \quad (1)$$

$$478 P[Y_{m,s} = m | X_s = x] = Body\ Volume_i + Depth_i + Distance_{e,j} + Trade_{e,j} + ROL_e + Fleet_e$$

$$479 \quad (2)$$

480  
 481 Where  $m$  are the classes in the response variable (i.e., our 10-year bins) and  $s$  are the  
 482 species-country pairs. High area, low area, volume, and depth correspond to the total high value  
 483 fin area, total low value fin area, maximum volume, and median depth of occurrence for species  
 484  $i$ . Given their bilateral characteristics, maritime distance and trade magnitude for each exporting  
 485 country  $e$  are used based on their values towards importing country  $j$ , and rule of law index (ROL)  
 486 and fishing fleet size values are expressed only for each exporting country  $e$ . We use equation (1)  
 487 for the shark fin models and different importing countries, and equation (2) for the fish maw  
 488 model. The same models are used for both inference and prediction. After model fitting, we  
 489 calculated a weighted mean using the proportion of the global imports of shark fins by China,  
 490 Singapore, and Vietnam to obtain a single estimate and standard error for each predictor and  
 491 decade for the shark fin models.

492 To ease the interpretation of inference results and whether they validate the hypotheses,  
 493 we simulated datasets that would intentionally confirm each of the hypotheses for each product.  
 494 For this simulation, we relied on the same datasets used to fit the shark fin and fish maw ordered  
 495 forest models with China as the importing country. We then simulated data for each predictor to  
 496 match the expected direction of each hypothesis (i.e., trade magnitude is distributed in decreasing  
 497 order across decades) by deriving a normal distribution centered around the mean from the  
 498 observed data. This starting value then shifted along the hypothesized trend under the standard  
 499 deviation from the observed data to avoid complete separation for each decade. We then fitted  
 500 univariate versions of the model for each predictor. This procedure demonstrates what result we  
 501 should expect for each product if each hypothesis was true. We then compared the simulated  
 502 results to those obtained from the observed data to qualitatively evaluate which hypotheses were  
 503 confirmed and interpret how they differed from the expected inference values.

504 While the ordered forest model's predictions with inference were overall good, fitting the  
 505 models specifically for prediction substantially increases the model performance (Supplementary  
 506 Table S5). Therefore, we chose to fit the prediction-only models to the same data following the  
 507 same data splitting procedure, but now with the inference arguments turned off. For the fish maw

508 model, we followed a 70% training and 30% testing data split due to better accuracy. We then  
509 use these models to predict the probability of each country developing a fishery for each species  
510 and product. We continue to follow the country-specific nature of the study design, but since these  
511 species are traded globally we consider it would be irrelevant to have a probability applied to each  
512 consuming country individually. Thus, we calculated the weighted mean probability per product  
513 across consuming countries following the same weights used for inference and used this value as  
514 the final probability that each country will develop a fishery for a given shark species targeting  
515 the fin market. Since fish maw is only significantly consumed in one country, we calculated the  
516 median probabilities for each species-country pair. For all products, we considered species-  
517 country pairs with > 50% chance of being present as likely to become future suppliers of these  
518 luxury markets. With these results, we sum the number of species predicted to be exploited by  
519 country and product to obtain the future hotspots of exploitation for luxury seafood.

#### 520 *Trade data analyses*

521 While trade data reported at the species level would be ideal for our study, shark fin and  
522 fish maw trade aggregates species, and depending on the Harmonized System version, are  
523 aggregated with other fishery products. As such, reported trade data does not provide the  
524 necessary resolution or time span for our evaluation of historical serial exploitation patterns.  
525 Nevertheless, we used trade data on shark fins and fish maw to put our serial exploitation results  
526 into context in two ways. First, we used the BACI data to calculate the mean quantity and value  
527 of exports to the most important end-markets by exporting and importing country pairs between  
528 2012 and 2019. Second, we bridged the mean quantity exported by each country to each end-  
529 market of interest with the taxonomic level of landings reporting from each country to better  
530 understand which are the potentially high concern countries where a wider diversity of species  
531 might already be unknowingly exploited due to poor taxonomic resolution in the fisheries landing  
532 data. For that, we calculated the reporting resolution index (RRI), a metric that quantifies in what  
533 taxonomic detail countries last reported their landings. To calculate the RRI, we filtered the  
534 aggregated landings dataset from the FAO to include country-specific landings from 2012 to 2019  
535 and assigned a taxonomic classification (i.e., species, genus, family, order or class) to each  
536 observation per country and group (sharks or teleosts). We do not use the SAUP data for this  
537 analysis because our intent is to evaluate the actual catch reporting by the actual countries, rather  
538 than catch reconstructions by a third party. We then summed landings per country and taxa, and  
539 calculated the share of the landings reported by country for each taxonomic level. We then  
540 assigned penalties to each level of taxonomic reporting, with species level getting a penalty of 1  
541 followed by decreasing penalties at 0.25 intervals for the subsequent higher taxonomic levels until  
542 0.01 for reporting at the highest level – class. We then calculated the RRI for exporting country  
543  $e$ , importing country  $j$ , and product  $p$  with the following equation:

$$544 \quad RRI_{j,e,p} = \Sigma(Share_e \times Penalty) \quad (3)$$

545           Given the importance of reporting landings at the species level to curb IUU fishing and to  
546 fulfill international wildlife trade agreements, countries that are important traders and report  
547 landings at low taxonomic resolutions are at higher risk of undergoing IUU fishing. We then  
548 divided the countries into tertiles for RRI and the amount of each product exported. Countries at  
549 the lowest tertile for the RRI and the highest tertile for exports as being at critical risk of IUU  
550 fishing, and are potential key areas for serial exploitation towards luxury seafood products.

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## 561 **Data and code availability**

562           All datasets built and necessary to run the analyses are deposited in Dryad<sup>60</sup>, and the  
563 code repository is available at Zenodo ([10.5281/zenodo.18141506](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.18141506)).

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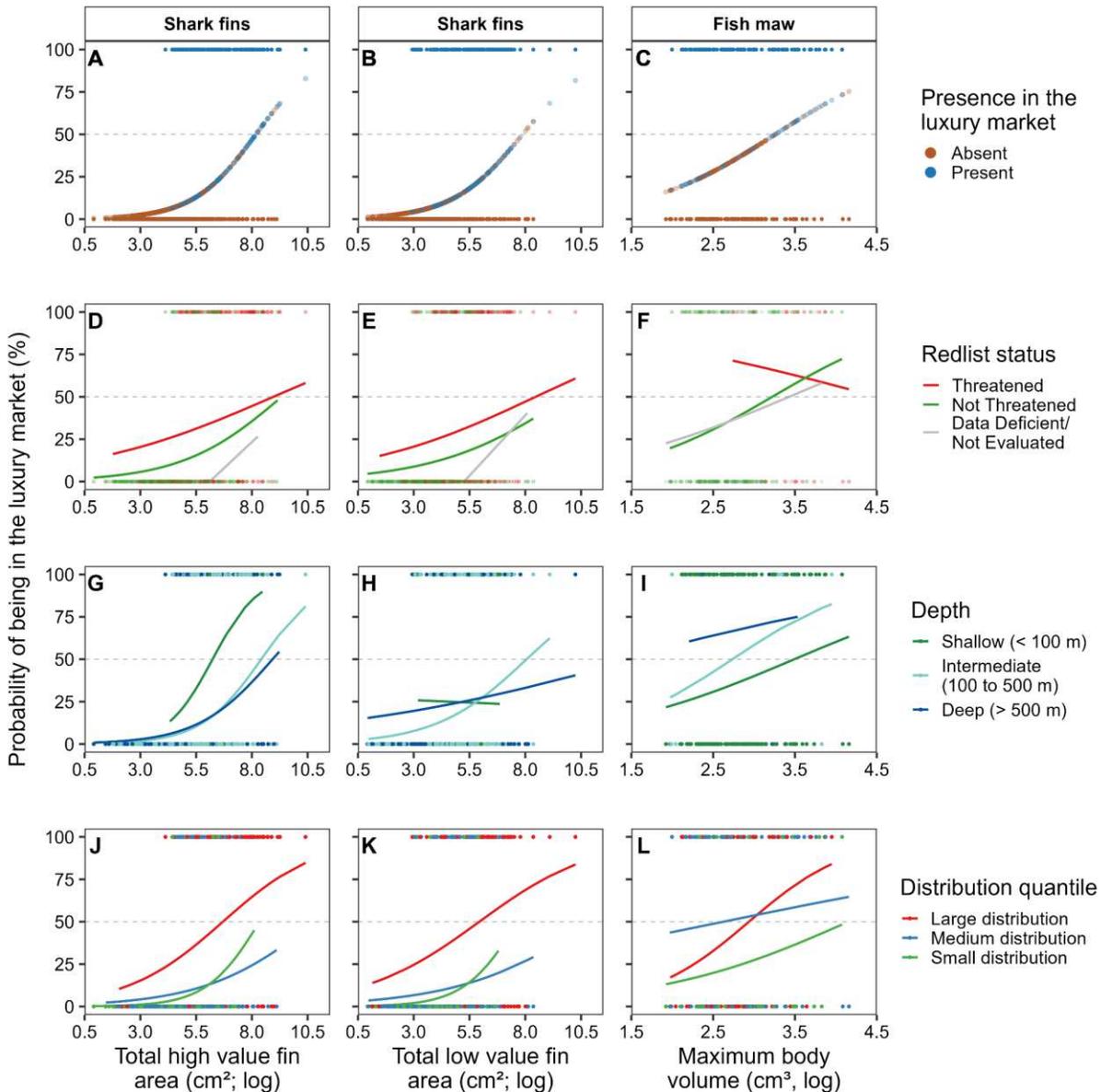
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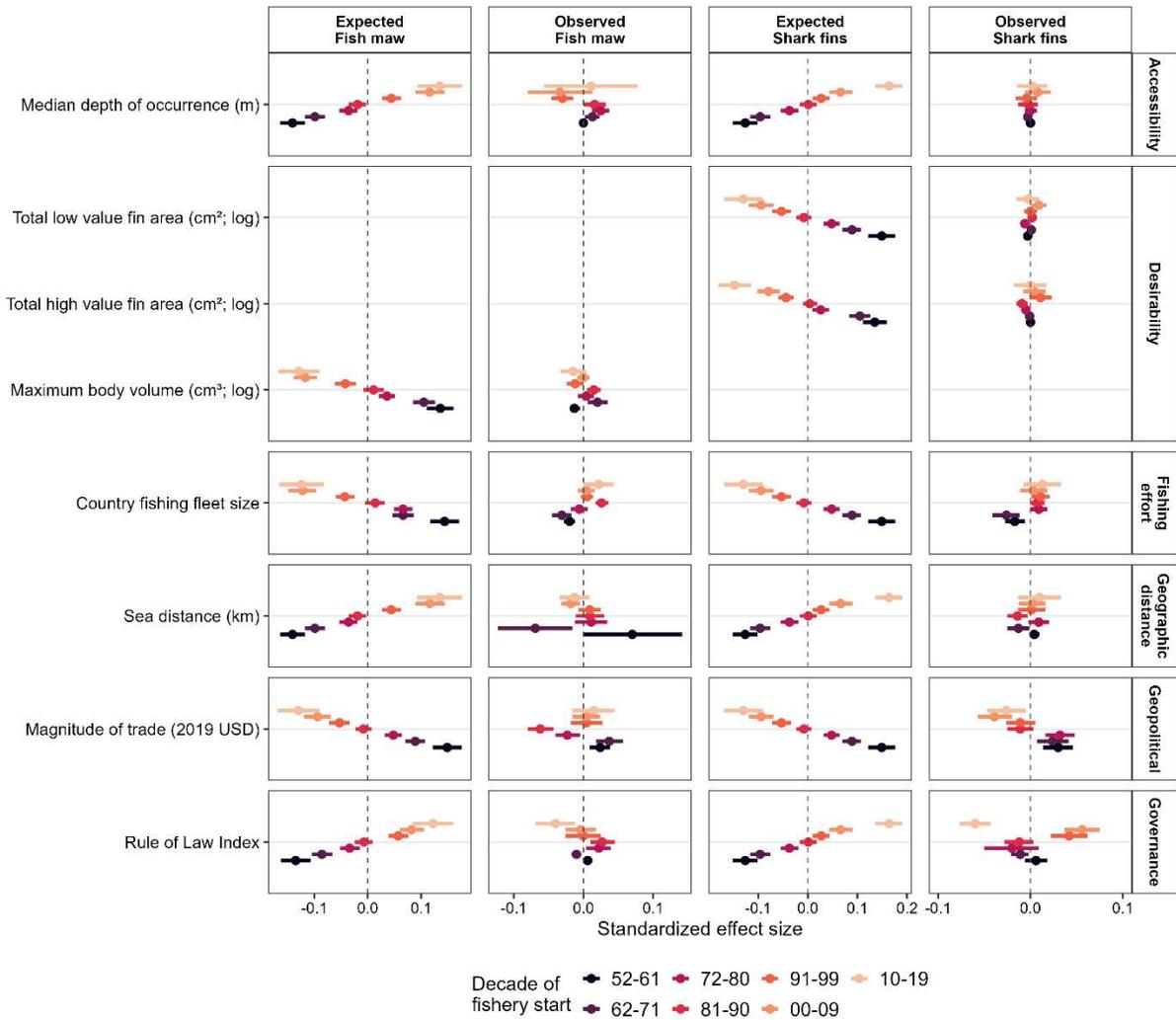


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702 **Figure 1: Species desirability increases probability of presence in the luxury market.**

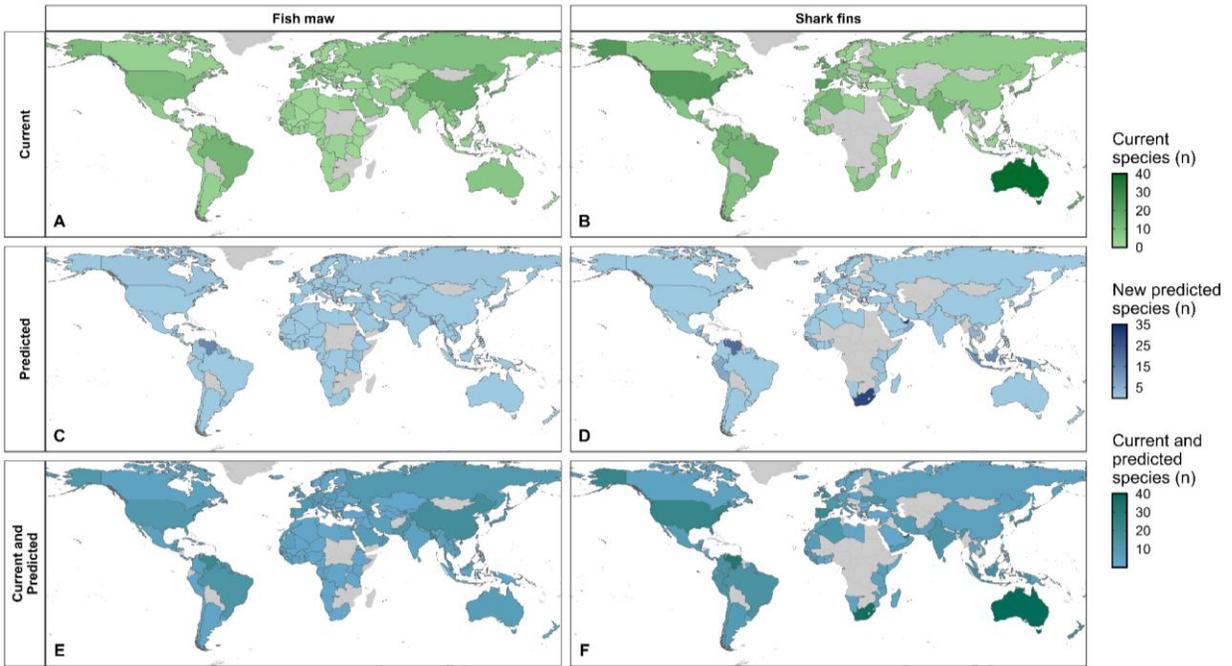
703 Colored lines represent the different categorical predictors used to test multiple interactions for  
 704 the phylogenetic logistic regression models. Panels A through C show the predicted probabilities  
 705 of each species being in their respective luxury seafood markets as a function of desirability  
 706 variables. Panels D through F demonstrate the interaction between desirability traits and species  
 707 IUCN Red List categories (i.e, Least Concern (LC) - dark green, Near Threatened (NT) - light  
 708 green, Vulnerable (VU) - light yellow, Endangered (EN) - orange, Critically Endangered (CR) -  
 709 red, Data Deficient (DD) - gray, and Not Evaluated (NE) - black) and probability of being in the  
 710 luxury seafood market. DD species have near zero probabilities of being in the shark fin market,

711 thus the trend line is behind points at the 0% probability in the y axis. Panels G through I show  
712 the interaction between desirability traits and species median depth intervals (Deep - dark blue,  
713 Intermediate - light green, Shallow - green) and probability of being in the luxury seafood market.  
714 Panels J through L show the interaction between desirability traits and the first, second, and third  
715 quantiles of species distribution ranges based on the number of countries where they occur and  
716 their probability of being in the luxury seafood market.

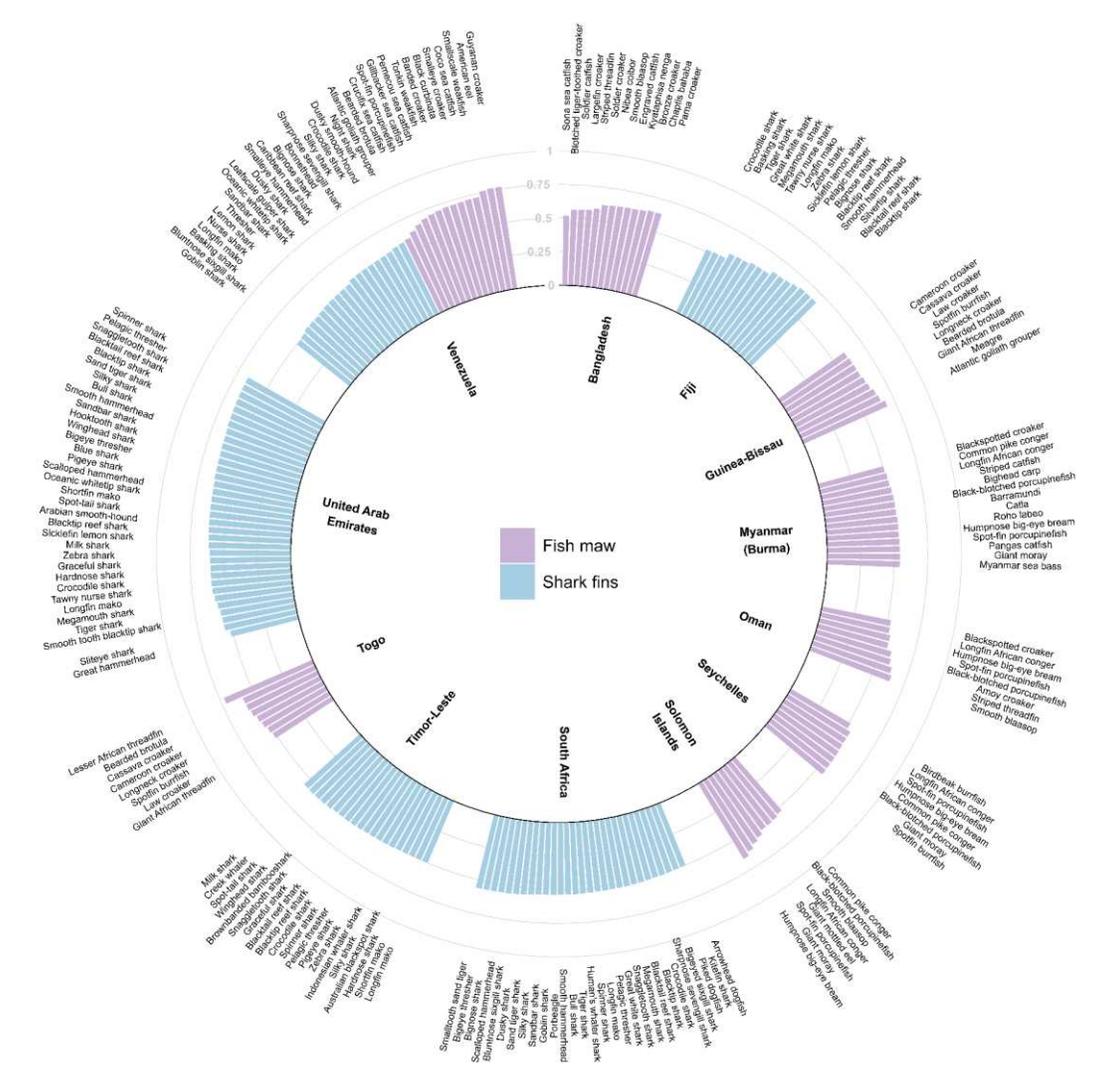


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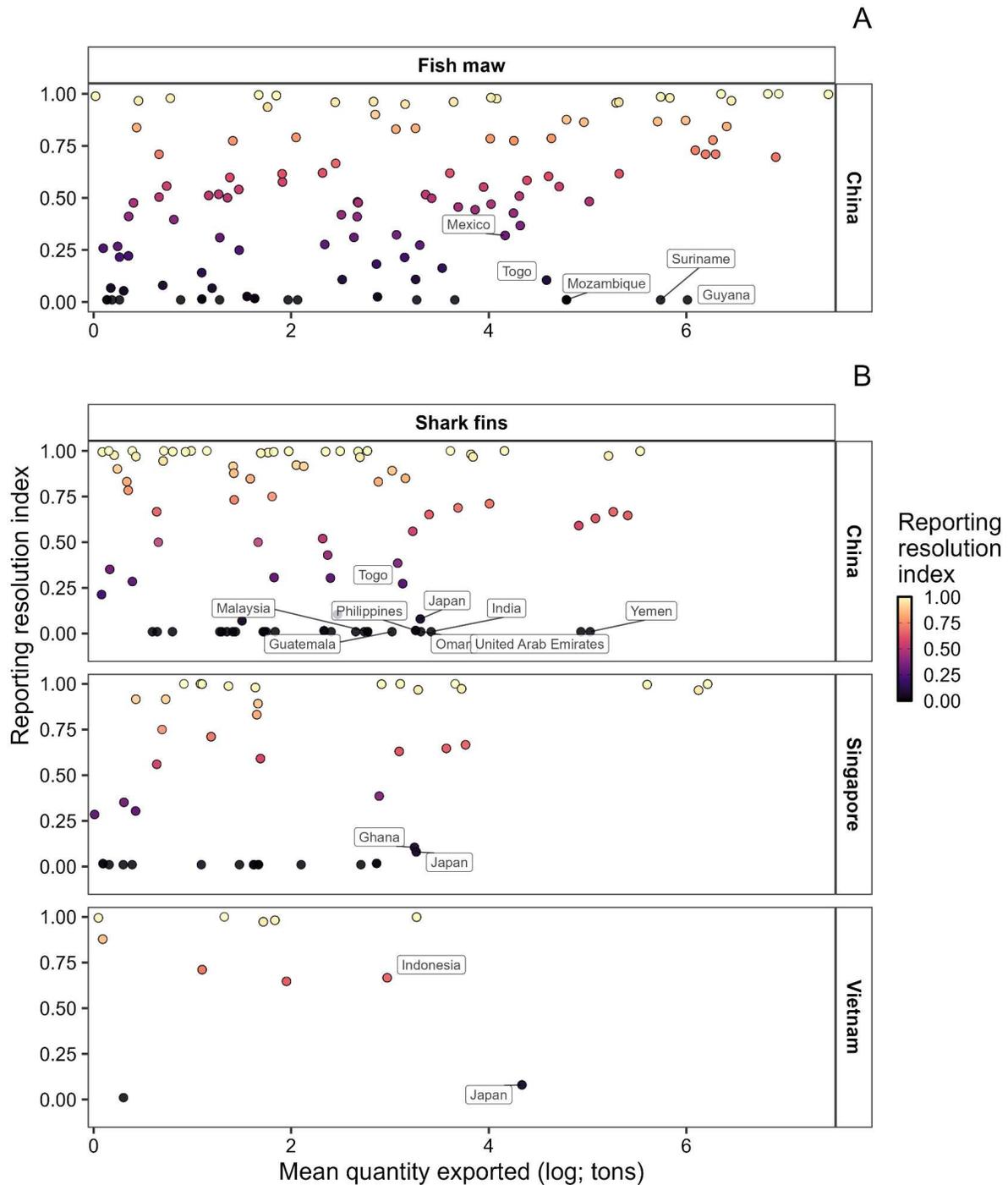
**Figure 2. Trade and governance drive historical serial exploitation patterns across products.** Mean (point) and 95% confidence intervals (horizontal error bars) for each predictor (y-axis) and ten-year interval for which a fishery for a given species in a given country started. Darker colors represent older fisheries and lighter colors those developed more recently. Expected patterns are based on models fitted with the fish maw and shark fin ordered datasets for China as the end-market and each predictor artificially arranged to match each hypothesis. Observed patterns are calculated across end-market countries through a weighted mean based on the share of the market each end-market country (China, Singapore, Vietnam) represents. Expected and observed panels are shown side by side for comparison.



727  
 728 **Figure 3. Current and future hotspots of exploitation for shark fins and fish maw.** Panels A  
 729 and B show countries colored by the number of species demanded in the fish maw and shark fin  
 730 markets with reported landings in 2019. Panels C and D are colored by the number of species  
 731 each country is predicted to exploit to supply the fish maw and shark fin markets in the future.  
 732 Panels E and F show the number of species currently exploited plus the ones predicted to be  
 733 exploited in each country by the ordered forest model for each product.



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 735 **Figure 4. Predicted probabilities of exploitation for species within countries.** Only the top  
 736 five countries with the highest number of species predicted to become exploited for each product  
 737 are shown. The entire pool of species and countries with probabilities of exploitation > 50% are  
 738 shown on Supplementary Figures 8 and 9 for shark fins and fish maw, respectively.



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**Figure 5. High exporters with landings reported at higher taxonomic levels are at elevated risk of IUU fishing.** Values close to 1 (lighter points) represent countries reporting most of their landings at the species level, while values close to zero (darker points) represent countries reporting most of their landings at the class level. Labeled countries are those in the first tertile for the reporting resolution index and in the third tertile for the mean quantity exported of each product for each end-market country. These countries are considered to have a high probability

746 of exploiting multiple species but reporting landings only at higher taxonomic levels. High  
747 concern is statistically derived using a reporting resolution index, which measures what  
748 proportion of the fisheries landings reported is provided at each taxonomic level. Trade and  
749 reporting indices are shown for fish maw (A) and shark fins (B) based on each end-market  
750 country. Landings data are aggregated from the FAO fisheries database and bilateral trade data  
751 are aggregated from the BACI dataset, both spanning from 2012 to 2019.

## Supplementary Files

This is a list of supplementary files associated with this preprint. Click to download.

- [Feitosaetalsupplementarymaterials.pdf](#)