

Complete data for family income is missing for 40.7% of the sample. By default SPSS does a list-wise deletion of missing data meaning that when family income is included in a multivariate model 40.7% of respondents are excluded from analysis. Data are seldom missing at random; for example poorer respondents may be more reluctant to give their income than richer respondents meaning that non-responses are biased towards poorer respondents. Simply excluding missing cases can therefore both bias the results and substantially diminish the power of any analysis. For these reasons imputation of missing values, particularly when 5% or more of the sample, is often preferable to deletion; imputation, however, can distort coefficients of association and correlation relating variables and also requires expertise (Kalton & Kasprzyk 1982).

An alternative option is to treat non-response as data in itself by placing non-responses in a category of their own. This allows all cases to be included in the analysis although any resulting gain in analytical power as a result will be offset to some extent by the necessary rise in the number of predictors in the model. This also introduces the hypothesis that the non-response group is different from other respondents in terms of family income: a reasonable hypothesis considering that non-response is rarely random, and a potentially important one if a significant result is found. And given the considerable potential bias introduced by deleting 40.7% of cases, the complexity of imputation and on the other hand the increase in analytical power and accuracy achieved by including all respondents with non-response categories, this final alternative is most attractive. Non-response categories are therefore included for all the predictor variables for which 5% or more data are missing including family income and personal income, having 40.7% and 12.7% of values missing respectively. However, although education data were missing for less than 5% of respondents, preliminary analysis showed knowledge and awareness scores of those for whom education data was recorded differed significantly from those for whom it was not; education is therefore also treated as a categorical predictor with a non-response group for this analysis (Chapter 8), and also in other analyses for consistency.

3.5. Qualitative Methods

Qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews (SSIs) and focus groups may achieve limited sample sizes relative to quantitative methods but enable research questions to be explored in more depth. Interviews are essentially an opportunity for the researcher to encourage respondents to “create field notes about the research topic that record the world through the informant’s eyes” (Weiss 1994 in Matthews 2005: 801); they encourage detailed response and allow respondents to expand upon thoughts as desired and in their own words (Hunter & Brehm 2003). On the downside, interviews are costly and time-consuming to complete and analyse, and vulnerable to interviewer bias and the varying eloquence of respondents (Glastonbury & MacKean 2004).

This freedom to elaborate in their own familiar words rather than those of the researcher is a valuable asset of SSIs when aiming to gain a better understanding of issues such as the values associated with wild meat and attitudes towards wild animals, their consumption and conservation. Moreover, qualitative data collection is essential groundwork for the preparation and design of structured methods and are useful in explaining and examining subsequent quantitative findings in more depth. SSIs have been used to explore knowledge of, and concern about, biodiversity amongst US residents in a North American biodiversity hotspot (Hunter & Brehm 2003) and have accompanied questionnaire surveys researching perceptions of wildlife and its conservation in Japan, Germany and the U.S.A (Kellert 1991b; 1993a). SSIs have also recently been used to research public perceptions of environmental problems (Pham & Rambo 2003) and of food safety risks (Figuie 2004) in Hanoi.

A number of researchers have successfully used SSIs and/or focus groups, to explore attitudes, awareness and knowledge in Vietnam around sensitive topics such as tuberculosis (Johansson et al. 1999; Nguyen et al. 1999; Hoa et al. 2004), emergency contraception (Nguyen et al. 1997), smoking amongst women (Morrow et al. 2002) and STDs (Go et al. 2002). Studies exploring knowledge and concern related to wildlife in the USA and Hong Kong have also employed SSI and focus group techniques (Lee et al. 1998; Hunter & Brehm 2003). Focus groups have also

been used to provide insightful narratives and anecdotes about the cultural and social meanings of wild animals and of the human activities that relate to them (Wolch & Lassiter 2004).

Focus groups are good at examining *what* respondents think, but are especially useful for exploring *why* they think in that way (Morgan 1988). Participants are challenged by others who hold opposing views and are forced to think, reason and explain their views in their own words, and to build on, and perhaps subsequently influence, the responses of other participants (Oates 2002). As such focus groups are useful to identify attitudes and the arguments participants select use to support or contest them. The synergistic influence of a group setting may elicit information or ideas not obtained in individual interviews (Stewart & Shamdasani 2006). On the other hand, focus groups are artificially constructed situations and can be difficult to use, requiring a skilled moderator able to minimise their own impact on results and willing participants (Oates 2002). Negotiating access to participants and analysis is time consuming and costly, and introduces interviewer bias. Since responses are not independent, the ability to generalise is limited. More importantly, groups may be biased by dominant group members, which is a particular concern in a hierarchical society such as that in Vietnam, and are for this reason are not used in this research (Go et al. 2002; Oates 2002).

3.5.1. Semi-Structured Interviews

All SSIs (n=77) were completed by the author, the majority (n=73) with the assistance of a Vietnamese interpreter. The remainder (n=4) were completed in English and these are identified as such when used throughout the thesis. All interviewees gave their permission to record using a discreet Dictaphone. The interview and these recordings were transcribed directly into English mostly within a fortnight, but occasionally within one month, of the interview by the same translator present at the time. Interviews were completed with two distinct groups: self-reported wild meat consumers (n=39) and the central Hanoi public (n=38). Interviewees were allowed to guide the interviews as much as possible around the themes being explored. Questions discouraged one-word answers, avoided putting words in respondents' mouths and focused on specific events

rather than general views (Oates 2002; Matthews 2005). Nevertheless, my own preconceptions and those of the translators and incomplete translation at the time of the interview will have inevitably influenced the direction of interviews and the resulting data.

3.5.1.1. Wild Meat Consumers

To examine the context of wild meat consumption, perceived characteristics of consumers, the values associated with wild meat and consumer attitudes towards farmed wild meat, interviewees who had recently consumed wild meat were targeted (n=39). These interviews were completed with an interpreter who had excellent English and extensive wildlife expertise and translation experience from previous long-term employment with ENV. Moreover, as a local man - though living in neighboring Ha Tay province he has studied and worked in Hanoi - in his mid-thirties I felt he was well placed to accompany me to interviews with wild meat consumers who have been reported to be predominantly male (Venkataraman 2007).

I aimed to observe and interview wild meat consumers while they were eating wild meat in restaurants so, during the pilot study, I began approaching wild meat restaurants from a list provided by WCS. Unfortunately many of these restaurants had closed or moved since the list was compiled meaning that many hours were spent trying to locate restaurants serving wild meat, a menu option rarely openly advertised. In addition, restaurateurs were generally unwilling to allow me to access other patrons who were typically provided with a private room for their meal. I made a point of befriending the staff of a restaurant I passed daily and which, at various points, boasted cages of live civets, porcupines and crocodiles, and ornamental stuffed tigers. But whenever 'important' guests were present - indicated by expensive cars, often with government plates, parked outside - they were always keen for me to move on, and when I eventually approached with an interpreter they were uncomfortable and unwilling to talk for long. Wild meat restaurants located in the suburbs and outside Hanoi also typically had private rooms for dinner parties and simply coinciding with a visit by a party of interest,

let alone actually accessing these groups was a huge challenge. I needed to access consumers another way.

I decided to approach self-reported wild meat consumers from the questionnaire while continuing to make, where possible, opportunities to observe and speak with consumers accessed by other means. In the end, the majority of consumers providing SSIs (n=35) were questionnaire respondents who reported having consumed wild meat in the last twelve months and also gave their contact details; each week these contact details were passed to the translator who then arranged appointments with at least two individuals from the list at a time and place convenient to them; interviewees were therefore necessarily those who were contactable, available and willing to be interviewed. Of the remainder (n=4), two were members of the public on the periphery of other interviews who had something to contribute and so were interviewed subsequently, and two were contacted through personal acquaintances because they had mentioned eating wild meat recently. The characteristics of all the wild meat consumers interviewed are summarised in Table 3.6 (p. 77).

Prior to the interview, interviewees were told that the interviews aimed to research the potential of wildlife farming in Vietnam and therefore that we wished to speak with those who had recently enjoyed eating wild meat; all gave their permission to be recorded. Where possible, interviews were conducted in a neutral and quiet location such as a café but some were also completed in the interviewee's own home and/or workplace. Despite concerns that people would be unwilling to discuss consumption of wild animal products, interviewees were found to be surprisingly open. Those who were more reserved tended to talk about consumption behaviour in the third person or moved their consumption activities further into the past; however, more often than not, as the interview progressed and the interviewees relaxed they would switch to the first person and the present or more recent past. Interviews typically lasted from thirty minutes to up to an hour; topics covered are summarised in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5. Main topics covered in SSIs with wild meat consumers (n=39)

Context of wild meat consumption

E.g. Please describe the last occasion you ate wild meat

General perceptions of wild meat consumers and occasions when wild meat is eaten

E.g. What types of people tend to eat wild meat?

Values associated with wild meat and wild animal-derived medicines

E.g. Why do people choose to eat wild meat?

The potential of farming wild animals for meat/attitudes towards farmed wild substitutes

E.g. What do you think about expanding wildlife farming to provide wild meat and medicine?

E.g. Have you ever eaten meat from a farmed wild animal? What is it like?

3.5.1.2. Central Hanoi Public

To examine attitudes towards wild animals and their conservation, awareness and experiences of wild animals, SSIs were also completed with members of the central Hanoi public (n=39). All these SSIs were completed with a second interpreter: a highly skilled woman in her mid-twenties working as a lecturer in English Language at the Vietnamese National University and also as a professional interpreter; having completed an MRes in Linguistics from the University of Melbourne, she was also experienced in qualitative research, able to provide valuable insights into interviewees' use of language and was someone with whom I was regularly able to discuss ideas and ask questions. Together we completed an average of two SSIs per week between April and August 2007.

Interviewees were accessed in two ways. First, members of the public (n=28) were approached in and around parks, lakes, cafes and typical meeting places where people often go to relax and exercise in the late afternoon and evening. Approximately one third of those approached refused to be interviewed meaning that interviewees were biased to those who were free and willing to talk; these individuals were usually able to talk for some time and under no pressure, and interviews typically lasted between thirty to fifty minutes. Very occasionally an interviewee, although willing to be interviewed, had limited views regarding the topics raised meaning that the interview contained more of the interviewer than the interviewee; these interviews were usually wound up early and not transcribed. While this approach to finding interviewees was successful in finding students and retired individuals, it was less successful for other age groups and those in full-time employment. For this reason, the interpreter and I began making

appointments with friends of friends, colleagues and acquaintances we knew in passing through every day life; nine further interviews were completed in this way. Table 3.6 summarises the characteristics of members of the central Hanoi public interviewed.

All interviewees were told the research was investigating interactions with, and attitudes towards, wild animals and the interviews typically covered the themes summarised in Table 3.7. Nevertheless, many interviewees in the second group talked about either recent personal consumption of wild animal products or consumption by close friends or family members, allowing for some overlap with the themes broached with wild meat consumers (Table 3.5). Similarly, interviews with wild meat consumers often naturally moved onto topics covered with members of the public. For this reason all interviews contain information relevant across the thesis and all interviews are included in the analysis for all sections of the research.

Table 3.6. Characteristics of the members of the central Hanoi public (n=38) and the wild meat consumers (n=39) interviewed in SSIs:

Characteristics		Interviewees (%)	
		Central Hanoi Public	Wild Meat Consumers
Age (years)	<30	36.8	23.1
	31-39	18.4	23.1
	40-49	18.4	15.4
	50-59	10.5	33.3
	60+	15.8	5.1
Birthplace	Hanoi	78.9	61.5
	Outside Hanoi	21.1	28.2
	Missing data	0.0	10.3
Education	Primary	5.3	5.1
	Junior	7.9	20.5
	Secondary	60.5	38.5
	Higher	13.2	28.2
	Missing data	13.2	7.7
Occupation	Students	28.9	0.0
	Retired	21.1*	20.5**
	Service workers	15.8	23.1
	Professionals/Business people	13.1	28.2
	Skilled workers	7.9	15.4
	Unskilled workers	7.9	0.0
	Unemployed	2.6	0.0
	Housework/childcare	2.6	0.0
	Clerks	0.0	7.7
	Army/police/state officers	0.0	5.1
Sex	Men	52.6	69.2
	Women	47.4	30.8

*Retirees included two government officials; **Retirees included ex-service and ex-skilled workers and a senior official in the department of National Defence and Security.

Table 3.7. Main topics covered in SSIs with the central Hanoi public (n=39)

Non-consumptive interactions with wild animals

E.g. Please describe an occasion when you visited a national park or forest

Wild animal-related knowledge and awareness

E.g. Can you tell me the names or describe any rare species native to Vietnam?

E.g. Can you describe any threats to wildlife species in Vietnam?

Concept of conservation

E.g. How would you define wildlife conservation?

E.g. What could be done to better protect wild species?

E.g. What do you think about farming tigers in Binh Duong?

Wildlife Farming/Consumptive Use

E.g. Do you think Vietnam should expand wildlife farming for meat and medicine? Why?

Naturalistic

E.g. Do you think animals like tigers and crocodiles should be kept in secure areas such as zoos?

Ecologicistic

E.g. Should Vietnam concentrate on protecting economically valuable species?

3.5.2. Data Entry and Analysis

N6 software was used to facilitate analysis of the resulting transcripts; the majority of these were coded after the data collection period. However, I frequently returned to the original transcripts as a whole at all stages of the analysis in order to identify and explore new themes and to reconsider the data in its full context. Analysis aimed to be informant-led and fully grounded in the data. The quotes presented in the results throughout the thesis reflect, unless otherwise specified, the primary themes emerging from the interviews in relation to the research questions being explored in each chapter.

3.6. Unstructured Data Collection

A research diary was kept recording conversations, observations and events as well as any problems encountered and developments or ideas arising from the structured data so far collected. A record of relevant articles published on Vietnamese news websites and in newspapers was also made. The data collected using structured methods is also interpreted in terms of the experiences and observations of both myself and other expatriates while living in Hanoi and travelling throughout Vietnam, and also the knowledge I gained about Hanoian society from working, socialising and interacting with local people on a daily basis. I discussed ideas and observations with Vietnamese friends and colleagues, many of whom were from central Vietnam and were therefore perhaps able to offer insights into Hanoian society those more local might overlook.

4. The Scale and Context of Wild Animal Consumption

4.1. Introduction

4.1.1. Scale and Context of Wild Animal Consumption in Vietnam

Vietnam has been established as a central hub for wildlife trade (Lin 2005: 15) and there is substantial concern that it is now also a significant consumer of wild animals (Chapter 1). But due to the difficulties of investigating an illegal trade, the scale of domestic consumption is relatively unclear. Based on direct investigations of wildlife trade and data collected from key informants, Nguyen (2003) estimates that as much as half of the volume of live wild animals and wild meat traded in Vietnam is consumed domestically, and that 80% of this is consumed as wild meat in restaurants.

Recently, researchers have begun to estimate the scale of demand for wild animals by asking consumers to report their own consumption of wild animal products. Most such studies tend to measure lifetime wild animal product consumption. For example, Venkataraman (2007) found that 47% of Hanoi residents reported having used wildlife products in their lifetime, 82% of whom reported eating wild meat specifically, while various researchers report between 46% and 68% of residents of different Chinese cities consuming wild meat at some time in their lives (WPAC 2000 in Nooren and Claridge 2000; Wu et al. 2001 in Guo 2007). A more recent study measured consumption by Guangzhou residents within the last year, finding that during this time period 29% of those surveyed reported consuming wild meat on one or two, 10% on several, and 3% on many, occasions (Guo 2007).

Restaurants serving wild meat are thought to be concentrated in urban areas such as provincial capitals (Robertson 2004). Many wild meat restaurants can also be found in and around Hanoi, particularly along major highways in and out of the city (Nguyen 2003). Moreover, the trend for eating wild meat in restaurants appears to be growing in popularity in Vietnam (SFNC 2003), and some informants in Quang Nam claim that supply sometimes cannot satisfy demand (Robertson et al. 2004). Species reported consumed most frequently were wild pig, porcupine, sambar, muntjac and soft-shell turtle and restaurateurs in Quang Nam and Quang

Binh provinces report highest demand for wild meat in the dry season from February to September (SFNC 2003; Robertson 2004; Robertson et al. 2004). According to Nguyen (2003), some restaurants in Le Mat in Hanoi are capable of serving more than 300 customers at one time and include a wide range of species on their menus including snakes, civets, monitor lizards, porcupines, leopards, pangolins, monkeys, wild pigs, hard and soft shell turtles, and birds. A recent survey indicated that the meat of deer and wild pig, turtle, snake, civet and porcupine are species commonly reported eaten by Hanoians (Venkataraman 2007).

Many wild animal parts are also used in traditional medicine (Nguyen 2006). Demonstrating this variety, the section entitled 'animal drugs' in Li Shizhen's influential *Materia Medica* (written in 1697 and translated by Read 1931), and the more recent 'Illustrated Chinese *Materia Medica*' (Yen 1992), lists medicinal values of, amongst others, tiger, leopard, rhinoceros, deer and bear parts. In Vietnam, python bones are used to make balm for backache and bone pain while python fat is used to treat burns; pangolin scales are used to treat skin inflammation and to improve lactation; turtle and tortoise plastron is used to treat rheumatism and as a tonic for the heart and monitor lizard gall is used to treat asthma (Compton & Le 1998; Compton 2000). A bone jelly called *cao* can be made of the bones of certain animals; macaque bone, for instance, is chiefly prescribed for gynaecological problems (Nguyen 2006; see also Box 1.1, p. 32). A similar jelly is made from deer or stag antler used, infused with alcohol, as a general tonic, an anti-rheumatic and an anti-hemorrhagic; the antlers of young deer produce a particularly potent and valuable tonic (Nguyen 2006).

A recent study found 30 and 68 animal species on traditional medicine markets in northern and southern Vietnam respectively (Nguyen & Nguyen 2008). Bear bile is a particularly widely used medicine in Vietnam (Box 1.2, p. 33). Venkataraman (2007: 13) found that just under a quarter of Hanoians reported using a "wild animal health product" during their lifetime, yet a survey in the previous year found almost a third reported using bear bile within the last year (Nguyen &

Reeves 2005). Wild animal-derived bile and bone glue are often on sale in restaurants serving wild meat (Robertson 2004).

A variety of wild animals or wild animal parts are mixed whole with rice wine (Compton 2000). These wild animal-based alcoholic drinks are widely served in wild meat restaurants (Robertson 2004) and are thought to have medicinal benefits (Venkataraman 2007). A smaller component of trade is for ornamental products: skins, skulls, antlers, teeth and claws are collected for display and are also used to make jewellery and souvenirs (Compton & Le 1998; Nooren & Claridge 2000; Robertson 2004). Wild animal-derived ornamental products were reported “used” by 16% of Hanoian respondents (Venkataraman 2007: 16). Relatively small volumes of wild species are traded as pets (Compton & Le 1998; Duckworth et al. 1999; Robertson 2004).

4.2. Methods

4.2.1. Measuring Scale

Rather than asking *if* they had “eaten, bought or been given” wild meat in the last twelve months, questionnaire respondents were instead asked “*on how many occasions*” had they done so. This question structure, which assumes consumption has taken place, was considered favourable given concerns that respondents might be wary of reporting consumption of products that are illegal to harvest and trade, on the basis that if the interviewer already appears to think one has consumed such products, it is much easier to admit to consumption. Respondents who reported consumption were then asked to recall the species consumed, while those who reported no consumption were instead asked if they had *ever* eaten, bought or been given wild meat and if so, to recall the species involved and to give an approximate timeframe if possible.

To understand what is driving demand for wild meat amongst Hanoians better, the context of wild meat events was also explored. For each wild meat event reported in the last twelve months, respondents were asked to report the company (friends, family and/or colleagues) with whom the meal was eaten, the setting (i.e. restaurant/house) and location of the meal, and to describe the occasion. The

findings regarding the context of wild meat consumption presented and discussed below are built on in subsequent chapters towards a fuller understanding of the social drivers of demand for wild meat.

All respondents were next asked a series of questions regarding their consumption of wild animal products other than wild meat in the last twelve months. Despite the potential bias introduced by including examples of products, trials showed that examples helped the respondent to recall from a wide range of potential wild animal products consumed and for this reason three examples were included in the question (Appendix A). A fixed timeframe of the last twelve months is a long recall period susceptible to a considerable margin of recall error, but in order to manage any seasonal variation in consumption rate, and because the pilot study indicated wild meat consumption was a memorable event for many respondents, a year was considered suitable.

4.2.2. Defining Wild

The concept of 'wild' varies widely according to cultures and geography. Moreover, the distinction between wild and domestic can be problematic since many domesticated species are able to return to the wild as feral taxa and many wild taxa can be domesticated (Chardonnet et al. 2002). Varied production systems exist for both wild and domestic animals within which there are grey areas; for example human management of species may be minimal and yet the trade in products derived from them may be highly systematic (Chardonnet et al. 2002; Hoffman & Wiklund 2006). Throughout data collection, the Vietnamese term *thịt thú rừng* meaning 'meat of the forest' was used. This term also commonly encompasses meat considered unusual or exotic but which is not necessarily derived from forest species including, for example, soft-shell turtle and crocodile (pers. comm. Ho Gia Anh Le; pers. comm. Nguyen Danh Chien).

4.2.3. Statistical Analysis

Respondents who reported consumption in the last twelve months were asked to give further details for up to five events of wild meat consumption and three events of consumption of a wild animal product other than wild meat during that

time period (Appendix A). This approach gives rise to a greater number of events of consumption (n=390) than consumers (n=207), i.e. within-person dependency when looking at total events. In order to meet the independence assumption of statistical analysis a majority vote method (pers. comm. Hennig C.) was therefore used to provide one representative score for each of the four context variables per respondent. Where there was no majority a separate score representing 'mixed' was to be assigned. In practice a mixed score was never required because either a majority existed or data were incomplete meaning no score could be assigned; for these consumers, data were instead treated as missing.

Due to the limits imposed by the small sample size and relative homogeneity of the consumer subpopulation, binomial - rather than multinomial - outcomes for company are analysed (i.e. colleagues present/colleagues not present; family present/family not present; friends present/friends not present, restaurant/other setting). The two most common basic definitions of setting were also analysed (restaurant/private house); events fitting neither of these categories (n=3) were treated as missing.

Nevertheless, due to the relatively small size of the consumer sub-sample, it was necessary to merge some predictors to overcome singularities arising from insufficient data in these groups: unsalaried occupations including retirees, students, the unemployed and those whose occupation was housework or childcare were merged; skilled and unskilled workers were merged on the basis they are both low-ranking; and businesspeople and finance professionals were merged as high-ranking occupations originally classed together in the questionnaire (see Chapter 5 for an analysis of the relationship between occupation and wild meat consumption). Pearson's chi-square is used to look for significant differences in company and setting according to categorical variables. Due to the large number of occupation categories, logistic regression using dummy variables (see Chapter 3) is used to explore the relationship between company/setting and occupation; logistic regression is also used to assess the predictive value of age on outcome.

4.3. Results

4.3.1. The Scale of Consumption

Over a fifth (22.6%) of respondents reported buying, eating or being given wild meat in the last twelve months and similar proportion (23.7%) reported buying, using or being given a wild animal product other than wild meat during the same period¹⁰ (Figure 4.1). In total, 37.6% of respondents reported consuming a wild animal product on at least one occasion in the last twelve months: 12.3%¹¹ wild meat only; 15.0% a wild animal product other than wild meat only; 8.7% both. Respondents who reported eating wild meat in the last year were significantly more likely to also report consuming a wild animal product besides wild meat than those who did not report wild meat consumption ($\chi^2 [1]=33.31, p<.01$).

By far the next most commonly reported product consumed was bear bile: 18% of respondents reported consuming bear bile either applied neat or drunk in alcohol (Figure 4.1). Much smaller proportions of respondents reported consuming other wild animal products other than wild meat or bear bile. Bone glue or *cao* was reported by 2.5% and “wild” honey by 2.1% of respondents; Table 4.1 details further types of medicinal product reported by 1.2% of respondents. A handful of respondents reported buying or being given an ornamental product derived from a wild animal (see Table 4.1 for details). Over and above the 23.7% of respondents who report consuming a wild animal product in the last twelve months, 4.4% of respondents reported keeping, breeding or trading live birds and 0.6% keeping, breeding or trading live monkeys, bears and/or deer.

Table 4.1 Details of wild animal-derived products as defined in Figure 4.1

Product Type	Details, in order of frequency reported, most frequent first
Bone Glue	Tiger, macaque, python, bear, serow, weasel, snake.
Other Medicinal Product	Deer antler, rhino horn, snake head, python fat, porcupine stomach, wild pig tooth, monkey brain.
Ornamental Product	Shell jewellery, mounted marine turtle shells, tiger claws, wild pig teeth, stuffed wild birds, crocodile skin bag, mounted butterfly, squirrel tail, carved elephant tooth necklace.

¹⁰ Respondents were asked whether they had “bought, eaten or been given” wild meat and “bought, used or been given” a wild animal product besides wild meat. However, from this point onwards, respondents giving positive responses are simply said to have consumed or eaten these products.

¹¹ An additional 1.6% of respondents report wild meat consumption but data are missing regarding consumption of wild animal products other than wild meat.

Figure 4.1 Percentage of respondents (n=915) who reported consumption of a). wild meat, b). a wild animal product other than wild meat in the last twelve months and c). reporting owning, breeding or keeping live animals, with 95% confidence intervals.

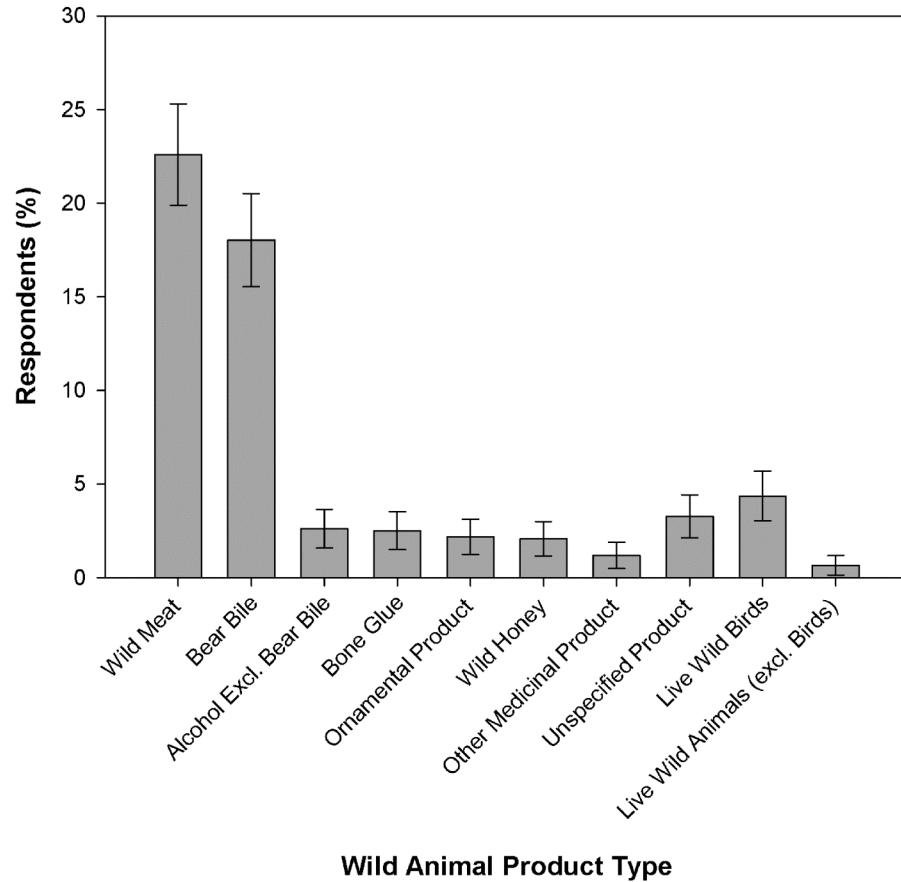
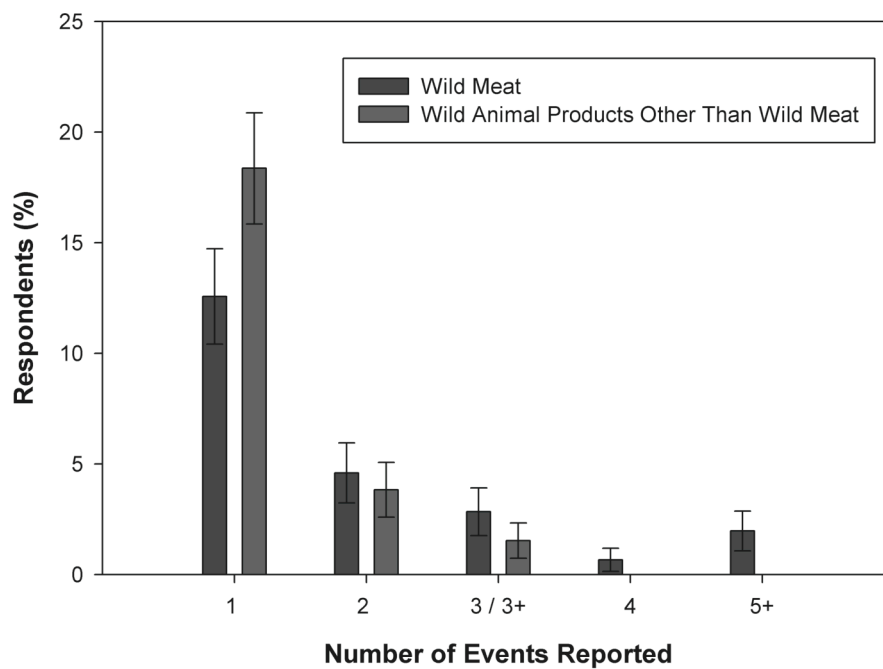


Figure 4.2 Percentage of respondents (n=915) according to the number of events reported reporting consumption of wild meat and other wild animal products in the last twelve months, with 95% confidence intervals; respondents could report up to five wild meat consumption events and three events of consumption for wild animal products other than wild meat.



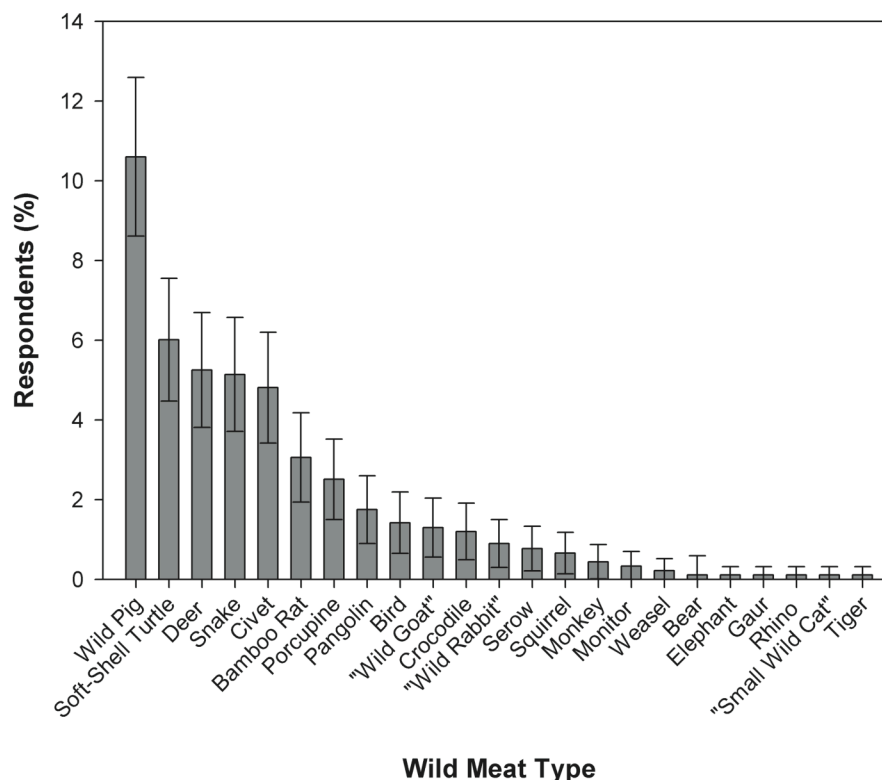
4.3.1.1. Frequency of Consumption

The majority of consumers reported just one event of consumption during the last twelve months (Figure 4.2). In total, there were 390 separate events of wild meat consumption reported, and 292 separate events of wild animal product consumption reported within the last twelve months, an average of 1.9 and 1.3 events per consumer respectively.

4.3.1.2. Wild Meat Species

The majority of wild meat consumers ate just one species at each wild meat event reported, an average of 1.6 species per event. Wild pig (*Sus scrofa*) is the most common type of meat reported eaten in the last twelve months, followed by soft-shell turtle (Figure 4.3). Of the 5.2% of respondents who reported eating deer meat, 3.0% specified *nai* which encompasses sambar deer (*Cervus unicolor*), brown-antlered deer (*Cervus eldi*) and hog deer (*Axis procinus*); 1.4% specifically identified *hoảng* meaning muntjac (*Muntiacus* spp.); and the remaining 0.8% selected *huou*, encompassing sika deer (*Cervus nippon*) and musk deer (*Moschus chrysogaster*) (Weitzel 2008).

Figure 4.3 Percentage of respondents (n=915) who reported eating wild meat type on at least one occasion in the last twelve months with 95% confidence intervals:



Respondent's definitions of wild are used. Respondents who report eating "wild birds" may be referring to Jungle Fowl (*Gallus gallus*) to which many interviewees refer specifically, although a recent study of wild meat consumption in China reports a wide variety of wild birds consumed under the general title of "wild bird" including herons, sparrows, storks, doves and partridges (Guo 2007). Respondents who report eating "wild goat" may be referring either to recently introduced domestic goat varieties perhaps considered by some consumers as "wild" due to their relative novelty; it is also possible respondents are referring to Serow (*Capricornis* spp) which a few respondents expressly report eating. Respondents who report eating "wild rabbit" are likely to be referring to wild hares (*Lepus* spp.); a similar proportion of wild meat consumers report eating wild hares in the last twelve months in Guangzhou (Guo 2007); it is also possible they are referring to domestic rabbits, perhaps including these because they are not a domestic animal commonly eaten.

One respondent each reported eating meat from endangered or critically endangered species including tiger (*Panthera tigris*), gaur (*Bos gaurus*), rhinoceros (*Rhinocerotidae* spp.) and elephant (*Elephas maximus*)¹². The respondent who reported eating tiger meat is a retired government officer: he claims his friend, also a retired government officer, bought a whole tiger carcass from Vietnamese soldiers who killed it near the border with Laos. A wealthy respondent reported buying bear and elephant meat from Hanoi Zoo while another, less affluent individual, claims to have eaten monkey meat obtained through a friend working at the zoo. Hanoi zoo has recently admitted auctioning tigers after frozen elephant, rhino and tiger parts were recovered during a police raid (Reuters 2008).

4.3.1.3. Authenticity of Reports

Despite their reports, it is unlikely that all consumers consumed genuine wild animal products (see also Section 7.3.2):

Male skilled worker aged 39:

Int: Have you ever tried the meat from a wild animal?

CN05: Once in Ba Be lake. Some one illegally hunted a civet and sold it to the family with whom I stayed at the time, so I had a chance to taste it. In Vietnam, there are not many places where

¹² Classified according to IUCN (2008)

real wild meat is sold. For example, if you go to Perfume pagoda, you will see many shops displaying signs like 'wild animals sold here', but actually, they sell [domestic] rabbits. After skinning the rabbits, they trim their ears to make them smaller. For people who don't know much about wild animals, they may mistake them for wild animals. [...] This is one of the ways to make fake wild animals to earn money.

Businessman and wild meat consumer aged 56:

Int: Wild meat is very popular in Hanoi and other cities. What kinds of species do people enjoy eating the most?

WM25: There are many species, such as civet, snake, pangolin. There are many species. There are also some fake ones, not real wild meat [...]. Some restaurants pretend to sell wild meat at a high price. Some meat is fake. If someone doesn't know, the restaurant may sell them cat meat when they say it's civet. Some restaurants have cameras so that their customers can watch the whole process of cooking the meat.

Around half of wild meat consumers interviewed described observing the slaughter of live wild animals; some also oversee the preparation of the dishes in order to ensure they are served with the meat from the animal they selected:

Retired skilled male worker and wild meat consumer aged 58:

Int: How do you know the meat you eat is really from wild animals?

WM18: I see the animals slaughtered and cooked. For example, about 30 rich friends of mine and I hired a bus to Hoa Lac and bought some live animals. Then we had the animals slaughtered and cooked at once. We had to monitor the slaughtering and cooking process to avoid being tricked. So we enjoyed the real meat.

Male skilled worker and wild meat consumer aged 36:

Int: How did you know the dish you ate was real wild meat?

WM37: It was totally different [...] When you eat, you will know right away (laughed). Well! When we want to eat [...], we need to come into a restaurant and witness people kill the animal, but not the dishes which were already been prepared and brought to us. We have to see it.

The remainder trusted the restaurant to serve them genuine wild meat:

Male skilled worker and wild meat consumer aged 56:

Int: Did you buy the whole animal or just the dishes?

WM34: We ordered dishes from a restaurant. They cooked for us.

Int: How did you know it was meat from real civet?

WM34: Very difficult to tell. As a customer, we just have to trust the restaurant.

Male clerk and wild meat consumer aged 23:

Int: The wild meat you've tried; how do you know it is real wild meat?

WM21: I just feel that the wild meat is tasty and it has special flavour.

Int: Do you see the animal beforehand?

WM21: If I want to see the animal, the restaurants can show me. For example, if I order some wine with bamboo rat blood, the restaurant will cut the head of the rat by the table for the blood. Then the rat is cooked. But normally, I don't see the animal.

Female unskilled worker and wild meat consumer aged 73:

Int: Was the [deer] meat you tried from the forest?

WM33: I'm not sure. The restaurant told us that the meat was wild, and they encouraged us to try some. We just saw the meat. It looked fresh.

These findings suggest that the scale of consumption of genuine wild animal products might actually be lower than reported.

4.3.1.5. Seasonality in Consumption

There was no evidence for seasonality in consumption of any wild animal products: no differences were found in the proportion of respondents reporting consumption according to month surveyed and no interviewees made reference to seasonality.

4.3.2. The Context of Wild Meat Consumption

4.3.2.1. Company

Company data were recorded for 98.6% of wild meat consumers (n=204). Friends were the most common type of company with which wild meat was reported eaten, followed by family members (Figure 4.4). Significantly more men reported eating wild meat with friends ($\chi^2[1]=14.37$, $p<.01$) and with colleagues ($\chi^2[1]=5.81$, $p<.05$) while significantly more women reported eating wild meat with family members ($\chi^2[1]=19.57$, $p<.01$; Figure 4.4). With increasing respondent age, there is a significant rise in the likelihood of family being the company reported at the majority of wild meat events (Table 4.2), but there are no significant relationships between age and other company types. Significant differences in the proportions of consumers reporting consumption with family exist between education groups ($\chi^2[3]=8.85$, $p<.05$): 58.1% of those without, and 38.6% with, secondary education report eating with family while an even smaller proportion (29.9%) with higher education do so.

Table 4.2 Logistic regression showing the role of age on whether or not a respondent reported eating wild meat in the company of family (n=204):

Predictor variable	B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Age	0.02 (0.01)	.02*	1.02
Constant	-1.32 (0.41)	.00	0.27

Model $\chi^2(5) = 5.58$ $p<.05$. R^2 0.54 (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .03 (Cox & Snell), .04 (Nagelkerke). * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

Figure 4.4 Percentage of wild meat consumers reporting each company type according to sex (n=204):

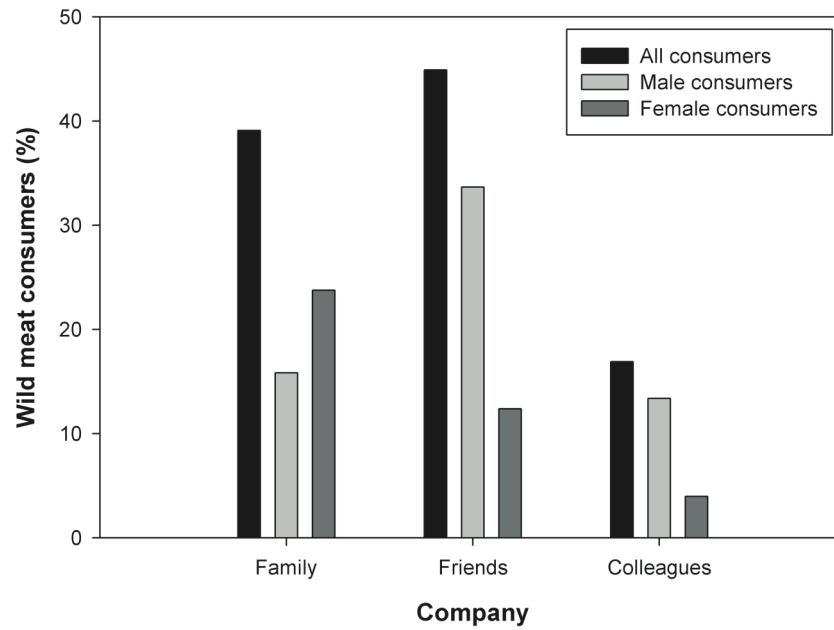
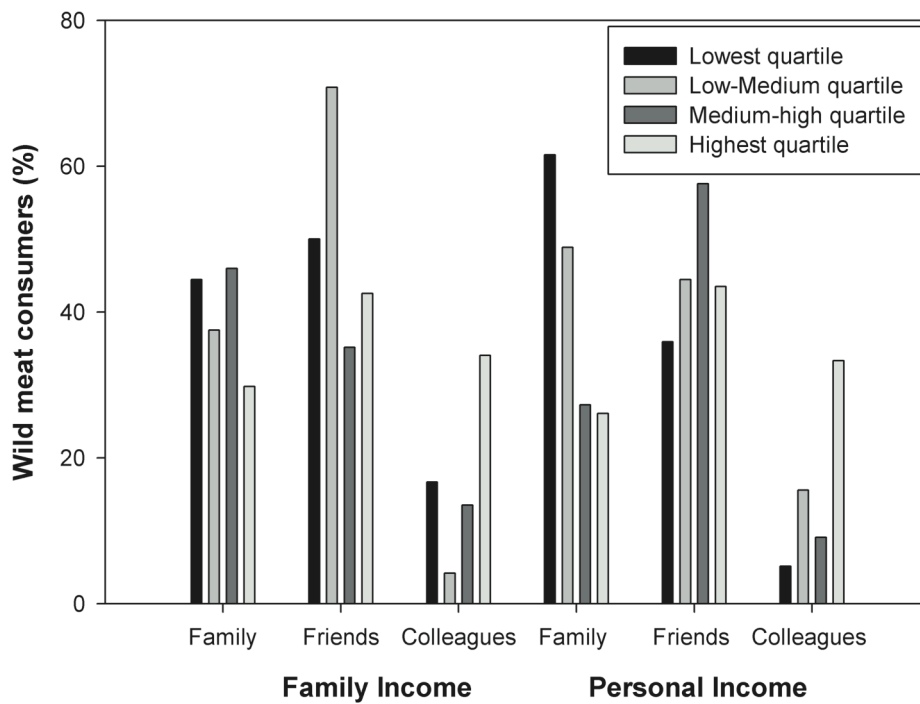


Figure 4.5 Percentage of wild meat consumers reporting each company type according to family income (n=186) and personal income quartile (n=202)



There are significant differences in the proportions reporting eating wild meat with family members between personal income groups ($\chi^2[3]=16.88$, $p<.01$), and reporting eating wild meat with friends ($\chi^2[3]=8.00$, $p<.05$) and with colleagues ($\chi^2[3]=10.71$, $p<.05$) between family income groups. Those in the two lower personal income quartiles and lower family income quartiles appear more likely to eat wild meat with family members and friends respectively, while consumers in the highest income quartiles more often report eating wild meat with colleagues (Figure 4.5). When data for each sex are analysed separately, significant differences in the proportions of men reporting eating with colleagues are also found between personal income quartiles ($\chi^2[3]=12.42$, $p<.01$): proportions reporting consumption with colleagues increases across each quartile from zero in the lowest quartile to 62.5% in the highest.

Finally, occupation significantly predicts whether or not consumers reported eating with colleagues but does not predict consumption with any other company type. Those working in the armed forces/police ($p<.05$) are much more likely to eat wild meat with colleagues; professionals and business people ($p<.01$) and skilled/unskilled workers ($p<.00$) are also more likely than service workers to report eating wild meat with their colleagues (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Logistic regression showing the role of occupation on whether or not a respondent reported eating wild meat in the company of colleagues (n=193)

Predictor variable		B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Occupation (Reference: Service Workers)	Armed Forces/Police	2.95 (1.29)	.02*	19.14
	Professional/Business person	1.69 (0.53)	.00**	5.41
	Clerk	0.47 (1.15)	.69	1.60
	Skilled/Unskilled Worker	1.47 (0.55)	.01*	4.35
	Unpaid Occupation	-0.71 (0.83)	.39	0.49
Constant		-2.26 (0.40)	.00	0.01

Model $\chi^2(5) = 24.03$ $p<.01$. R^2 1.00 (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .12 (Cox & Snell), .19 (Nagelkerke). * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

As discussed and as will be demonstrated in more detail in the following chapter, multivariate analysis is useful in determining the significance of individual variables on the outcome while controlling for the effects of other apparently important variables. For this reason, the results of multivariate analysis of company are also presented here (Table 4.4). These show that men are significantly more likely than women ($p<.01$) to report eating wild meat with

Table 4.4 Logistic regressions showing the role of respondent characteristics on the company (friends/other, colleagues/other or family/other) reported at wild meat consumption events in the last 12 months

Predictor variables		Company								
		a). Friends			b). Colleagues			c). Family		
		B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Age (years)		-0.02 (0.01)	.06	0.98	-0.02 (0.02)	.37	0.98	0.02 (0.11)	.07	1.02
Sex (Reference: Women)	Men	-1.10 (0.32)	.00**	2.99	0.50 (0.52)	.34	1.64	-1.14 (0.32)	.00**	0.32
Personal income (Reference: Lowest-earning quartile)	Non-responses							-0.76 (0.63)	.22	0.47
	Second lowest-earning quartile							-0.39 (0.48)	.41	0.68
	Second highest-earning quartile							-1.13 (0.54)	.02*	0.28
	Highest-earning quartile							-1.14 (0.32)	.00**	0.32
Family income (Reference: Lowest-earning quartile)	Highest-earning quartile	-0.40 (0.55)	.47	0.67	-1.13 (0.81)	.17	0.32			
	Second highest-earning quartile	0.86 (0.67)	.20	2.37	-2.17 (1.27)	.09	0.12			
	Second lowest-earning quartile	-0.44 (0.60)	.47	0.64	-1.10 (0.92)	.23	0.33			
	Non responses	-0.40 (0.58)	.49	0.67	0.01 (0.80)	.99	1.00			
Occupation (Reference: Service Worker)	Armed Forces/Police				2.67 (1.38)	.05	14.47			
	Professional/Businessperson				1.59 (0.59)	.00**	4.90			
	Clerk				0.73 (1.19)	.54	2.07			
	Skilled/Unskilled Worker				1.09 (0.63)	.08	2.98			
	Unpaid Occupation				-0.58 (0.86)	.50	0.56			
Constant		0.14 (0.56)	.08	1.15	-1.15 (0.99)	.25	0.32	0.20 (0.55)	.72	1.22

Company: a). Model $\chi^2(6)$ 25.40 $p < .01$. R^2 .11 (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .12 (Cox & Snell), .16 (Nagelkerke); b). Model $\chi^2(11)$ 36.24 $p < .01$. R^2 .51 (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .17 (Cox & Snell), .28 (Nagelkerke); c). Model $\chi^2(6)$ 33.89 $p < .01$. R^2 .53 (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .15 (Cox & Snell), .21 (Nagelkerke). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

friends while women are significantly more likely than men ($p < .01$) to report eating wild meat with family members. Unlike in the earlier analyses, no significant relationship between being male and eating with colleagues is found, suggesting this was perhaps in fact a function of occupation or income. Consumers belonging to the second highest ($p < .05$) or highest ($p < .01$) family income quartiles were significantly less likely than those in the lowest quartile to report eating wild meat with relatives, but significant relationships are no longer observed between other company types and income. This suggests the association between higher income groups and eating with colleagues is predominantly related to occupation rather than either income or gender per se. Indeed, professionals and businesspeople ($p < .01$) were more likely to report eating with colleagues than those in other occupations. And although not significant, also note the extremely high odds ratio of working in the armed forces/police ($n=4$).

The results do not necessarily indicate that those with lower incomes or women are more family-focused, but may simply imply that those with higher incomes and men are able to eat wild meat on a wider range of occasions over and above those with family members. For example, both men and those earning higher family incomes are significantly more likely to report wild meat consumption in the last year (Chapter 5), suggesting that these individuals are also more likely to eat wild meat on more occasions than women and lower-earners. However, due to the majority-vote system, while the latter may have reported eating with family in the last year, they are likely to also have eaten with friends or colleagues on more occasions and hence are recorded as eating with these groups rather than with family. Likewise, although businesspeople and professionals are more likely to eat with colleagues, due to the majority vote system, they are likely to be eating wild meat with colleagues over and above separate occasions with family and friends.

4.3.2.2. Setting

Wild meat is mostly eaten in restaurants (Figure 4.6), but consumers occasionally order pre-prepared wild meat dishes to eat at home, buy meat at a market, or take some leftover fresh meat home after having had an animal slaughtered at a restaurant, particularly after visiting another region. There are significant

Figure 4.6 Percentage of wild meat consumers reporting eating wild meat according to setting showing 95% confidence intervals (n=186)¹³:

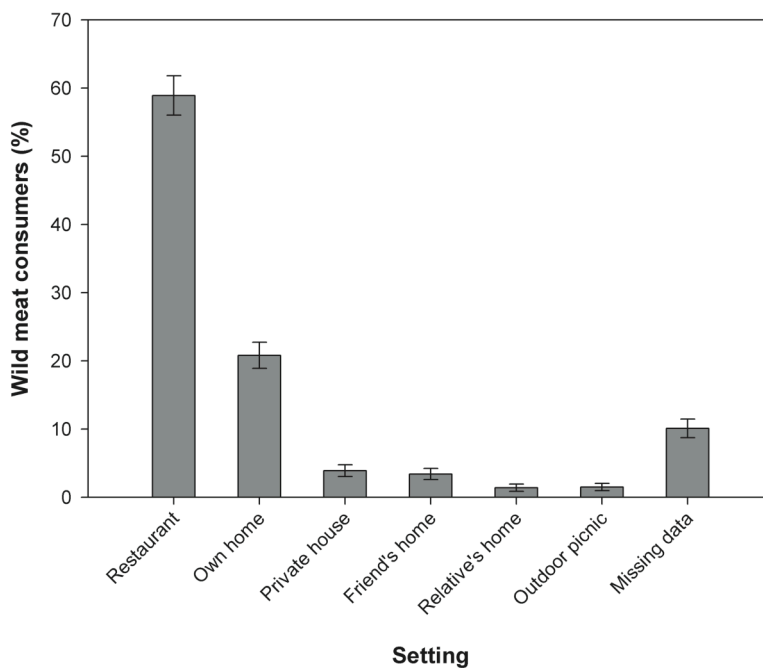
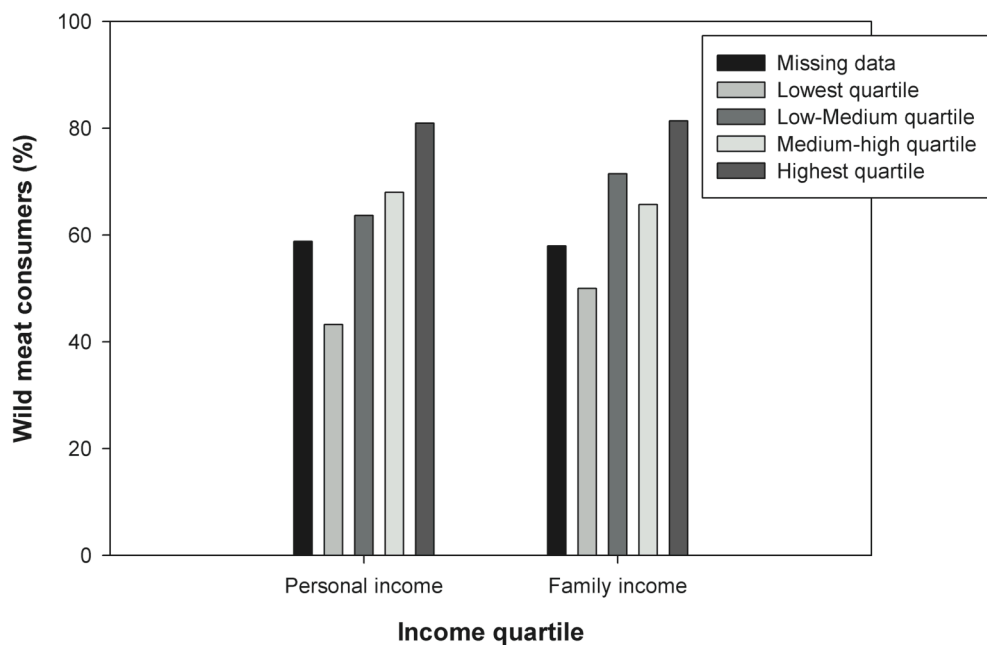


Figure 4.7 Percentage of wild meat consumers reporting eating wild meat in a restaurant according to family income (n=169) and personal income (n=117) quartiles:



¹³ A majority vote for setting was recorded for 89.8% (n=186) of wild meat consumers.

differences in the proportions of wild meat consumers reporting eating wild meat in a restaurant and reporting eating in a private house (including their own, a relative's or friend's home or another private house) between personal income quartiles ($\chi^2[3]=15.02$, $p<.01$); the number increases from the lowest to the highest quartile (Figure 4.7) There is no significant relationship between setting and age, birthplace, education, family income quartiles, occupation or sex.

4.3.2.3. Location

Location data were recorded for 76.8% of total wild meat consumption events and are presented in Figure 4.8. Unsurprisingly, the majority of events were reported to have occurred in and around Hanoi. The remainder took place across 22 different provinces, predominantly Ha Tay and Thanh Hoa provinces through which the main roads serving Hanoi traverse, with the exception of one event reported by the manager of a tourism agency in Laos (not shown in Figure 4.8). No significant relationships were identified between the proportion of consumers reporting the majority of wild meat events in Hanoi and that reporting the majority of events outside Hanoi according to any recorded respondent characteristics.

It is considered customary to try local “specialties” and “traditional food” when travelling somewhere new, and when visiting different areas consumers are keen to try something they would not ordinarily eat:

Male professional and wild meat consumer aged 45 used to run a resort in Tam Dao:

Int: What kind of people came to eat wild meat at the restaurants in Tam Dao?

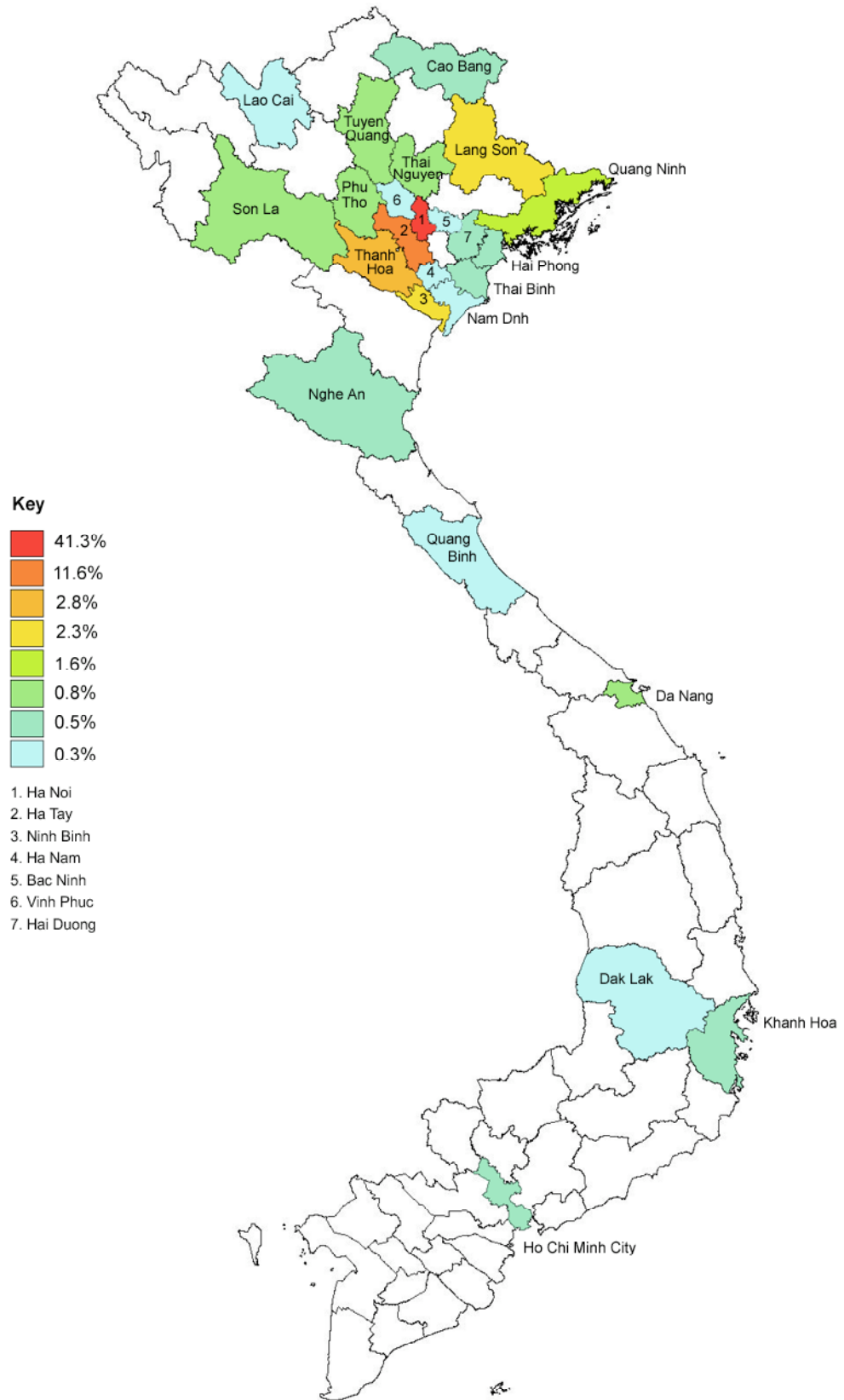
WM05: Among the people who come to Tam Dao and eat wildlife dishes are state officers. Actually, when they go on holiday, they want to rest and relax, and they want to eat something special that they do not eat in their normal lives. But they can only find wildlife specialities in the forest. Of course, they do not eat farmed pork that is transported to the forest. You too: when you come to Tam Dao, you want to eat whatever wildlife specialities served there to see whether the dishes are delicious or not. Normally Vietnamese people want to discover something when they go far from home.

Male professional and wild meat consumer aged 31:

Int: When you go out for wild meat, do you eat in Hanoi or elsewhere?

WM29: Both in Hanoi and other places [...]. I eat wild meat in other places more than in Hanoi because each area has its own specialties [...] when we go on a picnic, we want to taste specialties in the place we go to, and we want to see whether the dishes are different from those cooked in Hanoi. And people have often prepared dishes for us in the place where we have a holiday or picnic.

Figure 4.8 Map showing the percentage of total wild meat consumption events (n=287) according to province in which they were reported to have occurred



Over a quarter of events in Ha Tay province were specifically reported to have occurred during trips to visit Huong Pagoda¹⁴. Many of these events, typically involving eating civet, occur during the pagoda's festival. Wild meat restaurants are located outside the Pagoda and worshipping and eating wild meat are separate activities. As above, wild meat is associated with the Pagoda simply because when visiting a different place individuals like to try novel foods and local specialities:

Male skilled worker and wild meat consumer aged 35:

Int: Why is civet so popular at Huong pagoda? I speak to many people who go to Huong pagoda and eat civet or bamboo rat.

WM31: People visit the pagoda at the beginning of a lunar year. After their sightseeing at the pagoda, tourists often have lunch at restaurants outside the pagoda. There they can order some wild meat dishes. They rarely have an opportunity to try civet, so they take the sightseeing as a chance to try the meat.

Int: Why do you visit the pagoda?

WM31: I go for a religious reason – praying for good luck for the New Year, and for fun as well.

Int: Why is wild meat so popular at the pagoda?

WM31: People do not eat meat inside the pagoda or perform a meat-offering ceremony as worship. After praying, they go out to have lunch. Praying is praying, and eating is eating. They are two different things.

Male professional and wild meat consumer aged 45:

WM05: Whenever we go to Huong Pagoda, I eat some wild meat dishes such as civet, serow [...]. I go there once a year. The pagoda festival begins in spring, and I go in March, when there are fewer visitors.

Int: Why is worshipping associated with eating wild meat?

WM05: People go to the pagoda, pray for good luck, and they only eat wild meat outside the pagoda after praying.

Int: Why are the two activities associated together?

WM05 Have you ever been to Huong Pagoda? There are restaurants around Thien Tru sub-pagoda [...] I think it is because going to pagoda is a kind of going on holiday. People may try some wild meat dishes before they leave for home.

Despite wild meat being considered a local speciality of Tam Dao and the area of the Perfume Pagoda, this meat is far from local. Interviewees are drawn to “special dishes” advertised by restaurants, which market wild meat dishes as traditional local specialities:

Male skilled worker aged 44 and wild meat consumer:

Int: Why do people spend money on wild meat?

CN20: Just its delicacy. It creates the curiosity of customers. For example, when they see a sign saying “special dishes”, they want to come in that restaurant [...] Some places, like Perfume Pagoda, they have civets. So when they introduced civets - because it is the speciality of the area – we wanted to try even though we knew it was expensive.

¹⁴ Huong Pagoda is a Buddhist temple also known as the ‘Perfume Pagoda’. Attended by thousands each year, the Pagoda's Festival runs from the sixth day of the first lunar month and lasts nearly three months with the main festival day being the nineteenth day of the second lunar month.

Male professional aged 45:

WM05: Recently, I enjoyed the meat at birthday parties, and business meeting parties. When I was a manager of the resort, I ate wild meat every week. Tourists came to Tam Dao, and they often ordered wild meat. Have you ever eaten wild pork?

Int: Yes, I have. But I cannot distinguish it from farmed pork [...] Do people come to Tam Dao to eat the meat or for other reasons?

WM05: They come to Tam Dao for their holidays, and there they can enjoy wildlife dishes because there is a lot of wild meat.

Int: So, why is Tam Dao famous for meat?

WM05: I don't know. A lot of forest meat is transported to Tam Dao, and tourists can enjoy [...] Vietnamese people go on holiday normally once a year. Whenever they come to Tam Dao, they want to try some wildlife dishes to see if these dishes are delicious.

And finally, though for many consumers visiting other areas - particularly forested and mountainous areas - is synonymous with eating wild meat, it is often unclear whether eating wild meat or sightseeing is the main objective of the trip. Certainly some consumers appear to travel specifically to eat wild meat:

Businessman and wild meat consumer aged 50:

WM39: I rarely go to try wild meat, but if I do, I will go to Hoa Binh. If I want to try snake, I will go to Gia Lam district of Hanoi.

Int: What animals have you ever tried in Hoa Binh?

WM39: My friends and I had some meat from a leopard cat or a wild cat [...] Returning from a trip to Hoa Binh, my friends and I dropped by a restaurant to have a meal. There the restaurant suggested eating some wild meat, and we accepted. We ate it together. [...] There are many restaurants in Hoa Binh. If you want to try special dishes, you can phone a restaurant to book in advance. You have to wait until the restaurant finds the rare animals you order and they call you to come.

Male service worker aged 24, worked in a wild meat restaurant:

Int: Why do you think they like wild meat particularly?

WM09: They only want to eat something new, strange and delicious. For example, when you are going along the Lang-Hoa Lac highway to Hoa Lac town, you can see a lot of restaurants where you can try jungle fowl, sambar deer, and so on. Many Hanoians go there by car to try special dishes at weekends. People in the countryside do not have money to try these dishes.

Retired male and consumer aged 58:

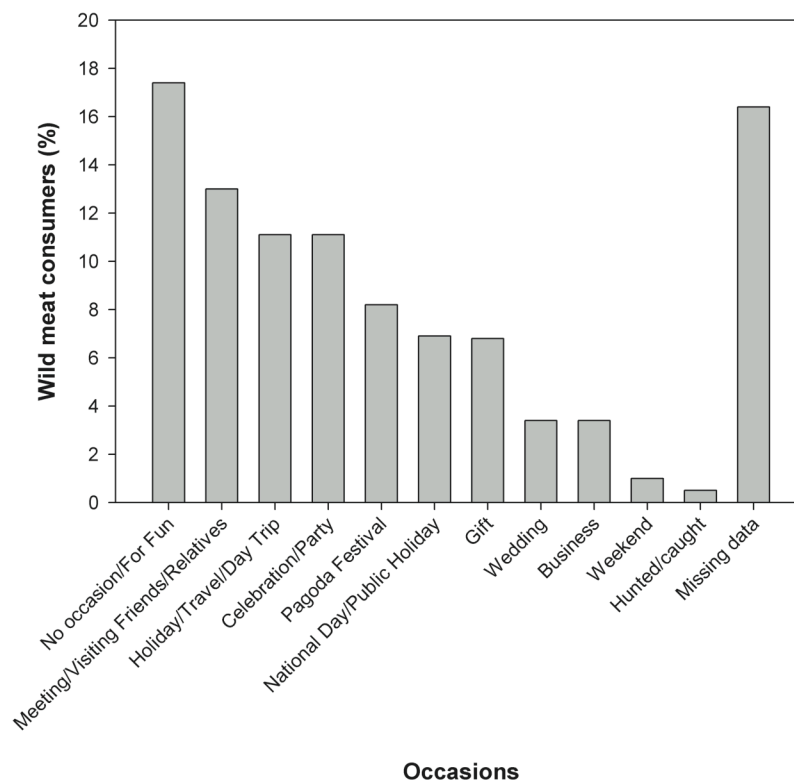
Int: About a month ago, my schoolmates flew from southern Vietnam and invited me to Hoa Lac to try some wild meat like deer, soft-shell turtle, and snake. [...] In Hoa Lac, you can try various dishes, even wild buffalo meat, if you are acquainted with restaurants. [...] [Older people] often go to Hoa Lac town of Ha Tay province for wildlife dishes at weekends. They often buy live animals and have the animals slaughtered. We too.

4.3.2.4. Occasion

Both quantitative and qualitative data show that wild meat is eaten on a variety of occasions. Given the difficulties in categorising this diversity - which first became evident during the pilot study - occasion was left open for the respondent to define; their descriptions are loosely categorised and presented in Figure 4.9. However, allowing interviewees to expand on these basic classifications reveals

that many occasions labelled as “fun” or to be marking “no occasion” on the questionnaire could as easily be classed as ‘holiday/travel/daytrip’, ‘meeting friends/relatives’, ‘celebration/party’ or, to a lesser extent, ‘business’. Public holidays such as Labour day (1st May), Liberation day (30th April) and Independence day (2nd October) and days of national or international significance, such as Women’s day (8th March), Youth day (12th August) and Christmas, were also popular occasions for wild meat; almost a sixth of events were reported to be marking such a day, around a quarter of which took place around lunar new year (*Tét*).

Figure 4.9 Percentage of events (n=207) according to description of the occasion given:



4.3.2.5. Changing Context

Alongside other social and economic transformations, the context in which wild meat is eaten has changed considerably over the last quarter of a century (Table 4.5). Rather than hunting wild animals for subsistence during the relentless conflicts and grinding poverty that defined 1970s and 1980s Vietnam, consumers are now paying above the odds for the meat of wild animals in urban restaurant settings. Men posted in forested areas of Vietnam and Laos where they hunted wild animals, typically during wartime and times of shortage, account for the majority

who reported wild meat consumption over twenty years ago. Similarly, respondents who reported eating wild meat between ten and twenty years ago typically report hunting this meat in rural areas where they were living at the time or while posted in forested areas with the army.

Table 4.5 Summary of descriptions of past wild meat consumption according to time period in which reported¹⁵

Years ago	Details, starting with most frequently reported
1 > 2 (n=22)	Restaurant in Hanoi or Ha Tay tourism/visiting other provinces, bought and ate at home
3 > 5 (n=26)	Tourism/visiting other provinces, bought and ate at home, restaurants in Hanoi or Ha Tay, hunted/caught
6 > 20 (n=7)	Hunted/caught, ate while in the army
20+ (n=34)	Ate while in army/as youth volunteer/during wartime, hunted/caught

In contrast, those who report eating wild meat less than five years ago echo modern descriptions. Today eating wild meat is widely considered to be a new trend, related by interviewees to increasing disposable incomes:

Retired female farmer aged 72:

Int: There are many restaurants in Hanoi that sell exotic dishes from wild animals and the meat is quite expensive. Was this the case when you were our age?

CN22: In the past there were a few, now there are many. I don't eat at restaurants or anything. When I went to Central Vietnam, I ate seafood. I don't eat wild meat in Hanoi because I don't like, also it's not suitable for me (indicating her teeth).

Int: Why do you think there are many more restaurants like that?

CN22: Now that the economy has grown, people have more money. In the past ordinary people like farmers rarely had any chance to go to hotels, restaurants. Now hotels are more modern and provide more kinds of food like wild meat. In the past there were a few. When I was young I did not hear about specialty, or wild meat.

Female student aged 19:

Int: Have you ever eaten meat from wild animals?

CN03: Actually, I am quite a picky person when it comes to food [...]. Furthermore, I don't think eating wild meat is a good idea. But eating snakes, soft shell turtle or crocodile is a new trend now. People farm these animals for food, but I don't think people should do that. Actually, it's very expensive to eat those kinds of meat. I don't know how to say but I think people should not do that.

Int: Why do you think it's not a good idea?

CN03: Actually, if all things considered, those are lovely animals [...] Vietnamese people for a long time now usually eat beef, pork and chicken but now as our economy develops, people have adopted many new dishes such as crocodile, turtle. Actually, our grandparent's generation never ate those things.

Male professional and consumer aged 24:

Int: Do you think people in Hanoi have always eaten wild meat in restaurants?

WM30: I think it is a new trend because Vietnam today has developed so Vietnamese people's living needs are rising gradually. Their income is getting higher. So what they like, they want to buy [...] Because of their higher income, they want to eat special dishes.

¹⁵ An approximate third of the 25.4% of respondents who reported wild meat consumption in the period prior to the last twelve months gave brief descriptions of past events of consumption.

4.4. Discussion

4.4.1. The Scale of Wild Animal Product Consumption

Wild meat is the dominant form of wild animal consumption by those living in central Hanoi, a finding corresponding with other studies in Vietnam (Nguyen 2003; Venkataraman 2007). Recent studies in China found higher proportions of urban residents eating wild meat in the last year: 31% of residents surveyed in cities in Southwest China and 42% of residents in Guangzhou reported eating wild meat in the last year (Guo 2007; Zhang et al. 2008). However, most studies measure wild meat eaten during a respondent's lifetime (WPAC 2000 in Nooren and Claridge 2000; Wu et al. 2001 in Guo, 2007; Venkataraman 2007), making comparisons of overall scale impossible. The findings suggest consumer demand for wild meat in central Hanoi, and potentially in other Vietnamese urban centres, is a significant driver of illegal trade in wild animal species consumed as wild meat. Alongside demand from Chinese markets, this provides an ongoing incentive to illegally harvest and trade Southeast Asian fauna to urban areas and to shift away from local subsistence use.

Demand for wild meat is also considered the primary driver of wild animal harvesting in many African (e.g. Bakarr et al. 2002; Barnett et al. 2002; Mendelson et al. 2003; Kumpel 2006; Schenck et al. 2006) and neotropical countries (e.g. Peres 2000; Fa et al. 2002; Leon & Montiel 2008). However, the majority of wild meat consumers in African countries rely on wild meat on a daily basis to improve or uphold food and economic security (Barnett 2000: 21; de Merode et al. 2004). Many forest dwelling populations in Asia and the Americas, for whom cheaper alternatives are not accessible, also depend on wild meat for subsistence (Bennett 2002; Leon & Montiel 2008). Similarly, while many wild animal species are predominantly harvested for wild meat in northeast India (Hilaluddin & Ghose 2005) and the western Indian Himalayas (Kaul et al. 2004), most is believed to be for subsistence with only a limited amount serving demand from urban centres.

Despite high overall proportions of central Hanoian respondents reporting wild meat consumption relatively few reported eating wild meat frequently, corresponding to studies in urban China (Wu et al. 2001 in Guo 2007; CWCA &

WildAid 2005; Guo 2007) and previous research in Vietnam (Venkataraman 2007). This reflects the role of wild meat as a relatively inaccessible 'luxury' product amongst central Hanoians as opposed to an essential source of animal protein in the absence of alternatives.

The results conflict with Venkataraman's (2007) relatively conservative finding of around a quarter of Hanoians reporting consuming a wild animal medicinal product in their lifetime. But focusing solely on bear bile and therefore perhaps achieving a more accurate measure of its use, Nguyen and Reeves (2005) also found a relatively large proportion (30%) of Hanoians specifically reporting bear bile use within the last year. Bears exploited regularly for bile suffer high mortality, yet there is limited evidence for captive breeding (Cochrane & Robinson 2002; Li 2004; Robinson et al. 2006). Demand for bear bile amongst central Hanoians is therefore likely to be exerting significant pressure on wild bear populations.

Besides bear bile there were relatively few reports of consumption of other medicinal products and, excluding honey, all medicinal products reported were derived from vertebrates. This suggests the survey failed to capture the use of invertebrate species commonly found on traditional medicine markets such as scorpions and silkworms, and marine invertebrates such as seahorses and starfish (Nguyen & Nguyen 2008). It is also possible that consumers are unaware of what the medicines they use contain in terms of wild animal derivatives (e.g. Lee et al. 1998) resulting in under-reporting. However, although traditional medicine is often cited as a major threat to Southeast Asian fauna, these results suggest that demand for traditional medicine is not a primary driver of trade in vertebrate species also widely consumed as wild meat.

Alcoholic drinks infused with wild animal-derivatives are reported by other researchers to often accompany wild meat in Vietnam (Robertson 2004; Venkataraman 2007), suggesting the consumption of these drinks may have been under-reported in this research. However their ornamental role in restaurants and homes may also be under-estimated; a jar of alcohol containing a wild animal is often placed conspicuously in many Vietnamese homes and restaurants (Craig

2002; pers. obs.), but it is possible that the alcohol itself is not consumed regularly (see also Chapter 5).

It is recognised that pets and primarily ornamental products comprise a relatively small component of demand for wild animals in Vietnam (e.g. Compton & Le 1998; Venkataraman 2007), and the results presented here confirm this. This contrasts with findings in with other regions of Southeast Asia, such as Sumatra, where trade for pets comprises the majority of trade in wild fauna (Shepherd et al. 2004). Demand for exotic pets also comprises a significant component of demand for wild animals in Europe (Engler & Parry-Jones 2007), North America (Roe 2008) and Russia (Chestin 1998).

The trade in live wild birds was by far the largest component of live wild animals reported bought or received by central Hanoians in the last year. This is unsurprising given the high proportion of households keeping caged birds (pers. obs.). In Indonesia the popularity of keeping certain species of native song-bird in urban households is believed to be driving extinctions across the country (Shepherd et al. 2004; Jepson & Ladle 2006). Trade in wild birds to supply demand in Hanoi may pose a threat to bird species in the Southeast Asian peninsula, although not to the extent as in Indonesia (Shepherd et al. 2004; Jepson & Ladle 2006), and warrants further research. Trade in wild birds may also pose a threat in terms of the transmission of Avian Influenza.

The species that Hanoian consumers most commonly report eating in the last year correspond with findings of similar recent survey of Hanoi residents (Venkataraman 2007), while comparable proportions of all but porcupine were also reported eaten by consumers in Guangzhou in the same timeframe (Guo 2007). Surprisingly few respondents report eating the meat of monitor lizards (*Varanus* spp.), but since over a sixth of respondents in Guangzhou reported consuming meat from lizard species - including monitors - in the last year, it is possible that monitor lizards were under-reported by Hanoians. The small numbers who reporting eating highly endangered species also corresponds with findings in Guangzhou where less than 5% of respondents reported eating bear

meat, 3% monkey meat and less than 1% tiger meat in their lifetimes (Guo 2007); these low levels nevertheless pose a considerable threat to these vulnerable species.

From these data it is extremely difficult to estimate the impact of consumption on wild populations. For example, while one respondent reporting the consumption of one civet or bamboo rat might realistically be interpreted as the consumption of one animal, this assumption would be unreasonable for larger animals such as deer or wild pig or for the consumption of most medicinal and ornamental products. Moreover, captive breeding supplies some component of certain species in trade (Nguyen & Nguyen 2008) and it is difficult to determine what proportion of reported consumption refers to animals originating on farms. Nevertheless, the results demonstrate a significant demand in Hanoi for wild meat and wild animal products such as bear bile, providing an ongoing incentive to illegally harvest and trade Southeast Asian fauna.

These findings rely on self-reporting and will therefore be subject to inaccurate reports, whether deliberate and accidental. When serving non-regular customers restaurateurs in Quang Nam province, for example, report substituting sambar meat with beef or muntjac because many consumers cannot discern between them (Robertson et al. 2004). Indeed, qualitative findings suggest some reports are likely to be in fact of items not derived from wild animals, suggesting the actual scale of wild animal consumption may be lower than recorded. Without testing wild animal goods or observing wild meat consumption first hand, the proportion of genuine reports cannot be confirmed. But that almost a quarter of respondents believe they have consumed, and are likely to have therefore paid a relatively high price for, wild animal products in the last year is nevertheless testament to the scale of demand for wild animals amongst central Hanoians.

Moreover, although false reports may have amplified the reported scale of consumption, analysis of the sample survey suggests the reported scale of consumption of both wild meat and medicinal wild animal products may have in fact been higher had the sample been more representative. Those working as

government officials, finance and business professionals and in the armed forces or police, and those belonging to higher income groups were significantly more likely to have reported eating wild meat (Chapter 5), but those working in these occupations and earning high incomes are also those under-represented in the survey sample (Chapter 3). Similarly, those with higher education levels were significantly more likely to report consumption of wild animal-derived medicines (Chapter 5) but the educational attainment of the survey sample was lower than the central Hanoi population (Chapter 3).

4.4.2. The Context of Wild Meat Consumption

Wild meat is predominantly eaten in expensive, urban restaurant settings by central Hanoians, a finding corresponding with studies of urban wild meat consumers in China (Guo 2007; Xu et al. 2007; Zhang et al. 2008) and Vietnam (Venkataraman 2007). A limited amount of wild meat is reported served in expensive restaurants in urban Equatorial Guinea (Kumpel 2006) while an Indian newspaper recently reported restaurants on the outskirts of urban towns in southern India serving wild meat to the local elite (The Times of India 2008). But in Equatorial Guinea and in Ghana wild meat is predominantly served in more affordable cafes or chopbars (Mendelson et al. 2003; Kumpel 2006) while, as noted already above, the majority of wild meat harvested in India is thought to be for local subsistence (Hilaluddin & Ghose 2005). Moreover, despite wild meat being more expensive than domestic meat in urban Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia, the majority available is sold on markets for home consumption rather than in eaten in restaurant settings (e.g. Barnett 2000).

A recent survey of Hanoians found that over two-thirds of respondents believed eating wild meat was “popular” and “fashionable”, while the majority also thought wild meat consumption in the city was increasing (Venkataraman 2007: 12). Interviewees directly connect this “new fashion” for wild meat to rising disposable incomes, further supporting the prediction that, as Vietnam continues to experience exceptionally fast economic growth, demand for wild meat will follow suit. A rise in wild animal consumption with increasing income has been noted elsewhere in Asia (World Bank 2005; TRAFFIC 2008) and in Africa (Wilkie et al.

2005), but the fashionable dimension of wild meat consumption has, as far as I am aware, only previously been reported on an anecdotal basis elsewhere in East Asia (e.g. TRAFFIC/WCS 2004).

The findings contrast with previous research reporting the majority of Hanoian consumers eat “wild animal foods” with relatives, a quarter with business contacts and a sixth with friends (Venkataraman 2007). This discrepancy can partly be explained by the fact that, rather than look at the proportion of *events*, the latter reports on the *percentage of respondents* asked what type of company they *typically* ate wild animal foods with. While many consumers do eat wild meat with their families, this study also shows that many consumers - particularly male and high-earning consumers - share a larger number of wild meat *events* in the company of friends than with family.

Given the role of wild meat in business (see Chapter 5), it is surprising that relatively few wild meat events were identified specifically as business occasions or in the company of colleagues. Rather, the majority of occasions for wild meat were reported to be recreational and in the company of friends. But in urban China, Davis (2000a: 14) observes informal sociability, especially feasting, can be transformed into important economic and political networks. And although feasting plays an essential and immutable role in maintaining mutually beneficial relationships amongst Chinese, this involves considerable etiquette in order to disguise its more functional nature and to save ‘face’ including using special occasions such as New Year which, although superficially recreational, serve to lay the foundations for potentially advantageous social networks (Yang 1994). By hosting apparently informal and recreational wild meat meals, including those involving family on public holidays, Hanoians may also be building useful personal networks and gaining economic and social advantage from those with power; such events may ultimately serve personally profitable ends no less than those explicitly described as formal business occasions.

‘Colleague’ was also perhaps too narrow a term to encompass the many individuals who might use wild meat meals to nurture useful social alliances: individuals

involved might be better classed as 'business contacts' or even 'friends'. In urban China, for example, even corrupt behaviour, though widespread, is typically portrayed as the maintenance of beneficial 'friendships' (Stafford 2006). Venkataram's (2006) questionnaire distinguishes between colleagues and business contacts as response categories, and this perhaps helps explain why, compared to this study, it found fewer respondents reporting eating with friends but a higher proportion eating with business contacts; the author does not report the percentage eating with colleagues.

As already noted, those in occupations that are also more likely to be involved in such exchanges (see Chapter 5) are also likely to be under-represented in the survey sample (Chapter 3). Nevertheless, it is clear from both the findings of this study and of Venkataraman (2007) that wild meat is most frequently eaten in more informal and apparently recreational contexts with family and friends, and to a lesser extent on formal occasions with business partners and colleagues. Interventions should therefore focus on reducing demand for 'recreational' wild meat consumption in addition to the more obviously formal business situations in which, to a lesser extent, it is also consumed.

Lower-earners and women tend to eat wild meat with family members while the latter tend also to eat it in either their own or another family member's home; it is likely that wild meat meals eaten with relatives are focused around family events such as lunar New Year, birthdays and other public holidays. The role wild meat plays in celebrations and festivals is unsurprising given the observation that Hanoians increasingly celebrate birthdays with special and elaborate meals (Davis & Sensenbrenner 2000). Moreover, around the world, foods consumed on special occasions are often expensive, rare and of animal origin (Jelliffe 1967). In urban Ghana, for example, wild meat use is reported to be greatest during festivals and holidays (Mendelson et al. 2003). Campaigns to reduce demand for wild meat should therefore perhaps be timed to coincide with such occasions.

The role of wild animals in foreign tourism is not novel in Southeast Asia. In Laos wildlife products are said to be an attraction for both domestic and international

tourists, particularly Chinese and Thai, while Vietnam has also been reported to be a destination for Taiwanese tourists on 'wildlife eating tours' (Highley & Highley 1994). Srikosamatara et al. (1992) report Thai tourists being targeted by those selling wildlife trophies such as antlers at border crossings and markets, crossing borders overland to avoid checks or paying Lao Customs officials a fee. Marine turtles have also been documented for sale in airport shops in Hanoi targeting foreign buyers from China, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea (Anon 2004). In southern Sumatra, home to a large ethnic Chinese population, Chinese tourists are reported to have been offered tiger meat (Tilson & Traylor-Holzen 1994 in Shepherd & Magnus 2004). Tourists, predominantly Belgians and Germans, visiting South Africa indicated they would like to try game meat as part of the 'Africa experience' (Hoffman et al. 2003 in Hoffman & Wiklund 2006).

But the wide range of locations reported for wild meat events reflects one of the most significant changes resulting from economic renovation: increased mobility and the emergence of domestic tourism (Thomas & Drummond 2003; Truitt 2008). The opportunities provided by newly mobile tourists have not been missed by the locals (Soucy 2003) and the marketing of expensive and unusual "traditional specialities" by savvy entrepreneurs is partly responsible for the availability of wild meat around tourist sites such as the Perfume Pagoda, i.e. these restaurateurs are drawing on, or even creating, a custom of trying "specialties" of the area one is visiting.

Tong (2007) considers wildlife part of traditional Chinese food culture. But although presented as authentic, it is recognised that many 'traditions' are often more recent inventions retrospectively created to serve contemporary purposes and are especially associated with need for reinvention of identity during rapid social-economic transformation (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1992). 'Traditional' wild animal-based foods and medicines being reinvented for economic gain in China has already been suggested (Lo 2005). Mass pilgrimages to religious sites are also a new phenomenon, enabled by recently heightened mobility and religious freedom (Taylor 2004) that has been related to a need to assert Vietnamese identity in an increasingly global society (Soucy 2003). Likewise, while 'local' and 'traditional'

wild meat “specialities” at Vietnamese tourism sites may be testament to the entrepreneurial talents of the locals, they may also result from a need to reinforce national identity in a rapidly changing socio-economic climate. Urban Vietnamese are also increasingly romanticising rural life and the countryside (Drummond 2003), and eating ‘traditional’ wild meat may be a way for urbanites to connect with their perceived rural past. Similarly, nostalgia for a lost cultural past - real or supposed - and the need to forge a cultural identity in foreign surroundings might help explain demand for wild meat amongst some African immigrants in cities such as New York and Paris (e.g. Milius 2005).

5. Identifying Urban Consumers Of Wild Animal Products

5.1. Introduction

5.1.1. The Characteristics of Consumers

Despite increasing emphasis on consumer-targeted interventions aiming to reduce urban demand for wild animals, only recently have consumers become the focus of research. Due to the scale of demand for wild animals in China, studies to date have concentrated on urban Chinese consumers; some of these studies were not accessible directly but are reviewed by Guo (2007). Although a significant proportion of wild meat in urban centres across the tropics is reported to be 'luxury trade' (Bennett 2002), there have, as far as the author is aware, been no detailed studies of urban consumers in Africa or the Americas. Indeed, the recent focus on urban consumers in Vietnam and China perhaps reflects the higher proportion of demand for wild animals emerging from towns and cities compared to rural areas in this region. For example, in Vietnam, subsistence use of many wild animal species has almost wholly shifted to commercial trade serving the growing urban middle classes (Compton & Le 1998; SFNC 2003: 7; Donovan 2004; Robertson 2004). In contrast, the majority of demand for wild meat in many African and Neotropical countries is driven by subsistence needs in the absence of accessible alternatives (e.g. Apaza et al. 2002; Barnett et al. 2002; de Merode et al. 2004; Wilkie et al. 2005; Jambiya et al. 2007; Leon & Montiel 2008).

In China, Wu et al. (2001: 10) found wild meat was most popular amongst highly educated individuals earning high incomes. In contrast, CWCA/PKU (unpublished in Guo 2007: 10) document a negative relationship between wild meat consumption and education but reports major consumers as managers in government, state-owned organisations and enterprise; most recently, in Guangzhou, Guo (2007) identified men aged between forty and sixty years as the heaviest consumers of wild meat, and managers and businessman, followed by government officers and professionals, and those with the highest incomes as reporting the most wild meat consumption, but found no relationship between education and consumption. Guo (2007) concludes the richest and highest status consumers have more opportunities to eat wild meat.

In Vietnam, information about consumers is often a by-product of research into wildlife trade; although valuable, this information rarely comes directly from consumers themselves, but from restaurateurs or wildlife traders. For example, during investigations into wildlife trade activity in Quang Binh and Quang Nam provinces, the main customers of wild meat restaurants were reported to be businessmen, government officials and those travelling 'Highway 1' (Robertson 2004; Robertson et al. 2004: 14); surveys of large wild meat restaurants in Nghe An province found customers mainly to be males earning mid-high incomes including company directors, businessmen and government officials, but that smaller restaurants with cheaper prices draw customers from a wider range incomes and ranks (SFNC 2003: 36). A recent survey of two thousand Hanoians suggests men, wealthy individuals, highly educated residents, entrepreneurs, government officials and senior managers were most likely to report using wild animal products, but found no relationship between age and consumption (Venkataraman 2007). None of the above studies use multivariate analysis to identify the characteristics of wild animal consumers; this is the first study of urban consumers of wild meat to do so, and to explore consumer characteristics further using additional qualitative methods.

5.2. Methods

Data presented in this chapter are drawn from both the questionnaire survey and SSIs with both wild meat consumers and the central Hanoi public (see Chapter 3). Due to the dominance of wild meat and wild animal-derived medicinal products, and the relative infrequency of consumption of other wild animal products (Chapter 4), this chapter focuses on wild meat and medicinal products.

Pearson's chi-square is used to look for significant differences in reported consumption between categorical variables. Logistic regression is used to explore the predictive value of age on reported consumption; because some occupation groups are too small to satisfy the assumptions of a chi-square test, logistic regression using dummy variables is also used to examine the role of occupation. Multiple logistic regression is also employed to determine the roles of multiple predictors on whether or not a respondent reported consuming wild meat or a

wild animal-derived medicinal product in the last twelve months. Although wild meat and wild animal-derived medicinal products are analysed separately, the results are presented and discussed together.

5.3. Results

Respondents who reported eating wild meat in the last year were significantly more likely to also report consumption of a wild animal-derived medicinal product other than wild meat ($\chi^2 [1]=27.81, p<.01$). This suggests consumers of wild meat and consumers of wild animal-derived medical products share similar characteristics, but the following analyses show there are some important differences.

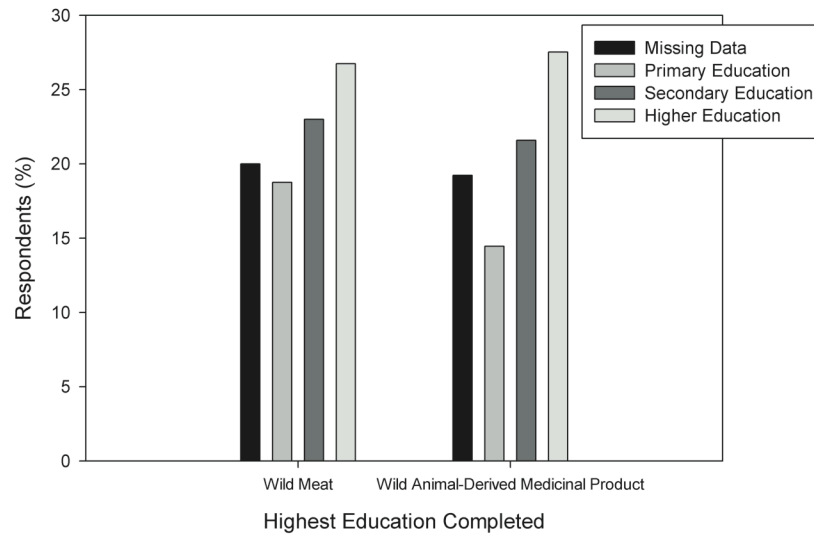
Significantly more men than women ($\chi^2[1]=7.72, p<.01$) report eating wild meat in the last twelve months, but there is no significant difference between the sexes in reported consumption of a wild animal-derived medicinal product. Age predicts whether or not a respondent reported consuming wild meat ($p<.01$) or a wild animal-derived medicinal product ($p<.05$; Table 5.1) but its effect is extremely slight: with increasing age there is a small reduction in the likelihood a respondent reported consumption of wild meat and a small rise in the likelihood a respondent reported consuming a wild animal-derived medicinal product. This effect appears to be confined to men with regards to wild meat (Table 5.1). There are also significant differences in the proportions of respondents reporting consumption of wild animal-derived medicinal products according to education ($\chi^2[2]=12.69, p<.01$); the amount reporting consumption rises with education level (Figure 5.1). Although a similar pattern is seen for wild meat, the differences between education groups are not significant (Figure 5.1).

Table 5.1 Logistic regression showing the effect of age on whether or not a respondent reported consumption of wild meat or a wild animal-derived medicinal product (n=915)

Predictor variables	Wild Meat						Wild Animal-Derived Medicinal Products		
	a). All Respondents			b). Men Only			B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)
	B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)			
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	.01**	0.99	-.02 (0.01)	.00**	0.98	0.01 (0.01)	.02*	1.01
Constant	-0.67 (0.22)	.00	0.51	-.18 (0.30)	.56	0.84	-1.80 (0.23)	.00	0.17

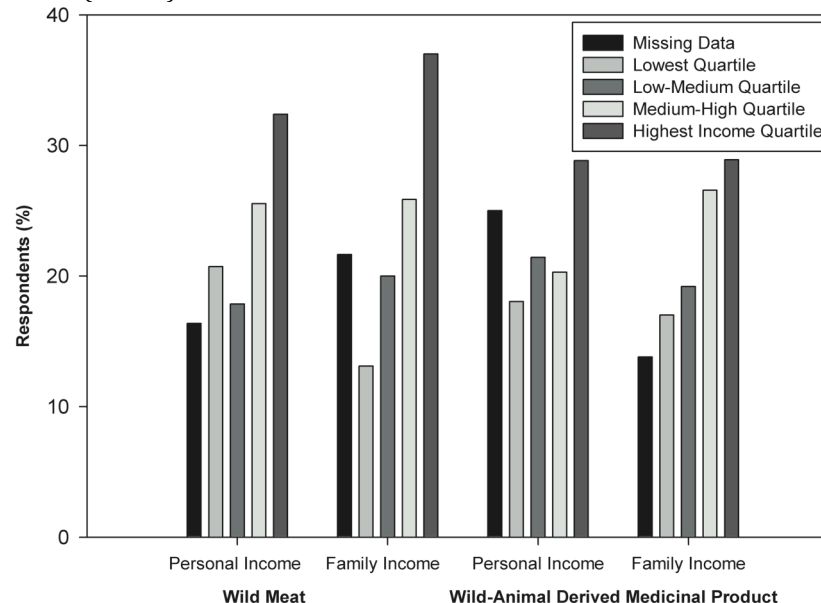
Wild Meat: a). Model $\chi^2(1) = 6.82 p<.01, R^2 .39$ (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .01 (Cox & Snell), .01 (Nagelkerke). b). Model $\chi^2(1) = 8.79 p<.01, R^2 .07$ (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .02 (Cox & Snell), .03 (Nagelkerke). Wild Animal-Derived Medicinal Products: Model $\chi^2(1) = 5.64 p<.05, R^2 .30$ (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .01 (Cox & Snell), .01 (Nagelkerke). * $p<.05, **p<.01$

Figure 5.1 Percentage of respondents reporting consumption of wild meat or a wild animal-derived medicinal product according to highest education completed (n=915)



The percentage of respondents reporting consumption of wild meat differs significantly between personal income ($\chi^2[3]=14.83$, $p<.01$) and family income ($\chi^2[3]= 22.76$, $p<.01$) quartiles, the number reporting consumption rising with income; although a similar trend is observed for wild animal-derived medicinal products, no significant differentiation in the quantity reporting consumption of medicinal products exists between either personal income or family income quartiles (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 Percentage of respondents in each personal income and family income quartile who reported eating wild meat or a wild animal-derived medicinal product other than wild meat in the last twelve months (n=915):



Despite there being significant differences in reported wild meat consumption between family income quartiles amongst both men ($\chi^2[3]=9.51$, $p<.05$) and women ($\chi^2[3] =11.92$, $p<.01$), significant differences in reported wild meat consumption between personal income quartiles only exist amongst men ($\chi^2[3] =12.88$, $p<.01$; Figure 5.3). Because the host of any meal in Hanoi is typically responsible for the bill (pers. obs.), not only are men more likely to initiate wild meals (see Section 5.3.2), they are therefore also more likely to be paying for them. It is therefore unsurprising that personal income determines wild meat consumption amongst men only whereas family income determines wild meat access for both men and women; because women rarely, if ever, pay for wild meat, but are significantly more likely to report eating with family members than men (Chapter 4), their family income is related to consumption but their personal income is largely irrelevant. In contrast, no significant difference in reported consumption of a wild animal product other than wild meat exists between family income or personal income quartiles either amongst men or women.

To illustrate the effects of income on wild meat consumption more fully, we also need to look beyond the income quartiles to the highest earners. A high proportion of respondents earning over 5m and 10m VND¹⁶ also report eating wild meat, demonstrating it is not only respondents in the top 50% in terms of income that spend money on wild meat but that it is also favoured amongst the very highest earners (Figure 5.4). There are significant differences between both the personal income groups ($\chi^2[2] =24.54$, $p<.01$) and family income groups ($\chi^2[2] =14.60$, $p<.01$) with regards to the proportion of respondents reporting wild meat consumption. No comparable trend can be seen for consumption of wild animal-derived medicinal products (Figure 5.4).

¹⁶ During the data collection period 1GBP was equivalent to 26,000 - 30,000VND (pers. obs).

Figure 5.3 Percentage of respondents in each personal and family income quartile who reported eating wild meat in the last twelve months according to sex (n=902):

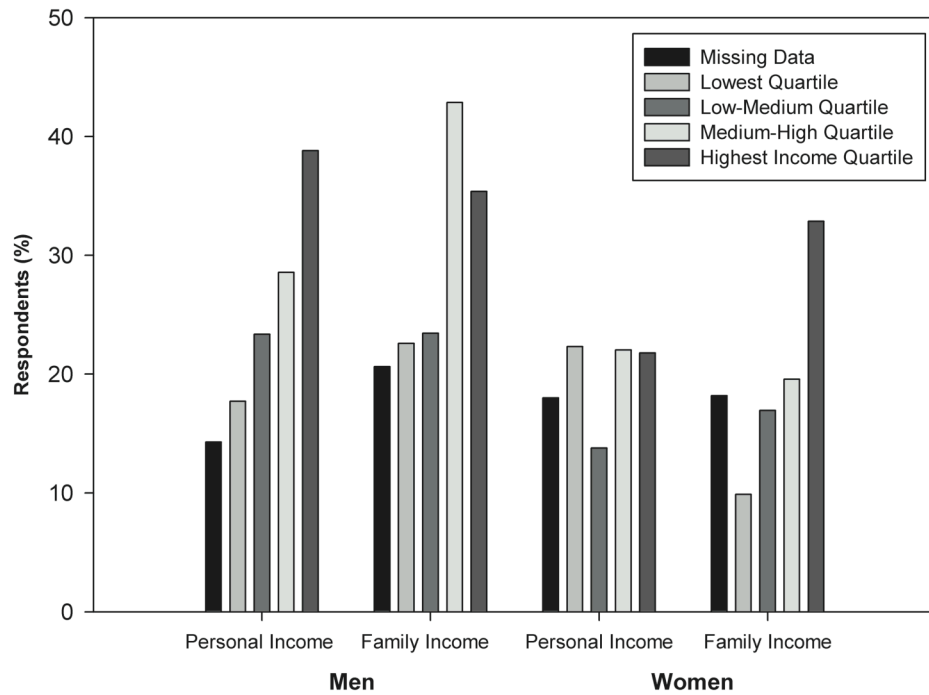
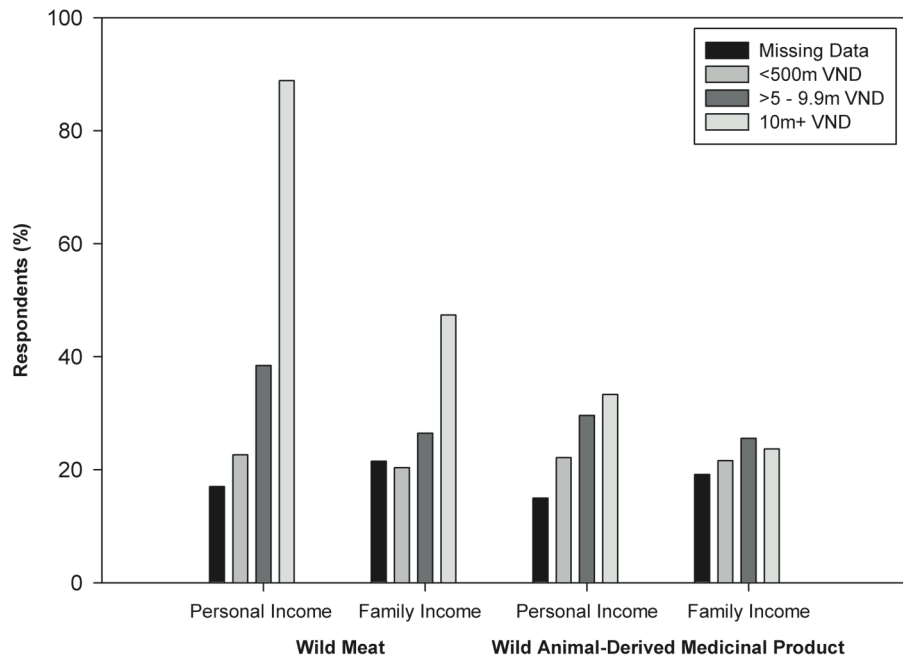


Figure 5.4 Percentage of respondents who reported eating wild meat or consumed a wild animal product other than wild meat in the last twelve months according to personal and family income (n=915):



Closer investigation of specific livelihoods reported within each occupation category reveals important differences within the professionals and business group. A significantly higher proportion of business people ($\chi^2[1] = 7.23, p < .05$) and of professionals working in the financial sector including accountants, financial traders and finance officers ($\chi^2[1] = 6.17, p < .05$) report eating wild meat compared to those working in non-financial professions such as pharmacy, engineering and design. For this reason, these occupations are divided in all subsequent analysis. No significant differences were found between occupations reported within other questionnaire categories.

The highest proportions of those reporting wild meat consumption work in the armed forces or police (n=4), as clerks, businesspeople or as a finance professionals; for each group this relationship appears largely restricted to male respondents (Figure 5.5). Indeed, Business people (p<.00), finance professionals (p<.00), clerks (p<.05) and members of the armed forces/police (p<.05) are significantly more likely to have reported wild meat consumption than service workers (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Logistic regression showing the effect of occupation on whether or not a respondent reported wild meat consumption (n=890)

Predictor variables		B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Occupation (Reference: Service workers)	Armed forces/Police	2.41 (1.16)	.04*	11.17
	Business people	1.19 (0.38)	.00**	3.28
	Finance Professionals	1.39 (0.42)	.00**	4.03
	Non-finance professionals	-0.72 (0.39)	.86	0.93
	Clerks	1.18 (0.53)	.03*	3.26
	Skilled Workers	0.10 (0.24)	.68	1.10
	Unskilled workers	-0.39 (0.41)	.33	0.68
	Unemployed	0.62 (0.56)	.27	1.86
	Students	-0.34 (0.51)	.51	0.72
	Housework/Care	0.43 (0.47)	.36	1.53
	Retired	-0.34 (0.26)	.19	0.72
Constant		-1.31 (0.13)	.00	0.27

Model $\chi^2(11) = 36.83, p < .01$. R^2 1.00 (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .04 (Cox & Snell), .06 (Nagelkerke). *p<.05, **p<.01

Figure 5.5 Percentage of respondents in each occupation group reporting eating wild meat in the last twelve months (n=890)

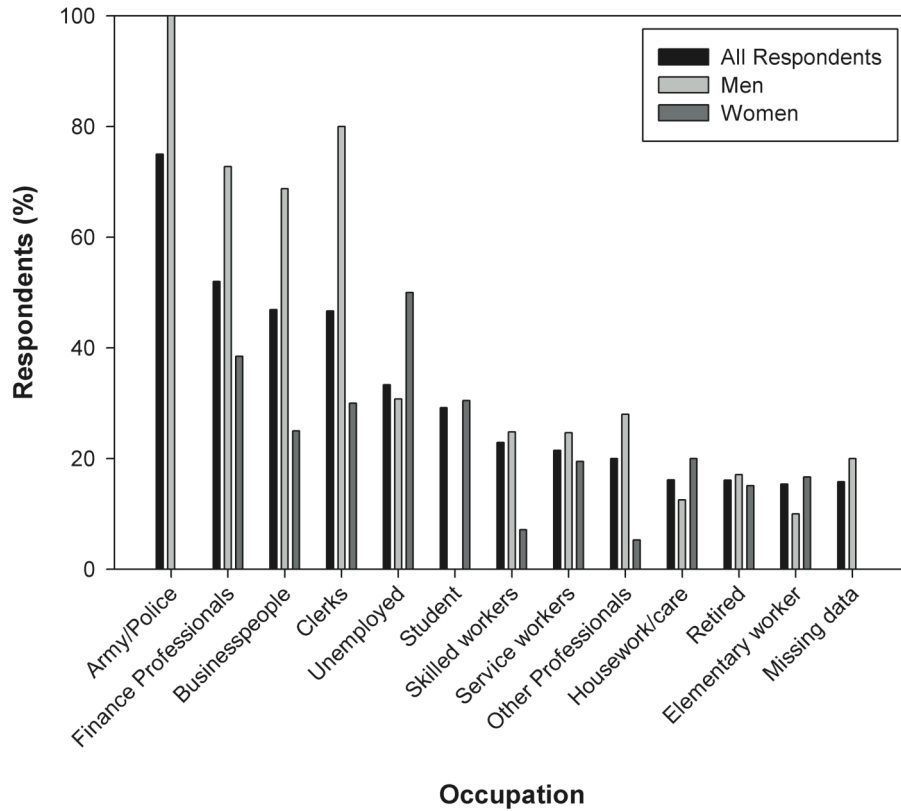
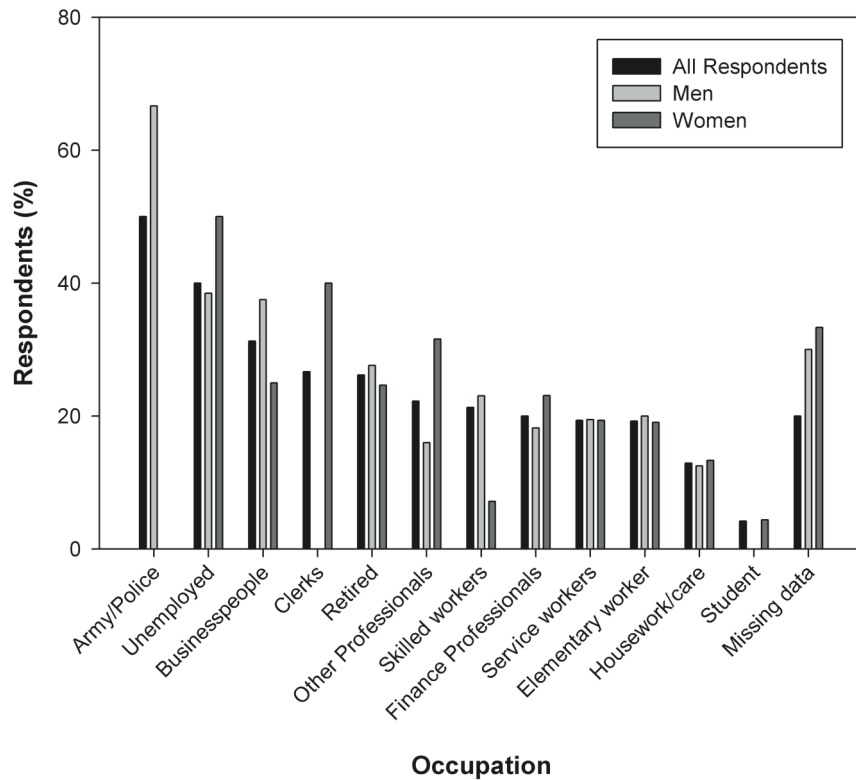


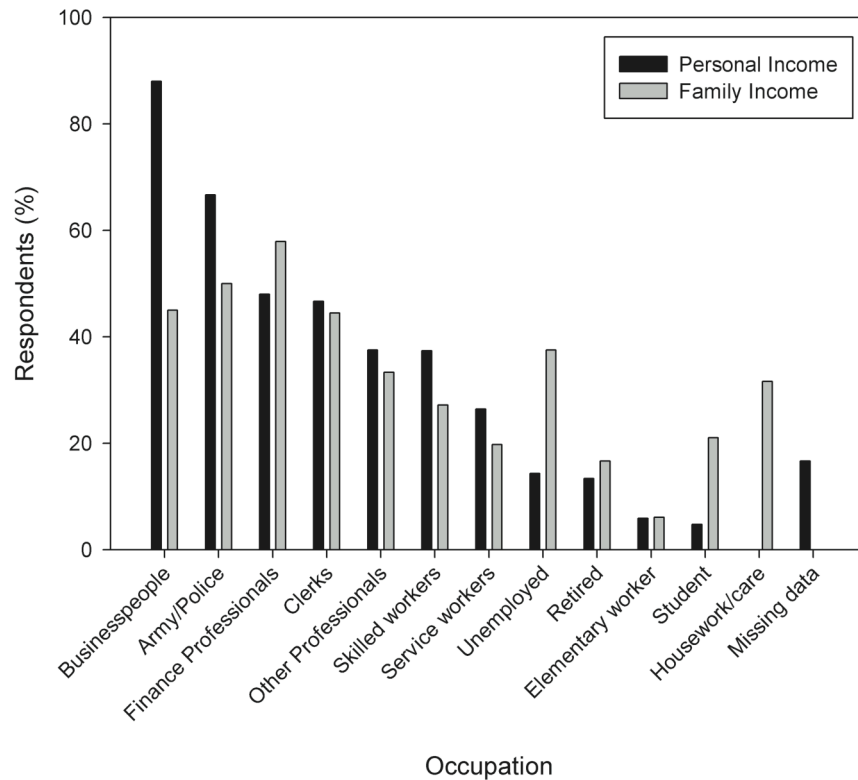
Figure 5.6 Percentage of respondents in each occupation group reporting consumption of a wild animal product other than wild meat in the last twelve months (n=890)



For wild animal-derived medicinal products, a large proportion of armed forces/police and businesspeople also report consumption (Figure 5.6) but, in contrast to wild meat, occupation does not predict consumption. Another difference is that greater numbers of businesswomen and female clerks than businessmen and male clerks report consuming medicinal products, while the opposite is true for wild meat. Generally, however, the divergence between men and women in terms of the amount reporting consumption is smaller for wild animal-derived medicines than it is for wild meat. Interestingly, a higher percentage of retirees report consuming medicinal products than report eating wild meat.

The apparent relationship between certain occupations and wild animal consumption may in fact reflect the higher incomes earned by those in these groups rather than occupation per se (Figure 5.7). Similarly, despite significantly more respondents born in an urban centres compared to those born in rural areas reporting eating wild meat ($\chi^2[1]=9.75$, $p<.01$), there are also significant differences between the personal incomes ($\chi^2[3]=20.01$, $p<.01$) and family incomes ($\chi^2[3]=18.29$, $p<.01$) of those born in urban and rural areas; this difference in wild meat consumption may therefore actually be a product of differing wealth rather than birthplace. Likewise, although initial analyses suggest no, or only a limited, effect of age on consumption, a true effect may be being masked by, for example, a disproportionately high number of young respondents belonging to higher income quartiles or occupation groups linked with consumption. To determine the importance of individual variables on consumption of wild animal products while controlling for the effects of other variables, multivariate analysis is therefore presented below.

Figure 5.7 Percentage of respondents in each occupation category in the highest personal income (n=799) and family income (n=543) quartiles:



5.3.1. Multivariate Analysis

Whether or not a respondent reported eating wild meat in the last twelve months is significantly correlated to being male ($p < .01$); belonging to the highest family income quartile ($p < .05$) or the second highest family income quartile ($p < .05$) compared to belonging to the lowest; and working as a business person ($p < .05$) or finance professional ($p < .05$) rather than as a service worker (Table 5.3). Wildlife-related knowledge and awareness score is significantly negatively correlated with wild meat consumption ($p < .01$), but this finding and further results relevant to the relationship between wildlife-related knowledge and awareness and consumption of wild animal products are presented and discussed in Chapter 8. Also note that, although not significant, working in the armed forces or police ($n=4$) compared to working in the service industry has the highest odds ratio of all the occupation groups. Despite contributing to the overall fit of the model and earlier analysis detecting a small effect of age on wild meat consumption, when controlling for the effects of other important variables age has no significant relationship with consumption. No other predictors contributed to the ability of the model to predict the outcome and so were excluded.

Table 5.3 Logistic regressions showing the role of respondent characteristics on consumption of a). wild meat and b). wild animal-derived medicines in the last 12 months

Predictor variables	a). Wild Meat			b). Wild Animal-Derived Medicinal Products			
	B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Sig.	Exp(B)	
Age (Years)	-0.01 (0.01)	.47	1.00	0.02 (0.01)	.02*	1.02	
Family income (Reference: Lowest-earning quartile)	Non-responses	0.47 (0.29)	.11	1.60	0.04 (0.27)	.88	1.04
	Second lowest-earning quartile	0.25 (0.36)	.49	1.28	0.04 (0.33)	.91	1.04
	Second highest-earning quartile	0.78 (0.33)	.02*	2.18	0.43 (0.31)	.16	1.54
	Highest-earning quartile	1.10 (0.33)	.00**	3.01	0.51 (0.32)	.11	1.67
Occupation (Reference: Service workers)	Armed Forces & Police	1.97 (1.18)	.10	7.14	1.09 (1.04)	.29	2.98
	Business people	1.22 (0.41)	.00**	3.39	0.29 (0.42)	.49	1.34
	Finance Professionals	1.34 (0.46)	.00**	3.81	-0.39 (0.54)	.48	0.77
	Non-finance professionals	-0.47 (0.48)	.32	0.62	-0.42 (0.43)	.48	0.68
	Clerks	0.99 (0.58)	.09	2.68	0.04 (0.62)	.96	1.04
	Skilled Workers	-0.21 (0.27)	.46	1.37	0.13 (0.25)	.62	1.13
	Unskilled workers	-0.03 (0.43)	.94	0.81	0.34 (0.40)	.39	1.41
	Unemployed	0.29 (0.59)	.62	1.33	1.00 (0.56)	.07	2.72
	Students	-0.27 (0.54)	.61	0.76	-0.54 (0.57)	.34	0.58
	Housework/Care	0.48 (0.52)	.36	1.62	-1.84 (1.03)	.08	0.16
Retired	-0.07 (0.33)	.84	9.36	-0.01 (0.29)	.99	0.99	
Sex (Reference: Women)	0.71 (0.20)	.00**	2.04	-	-	-	
Wildlife-Related Knowledge/Awareness (Score)	-0.14 (0.04)	.00**	0.86	-	-	-	
Education (Reference: Not completed secondary education)	Non-responses	-	-	-	1.32 (0.59)	.02*	3.75
	Completed secondary education	-	-	-	0.64 (0.24)	.00**	1.90
	Completed higher education	-	-	-	0.96 (0.27)	.00**	2.62
Constant	-1.15 (0.42)	.00	0.32	-3.37 (0.54)	.00	0.03	

a). Wild Meat: Model $\chi^2(18) = 75.75$ $p < .01$. R^2 .25 (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .09 (Cox & Snell), .13 (Nagelkerke); b). Wild Animal-derived medicinal products: Model $\chi^2(19) = 43.90$ $p < .01$. R^2 .70 (Hosmer & Lemeshow), .05 (Cox & Snell), .07 (Nagelkerke). ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Largely corresponding with earlier analyses, consuming a wild animal-derived medicinal product in the last twelve months is significantly related to having completed higher education ($p < .01$), secondary education ($p < .05$) or belonging to the non-response group for education compared to having not completed secondary education ($p < .05$), and is also positively related to respondent age ($p < .05$). Neither occupation nor family income had a significant influence on consumption of wild animal-derived medicinal products, and no further predictors contributed to the model.

5.3.2. Sex

Although multiple regression predicts men are 1.7 times as likely as women to report eating wild meat in the last twelve months, gender plays no significant role in consumption of wild animal-derived medicinal products (Table 5.3). Both men and women generally consider wild meat a male food typically associated with male activities such as drinking alcohol and, for some, using prostitutes (pers. comm. Robertson S.); restaurants serving wild meat often have private rooms for such parties. A few interviewees describe the wider context of wild meat consumption within these additional male pastimes:

Male professional aged 25 describes men, particularly businessmen, celebrating¹⁷:

WM28: They go to bars, they dance, and then they go to 'massage' centres [...] Maybe they go to a restaurant to eat wild meat and then go to 'massage' together...it's a habit, an official ritual for the businessmen. Always they're singing karaoke, drinking beer, getting drunk.

Businessman aged 39, often takes business partners to wild meat restaurants:

Interviewer: why do you travel to restaurants outside Hanoi?

WM11: Because it is easy to relax and (coy, laughing) to do anything we want for fun.

Most female consumers interviewed were invited to eat wild meat by male colleagues, friends or family members; and compared to male consumers, women were generally less enthusiastic, less interested in, and less knowledgeable about, wild meat:

Female clerk and wild meat consumer aged 28:

Int: Have you ever invited somebody else for wild meat yourself?

WM24: No, because most of the time other people invited me. Women are less interested in this than men [...] I don't choose. There are some men in my office who usually go, so they introduce to eat at some restaurants. They often book, and then we go. I'm not very interested in this sort of thing, I just go for the experience.

¹⁷ Interviewed in English.

Retired female consumer aged 73:

Int: Have you ever invited anyone to eat wild meat?

WM33: No, never. I just follow my classmates. We go in a big group of around twenty people [...] Some of them are businessmen and managers. Rich friends pay the bill, and women like me contribute some money as a share [...] I am a woman. Our male friends order wildlife dishes, so they may know about this [...] When I try the dishes, I imagine how delicious the dishes are. But the dishes do not taste as good as I think; their taste is like beef.

5.3.3. Income

The proportion of respondents reporting wild meat consumption in the last twelve months increases significantly with family income (Table 5.3). Correspondingly, most interviewees consider wild meat an expensive speciality and perceive wealth as one of the main characteristics of consumers (see also Chapter 6):

Female retired state officer and wild meat consumer aged 58:

Int: Did your parents eat wild meat in restaurants?

CN35: At the time they were poor [...] Not everyone can afford to eat in restaurants. Restaurants are for some people who have money. Wild meat is a speciality and expensive.

Male skilled worker aged 39:

Int: Who are the clients at these restaurants [in Xuan Mai]?

CN05: Wild meat is rare and scarce, so it's expensive. Because it's expensive only rich people can afford it. Those people are from the city, in general.

5.3.4. Occupation

Businesspeople and finance professionals were significantly more likely to report wild meat consumption in the last twelve months than those in other occupations. This contrasts with reported consumption of wild animal-derived medicinal products upon which occupation had no significant bearing. Interviewees strongly associate powerful individuals in high-status occupations, or simply “successful” people, with eating wild meat:

Retired male wild meat consumer, aged 58, is invited to eat wild meat by old friends:

Int: Do you share or does one person pay?

WM18: We go in a group of about 30 people and a meal costs around 10 million VND. One of my friends pays. Some are very rich. Some like me are poor. Richer friends don't mind paying the bill for the others. One works for the Vietnam Petrol Corporation, one works for the National Department of Planning and Investment, one works at the Ho Chi Minh City Television Station. Some are managers or heads of department, etc. They are successful people.

Female service worker aged 46:

Int: Have you ever tried wild meat dishes?

WM08: I've tried a lot. I follow my elder brothers and friends who order wild meat dishes. [...] I've just come back from a "big" lunch. [...] It is difficult to find wild meat, but I hear about eating macaque meat and brains - it's frightening! [...] The people who try wildlife dishes are rich ones. They look for something unusual to try. Normal citizens cannot afford it [...] Successful people often eat wild meat.

Retired female unskilled worker aged 73:

Int: Why do your friends choose to spend their money on wild meat?

WM33: Some of them have power. They began to like wild meat when they first tried it. So they often suggest eating wild meat dishes on the occasions of reunions [...] they contribute a budget of 2,000,000 VND a year [to make the occasion possible].

Although no state officials – other than those representing armed forces and police (n=4) - are represented in the survey sample, one state official in active service and three retired officials were interviewed and all four reported wild meat consumption in the last twelve months (see also Chapter 6). Interviewees - including other wild meat consumers - also repeatedly perceived state officials to be eating wild meat dishes more regularly than “normal” people:

Male professional and wild meat consumer aged 45, managed a resort in Tam Dao:

Int: What kinds of people came to eat wild meat at the restaurants in Tam Dao?

WM05 Among the people who come to Tam Dao and eat wildlife dishes are state officers [...] I had to know where the tourists were from, but I didn't know what positions that were in or what jobs they did. But when they came, they asked us if there were any wildlife specialities. Then I answered, "yes" to them. Then they were served with wild meat dishes. Most of them were from Hanoi. Only state officers or someone else can have a lot of money. Normal workers like me cannot afford wildlife specialities.

Male professional and wild meat consumer aged 31:

Int: Wild meat is expensive so why do you spend money on this?

WM29: It is just like our treat after a hard working year with friends. [...] After a year, families and friends also want to try some special dishes, but not 2 or 3 times in a month at all. Government officials or those who are invited by someone or organisations may have special dishes often. We, the normal people, can't do that.

This association is often also related to the additional income those in positions of authority and power are perceived to obtain illegally:

Retired government official/businessman aged 57 talking about government officials:

Int: Why do you think wild meat restaurants are so popular in Hanoi?

CN36: Some reasons can be revealed, other cannot. I only tell you what I can tell [...] Those people who have money want to eat wild animals. I can't tell you where their money comes from.

Male service worker aged 24 and wild meat consumer¹⁸:

Int: Do you think it is worth Vietnam trying to protect these species?

WM09: If people keep eating wild animals, many species will be extinct. Most wild meat consumers or restaurant patrons are rich. They go to big restaurants and hotels to enjoy special dishes. I don't know about corruption, but I see the wildlife eating is a serious problem. How do they afford to try expensive dishes?

¹⁸ This interviewee reported eating wild meat in the last twelve months but was unusual because he trapped and cooked these animals while working as a labourer for a timber company in Laos.

Finally, those who have the opportunity - often interviewees working for financial institutions - take advantage of company or public funds to access wild meat both for business but also for non-formal occasions such as company outings and celebrating birthdays, promotions or other successes:

Female bank clerk and wild meat consumer aged 28:

WM24: Eating wild meat, in my work, I usually go to other provinces and have a chance to try wild meat such as goat and deer...

Int: Who pays?

WM24: Other people who hold a high position pay or we use our office's fund

Male clerk and wild meat consumer aged 23:

Int: When you eat wild meat, do you always go with your colleagues or with others too?

WM21: Our company organises for us. Two months ago, we went to Huong Pagoda. On the way home, we went to Giap Bat to try the bamboo rat [...] the company accountant paid with the company's budget [...] People in my company sometimes go to eat wild meat when they win some sport events and on the manager's birthday.

Female professional aged 33¹⁹:

WM27: [...] the second time, the time I ate civet, I can't remember but not a special occasion, just a gathering of my old colleagues from the company I work with before.

Int: Is wild meat popular for company outings?

WM27: It's more with state run companies because they don't have to pay and they claim it back to the company so they don't mind getting very expensive foods and some even take that chance to try some different, special, expensive foods.

5.3.5. Age

Although only a slight relationship was apparent from bivariate analysis, when all other variables are held constant age has a significant positive relationship with consumption of medicinal products. People naturally develop illness and disability as they age and wild animal derived medicines such as bear bile and tiger glue are considered to be products needed by older people:

Female unskilled worker aged 54:

Int: Have you ever used tiger glue?

WM32: No. People at my age can't use it. It is for the much older people. Young people don't use it [...] Must be old people with serious diseases. I don't have any problem, so I don't need to buy it [...]. Only old people and/or those with serious diseases need that kind of medicine.

Male army officer aged 49:

Int: Have you ever used medicine from wild animals?

WM15: Yes, just a little. Medicine like tiger glue or macaque glue is for old people. Bear bile is for drinking with wine.

¹⁹ Interviewed in English.

In contrast, multivariate analysis confirms eating wild meat is not associated with any particular age group. Likewise, although a few interviewees perceive that wild meat consumers are - or should be - older men, the majority place greater importance on wealth and occupational status and, when prompted, recognise that younger men are eating wild meat. Until recently, it is likely that the image of wild meat being enjoyed mainly by middle-aged men was to some extent true: age brings status and more often than not, the money and power, enabling access to eat wild meat. But young people in urban areas now have many opportunities that were not available to earlier generations: unlike their parents' generation, many have disposable income to spend on the latest fashions such as the most recent model of motorbike or mobile phone, free time on their hands and the means to travel. It is perhaps not too unexpected then that younger generations are eating wild meat as much as their elders or that a "fashion" or "movement" for wild meat (see also Chapter 4) is often made, particularly by older wild meat consumers, in reference to young people:

Retired male and wild meat consumer aged 58

Int: What are the other patrons like?

WM18: Most of patrons are middle-aged people. They are 40 years old, 50 years old [...]. They have settled their careers, have more friends and more opportunities to enjoy their lives, and have money. They often go to Hao Lac town of Ha Tay province for wildlife dishes at weekends. They often buy live animals and have the animals slaughtered. We too.

Int: Do you ever see young people eating wild meat?

WM18: I see many. [They go] mostly for fun, they follow each other to try wild meat dishes. It is a waste of money. [...] They may follow a "fashion" of eating wild meat [...] I think it is a new fashion.

Businessman and wild meat consumer aged 56:

Int: Who do you think are the main customers at wild meat restaurants?

WM25: Those who have money, officials, and businessmen who have lots of money because wild meat is very expensive [...].

Int: When you went to Le Mat did you see any young people eating wild meat?

WM25: Many young people, because young men eat well and drink a lot. They also earn good money. [...] There are many people in their thirties eating wild meat.

Younger consumers describe being introduced to wild meat as a food for celebratory meals and respected guests by those senior to themselves and often in positions of authority:

Male professional and wild meat consumer aged 31:

Int: When were you first introduced to wild meat?

WM29: I was introduced in 1995 when I became a photographer. When I went to school to learn photography. It was on August 25, 1995. it was the time when we studied in Viet-Xo Relationship and Culture Palace. After we finished the first class, our teachers said we should all

eat wild meat [...] And after the photography course, we ate turtle meat. Since I became a photographer, I have been invited by friends to eat wild meat. But only for the last two or three years, have I eaten more.

Male skilled worker and wild meat consumer aged 25:

Int: When you go to the restaurants that sell wild meat who else is there?

WM17: Most patrons are state officials who have 'big stomachs'. I would never know about the taste of wild meat if in 1998 my uncle did not have me go to a wild meat restaurant with him. I first tried the wild meat and saw that it was tasty and delicious.

Int: How do you know they are state officials?

WM17: It is because my uncle is a state official. He is an inspector of the Ministry of Interior. I sometimes follow him to try wild meat dishes.

Int: On what occasions does your uncle eat wild meat?

WM17: He is a state official going on business to southern Vietnam, so he is invited. So he goes to restaurants for business.

It is unsurprising therefore to find young male interviewees, as much as any other age group and despite many other luxury commodities available to advertise wealth and fashion knowledge, holding wild meat in high regard and aspiring to host such meals themselves, subsequently introducing others to wild meat and reinforcing its status as a desirable commodity amongst younger generations:

Male professional and wild meat consumer aged 25 first tasted wild meat when working at a wild meat restaurant to support his studies:

Int: Can you tell me about the last time you ate wild meat, I think it was your birthday?

WM30: No, it was my friend's birthday [...] I think wild meat is special, and its flavour or how it tastes depends on the cooking methods by different restaurants. In short, wild meat is good [...] is special. When people have special occasions, they want to try special meat [...].

Int: So, on your own birthday did you also go to eat wild meat?

WM30: Well! I couldn't do that some years ago when I was still a student. But now I have a job with a stable income so I can go and eat wild meat. I am still thinking of my next birthday.

Int: Will you invite some friends to eat wild meat dishes?

WM30: I hope so (smiling).

In order to try wild meat dishes, a few young people report splitting the bill between them, breaking the tradition that the host pays for everyone (pers. obs.). In this way some younger consumers are perhaps managing to access dishes they may not otherwise be able to afford. This suggests that wild meat consumption is assuming a novel, less ceremonial context amongst younger consumers, a trend perhaps driven by curiosity and/or simply keeping up with a wider "fashion" for wild meat.

5.3.6. Education

Although wildlife-related knowledge score had a significant negative relationship with wild meat consumption (see Chapter 8), education did not contribute to the model's ability to predict wild meat consumption in the last year. For wild animal-derived medicinal products the opposite is true: although wildlife-related knowledge score did not contribute to the model's ability to predict consumption, there is a significant positive relationship between education and reported consumption. Qualitative data shed little light on why higher levels of education are associated with the consumption of wild animal-derived medicines. Nevertheless, this one interviewee with a higher postgraduate degree talks about the body's capacity for self-repair and, despite referring to its unproven scientific effectiveness - possibly largely for my own benefit - enthused about traditional medicine:

Male professor aged 51²⁰:

Int: So when you do use medicine do you use western medicine or traditional herbal medicine or...?

CN38: You know [...] sometimes I use traditional medicine [...] I don't know, it may be a myth, people believe in that and there is no scientific research that it improves the effectiveness of you know. A lot of people are now turning to traditional medicine but I don't know, have you ever been to a traditional doctor? They take your pulses, they look at your complexion and they make the prescription based very much on their intuition and professional judgement and it works for some people, it works.

5.4. Discussion

5.4.1. Consumers of Wild Meat

Men are the dominant consumers of wild meat in central Hanoi, corresponding to reports in both urban Vietnam (e.g. SFNC, 2003; Venkataraman 2007) and China (e.g. Wu et al. 2001 in Guo 2007; Guo 2007; Zhang et al. 2008). Wild meat restaurants in urban Equatorial Guinea are also reported chiefly patronised by men (Kumpel 2006). Wild meat restaurants being predominantly male spaces in China and Vietnam is also supported by wider literature (e.g. Craig 2002; Farquhar 2002). For example, Craig (2002) describes the dining room as a typically male domain, prosperous urban Vietnamese males as principal engineers of fine food culture, and 'hot' foods and tonics that nourish *yang* of being particular importance because masculinity is associated with heat and *yang* qualities (Craig 2002).

²⁰ Interviewed in English.

With limited options for leisure, McNally (2003: 118) observes, drinking and paying for sex is now a significant component of Vietnam's emerging leisure industry, offering recreation and excitement for men with disposable income to spend on themselves, friends and work colleagues. To the extent that it is associated with such masculine activities, eating wild meat also appears to be a dimension of this trend. In Vietnam, both wild meat restaurants and a small private zoo are directly associated with complexes of massage parlours, karaoke bars and female escort services (Robertson 2004; SFNC, 2003).

Income is consistently positively correlated to wild meat consumption amongst Hanoians (Venkataraman 2007) and amongst Chinese urban consumers (e.g. Guo 2007; Zhang et al. 2008). A recent report notes an emerging urban middle class in Thailand has sufficient wealth to afford to be significant consumers of wild animal products, implying consumption is positively related to income here also (World Bank 2005). Building on findings in Chapter 4, these results further imply that as disposable incomes rise in Hanoi, demand for wild meat will also increase.

While the results clearly show that higher proportions of businessmen and finance professionals eat wild meat than those in other occupations, the emphasis on government officials may in part be motivated by perceptions of, and prejudice towards, those whom interviewees consider more privileged than themselves. Nevertheless, wild meat restaurateurs also report both businessmen and government officials as their main customers (SFNC 2003; Robertson 2004; Robertson et al. 2004) while cars parked outside a wild meat restaurant near my rented flat in Hanoi often had government number plates (pers. obs.). A previous survey of Hanoians also identified government officials and those in senior management positions as most likely to report consuming wild animal products (Venkataraman 2007). Two recent surveys of urban consumers in China found management personnel, businessmen and government officers to be major consumers of wild meat (Guo 2007; CWCA/PKU unpublished in Guo 2007: 10), although another documents manual labourers, students and the self-employed to be 'heavy' consumers (Zhang et al. 2008).

Amongst Central Hanoians wild meat is used as a medium to communicate prestige, show respect and demonstrate business competence, and as such it is a popular choice for initiating and maintaining business relations (see Chapter 6). It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that those involved in business, finance and working in high status positions are more likely to report eating wild meat, or that business people and professionals are more likely to report eating wild meat with colleagues (Chapter 4). In many societies, 'entrepreneurial' exchanges are used to obtain social or economic advantage and to both raise the prestige of the host and oblige the beneficiary to reciprocate (van der Veen 2003; see Chapter 2). Those in high status positions are therefore both more likely to serve wild meat to assert their superior rank and also to be served wild meat by others aiming to buy their influence.

Bank clerks, finance professionals and state officials are also more likely than those in other occupations to have access to public accounts, which they may use to access expensive foods they may otherwise be unable to afford. In urban China, for example, Lu (2000) observes a substantial proportion of restaurant clientele charging their bills to public accounts. Interventions should therefore target those in positions of authority and/or with access to public and corporate accounts. In a similar vein, those in high-status positions may receive money over and above their salary through corruption, and this might well be spent on conspicuously expensive and yet untraceable²¹ commodities such as wild meat that serve to assert their status in society (see Chapter 6).

However, the results show most wild meat events are recreational and amongst friends and family (see Chapter 4), suggesting businessmen and finance professionals are also eating wild meat for leisure. Because individuals in these occupations are more likely to access wild meat through work than those in other occupations, it is possible their subsequent familiarity with, and knowledge about, wild meat encourages them to also choose it socially or creates a culture for wild

²¹ Although corruption is common in Vietnam (Transparency International 2008), individuals receiving income through illegal means still need to spend their gains carefully; the phrase '*hạ cánh an toàn*', meaning 'perfect landing' or 'landing safely', is sometimes used to refer corrupt individuals approaching retirement (pers. obs.).

meat within these occupations. Celebrating business deals or reunions of colleagues, for example, is likely to involve peers similarly employed. Even on a recreational basis, a host is likely to want to impress upon his guests just how successful he has become, and food - particularly rare and expensive foods such as wild meat - is a good way of doing so (see Chapter 6). Even recreational meals amongst friends may be subject to expectations of reciprocity and of meeting a certain standard in terms of the foods consumed, particularly amongst Hanoians who are reported especially conscious of their perceived social rank (Fforde 2003; Matthaes 2006). As already discussed in Chapter 4, although apparently recreational on the surface, such occasions may also serve to create and maintain mutually beneficial social networks.

Outside Southeast and East Asia, other researchers have observed wild meat being enjoyed by a sub-section of high-status, urban consumers (e.g. Kumpel 2006 in Equatorial Guinea; Mendelson et al. 2003 in Ghana; Times of India 2008 in India; see also Section 4.4.2, p. 105). Moreover, in major towns in Asia, Africa and the Neotropics, Bennett (2002: 591) reports wild meat costing more than readily available domestic alternatives, suggesting wild meat consumption may also be positively related to income in urban centres in Africa, the Americas and elsewhere in Asia. Specifically, Barnett (2002) finds wealthier residents of the urbanised Luangwa valley in Zambia paying a premium for wild meat and Cowlshaw et al. (2005b) note wild meat is typically more expensive in urban centres than in rural areas of Ghana.

Nevertheless, East et al (2005) conclude, although consumers of wild meat in urban Equatorial Guinea tended to be a wealthier section of society, there is no evidence of a luxury market based on rare species. Cowlshaw et al. (2005) consider the higher price of wild meat compared to domestic meat to result primarily from its being in limited supply, and transport costs, and although Caspary (2001: 14) describes wild meat becoming a 'deluxe' commodity in urban areas of West Africa, he reports that its price is comparable to that for beef. This contrasts to Hanoi where consumers are willing to pay a significant premium for rare wild meat and where wild meat is widely considered superior to widely

available domestic beef, chicken, duck and pork and strongly associated with wealthy, high-status groups (see also Chapters 6 and 7).

Wild meat is considered 'heating' and as people age they are considered 'cooler', (Anderson & Anderson 1975). But despite perceptions that wild meat is most popular amongst older men, the results show that central Hanoian men of all ages are eating wild meat. In urban China, Zhang et al. (2008) also found that young men with a earning high incomes comprised some of the most frequent consumers of wild meat. This contrasts to the findings of Wu et al. (2001 in Guo 2007) and Guo (2007) who found wild meat was more popular amongst older consumers in China. While it is possible that wild meat is not popular amongst young men in China as it is in Hanoi, neither of these surveys present results of multivariate analysis to unravel the effects of different explanatory variables and it is possible that age was correlated with another predictor such as working in a high status occupation.

5.4.2. Consumers of Wild Animal-Derived Medicinal Products

In contrast to wild meat, income, occupation and gender have no significant influence on reported consumption of wild animal-derived medicinal products. A recent survey specifically investigating bear bile consumption amongst the Hanoian population also found that similar proportions of men and women reported using bear bile (Nguyen & Reeves 2005: 6). Because wild meat is valued for its rarity and expense it is used to communicate status and success (Chapter 6). In contrast, by far the most commonly reported medicinal product is bear bile (Chapter 4), which is primarily valued for its medicinal efficacy rather than any symbolic values. (Chapter 6). Unsurprisingly, there were very few reports of consumption of medicinal products that remain rare (i.e. tiger glue, rhino horn) and, as such, retain important symbolic value (Chapter 4), precluding separate analysis of them.

Although Hanoians of all ages consume wild meat, consumption of wild animal medicines increases with age; a finding consistent with the survey exploring bear bile consumption amongst the Hanoi public (Nguyen & Reeves 2005). Tonics

which have generally restorative and strengthening powers are important in Vietnam, comprising over half of Sino-Vietnamese *materia medica* (Craig 2002). The rise in consumption of wild animal-derived medicines with age not only arises from the need to treat specific symptoms of chronic age-related conditions but also from their perceived restorative, strength giving and health maintaining properties (Chapter 6). Although older interviewees refer most frequently to the medicinal values of wild animal-derived medicines, they are considered valuable and effective by all age groups (Chapter 6). Therefore as people live longer, and disease profiles and medical needs change (Kang & Phipps 2003), these findings suggest that an increasingly elderly Hanoian population will increase demand for wild animal-derived medicines. And finally, unlike with wild meat which appears to be 'fashionable' amongst young men, there is no evidence for this trend extending to, for example, alcohol infused with bear bile.

5.4.3. Education and Wild Animal Consumption

The results suggest that raising levels of formal education amongst Hanoians is unlikely to reduce demand for wild meat or wild animal-derived medicines; in fact it might serve to increase demand for the latter. This does not mean that formal education cannot play an important role in reducing consumption behaviour, but simply that, to date, the education received by Hanoian respondents is failing to do so²². In China, education has been found to have varying relationships with wild meat consumption: while Zhang et al. (2008) found that highly educated individuals ate more wild meat, another found a negative relationship between wild meat consumption and education (CWCA/PKU unpublished in Guo 2007), and yet another study found no relationship (Guo 2007). But again, as already noted, none of these studies used multivariate analysis to tease out the independent impacts of different variables.

It is not clear why education should be positively related to the consumption of wild animal medicines. Although positive relationships between education and access to alternative medicine and Traditional Chinese Medicine have been

²² Other factors influencing the relationship between consumer behaviour and knowledge and awareness are explored in Chapter 8.

documented in the West (Cassidy 1998; Zollmun & Vickers 1999; Rajendran et al. 2001), education has been shown to have limited influence on uptake in Singapore (Lim et al. 2005; Tan et al. 2006) and Hong Kong (Lam 2001). Nevertheless, a recent study found that those with higher education were significantly more likely to access traditional Chinese medicine than those without, a trend not seen before in Hong Kong (Chung et al. 2007). Chung et al. (2007) suggest independence may have activated an enhanced appreciation for traditional Chinese customs including TCM especially amongst better educated groups, but note a current absence of research in this area. Alternatively, Chiu et al. (2005: 1045, 1052) argue that political opportunity arising from independence caused TCM groups to rally for the revival and institutionalisation of TCM in Hong Kong and, in order to improve its credentials, leadership of the campaign was devolved to universities resulting in its renaissance being fronted by educational elite. Healthcare, as with many other aspects of daily life, is also undergoing transition in Vietnam²³. Given greater choice, it seems that highly educated Hanoians in particular are turning to traditional medicines, or at least to traditional medicines of wild animal origin. However, it is clear that more research is needed to understand the relationship between education and the consumption of wild animal-derived medicines by central Hanoians.

²³ A reduction in state subsidy and the state's central role in healthcare since the mid-1980s has meant that individuals have now have greater control over healthcare and a wider range of options (Craig 2002). Craig (2002: 36) describes "popular medical knowledge and practice in Vietnam as highly ephemeral, shaped and accreted by the country's moving, changing history".

6. The Values Associated with Wild Animal Products

6.1. Introduction

6.1.1. Influencing Consumer Behaviour

Tackling demand for wildlife products in consumer countries through social marketing and education campaigns is now considered an important component of conservation efforts (Srikosamatara 1992; Wilkie & Carpenter 1999; Bowen-Jones et al. 2003; Venkataraman 2007). In order to design pertinent and effective consumer-targeted campaigns it is first important to understand what values and/or concerns are associated with wild animal products and how these influence consumption behaviour. There has been limited previous research into why Vietnamese consumers choose, or do not choose, to consume wild animal products. The research presented in this chapter aims to fill this gap by exploring the values consumers associate with wild animal products.

6.1.2. Emerging Health Concerns

The recent growth in the availability and diversity of food, and in particular the increasing intensification of food production, has been accompanied by growing concerns about food quality, particularly regarding the use of chemicals such as growth promoters in domestic livestock production and post-harvest preservation (Figuie 2004). Moreover, as well as its proximity to the source of the recent SARS outbreaks, Vietnam has also suffered the second highest human death toll from H5N1 Avian Influenza (WHO 2005); many Vietnamese are subsequently avoiding domestic poultry meat (pers. obs.).

6.1.3. The Values Associated With Wild Animal Products

A number of surveys have attempted to assess why consumers eat wild meat, typically by allowing respondents to choose from a number of closed, pre-defined options. Again, studies of the motivations of urban consumers of wild animals have focused on China. For example, one survey of Chinese residents offered respondents the choice of “health and nutrition”, “curiosity”, “taste” and “social status” as reasons for eating wild meat and found that almost a third selected all but the latter (CWCA & WildAid 2005). Also using structured questionnaires, Zhang et al. (2008: 1503) found over half of their respondents reported eating wild

meat because it is “delicious”, around a quarter because it is “rare” and a fifth out of “curiosity” and for “nourishment”. Others report consumers choosing wild meat to pursue a “high-class” or luxurious way of life (CWCA/PKU unpublished in Guo 2007 in Guo 2007: 11), to “show off wealth and social status” (Wu et al. 2001 in Guo 2007: 11; CWCA/PKU unpublished in Guo 2007), and to “follow the crowd” (CWCA/PKU unpublished in Guo 2007 in Guo 2007). Why consumers choose, or do not choose, to eat wild meat – a process involving values and motivations which consumers themselves may not be able to distil and articulate – is not easily captured using such structured approaches. Yet most of these studies have been limited by using highly structured, close-ended questions.

Guo (2007: 24) found that half of wild meat consumers reported the reason for eating wild meat as “being a guest or having guest(s) for dinner”. The next most common reasons given, in order of frequency, were: “it is tasty”; “I am curious”; “everyone eats”; “to gain supplement”; “it is natural”, “recommended by friends or restaurant staff”; “to treat illness”; “it is rare”; recommendation by a TCM doctor; “it is high class”. These reasons offered as pre-defined categories and I would argue that they are neither exclusive nor exhaustive. For example, taste is a cultural construct, and factors such as being considered ‘high class’ or ‘rare’ or ‘natural’ can all contribute to how a food is perceived to taste. While reasons identified for consumption may include ‘having guests to dinner’ and ‘because everyone else is eating it’, neither actually explains why they chose wild meat specifically. Moreover, while consumers might think “I have guests coming, I should serve wild meat” the underlying motivations for their choosing wild meat are likely to be intangible to – and never previously considered by – consumers themselves.

A similar, structured survey of consumers in Hanoi (Venkataraman 2007: 14) concludes that the main reason people eat wild animals and buy ornamental products is because they think the former is “tasty and delicious” and the latter are “durable and beautiful” and “rare and strange”. Again, however, respondents were given pre-defined categories that were not exclusive and that fail to capture the underlying values associated with wild animal products that cause them to be considered ‘delicious’ or ‘beautiful’. The most common reason given for not

consuming wild animal products was because they are too expensive (Venkataraman 2007).

Guo (2007) also uses a series of multiple-choice questions to examine the values associated with wild meat, including medicinal values, social symbolic values and “wildness” values, by consumers in Guangzhou. In terms of socially symbolic values, Guo (2007: 40) found that almost half of respondents considered wild meat a “high class” and “luxury” food, around a third thought serving wild meat shows the hospitality of the host, advertises wealth and that eating wild meat – particularly rare species - reflects consumers’ wide social networks, and a quarter believed eating wild meat reflects social status. Wildness values were also important with 59% believing that a wild-caught animal is superior to an animal of the same species bred in captivity, but medicinal values were not found to be an important driver of wild meat consumption (Guo 2007).

6.2. Methods

The data presented in this chapter are purely qualitative. They derive from SSIs with wild meat consumers (n=39) and are also drawn, to a lesser extent, from those completed with the central Hanoian public (n=39). For details of sampling method, interviewee characteristics and the contents of interviews see Chapter 3. Due to the popularity of bear bile as a wild animal-derived medicine (Chapter 4), bear bile became a central theme in interviews with both interviewee groups. The quotes presented reflect the primary themes emerging from the interviews in relation to the values associated with wild animal products.

6.3. Results

6.3.1. Rare and Precious

Interviewees, including those who have never tried wild meat, frequently refer to wild meat as rare (*hiếm*), valuable or precious (*quý*) - these two words are typically used together - expensive, special and/or unusual (*đặc biệt*) and to a lesser extent,

as exotic (*lạ*) and luxurious²⁴; these associated values are more important than the meat's inherent quality or taste:

Businessman and wild meat consumer aged 56:

Int: I am researching the economic potential of farming wild animals to supply meat for restaurants. I want to interview people who enjoy the meat to find out their views.

WM25: Actually, it's exotic, but it doesn't necessarily taste better than other meat. It's exotic and expensive, so people would like to invite each other to try as a luxury [of life]. There are many things else that taste better but since it's expensive, rare and luxurious, people invite others to try to show their respects [...] I think people think wild meat is tasty because it is rare, but it's not necessarily true [...]. Because it's rare and precious so people think it's luxurious. Rich people want to invite each other to eat something special. For example, one kilo of pork is only 40,000VND while a kilo of wild meat is 7-800,000 VND, so it's better. Actually, it's more about what they think rather than the real quality.

Female professional and wild meat consumer aged 33²⁵:

Int: And the civet, was that farmed or wild?

WM27: [...] Actually I arrive late, when everyone had already ordered and it's on the table and people just say 'try it, try it, it's very special' and I try it and to be honest I have no clear impression, not very impressive [...] I don't think that it's very good meat [...] I don't know why people (pauses to think); they just keep eating it because they think it's rare and precious, and stylish to eat something rare like this.

Female café owner aged 40 eats wild meat with her elder brothers:

Int: Why do your brothers spend money on wild meat rather than other things?

WM08: People want to show that they are luxurious gourmets even though the dishes they eat are not very delicious.

Further demonstrating the importance of rarity in driving consumption of wild animal products - whether for food, ornamentation or medicine - this interviewee perceives rarity to be the greatest threat to the recently discovered bovid species, the Saola (*Pseudoryx nghetinhensis*):

Female student aged 19 eats wild meat with her successful businessman father²²:

Int: Do you know if any of these animals [named by the interviewee] are endangered?

CN09: I think Saola is in danger of extinction [...] because of loss of habitat, food resource and now some people know that it is strange and it is unusual; being a thing in danger of extinction may make some people want to hunt them.

Int: Really?

CN09: Yes, it very usual in Vietnam, when something is famous people want to have them to sell [...]. Some very rich people who can buy for food because they think it is really good or just to try, just to taste to see how good the food is, and maybe the second reason is they buy because they want to have this animal in their house, very rich people, and also often for food or for medicine.

²⁴ The word "luxurious" could also be interpreted as "money-consuming" or "fashionable" (Nguyen Danh Chien, pers. comm.).

²⁵ Interviewed in English.

6.3.1.1. Conspicuous Consumption

Eating wild meat and inviting others to eat wild meat is means of publicly demonstrating wealth and status, and a means of sharing and differentiating identity. Wild meat is also considered “fashionable” and “stylish”, associated with leading a generally stylish and luxurious way of life:

Female bank clerk aged 38, eats wild meat with colleagues:

Int: What kinds of people do you find in wild meat restaurants?

WM23: Businessmen or those people who want to impress other people, to show off their wealth.

Male professor and wild meat consumer aged 51²⁶:

Int: So you think meat consumption is rising in general?

CN38: It's rising enormously. But wild meat, I don't think a lot of people can have access to wild meat: very expensive. And I think some so-called 'yuppie' people now they want to show-off their wealth so they get into their car and they can go to the forest and to the places outside Hanoi just to eat these things.

Int: And do you think this is a new trend or do you think in the past...

CN38 (interrupting): New trend. That is my answer to your question. A new trend so people can show off their wealth. I have money, I can, okay, why not go to this or that place and have this or that kind of thing. They go in parties with 5 or 6 friends, I think the business people I would put in that category [...].

Int: Wild meat restaurants are quite popular now in Hanoi but the meat is expensive so why do you think this is becoming so popular?

CN38: You know, [...] some people believe this is something they should try, sometimes it is just the matter of having the experience of eating something that is denied to others; you are privileged, you have the money to buy this; sometimes it is just a matter of status.

Male skilled worker and wild meat consumer aged 25²⁷:

Int: You said that people eat wild meat to show off?

WM25: Yes it means they usually have very good car or motorbike, luxurious mobile phone and they come to very expensive restaurant and they eat some food that is very new and special, it means they are on a different level to other people, a higher level.

Possessing and giving rare and expensive wild animal-derived medicinal products is also thought by some to primarily be a means of “showing off”:

Male skilled worker aged 36:

Int: If you don't support farming for commercial purposes, how will Vietnamese people access medicine like bear bile or tiger glue?

CN31: For that demand for medicine, I can say that only recently when our economy has grown, Vietnamese people have more demand for it [...] In my opinion, people use medicine from bears and tigers to show off. [...] I have never used bear bile or tiger glue. My uncle has given my brother a piece of tiger glue but I don't believe it is a miraculous medicine. [...] I think many Vietnamese people just want to show off.

²⁶ Interviewed in English.

²⁷ This interview was completed in English. The interviewee talked about wild meat being used to show off, without any prompt, prior to the start of the recording.

Male skilled worker aged 60:

Int: Is [monkey brain] good for health?

CN14: [...]. There is no evidence to show that this is good for health. Many people say that rhino horns can cure many diseases but no scientists have proved that. Due to their ignorance and greed, people just want to use this sort of things. [...] Some people just want to show off by paying a lot for something that is exotic. We don't know for sure whether it is good for health or not.

Possessing rare and precious wild animal products - whether medicinal or ornamental – can also symbolise power and strong social networks:

Male unskilled worker aged 49:

Int: Hunting for what purposes?

CN01: As you know Vietnamese people have been very poor for a long time. You know, the bones of tigers are valuable medicine and so are their skins [...].

Int: What type of people buy tiger skin?

CN01: The rich. They usually hang the skin to show their power. When hanging a tiger skin, people know about a family's power. And you may know about the value of tiger bones, right? [...] Only those who are rich can afford to buy the skin to hang to show their power and status. Ordinary people don't have enough money to buy and they don't have enough space to hang it either. Those who buy it are those who have money and power [...] Because they have money, they have social contacts. Tigers are considered the king of the forests, which can show their power.

6.3.1.2. Doing Business

Expensive and unusual foods are used to impress, show respect and demonstrate business competence. Wild meat is therefore a good choice for facilitating business negotiations and initiating new business relations:

Female bank clerk and wild meat consumer aged 38:

Int: Wild meat is expensive. Why did [your boss] not order something else?

WM23: People usually choose to eat specialty of a region to start a new business relation.

People usually want to choose something more exotic rather than normal food for this occasion to impress other people.

Male professional and wild meat consumer aged 24:

Int: Did you buy?

WM30: No, no, no! I went for business [...] Vietnamese people, while doing business with their partners, often invite their partners to a very solemn place, and they also want to treat their partners with some specialties which they don't often eat. I think they want to tell their partners that their companies are doing well, and that they want to show their respect and devotion.

Female professional and wild meat consumer aged 33²⁸:

WM27: [My husband] works for a Russian company. (Laughs) I'm not sure he would like to talk about it but I'm sure he buys more wild meat than me!

Int: What at work or for fun?

WM27: No, at work: for work [...] it's just like, you know, a common practice for businessmen to bring their clients out to have meal, some drinks and sometimes they sign at the table [...] if they want to impress their clients or business partners, [...] in most of the cases they always want to bring them to a very expensive, good place with expensive foods, and wild animals is also one of their favourites.

²⁸ Interviewed in English.

6.3.1.3. *Influencing Others*

Wild meat is also used to influence and obtain preferential treatment from those in positions of power; recipients therefore tend to be government officers and managers:

Male skilled worker and wild meat consumer aged 25:

Int: When your uncle eats special dishes, is it just for fun?

WM17: He is a state official going on business to southern Vietnam, so he is invited. So he goes to restaurant for business [...] He goes to inspect the performances by local officials, so he is invited by the local officials. He asks them to help me, so I'm called to go with him.

Int: Why do they eat wild meat instead of other food?

WM17: They think wild meat is rare and precious [...] People consider wild meat dishes something precious to serve distinguished guests.

Businessman and wild meat consumer aged 56:

Int: On what kinds of occasions do people go to eat special dishes?

WM25 Maybe when someone has a successful business deal or job promotion, or when someone wants to invite other people out to ask them for a big favour then people will choose something very special or expensive to invite each other to eat [...] Sometimes people buy it for work, as a form of bribery.

Male professional manages disaster relief in central Vietnamese provinces aged 25:

Int: You said sometimes when you visit the provinces you work with sometimes you have to take an official to a restaurant?

WM28: Usually when I go on a field trip to work with my [business] partners, if they want to show they respect me a lot and want to win me over or influence me or something like that, they take me to a restaurant and order very expensive things, and then it's not easy to refuse.

Rare and precious wild animal products are also used to obtain social leverage meaning that the recipients are again often those with influence:

Female shopkeeper aged 47, describing her husband's past work as a taxidermist:

Int: Who buys the stuffed animals?

WM03: Stuffed animals are displayed in a lot of shops. People buy these to decorate their big houses, buildings or institutions, keeping the animals as ornamental subjects. Some people consider stuffed animals to be special gifts for their bosses or senior officers. These bosses and officers often like stuffed animals more than money [...] I hear my husband's friends saying that the recipients want something natural in their houses. A stuffed animal in their house can be a symbol of good luck [...].

Int: Are they expensive?

WM03: Yes [...]. (Laughing) It is a Vietnamese act [meaning that it is popular in Vietnam]; they want to get a promotion!

Female student aged 21:

CN18: My uncle was given a very big bear, to get the bile.

Interviewer: What does your uncle do?

CN18: I cannot tell you [...] I don't want to say [...] I think it was bribery.