






Exploring Bushmeat Consumption Behaviors Among Phnom Penh citizens

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01. Background

Bushmeat Crisis in Cambodia

Illegal commercial hunting is the greatest immediate threat to wildlife in Cambodia. A significant driver is the escalating domestic demand for bushmeat consumed in towns and cities (Duckworth et al. 2012; Harrison et al. 2016). Homemade wire snares are used extensively for hunting and catching small and medium-sized animals (e.g. deer, wild pigs, porcupines) to feed the bushmeat market, but a wide range of species are killed or maimed indiscriminately and substantial wasted by-catch is generated (Risdianto et al. 2016). The Southern Cardamom National Park is located in Pursat and Koh Kong Provinces and covers over 20,200 km². Between 2010 and 2015, the number of snares removed by law enforcement patrols in the park nearly doubled, to 27,714 (Gray et al. 2017). The cost to hunters for snare replacement is so low that snare removal has largely proved ineffective (Gray et al. 2017). Recently, Fauna & Flora International (FFI) and its partners have seen evidence of Asian elephant calves being inadvertently killed in wire snares set for deer and other smaller species. Loss of iconic elephants and other wildlife species greatly undermines livelihood and income opportunities, deteriorates essential environmental services and destroys natural heritage, representing significant foregone opportunity costs in terms of future development options (e.g. environmental services, tourism and cultural values).

With an increase in disposable incomes in Southeast Asia, many wildlife species are increasingly in demand for consumption as 'strengthening' foods and tonics (Nijman et al. 2012). There are perceived attributes of status conferred by consuming the meat of rare—and therefore expensive—wild species (Drury et al. 2009), making the meat of these species a "luxury" product. This contrasts with the situation in other tropical areas where bushmeat is a crucial source of protein for the rural or urban poor who cannot access more expensive farm-grown meat (van Vliet et al. 2012). In Cambodia, 89% of rural people obtain the recommended human protein intake through the consumption of fish, which is the most widely-consumed source of animal protein (Vilain and Baran, 2016).

Most interventions to combat the wildlife trade in Cambodia have focused on monitoring and law enforcement, along with traditional environmental education and outreach measures. Cambodia's capacity to deter and respond to wildlife crime is currently greatly under-resourced and unsustainable, as it is almost entirely funded by international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). Criminal justice responses to the illegal exploitation and trade in wildlife rarely lead to penalties that fit the crime, if a penalty is pursued at all, so enforcement efforts do not offer an effective deterrent to those involved in the commercial trade. Currently, 90% of investigations of wildlife offenses in Cambodia are successfully undertaken by a team of only 12 officers from the Wildlife Alliance's Wildlife Rapid Rescue Team (UNODC, 2015). Current initiatives targeting cross-border trade fail to address wildlife overexploitation overall, as bushmeat is mostly a local issue with consumption taking place in rural towns and cities (Harrison et al. 2016). Corruption is also a major driver in wildlife crime (UNODC, 2015).

FFI and other conservation organizations are working in Cambodia to strengthen site-based protection, law enforcement and prosecution, and to create incentives for local people to engage in wildlife conservation. However, there is also increasing recognition of the need to deal with the growing demand-driven commercial hunting for wildlife products through consumer-targeted actions. Despite significant demand-driven commercial hunting threats to a range of endangered species, there are currently no actions aiming to reduce the demand for wildlife products in Cambodia. This project aims to help fill this gap and pioneer a strategy designed to address the growing threat of the wildlife trade and strengthen other more traditional interventions to combat wildlife trade in Cambodia.



02. Introduction

Main Goals

In order to help FFI develop an innovative behavior change campaign (BCC) to reduce bushmeat consumption among Phnom Penh citizens, International Development Enterprises (iDE) conducted a discovery research initiative using a human-centered design (HCD) methodology.

The goal of this research was to **identify the main profiles and behaviors of Phnom Penh citizens who consume bushmeat** in order to define a behavior change campaign, one that resonates with the target audience. Ultimately, by reducing consumption we aim to reduce demand for bushmeat and by extension the practice of wildlife snaring in Cambodia.

In order to achieve this goal, we:

1. Identified the psychological and/or demographic profiles of Phnom Penh bushmeat consumers and identified the target audience with which to raise awareness and drive behavior change.
2. Uncovered current behaviors and trends regarding bushmeat consumption among Phnom Penh citizens.
3. Prioritized key behaviors and gained a deeper understanding of how to effectively target them.
4. Synthesized the findings into strategic opportunities to design a behavior change campaign that will drive reduction of bushmeat consumption and, by extension, diminish the practice of snaring in Cambodia.



03. Methodology

Human-Centered Design

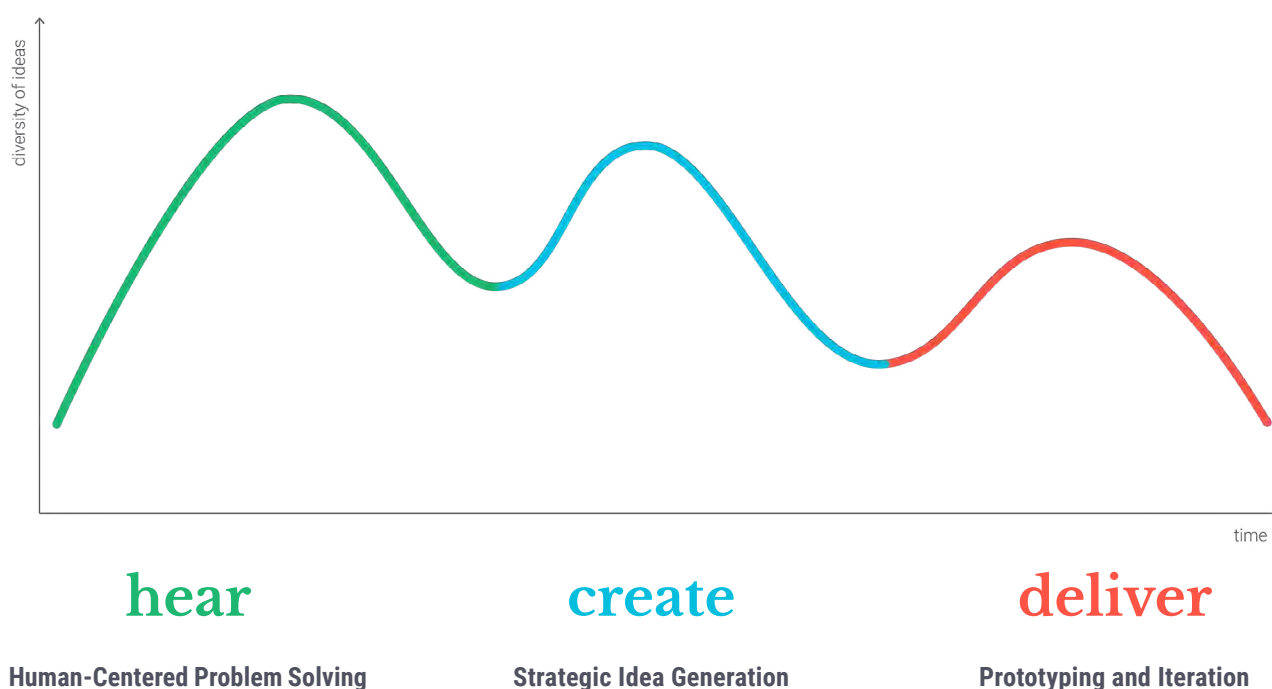
In order to achieve the above-mentioned goal, iDE applied a human-centered design methodology (HCD). HCD is a systematic method for acquiring a deep understanding of individuals, their environment and their routines in order to create innovative solutions.

As can be observed in Graph 1.1, HCD is not a closed or linear process. Each project invariably has its own challenges, and being both iterative and responsive, HCD can be tailored to meet these challenges. Whatever design challenge we face, the starting point is always to listen carefully. The **Hear Phase** is about defining the campaign's strategy based on real human needs, aspirations and motivations. These insights are used to explore and analyze ideas and arrive at a solution that embraces human experience, whilst balancing technical feasibility and economic viability. We call this the **Create Phase**. Finally, in the **Deliver Phase** we consider the entirety of the user experience to shape

how a solution is built and generate a sustainable and impactful product or service. By adopting an iterative approach that puts human behavior at the heart of campaign research, design and delivery, we build an in depth understanding of our target communities and the actions, beliefs and attitudes central to each project.

This report focuses on the first phase of the HCD methodology, the Hear Phase. This phase involves **exploratory research** using ethnographic and anthropological tools to define the scope of the problem and translate this into recommendations for subsequent actionable steps in the form of opportunities or strategic guidelines. The research methodology intentionally expands and narrows throughout this Phase. When it expands, it looks at the information with an open, exploratory and generative lens. When it narrows, a more analytical and evaluative approach is taken. It is a discovery process, which involves constant and nimble reflection on our

GRAPH 1.1: Human-Centered Design Phases



approach, our target profile(s), the questions asked, as well as the guidelines and tools we use. Initially, we work from the position that we know nothing about the topic. We put aside any preconceived assumptions and

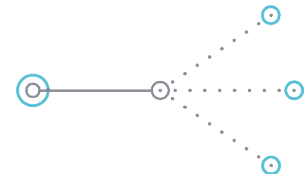
start with a blank slate. The end goal is to uncover what we don't know and gain insight into how to frame the next phase of our research.



hear.



create.



deliver.

Our approach is **ETHNOGRAPHIC**: we aim to understand latent needs in order to gain insights, delving into the "whys" behind behavior.

Our approach is **FLEXIBLE**: we constantly redefine our strategy to take into consideration new information as we move to the next phase.

Our approach is **QUALITATIVE**: we look at existing human needs, preferences and behaviors. Qualitative methods help us connect with the deeper meaning behind the statistics and offer invaluable insight when designing desirable, feasible and viable solutions.

The Research Journey

1. EXPERT VIEW

We started our research by conducting a kick-off meeting with experts in the sector to better understand the challenges and trends around bushmeat consumption.

2. DESK RESEARCH

Following the kick-off meeting, we conducted desk research to gain a broader understanding of the topic.

This step in the research journey enabled us to:

- Review what other people have done;
- Access knowledge easily, at a low-cost and quickly;
- Clarify the previously framed research questions in order to plan the next steps in the research phase and develop different tools;
- Help align the focus of primary research on a larger scale and also help to identify the answers; and
- Get inspired.

3. MULTIPLE FIELDWORK OPERATIONS

During our field research, we used the following tools:

Interviews: Conducted in depth, ethnographic interviews with bushmeat consumers and other key stakeholders to learn about their current situation, behaviors, needs, challenges, desires and aspirations. The interviews were conducted in an environment familiar to the consumers –places where they felt comfortable and where it was possible to observe their behavior.

Active observation: Our insights are also based on what the end users (bushmeat consumers) and other stakeholders (non-consumers, family members, friends and doctors) do not say and do. We captured this information by observing their behaviors and practices.

Rapid interviews: Short interviews (less than 30 minutes) to talk about specific research goals. We conducted these interviews with groups of young Cambodians and other bushmeat consumer profiles.

Field research, Phase 1

During the first phase of our fieldwork, we aimed to better understand bushmeat consumption in Phnom Penh by interviewing individuals from broadly different backgrounds, age groups and belief sets. This included both consumers and non-consumers, such as vegetarians and Buddhists. During these visits, we got a general understanding of their behaviors, the drivers and the biggest barriers to be overcome regarding bushmeat consumption.

Field research, Phase 2

Based on what was learned from the fieldwork, we planned our second field visit. In this phase, we continued in our effort to define the different profiles of bushmeat consumers, and especially tried to understand how different consumers move from one profile to another and increase their frequency of bushmeat consumption. Based upon our finding in Phase 1 of the field research, we shifted our focus to interview individuals with a high socio-economic status, government officials, NGO staff and women.

Field research, Phase 3

During the third and final phase, we covered the gaps and focused on the unanswered questions from the previous analyses. We looked for additional information regarding the consumption journey and what happened with the lowest socio-economic status (low-income) profile and interviewed additional specific interviewees, such as a KTV girl (KTV is an abbreviation for "karaoke television", and KTV bars throughout Cambodia are a popular meeting places for social events), a driver and a soldier.

Analysis and Synthesis

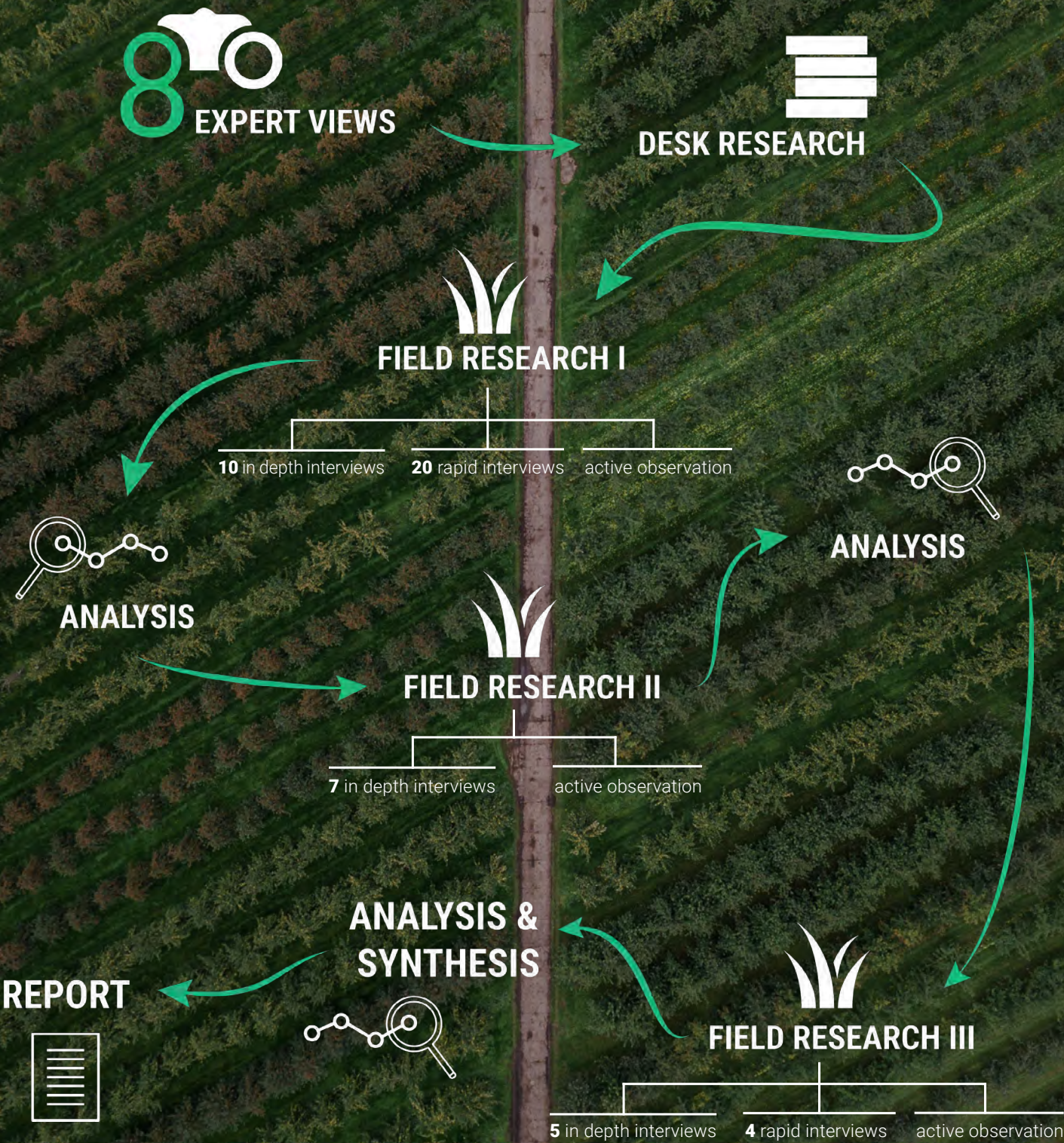
Analysis and synthesis of all of the observations (raw inputs from the field) were performed during and after all field visits were completed. The analysis phase involved extracting interesting observations, stories, quotes and other key points gleaned from the research phase, and sharing these across the team to establish a common foundation of knowledge to build on. The synthesis phase involved identifying interesting insights, patterns, contradictions and themes that were encountered during our observations. This allowed us to take strategic decisions and define opportunities for the coming phases of the creative process.

Target Individuals

Our interviews targeted individuals living in Phnom Penh, as in line with our goal. With the knowledge gained from the kick-off meeting and during the desk research, we identified the following interviewees:

- PP citizens with a high socio-economic status who consume bushmeat in PP
- PP citizens with a low socio-economic status who consume bushmeat in PP
- PP citizens who regularly consume bushmeat in PP
- PP citizens who occasionally consume bushmeat in PP
- PP citizens who consume bushmeat in the provinces
- PP citizens who don't consume bushmeat
- PP citizens who don't consume meat at all (vegetarian/vegan)
- Female PP citizens who consume bushmeat

The Research Journey





04. Key Findings



Type of Bushmeat Consumption in Cambodia

Wild meat or bushmeat is defined as wild animals hunted or harvested in tropical and subtropical countries for food, including mammals, amphibians, insects, reptiles and birds, but excluding fish or aquatic mollusks.

It is important to point out, however, when the word bushmeat is used in this report, it corresponds to what Phnom Penh citizens perceive as bushmeat. This might not fully match the actual definition of bushmeat as described above. It is therefore possible to encounter a person that consumes an animal that is technically considered as bushmeat but he/she does not perceive it that way.

Bushmeat has long served as a principal source of protein intake and a key contributor to the food security of millions of people living in developing countries. More recently, however, growing human populations, technological advancements and the emergence of a booming commercial bushmeat trade have resulted in unprecedented illegal hunting rates and the consequent decline of numerous wildlife populations. In Cambodia bushmeat consumption is not driven by the subsistence needs of rural and/or poor populations but rather to meet the need of recreational consumers in the nation's capital (van Vliet et al. 2012; Vilain and Baran, 2016).

Bushmeat consumption in Cambodia is embedded in the country's culture. The roles of cultural beliefs, social norms and attitudes seem to have largely driven bushmeat consumption and have been passed down from generation to generation. However, very little is

known on the factors that influence consumption and preference for bushmeat.

The following infographic depicts a selection of **wild animals** that are consumed in Cambodia based on the information we gathered during the research phase. We classified the animals into three groups based on the frequency that these species were mentioned by the respondents during the interviews. The species mentioned are what the consumers usually eat and what they have tried. Additionally, since the ultimate goal of the behavior change campaign is to support a **reduction in snaring**, we also highlighted species specifically targeted by this practice.

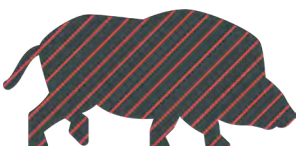
Note: This list is exclusively based on information provided by respondents and therefore focuses on qualitative, not quantitative, research. The list and classification may not be statistically representative of all the species consumed by people in Cambodia.

Wild Animals Consumed by Phnom Penh Citizens

- Wild animals mentioned by almost all respondents
- Wild animals mentioned by half of respondents
- Wild animals mentioned one to three times
- Wild animals targeted by snaring



ល្ងូស
Red Muntjac



ជ្រូកព្រៃ
Wild Pig



ពស់
Snake



អណ្តើក
Turtle



កន្ទាយ
Soft-Shell Turtle



ក្ដាន់
Hog Deer



ពស់វែក
Cobra



ទន្សាយ
Siamese Hare



លលក
Dove



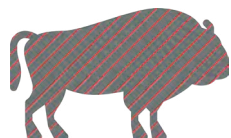
ក្រពើ
Crocodile



ត្រកូត
Water Monitor



ប្រឡៃ
Bat



ខ្នង
Gaur



ត្នាបា
Sunda Colugo



ខ្លាឃ្មុំតូច
Sun Bear



ប្រើស
Sambar



ខ្លា
Tiger



ត្នាបា
Leopard Cat



ស្វា
Macaque



ប៉េងកូលីន
Pangolin



សំពោច
Civet



ដំរី
Asian Elephant



ក្អាន់ញែង
Mousedeer



ប្រម៉ា
East Asian Porcupine



Legal Responsibility as a Consumer

Criminal justice responses to the illegal exploitation and trade in wildlife rarely lead to penalties that fit the crime, if a penalty is pursued at all. Consequently, enforcement efforts do not offer an effective deterrent to those involved in the commercial bushmeat trade. Weak law enforcement is a well-known situation among Cambodians and generates a feeling that the law is powerless. Consumers don't feel they have any legal responsibility and assume that they are not liable to any illegal action. They don't consider themselves as part of the bushmeat trade network and are unaware of the impact of their actions. Furthermore, they believe that only hunters, dealers and restaurants have to answer before the law and face legal action.

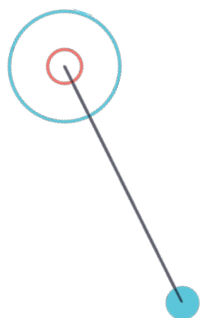
**"I am just a consumer. I have never seen anyone charged
because of eating bushmeat."**







Note: The provinces listed have been identified from conducting interviews. This does not exclude additional provinces from being sources of bushmeat consumption.



Bushmeat Consumption Behavior of Phnom Penh Citizens

In general, the majority of our interviewees agreed that there has been a reduction in bushmeat consumption in recent years.

"I think the consumption is decreasing. I only eat it about three times a year now."

The reduction of bushmeat consumption can be attributed to several overlapping factors: decline of numerous wildlife populations, increased price, lack of bushmeat access, and law enforcement in Phnom Penh (restaurants, shops and the network).

"I think wild animals are scarce now. Ten years ago, you could easily eat different kinds of bushmeat around the city and it was much cheaper."

We were able to identify general behavior patterns of Phnom Penh bushmeat consumers in rural areas (in the provinces) compared with behavior patterns in the capital. Bushmeat is mainly consumed in the provinces but is also available, accessible and consumed in Phnom Penh. In the following sections, we will discuss the different behaviors associated with bushmeat consumption in the provinces and subsequently in Phnom Penh.

IN THE PROVINCES

The consumption of bushmeat in the provinces is pervasive, with most interviewees reporting that they eat bushmeat, or were introduced to eating bushmeat, when visiting provincial areas. We identified three ways in which Phnom Penh citizens access bushmeat in the provinces:

At a roadside restaurant on their way to the provinces

Consumers stop at known roadside restaurants with their family or colleagues to eat bushmeat or to buy fresh bushmeat to consume later at home. Restau-

rants play an important role by introducing, promoting and encouraging bushmeat consumption.

“We usually stop at a roadside restaurant on our way to Sihanoukville and my father orders wild pig and deer.”

“I stopped at a roadside restaurant and the waitress offered us bushmeat; it was also written in the menu.”

At provincial restaurants

We found that bushmeat is readily available and accessible in the provinces and serving it at restaurants is a common practice. Going to restaurants is especially frequent when people go on working trips (fieldwork), but it is also quite common for people when visiting their relatives in rural areas. Respondents stated that restaurants in the provinces offer cheaper and better-quality bushmeat compared to Phnom Penh.

“I work as a driver and many customers ask me to take them to a bushmeat restaurant when they are on working missions in the provinces.”

“My colleague takes me out to eat bushmeat every time we go out of the city.”

At a relative's house

Consuming specific types of bushmeat at a relative's house is a common practice for some families when they go out of the city. Bushmeat seems to be very accessible, even for cooking at home.

“Vendors sell wild pig meat by the roadside near my uncle's house. He usually buys some and cooks it at home.”

IN PHNOM PENH

Bushmeat consumption is perceived differently in the city; it seems to be less common and not as readily available. There is a general perception that bushmeat in Phnom Penh is difficult to find and quite expensive. We identified three ways in which bushmeat consumers access bushmeat in the capital:

Buying bushmeat in the provinces and bringing it back to the city

We found that some Phnom Penh consumers not only consume bushmeat in the provinces, but also buy it at provincial shops and restaurants to bring back to the city.

Consumers that transport bushmeat back to the city demonstrated awareness of the law. They feel that hunters and dealers are responsible for bushmeat consumption and therefore are the ones targeted by the police. However, some

respondents we interviewed mentioned they afraid of being stopped by police officers.

“I never carry more than five kilograms to show that I am not a dealer. Once the police stopped me and a friend with ten kilograms of bushmeat, five kilograms for me and the other five for my friend. The policeman asked me, “What is this?” I told him “It’s bushmeat because I really like it, officer.” He didn’t do anything to us. My friend and I laughed a lot because he was very uneasy.”

Buying bushmeat from their network in the provinces and having it brought to the city by taxi

An interwoven network of key actors in the provinces allows consumers in the city to have access to affordable bushmeat. We identified two main actors who provide bushmeat:

Relatives: Some bushmeat consumers in Phnom Penh have relatives living in the provinces who send bushmeat to them, usually by taxi or transported by friends or relatives.

Dealers: Some people with a broad network get in touch with a dealer. The consumers are unaware of what type of bushmeat is available and are informed during the call. Consumers can also put in advance orders. There are code words used for different types of bushmeat in order not to raise any suspicion during the call. After the order is placed, the dealer sends the bushmeat by taxi. Bushmeat never takes more than two days to arrive to Phnom Penh.

“My friend knows a middle man in the province. He orders the meat and they send it to him by taxi.”

“When I call the dealer, I use different words for the bushmeat, for example turtle is tank.”

Consuming bushmeat at restaurants

In Phnom Penh, bushmeat can be accessed only at some restaurants, but their range varies greatly from the most exclusive restaurants to relatively inexpensive beer gardens.

Due to increased law enforcement in the capital, bushmeat consumption is perceived as a secret act. Restaurants are discreet and divulgation of exact locations is made by word of mouth; many people are unaware of where to consume bushmeat and assume that its consumption is expensive.



Secret Consumption

Our research showed that due to increased law enforcement in the capital over the past few years, bushmeat consumption is not only less common, but also not well perceived. Bushmeat consumption in the provinces on the other hand doesn't have any negative connotation.

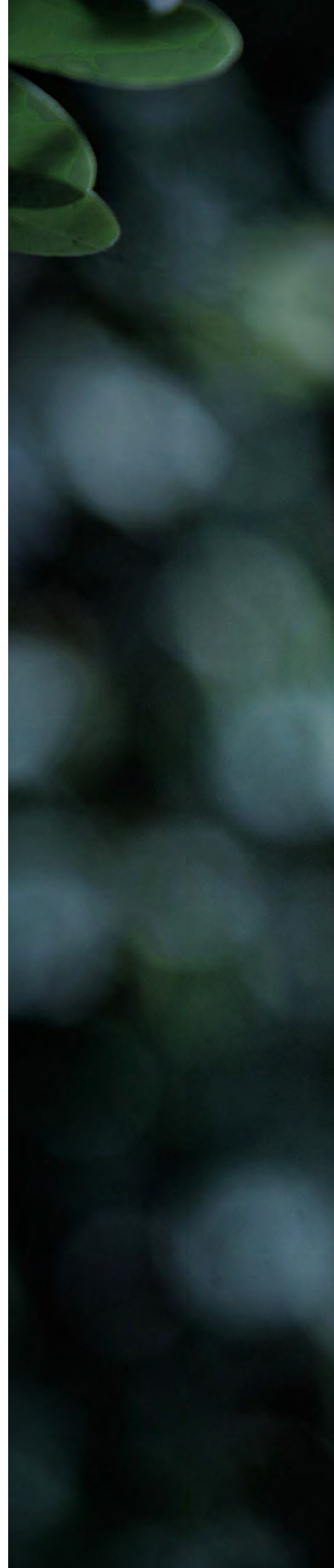
Respondents reported that many restaurants in Phnom Penh have had to stop offering bushmeat. Additionally, news reports about hunters and dealers being jailed have led to bushmeat consumption becoming a hidden practice in the city.

Bushmeat consumption in the capital is a practice shared only within a small circle of relatives, friends and colleagues. Consumers need to feel completely certain that their behavior is going to be well perceived in their social circle. They can therefore only talk about it and brag about it with a very select group of people.

Consumers fear prosecution; additionally, they are wary about potential interactions with law enforcement officers. Although the majority of respondents claimed that they were not afraid of legal repercussions, their behavior demonstrates the opposite. During the interviews, respondents were unwilling to share the names of restaurants or even general details of high frequency bushmeat consumers, such as their profession and income range. That feeling of distrust mainly results from the existing relationship between illegal bushmeat consumption and the involvement of government officials, influential high-income individuals and police officers.

Restaurants in Phnom Penh normally have a hidden menu to hand out to trusted and frequent consumers. If no hidden menu is available, either the wait staff or the owner of the restaurant will introduce the bushmeat offering to the client.

"In Phnom Penh, it is difficult to find restaurants that serve bushmeat. You need to build trust; otherwise, they think you are spying on them."









Aspirational Food and the Importance of a Network

ASPIRATIONAL FOOD

Even though bushmeat is seen as a special food among bushmeat consumers, it is not considered aspirational among most Phnom Penh citizens. On the contrary, Australian or American beef, Japanese seafood and farmed turtles are seen as aspirational foods.

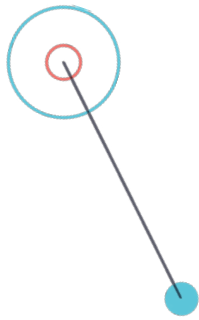
"I like Australian beef more than bushmeat. It's tender and very delicious."

"I think seafood might be a good alternative to bushmeat. I have heard that Japanese seafood is extremely good."

NETWORK

In order to access bushmeat in the capital, building a network is crucial. Establishing and utilizing a network of individuals is key to the consumption patterns of regular consumers, and is often connected with higher socio-economic status. Additionally, individuals with robust networks are conferred a higher social standing as a result of this.

The network can be made up of dealers located in the provinces, friends that travel to the provinces frequently and influential people, such as businessmen, government officials, police officers or restaurant owners.



The Concept of Social Gatherings

Our findings revealed that bushmeat consumption in Phnom Penh is mainly a social act, which we call the **gathering**, and is often referred to by consumers as “bushmeat time.”

Gatherings are usually small groups of friends (from four to six people) who meet from time to time to enjoy bushmeat. Such gatherings usually involve men. Women and children are generally excluded; in some cases, they may be on hand for the social act but are generally excluded from eating bushmeat.

“Sometimes we go out with our families; the men sit together to eat bushmeat while the women and children sit at another table. Eating bushmeat is a man’s thing.”

Even though bushmeat consumption with family members is common and viewed as a legitimate practice in the provinces, in Phnom Penh, bushmeat consumption acquires a different dimension that is closely related to having fun and drinking alcohol with friends, and involves a sense of illegality and secrecy.

We identified two main factors that define such a gathering: social interaction with close friends along with the actual act of eating wild meat. Our research shows that both factors are equally important.

Some individuals also reported that their gatherings always involve alcohol consumption but not always a party or interaction with girls (notably at KTV bars).

We also found that some gatherings allow Phnom Penh citizens of low socio-economic status to access bushmeat either by sharing expenses with their peers or by being invited by a friend with connections. Additionally, we found that gatherings can either be held at a private home or at a restaurant. As already mentioned earlier,

consumers bring bushmeat from the province or order it in from a contact in their network. The gathering is the act that follows.

When analyzing the information shared about the gatherings, we identified three different scenarios:

HOME GATHERINGS

When gatherings take place in a private home, it is preferable that the rest of the family is not around; the gatherings are confined solely to small groups of friends.

We also noted that cooking is an essential part of the process and is something that is enjoyed by all members of the group. Additionally, skills on methods to cook different kinds of wild meat are highlighted.

“No, I never eat bushmeat with my family. I only eat bushmeat at home with my friends.”

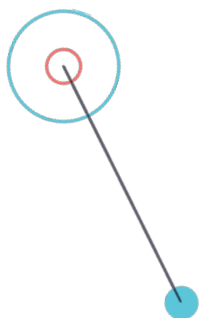
RESTAURANT GATHERINGS WITH OWN BUSHMEAT

Another pattern that emerged, involved groups of close friends that bought bushmeat and took it to eat it at specific restaurants in Phnom Penh. The restaurants prepared and cooked the bushmeat for them. Usually, one of the group members is a regular customer or knows the restaurant owner; a previously established relationship with the restaurant is a prerequisite.

RESTAURANT GATHERINGS

Social gatherings with a group of close friends can also take place at restaurants where illegal bushmeat is sold. The restaurant will either have a “secret menu” or the owner or wait staff will often tell the group what kind of bushmeat is available.





Introduction to Bushmeat Consumer Profiles

Based on our research, three main groups have been identified based on the bushmeat consumption frequency and the number of Phnom Penh citizens. A graphical representation is shown in Graph 1.2.

NON-CONSUMERS

The first group is made up of non-bushmeat consumers. These individuals are either vegan, vegetarian or people who simply don't consume bushmeat. We interviewed subjects in the research phase as a way to better understand what motivates Cambodians not to eat bushmeat.

OCCASIONAL CONSUMERS

We identified the second group as occasional bushmeat consumers. The consumption frequency in this group ranges from once in a lifetime to a few times a year, and their consumption takes place **exclusively in the provinces**.

Occasional consumers are **not aware of the bushmeat scene in Phnom Penh**. They generally have no idea what the consumption behavior is like in the city and where to find a restaurant to eat bushmeat.

We have identified two main types of consumers in the occasional bushmeat consumption category: non-intentional consumers and intentional consumers.

Price Perception

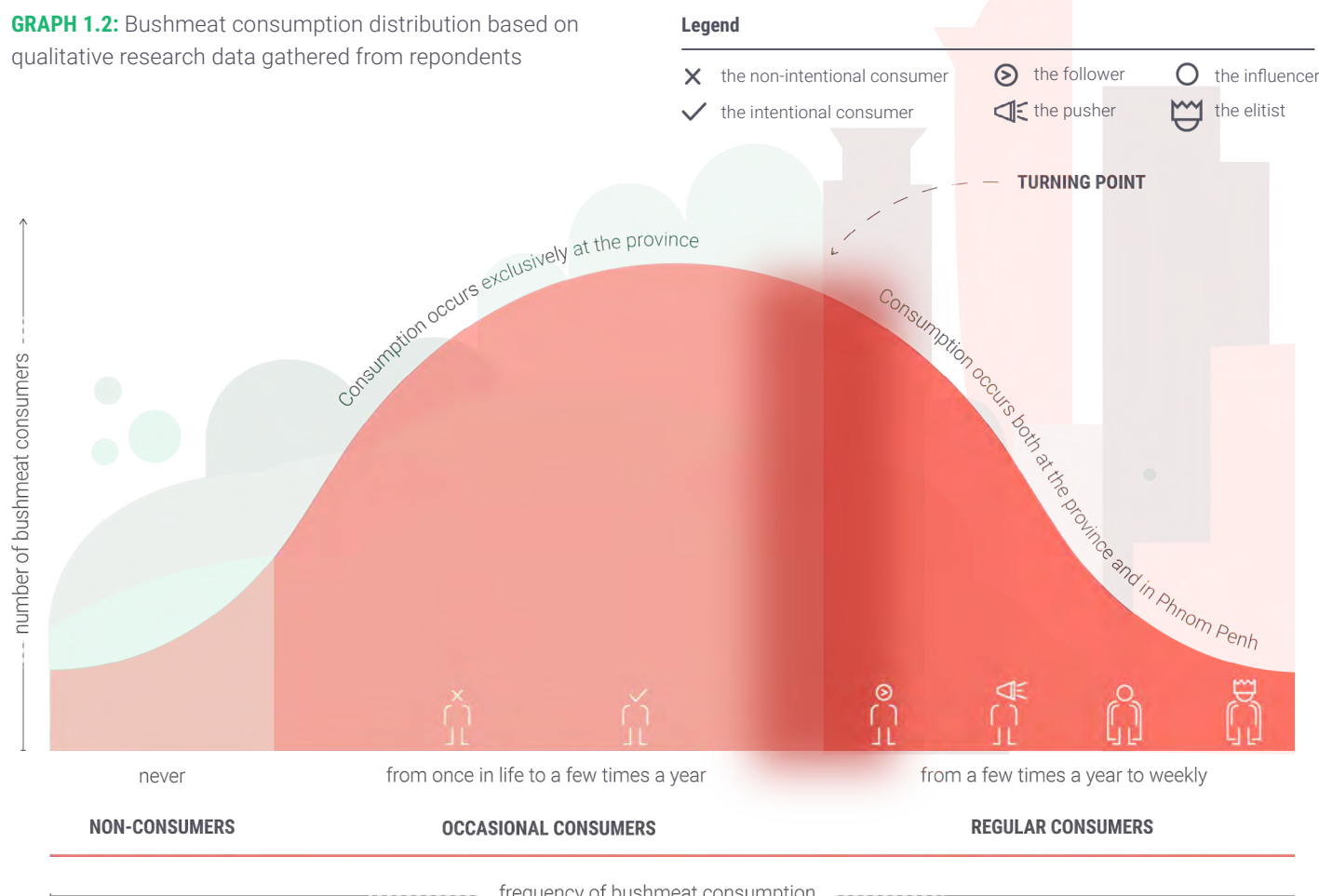
Respondents in this group perceived the price of bushmeat in the province as affordable. They stated that the cost of bushmeat is only slightly higher compared to common meats and are willing to pay the price on special occasions.

"I would say the price of wild pig is just a dollar higher than the price of beef. It's not really expensive."

Perception of the price in Phnom Penh, however, differed greatly. Bushmeat consumption in the capital is perceived as expensive, not affordable for occasional consumers.

"In Phnom Penh, bushmeat is very expensive; only rich people eat it and I don't know where to find it. I just know some places in my province."

GRAPH 1.2: Bushmeat consumption distribution based on qualitative research data gathered from respondents



Perception of Bushmeat Scarcity

Respondents in this group perceived bushmeat as readily available and accessible, and didn't feel there was any bushmeat scarcity in the provinces.

"There is no problem with getting wild pig or deer meat; there are a lot of those animals in Cambodia. We can eat such meat anywhere in the provinces."

REGULAR CONSUMERS

The third group is referred to as regular bushmeat consumers. Their consumption frequency ranges from more than a few times a year to weekly, **taking place both in the provinces and in Phnom Penh**. Individuals in the regular consumer group vary greatly in socio-economic status. When they consume bushmeat in Phnom Penh, their observed behavior is that of the social gatherings

described earlier in the "social gathering" section. In this group, we identified four main profiles: the follower, the pusher, the influencer and the elitist.

Price perception

For regular consumers, the price perception of bushmeat in the provinces is similar to occasional consumers: it is seen as relatively inexpensive. This contrasts with the price perception of bushmeat in Phnom Penh, where occasional consumers reported bushmeat to be more expensive than in the provinces. However, unlike occasional consumers, the regular consumers mentioned that there are ways to access affordable bushmeat in Phnom Penh as well. Price perception changes depending on the respondent's socio-economic status, for example, regular consumers with a higher socio-economic status had access to scarce and therefore more expensive types of bushmeat, how-

ever did not necessarily perceive these rarer meats as being expensive. For regular consumers with a lower socio-economic status, scarce types of bushmeat are generally perceived as a luxury only available to a small segment of the population.

“I used to eat turtle in Phnom Penh. It cost about \$40 a turtle—very expensive.”

“One kilogram of cobra costs about \$50; it’s not expensive.”

Perception of Bushmeat Scarcity

Regular consumers seem to be more aware of bushmeat scarcity compared to occasional consumers. Most respondents mentioned that many species were readily accessible in the past, unlike the present.

“Before, I used to eat elephant meat, but now it’s impossible.”

Both regular and occasional consumers expressed concerns about losing certain species that have been symbolic of the country and culture.

Type of Bushmeat Consumption by Profile Group

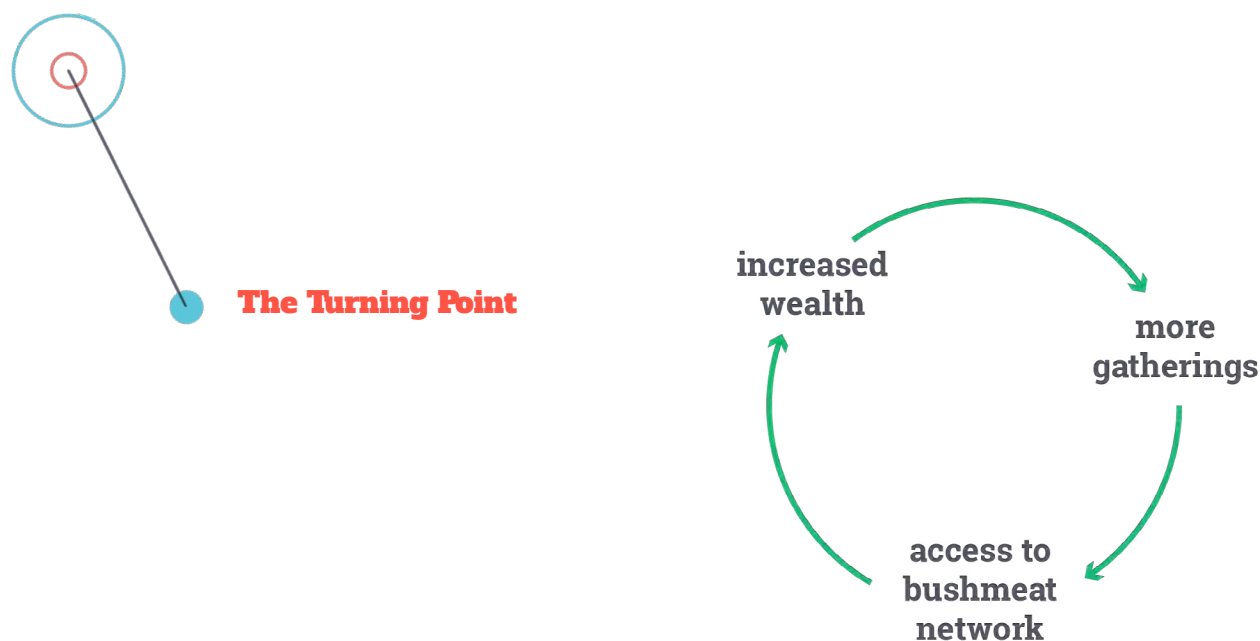
- Animals mentioned by almost all respondents
- Animals mentioned by half of respondents
- Animals mentioned one to three times

WILD ANIMALS EATEN BY OCCASIONAL CONSUMERS



WILD ANIMALS EATEN BY REGULAR CONSUMERS





We observed that there is a **turning point** where occasional consumers turn into regular consumers. This has been depicted as the blurry area in Graph 1.2. We identified three main factors that trigger occasional consumers to increase their consumption and turn into regular consumers: **increased wealth, increased gatherings and access to a so-called “bushmeat network.”**

For example, the increase in the frequency of work related travel increases the opportunity for bushmeat consumption in the provinces. When consumption in the provinces increases considerably due to work, occasional consumers are more likely to turn into regular consumers. The increase in consumption in the provinces with colleagues brings them closer to consumption circles in Phnom Penh, boosting the three main turning point factors: acquisition of wealth (mostly through external sources), increase in social gatherings and access to the bushmeat network.

“I started eating bushmeat in Phnom Penh three years ago after having spent a month in Koh Kong because of work, when I ate bushmeat every day.”

These three factors are intimately linked to one another and act as catalyzers for bushmeat consumption. Increased wealth (which can be acquired on both an individual level through increased income, as well as on a group level through friends with a high socio-economic status) leads to an increase in getting together. We found a clear link showing that individuals who either have a high socio-economic status or are close to people with such a status are more likely to attend social gatherings, and subsequently have a greater chance of being included in the secret and exclusive network of bushmeat consumers in the capital.

It is important to point out that, at the turning point, the consumption frequency of occasional consumers and regular consumers may overlap. At the turning point, a shift in consumption can happen in both directions: an occasional consumer can turn into a regular consumer and vice versa, thereby leading to either an increase or decrease in bushmeat consumption.



Triggers

We identified triggers that prompt individuals consume bushmeat for the first time. Additionally, we defined triggers as initiators of new types of bushmeat consumption. Triggers can initiate consumption at any stage of the bushmeat consumption journey and are therefore applicable to both occasional and regular consumers.

1. Out of curiosity: “I want to know what it tastes like.”

We found that most respondents started trying a new type bushmeat out of curiosity.

“In the beginning, I just wanted to try bushmeat because I’d never tasted it before.”

2. To break the routine: “I want to eat something totally new.”

Another driver for bushmeat consumption is the perceived need to break from routine, that is to eat something different or special in order to have a new experience.

This trigger is very closely related to taste. Even though many respondents stated that the taste of bushmeat isn’t necessarily something that stands out, others described it as delicious. Further questioning revealed that for these consumers the word “delicious” means “different taste”. They expressed an underlying desire to try something aside from the common types of meat like pork, chicken, fish or beef or to try other aspirational foods like Australian beef, American beef or Japanese seafood.

“It’s different from what I eat everyday—fish and pork.”

“The meat is delicious because it is not common.”

3. Due to social pressure (not to lose face): “I’ve got to tell others that I tried it.”

We found that bushmeat is consumed in large part as a cultural legacy, because it is a delicacy or sign of affluence, especially within a close group of male friends. Such behavior may be induced by social pressure. Culture is a strong force in shaping human behaviors and preferences. Men feel that they have to consume different types of bushmeat if they do not want to be left out of conversations about the topic or to avoid being criticized because they haven’t tried it.

“When people talk about bushmeat, I can chip in.”

Note: the above-mentioned triggers become more prominent as the level of bushmeat consumption increases. This indicates that these drivers are intensified for regular consumers compared to occasional consumers.



Drivers

We also identified elements that contribute to an increase in overall bushmeat consumption among Phnom Penh citizens. We call these “drivers.” **Rather than initiating consumption behavior, drivers contribute to an increase in existing consumption behaviors.** There are drivers that are specific to occasional consumers, others specific to regular consumers, and drivers that are only relevant to a specific profile, which we will discuss separately.

Drivers can contribute to an increase in consumption for any of the consumer profiles and at any stage of the bushmeat consumption journey.

SPECIFIC DRIVERS APPLICABLE ONLY TO OCCASIONAL CONSUMERS

Lack of Knowledge

1. We found that individuals are often not aware that the consumption of wild animals leads to the killing or maiming of a wide range of endangered species. Cambodians are highly unaware of the impact they can have as consumers, leading to the loss of endangered species. They furthermore are unaware of how their behavior contributes to an illegal practice. They don’t see any reason to stop eating.

“I don’t know why I should stop eating bushmeat. Can you give me some reasons?”

There is confusion about which species are farm-raised and which species are hunted in the wild, in particular with regards to turtles, wild pigs and crocodiles.

“I heard that the government allows the farming of wild pigs.”

“I eat wild pig and those animals are everywhere. They can be farmed.”

2. Cognitive Dissonance

Consumers try to legitimize their consumption of bushmeat by making excuses, making excuses, that is they display cognitive dissonance. In order to continue eating bushmeat, or even increase their consumption of it, consumers make excuses to justify their actions. We identified the following:

- The “it’s just a few times” argument. Low frequency consumption is often given as an excuse.

“I don’t eat it everyday, just a few times a year out in the province.”

- The “it’s already dead and cooked” idea. Since the consumer is not the one killing the animals, he doesn’t feel it is his/her responsibility.

“If I don’t eat the meat, other people will, since the animals are already killed and the meat is cooked.”


- Consumption is not illegal.

“I am not doing anything wrong. I am just a consumer. I’ve never seen anyone charged for eating bushmeat.”

- Using a lack of knowledge as an excuse for bushmeat consumption

“I don’t really know why we should stop eating bushmeat. Give us a list of reasons to stop eating it.”

“I see a lot of vendors selling wild pig and deer meat in the provinces. I don’t think the animals are scarce.”



SPECIFIC DRIVERS APPLICABLE ONLY TO REGULAR CONSUMERS

Aside from the two drivers mentioned for occasional bushmeat consumers, we identified three additional drivers that apply only to regular consumers who eat in Phnom Penh.

1. Attending a Social Gathering: “It’s bushmeat time.”

One of the main drivers for regular consumers in Phnom Penh is being present at a social gathering. A group of close friends meets to have fun and enjoy bushmeat at the same time.

“I had a small gathering with my friends and we ate bushmeat together with some drinks. We just wanted to have fun.”

2. Acquiring status: “I’m familiar with bushmeat.”

Regular consumers feel a strong need to demonstrate that they know about the topic in order to be more accepted and admired by their peers. It’s all about status.

“You’re better than others if you’ve experienced eating different kinds of meat.”

3. Forming part of a secret practice: “It’s a man’s thing.”

The secret and illegal aspect of bushmeat consumption in Phnom Penh makes it attractive to regular consumers. The feeling of getting away with something illegal and the need to keep it a secret make consumers feel more powerful. It creates an exclusive and exciting practice that allows them to be able to boast.

“I prefer not to tell you the names of the restaurants, not many people know.”



Bushmeat Consumer Profiles

Based on our findings, we identified six key profiles that explain the different patterns of behavior that emerged from our research. The non-intentional and the intentional consumer fall into the occasional consumer category. The follower, pusher, influencer and elitist fall into the regular consumer category. In the following section, we will dig deeper into each individual profile, shedding light on their characteristics and consumption behavior.

OCCASIONAL CONSUMERS

the non-intentional consumer



the intentional consumer

REGULAR CONSUMERS

the follower



the pusher

the influencer

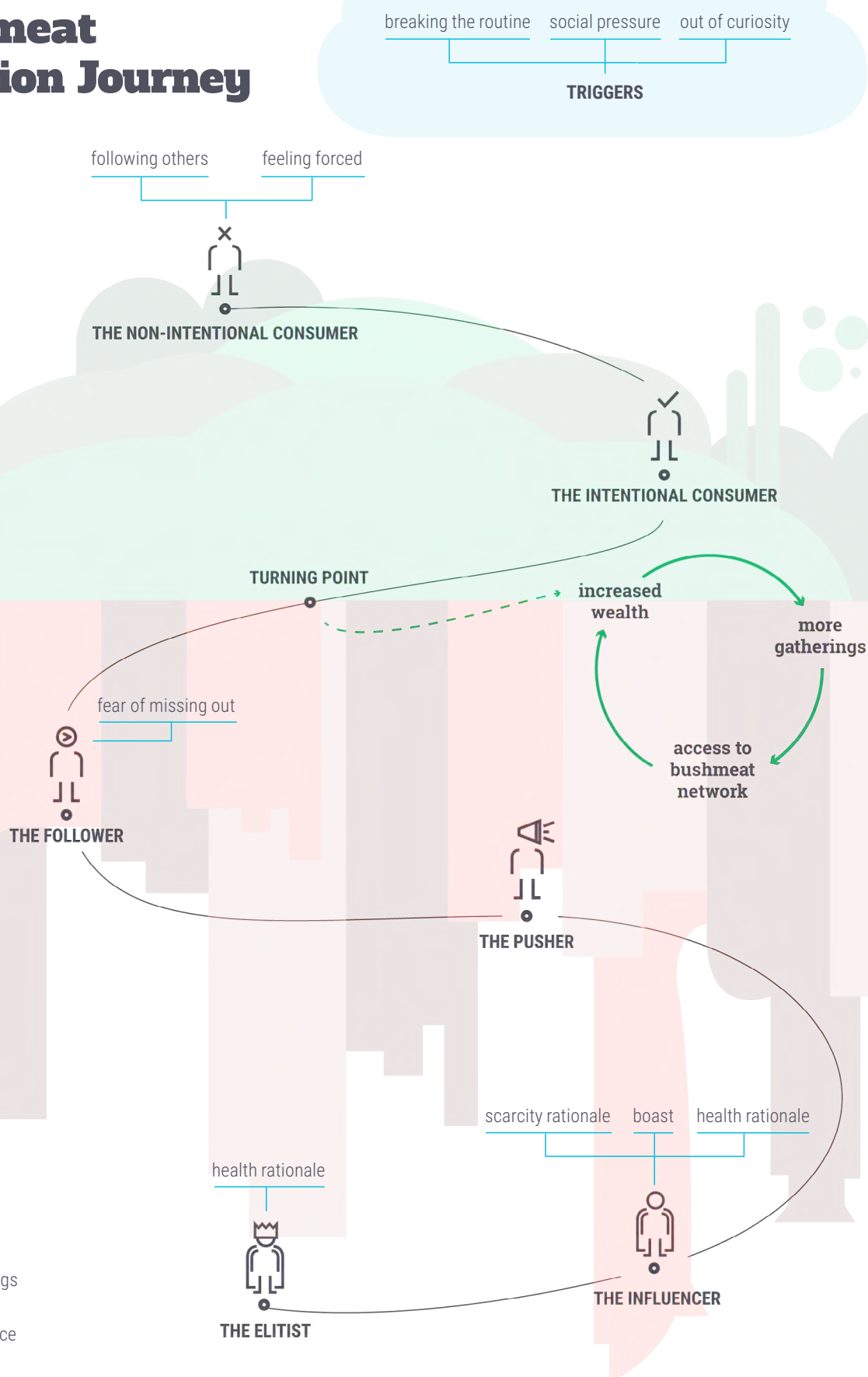


the elitist

The Bushmeat Consumption Journey

DRIVERS SPECIFIC TO OCCASIONAL CONSUMERS

- lack of knowledge
- cognitive dissonance



DRIVERS SPECIFIC TO REGULAR CONSUMERS

- attending social gatherings
- acquiring status
- be part of a secret practice

Profile 01



The non-intentional consumer

[REDACTED], Female, 35

Education: Completed primary school

Occupation: Vendor at a grocery store

CHARACTERISTICS

Location: Phnom Penh

Origin: Koh Kong

Marital status: Married, two children

Income: Low-medium

The non-intentional consumer is an occasional bushmeat consumer that has no pre-intention or willingness to eat bushmeat and will never have the motivation to order bushmeat. This profile has the highest number of female respondents. All other profiles are comprised exclusively of male respondents. It is a profile with a wide range of consumption frequency, ranging from once in a lifetime to a few times a year. Consumption takes place exclusively in the provinces. The non-intentional consumer tends to be more empathetic towards animals, especially those with a perceived human likeness.

"I don't eat the meat of some animals because they look like us."

The non-intentional consumer can either continue to have no intention even after having consumed bushmeat, or shift and become an intentional consumer.

In addition to the main **TRIGGERS** that initiate bushmeat consumption (with **'in response to social pressure'** especially standing out), and the specific **DRIVERS** applicable to occasional consumers (lack of knowledge and cognitive dissonance), two other drivers specific to this profile have been identified:

1. Follow others, "I eat because of others."

The non-intentional consumer follows his peers who order bushmeat because they have no strong arguments to be opposed to eating it.

"I eat bushmeat to be like the others."

2. Feeling forced, "I don't have any other option."

The non-intentional consumer often feels forced as there are no alternatives to bushmeat available or they feel social pressure.

"I don't have choice. I ate with my family or colleagues out in the province because there was no other food option."





Women

We observed that women can be found within the non-intentional consumer category. We found some features that make them unlike male consumers in the same group.

The biggest negative influence on women that triggers bushmeat consumption is family, especially their husbands. However, we observed that there were a number of reasons women refused to eat, or stopped eating, bushmeat:

- Women are usually afraid of consuming bushmeat due to uncertainty and for food safety reasons.

"I feel disgusted, so I don't eat bushmeat. I don't know what the animals feed on in the forest. I might get a disease from it."

- Women stated that the physical appearance of their skin is very important to them and that they are concerned about skin allergies.

"I don't like eating bushmeat; it can cause an allergic reaction on my skin."

- Women generally don't like the taste of bushmeat.

"I don't really like the taste; it's tough and doesn't have a good flavor."

- Women feel afraid of consuming bushmeat because they fear wild animals.

"I don't like bushmeat. I'm afraid of eating wild pig, bat or lizard meat... they scare me."

- Cambodian society perceives women as the fragile and vulnerable gender. It is believed, especially by men, that women aren't capable of doing many things men do. This includes eating bushmeat and women are therefore kept from consuming this kind of meat.

"This meat is very difficult for me to digest."

"Bushmeat is a man's thing."

Profile

02



The intentional consumer

[REDACTED], Male, 40

Education: Hasn't completed primary school

Occupation: Hotel maintenance, private driver

CHARACTERISTICS

Location: Phnom Penh

Origin: Preah Vihear

Marital status: Married, two children

Income: Low

The intentional consumer eats bushmeat deliberately and willingly, generally a few times a year and exclusively when traveling out in the provinces. Additionally, the intentional consumer has a major negative impact on his family, friends and coworkers of the non-intentional profile, as he is the one encouraging them to eat bushmeat.

"Every time we go to Koh Kong, my father stops at the same restaurant and orders bushmeat."

Breaking the routine is a **TRIGGER** that especially stands out for intentional consumers. Since they have a clear intention to consume bushmeat, visiting the provinces presents an opportunity to break the routine and try something different

Profile 03



The follower

, Male, 42

Education: Secondary school, training at a nonprofit

Occupation: Provincial coordinator at an NGO in Phnom Penh

CHARACTERISTICS

Location: Phnom Penh

Origin: Kampong Cham

Marital status: Single

Income: Low-medium

The follower's motivations to consume bushmeat (both in Phnom Penh and in the provinces) is to imitate close friends or coworkers and to maintain a sense of belonging to the group. His consumption frequency depends on the consumption frequency of his peers. We highlight that the follower enjoys consuming bushmeat; he is fond of trying new things and, unlike the non-intentional consumer, he doesn't feel coerced to do so.

In addition to the main **TRIGGERS** that initiate bushmeat consumption, and the specific **DRIVERS** applicable to regular consumers, one other driver specific to this profile has been identified:

1. FOMO, "fear of missing out."

The follower consumes bushmeat to be fully integrated within the group and not to be left out. It's similar to the social pressure driver but taken to the extreme.

"If I don't eat with my friends, I will be cut off from them."

Profile

04



The pusher

[REDACTED], Male, 37

Education: Degree in agronomy

Occupation: Provincial coordinator at an NGO in Phnom Penh

CHARACTERISTICS

Location: Phnom Penh

Origin: Takeo

Marital status: Married, one child

Income: Low-medium

The pusher is a male with a clear intention to consume bushmeat. He will try his best to push for a gathering and arrange for subsequent bushmeat consumption. The consumption frequency ranges greatly, from more than few times a year to monthly, combining consumption in the provinces and in Phnom Penh. The pusher has different ways to access bushmeat in Phnom Penh and in the province:

- He has an “influencer” friend (see subsequent profile description).
- In the absence of a high-income influencer, the pusher will join a bigger group of friends to share expenses, buy meat from the province or go to affordable restaurants in Phnom Penh.
- He extends his network. He will either look for a friend that has access to a broader bushmeat network or look for a dealer, a relative or a friend to send bushmeat from the province.
- He knows affordable bushmeat restaurants in Phnom Penh.

“I don’t really have much money to eat bushmeat in Phnom Penh. So I asked my father to send me bushmeat every month from the province.”

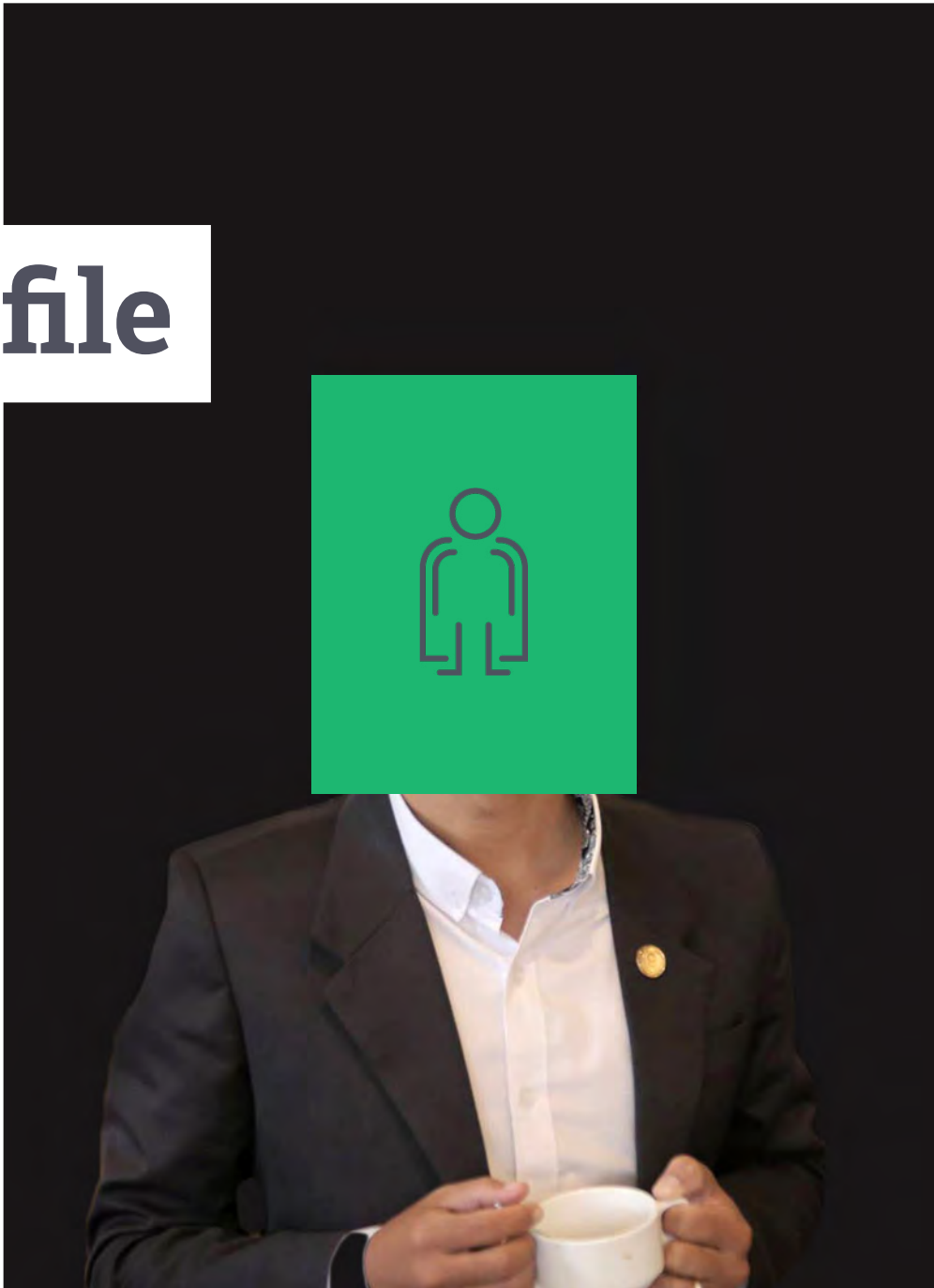
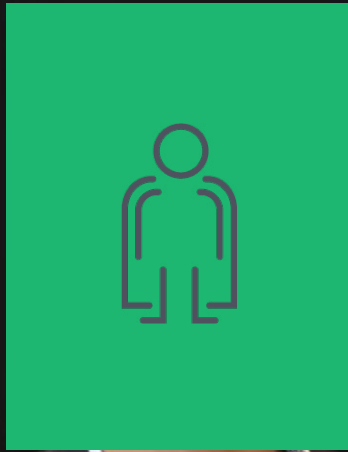
“My friend who works in the province buys it and invites us to eat.”

The **TRIGGERS** for the pusher profile are consistent with the other profiles. However, a particular **DRIVER** for the pusher profile is ‘attending social gatherings’, with this profile actively pursuing situations to meet, drink and eat bushmeat with his social circle.

“One of my friends is always the one that proposes eating bushmeat; he’s the one who calls the dealer. He really likes bushmeat.”

Profile

05



The influencer

[REDACTED], Male, 35

Education: Degree in business development and MBA
Occupation: Program coordinator at Ministry of Agriculture

CHARACTERISTICS

Location: Phnom Penh

Origin: Phnom Penh

Marital status: Married, two children

Income: High

The influencer is a male with a high socio-economic status. His bushmeat consumption frequency is around once a month but could be more. The type of bushmeat consumed is wider in range, as he is able to access rare animals due to his high income and high status social network. The main trait of this profile is the fact that the person acts as the influencer by introducing and promoting bushmeat consumption with his close peers.

Most respondents interviewed in this profile stated that they were either government officials or police officers. They are seen by many Cambodians as the powerful segment of the population, of high socio-economic status, generally portrayed in a negative light by other respondents.

"The main consumers in Phnom Penh are people from the government and the police. They have the money and the power to do what they want."

A solid network of other high-ranking individuals is also an extremely important factor that make the influencer the leader among his group of friends. The network mainly consists of several actors: government officials and law enforcers who can aid the influencer in evading the law; dealers who provide the influencer access to bushmeat; restaurant owners in Phnom Penh where the influencer has access to a special menu or can bring his own meat; and other high-status, influential friends.

"One of my friends is a high-ranking official in the government; we're not afraid of the law."

"People send me bushmeat from the province about twice a month."

Another, slightly less commonly observed behavior of the influencer is that he goes to eat at restaurants in Phnom Penh by himself from time to time, sometimes also trying to convince another person to come along.

Our findings suggest that the main positive stakeholder for the influencer profile are their own children. Respondents only seemed to show empathy and concern in issues raised by their children.

"My son told me not to eat crocodile. He brought home a nest with fake crocodile eggs. It was an activity from a foreign teacher at school."

In addition to the main **TRIGGERS** and **DRIVERS** applicable to regular consumers three other drivers specific to this profile have been identified:

1. Boastfulness: "I am the boss."

The influencer's high socio-economic status and solid network allow him to be the leader of the group, which gives him a feeling of power. A common behavior is for the influencer to invite friends for a social gathering, where he covers the cost of the bushmeat. The purpose of this invitation is a thin line between altruism and seeking recognition from the group; on the one hand, they seem to find pleasure giving the invitation, while on the other they feel the need to demonstrate their affluence.

"My friend (the influencer) invites me, not because he wants to show off but because of our friendship, so he sometimes pays for me."

2. The Scarcity Rationale: "I might not be able to eat this kind of meat in the future."

The scarcity of certain types of bushmeat, especially that of the rarer species that were mentioned less during the interviews, acts as a major driver and motivates the influencer to consume more bushmeat. The influencer is aware of the rapid decline of some species, with respondents advising that they have seen a decrease in the availability of several bushmeat types in recent years indicating this might be the last chance to eat them, and as such they need to take advantage of this rare opportunity.

Additionally, having access to rare species makes them feel powerful and proud to be part of a select group of individuals for whom bushmeat is a luxury. This allows them to be able to boast in front of others.

3. The Health Rationale: "Bushmeat is good for your health and chemical-free."

This influencer is one of the profiles that is most concerned about his health. One of the drivers for bushmeat consumption involves beliefs around alternative medical practices, which are used to prevent illness and boost the immune system. Many respondents affirmed that individuals with a high socio-economic status consume bushmeat for health reasons because they have the financial resources to access the rare species and specific body parts used for medicinal treatments, such as pangolin and bear gaul bladder. This implies that the beliefs of individuals of low socio-economic status are the same but they aren't able to afford it.



The influencer gets information on bushmeat consumption health benefits by word of mouth, including from other influencers and restaurants owners who recommend specific meats for specific health issues.

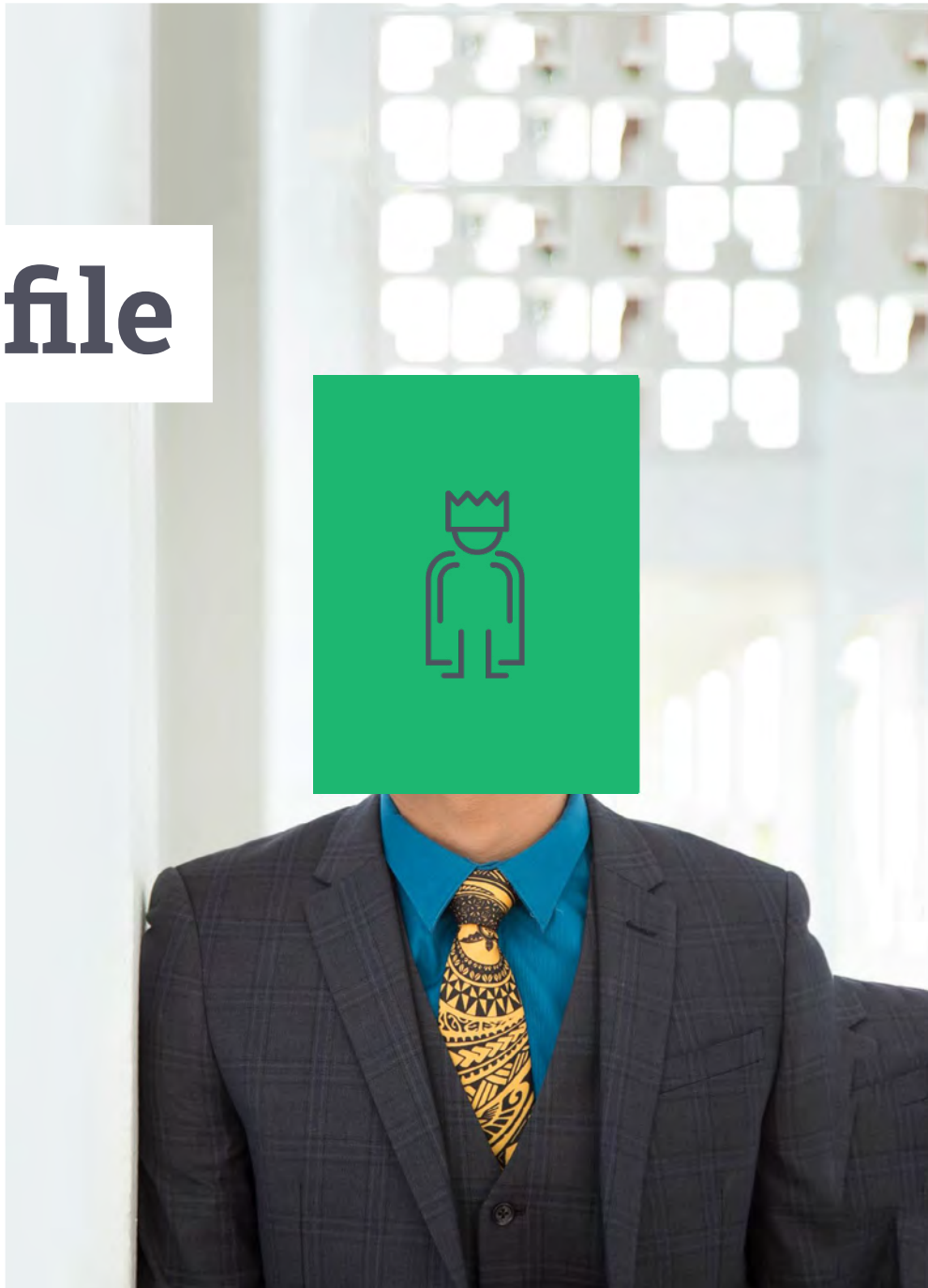
"The owner of the restaurant told me that monkey meat is good for the brain and venison for hypotension."

There also seems to be a widespread belief that bushmeat is healthier and chemical-free compared to meat from farm-raised animals.

Note: Unlike perceived health benefits, many Cambodians are concerned about the possible health risks of bushmeat. Therefore, the health driver can be seen as a reason to stop or reduce consumption, as well as a reason to increase consumption.

Profile

06



The elitist

[REDACTED], Male, 59

Education: Degree in administration

Occupation: Banker, business owner

CHARACTERISTICS

Location: Phnom Penh

Origin: Kampong Speu

Marital status: Married, three children

Income: Very high

Due to the elevated status and secrecy surrounding bushmeat consumption, we encountered difficulties accessing individuals in the elitist profile for interview. As such the presence of individuals in this profile and their characteristics are inferred based upon information shared by other respondents. However, sufficient detail was provided to enable us to paint a broad picture of his main characteristics and behavior: male, mainly high-ranking government officials or successful businessmen between 50 and 80 years old. Wealthy peers of the elitist are regarded as a source of status and power. The consumption frequency of the elitist is very high, perhaps even weekly.

The main **DRIVER** for the elitist is reported to be the perceived health benefit of bushmeat, that is the traditional belief systems and practices that connect bushmeat consumption to longevity. Different kinds of bushmeat are purported to offer concrete health benefits.

"The richest people in the city eat bushmeat for health reasons; they believe that they will live longer."



Key Stakeholders

- OLDER GENERATIONS

We also identified key stakeholders who have either a positive or a negative influence on bushmeat consumption. It is important to note that these stakeholders can influence profiles at any stage of the bushmeat consumption journey.

We identified the following stakeholders as **negative** for bushmeat consumption, as they encourage individuals to increase their consumption of bushmeat or even introduce individuals to bushmeat consumption.

As mentioned at the beginning of this report, bushmeat consumption in Cambodia is embedded in the country's culture. Cultural beliefs, social norms and attitudes are often passed down from generation to generation. This has been corroborated by our respondents, who view older generations as a negative influence. Most interviewees mentioned that their parents or grandparents would consume bushmeat in their presence and gave them bushmeat as children. Even today, older generations see bushmeat consumption as a common practice and encourage it among the younger generation of Phnom Penh citizens.

"I have been eating bushmeat since I was very young. My mother bought turtle and cooked it at home."

"I went to Mondulkiri with my family when I was young and we ate wild pig."

"I remember my father eating cobra."

- FRIENDS

We found that the friends of bushmeat consumers are generally bushmeat consumers themselves, thereby being one of the biggest negative influencers due to the pressure they exert. Among close circles of friends in Phnom Penh, there is usually an increase in social gatherings.

"I would introduce my friend to a restaurant where we ate bushmeat together."

- COWORKERS

Our findings suggest that the work environment exerts a negative influence especially when individuals are assigned to travel out to provinces for work, where they are often introduced to, have easy access to or are encouraged to eat bushmeat.

"My boss took me to a restaurant and we ended up eating bushmeat there."

"I was first introduced to a bushmeat place in the province by my colleague."

- RESTAURANT OWNERS AND STAFF

Our findings suggest that restaurant owners and staff also negatively influence bushmeat consumption among Phnom Penh citizens. Waitresses at roadside and provincial restaurants often introduce individuals to a special bushmeat menu and restaurant owners will let bushmeat consumers know what types of bushmeat are available and how it will benefit their health. Affordable restaurants in Phnom Penh also negatively influence the occasional consumers as they serve as the entryway to consumption in the capital.

"The waitress introduced us to the hidden menu on our way to Ratanakiri"

"The owner is the one who told us what they have available. Sometimes they even have some live animals in cages that you can choose from."

We identified the following stakeholders as **positive** stakeholders for reducing bushmeat consumption, thereby helping individuals to cut down on or even stop consuming bushmeat.

+ BUDDHISTS

The first moral precept of Buddhism is to refrain from harming living creatures, including animals. This was corroborated by some of our respondents, who mentioned that Buddhism is one of the strongest reasons to reduce or even stop bushmeat consumption outright. It was reported that some consumers make fun of those that refused to eat bushmeat, with the exception of those who objected for religious reasons, that is Buddhism was found to be one of the few valid excuses to refuse eating bushmeat. People don't lose face when using this argument. Devout Buddhists are therefore seen as one of the most powerful positive influencers.

"One of my friends doesn't eat bushmeat. He told us that it is against the precepts of Buddhism. But it's okay for us."

"I became a vegetarian because I am a Buddhist."

+ WOMEN

As mentioned earlier, our research found that men have a broader acceptance of bushmeat than women. Women have reportedly told their family members not to consume bushmeat, as they often associate bushmeat with health risks due to the unknown origin of the animals. Women also seem to dislike bushmeat because of its taste, as well as on the grounds of morality. We therefore consider women as a positive influence regarding bushmeat consumption behavior. As non-intentional consumers, women also prove to be a positive influence on children since they are usually in charge of their education.

"My wife told me not to eat bushmeat because it's not safe and she feels sorry for the animals."

+ CHILDREN

Children can have a positive effect on bushmeat consumers when placed in an environment where they can learn about wildlife conservation. This is especially true of children in high socio-economic households, as they often are enrolled in private schools where more focus is given to such topics. Another factor is that parents feel pressured to set a good example for their children.

"I love my son. I send him to a private school. He studies with a foreign teacher. One day when he came home, he told me not to eat wild bird eggs."

+ DOCTORS

Our research identified that doctors and other medical professionals are sometimes aware of risk factors for human-wildlife contact and zoonotic disease transmission. The influence of doctors, therefore, could be positive and even greater in the higher-income segments of the population due to the association of higher education with health awareness.

"The doctor told one of my friends not to eat cobra blood anymore because it is not good for health."

+ NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

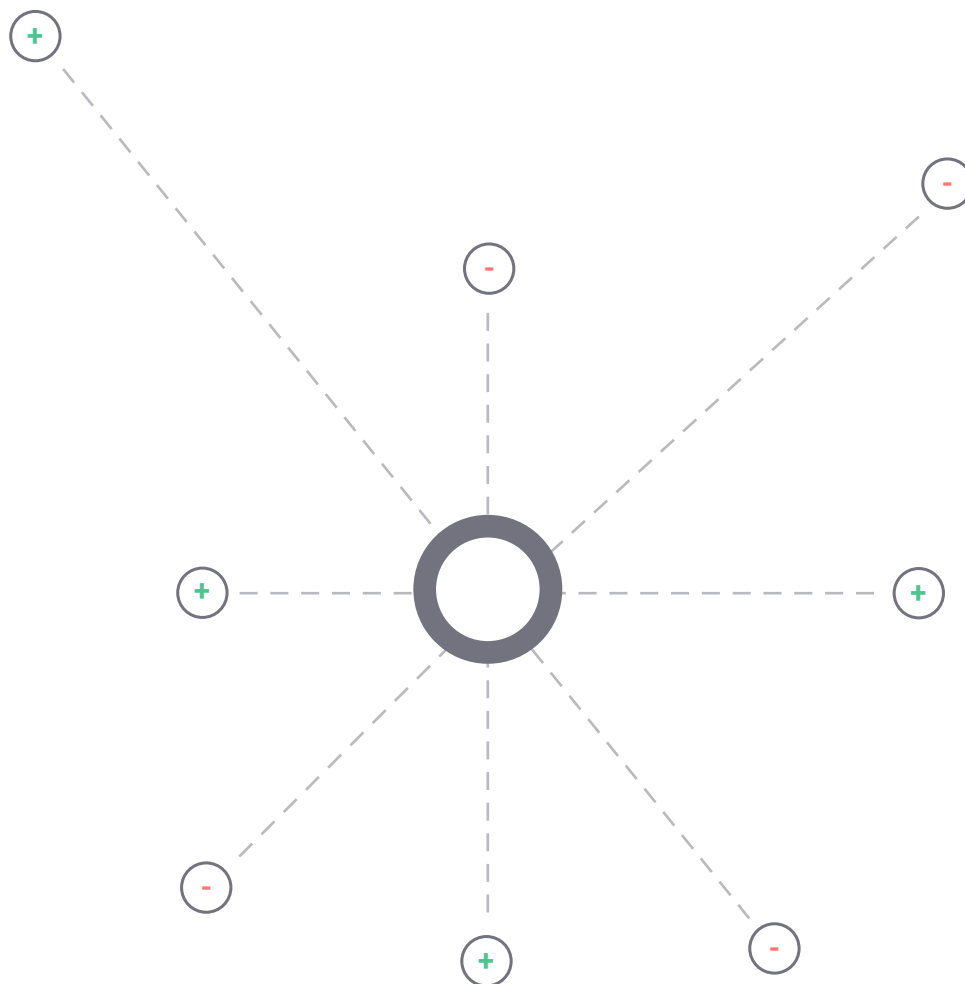
Nonprofit organizations, especially but not necessarily those working in conservation, are highly sensitized to the implications conservation has on exploited animals and are aware of the threat that bushmeat consumption poses to biodiversity. Many respondents advised that they were made aware of the negative impact of bushmeat consumption through friends, relatives or acquaintances that work for nonprofit organizations.

"I saw a poster from a nonprofit organization in the province about wild animals and forest conservation."

"I saw different videos and news items about wild animals because of my Facebook friends."

The main negative stakeholders for the occasional consumer group are the older generation, friends, co-workers and staff of the restaurants in the provinces, whereas women are positive stakeholders.

And for the regular consumers, the main negative stakeholders identified are friends, co-workers and restaurant staff in Phnom Penh, while the positive stakeholders are children and doctors.





Communication Channels

Past news coverage on illegal bushmeat consumption and the health risks associated with bushmeat consumption spurred a wave of reactions that caused an impact on how individuals perceived it. Therefore, **news outlets** could potentially favor a reduction in bushmeat consumption by:

- Stressing the illegality of the practice and holding the end-consumer responsible,
- Instilling the notion that the illegal wildlife trade is the biggest threat to biodiversity in Asia, and
- Highlighting that its consumption poses serious health risks, such as poisoning and spreading zoonotic diseases.

"I am scared to eat bushmeat now because of the news about contaminated wild pig meat. It affects our health."

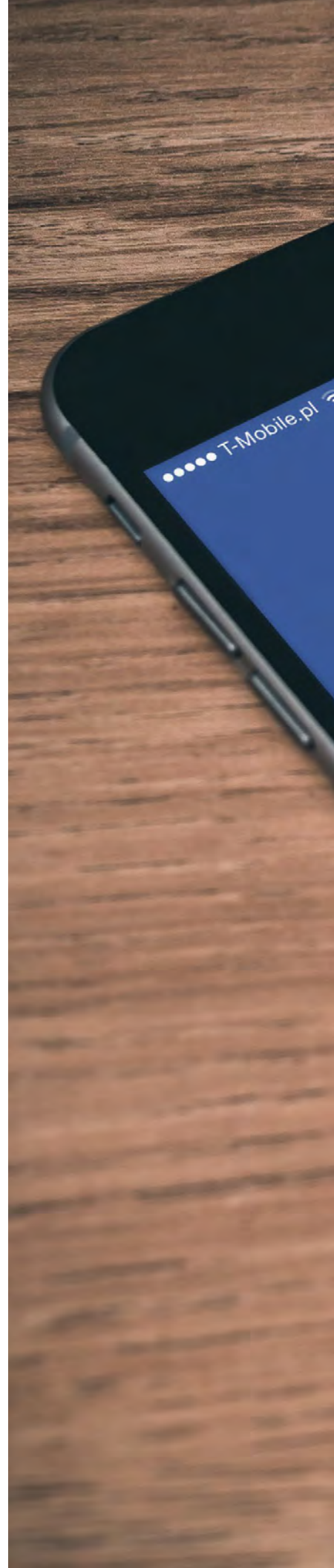
"I saw news reports about some restaurants being shut down in the city."

An important factor to be considered is that, according to an annual report on mobile phones and the internet from the Asia Foundation and Open Institute, almost half of Cambodians own at least one smartphone, and network coverage in both urban and rural areas exceeds 90%.

Research and our findings also illustrate that one of the most important communication channels in Cambodia is **Facebook**. It was the main source of information for most of the people interviewed. They confirmed that they spend more time on Facebook than watching TV, listening to the radio or referencing any other kind of print media. Research furthermore corroborated that Facebook surpassed television as the nation's foremost news source.

"I mostly use Facebook for everything."

"I saw campaigns from some nonprofit organizations on Facebook."



10:38

facebook

Email or phone number

Password

Log In

Back

Sign Up for Facebook

Need Help?



05. Opportunities



How Might We?

After analyzing what we gleaned from our research and findings, we went on to synthesize and connect the information to discover opportunities that will help us guide the process to find innovative solutions for the BCC.

We identified the following opportunities:

TARGETING ALL CONSUMER PROFILES

1. **HOW MIGHT WE** generate awareness about how bushmeat consumption is threatening biodiversity and leading to the decline and **extinction** of species that are **symbolic of or meaningful to Cambodian identity and culture**?

WHY? *During our research, respondents expressed concerns about losing certain species that are symbolic of the country and culture (page 32).*

Strategies to address this opportunity:

- Instilling a sense of pride in order for Phnom Penh citizens to feel proud of the country's charismatic species.
- Inviting a call to action for individuals to actively participate in spreading awareness among their community.
- Disseminating information about the importance of preserving the Cambodian species for next generations.
- Tackling the lack of knowledge around the impact of bushmeat consumption on the status of species targeted by snaring (page 35).

2. **HOW MIGHT WE** make bushmeat consumers understand their impact and take responsibility for their consumption habits, both morally and legally?

WHY? *The combination of a lack of knowledge and a lack of legal responsibility due to low law enforcement, make bushmeat consumers a suited target group to be educated about the consequences of their actions and Cambodia's legislation.*

Strategies to address this opportunity:

- Debunking the belief that bushmeat consumers are exempt from the law because they are not hunters or dealers (page 18).

- Tackling the lack of knowledge around bushmeat legislation and the impact of bushmeat consumption as an illegal practice (page 35).

3. HOW MIGHT WE encourage consumers with less intentions and reasons to consume bushmeat to **speak up** when they are pressured to consume bushmeat?

WHY? *Based on our interviews, we identified a lack of knowledge (page 35) and willingness to consume bushmeat in particular consumption profiles (page 41). Empowering these profiles to act as role models and provide others with reasons not to eat bushmeat could lead to a decrease in bushmeat consumption.*

Strategies to address this opportunity:

- Changing the perception of non-consumers by converting them into trendsetters who are part of the non-bushmeat consumption movement.
- Making them a positive stakeholder to reduce the consumption.
- Making the follower profile boycott social gatherings in Phnom Penh and thereby avoiding social exclusion from the group of friends taking into consideration that right now the only legitimate reason to avoid eating is because of Buddhism (pages 46 and 57).
- By tackling the lack of knowledge and social pressure by providing reasons and arguments to cease bushmeat consumption (page 35).

4. HOW MIGHT WE create an effective BCC to reduce consumption at **restaurants**?

WHY: *Restaurants (and their staff) are one of the most accessible negative stakeholders (page 57).*

Strategies to address this opportunity:

- Targeting restaurants located in Phnom Penh (affordable and exclusive ones) and in the provinces.
- Exposing the risks of acquiring zoonotic diseases.
- Tackling the lack of knowledge (page 35).

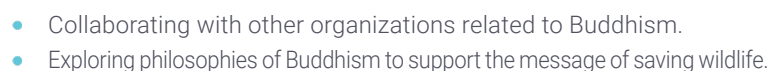
5. HOW MIGHT WE shed light on the possible **health risks** associated with bushmeat consumption?

WHY: *For different profiles, health risks have been identified by many as a key concern associated with bushmeat consumption, thus prompting a reason to reduce or stop consuming bushmeat.*

Strategies to address this opportunity:

- Positioning doctors and news outlets as positive stakeholders in bushmeat consumption reduction (pages 58 and 60).

Note: This opportunity is especially relevant when targeting women (page 43), the influencer profile (page 51) and the elitist profile (page 55).



8. **HOW MIGHT WE** educate consumers through the influence of their **children** and the **education system** (schools)?

WHY: Research confirms that children have a positive influence on different profiles. This is especially true for the elitist; the lack of guilt, empathy and fear makes it more difficult for this profile to be influenced by anyone other than his child/children (page 58). This opportunity can have an impact in the coming generations creating a long-term behavior change.

Strategies to address this opportunity:

- Developing environmental education materials to educate children about the impacts of bushmeat consumption.

9. **HOW MIGHT WE** drive an effective BCC through key **messaging** strategies such as:

WHY: During our interviews these key messaging strategies were the most repeated answers to the question: "What do you think is the best message to be deliver in a communication campaign to reduce the consumption of Bushmeat in Phnom Penh?"

Strategies to address this opportunity:

- Creating a sense of empathy for animals and emphasizing their similarity with humans, i.e. "They are like humans."
- Focusing on the economic repercussions in the provinces due to tourist interest using wildlife as an attraction (more wildlife = more tourists = more money for the country).

Note: messaging strategies should be addressed to specific profiles based on the drivers identified (page 39).

TARGETING OCCASIONAL CONSUMERS

10. **HOW MIGHT WE** build on **women** as one of the main positive influencers in reducing bushmeat consumption to create an impact within their families, specifically children (future generations), husbands and their close female relatives and friends (spreading the word to generate an impact in other families: husbands and children)?

WHY: Women are an existing positive stakeholder with concrete arguments about why they shouldn't consume bushmeat. As non-consumers or occasional consumers, they could potentially have the power to convince and influence current and future bushmeat consumers within their social circle (pages 43 and 58). Additionally, women often act as primary care givers, that is they serve as role models and educators of their children which may present opportunities to shift youth and generational perceptions around bushmeat consumption.

TARGETING REGULAR CONSUMERS

11. **HOW MIGHT WE** take advantage of the **fear and secrecy** surrounding bushmeat consumption in Phnom Penh to reduce the consumption?

WHY: *Consumption in Phnom Penh during social gatherings is accompanied by an atmosphere of secrecy and a sentiment of fear. Consumers are aware of the illegality of their actions but believe that the law enforcement won't affect them (page 28).*

Strategies to address this opportunity:

- Making bushmeat consumers feel ashamed.
- Using stories of law enforcement to amplify fear.
- Using news outlets to spread the word.

12. **HOW MIGHT WE** reduce consumption by creating a **new type of social gathering** in which bushmeat is replaced with different types of aspirational foods?

WHY: *Our research identified that social gatherings are seen as an excuse for small groups of male friends to get together, have fun, drink alcohol, and consume bushmeat. A new type of social gathering could be explored, where bushmeat is replaced with different kinds of aspirational food (page 27).*

Strategies to address this opportunity:

- Making bushmeat consumption look like an old-fashioned practice.

Note: further research should be conducted on aspirational food in Phnom Penh in order to properly assess the development and implementation of this opportunity.

13. **HOW MIGHT WE** block the different **pathways** to bushmeat access for regular consumers in Phnom Penh?

WHY: *This opportunity is directly related to law enforcement. Even if highly ambitious, potential involvement with key stakeholders in the field of law enforcement could be pursued in order to increase and strengthen current laws and policies related to illegal bushmeat consumption (page 21).*

Strategies to address this opportunity:

- Shutting down offending restaurants in Phnom Penh.
- Targeting and enforcing the bushmeat trade between the provinces and Phnom Penh and prosecuting consumers and relatives (who buy bushmeat and transport it by car) as well as dealers and their carriers (taxi drivers).

06. Next Steps

Communicating for Behavioral Change

Communication campaigns targeted at behavioral change utilize an in depth understanding of human behavior to design persuasive and impactful strategies that encourage shifts towards constructive behavioral patterns. By stepping through a methodical research process barriers and motivators for change are identified, defined and analyzed. This information is then synthesized, forming the basis of the campaign’s design, directing interventions that support positive behaviors.

The communication elements of behavioral change interventions focus on articulating clear objectives, identifying target audiences and defining consistent and cogent messages. During the next steps, iDE will work closely with Melon Rouge Agency (MRA), a creative consultancy specializing in communication campaigns for the Cambodian market, to develop an effective and impactful BCC.

Based upon the data collected in the Hear Phase of the HCD methodology, MRA will define the most impactful communications strategy for the BCC. At this stage of the process, MRA will continue to work with the FFI team to solidify the goals and objectives of the campaign. This step will marry the qualitatively based consumer profiles and opportunities with quantitative data around bushmeat consumption to focus and refine the BCC strategy.

MRA will take a holistic approach to select the media mix that will have the greatest impact on each profile. This involves identifying media, channels and messages that resonate with each target profile, with the ultimate goal of challenging their existing motivations, beliefs and attitudes around bushmeat consumption.

Targeting and Messaging

MRA have developed a preliminary roadmap that sets out in broad strokes the design of the BCC (below). This roadmap takes an iterative approach, rolling out across multiple phases in both the short and long term. This design takes into account not only the behaviors, beliefs and attitudes of each profile but also encompasses how they engage with each other, their environment and the broader community.



Each of the above profiles is driven by attending social gatherings. For a number of the profiles in this category bushmeat consumption is tied to power and status, giving individuals an opportunity to tap into elite social networks, influence the behavior of others or act as a “the boss” within their peer group.

QUESTION: how can we change the perception of the gathering to stop legitimizing this practice?

OPPORTUNITY 1: Utilize patriotism and national pride as an asset, causing regular consumers to lose face and feel shame thereby attacking feelings of pride associated with bushmeat consumption.



Emotional impact: **fear**
OPPORTUNITIES 2/3/6/11

Emotional impact: **shame**
OPPORTUNITIES 1/5/11

SUSPENDED:

THE PUSHER

THE ELITIST

Shift perceptions to create the “citizen traitor” profile

Utilize media influence

Make use of media, in particular social media, to highlight facts related to the consumption of bushmeat in order to bridge knowledge gaps, such as:

- Disseminating information regarding legislation;
- Sharing facts/news about offending restaurants being shut down;
- Sharing facts/news about people being arrested; and
- Highlighting the health risks of bushmeat consumption.

Collaboration with the government may increase the impact of these messages on consumers and as such the campaign design should incorporate opportunities for government involvement.

Shift perceptions to create the “outlaw” profile.

Utilize positive influencers such as women, children and doctors.

Children: utilize children as influencers to promote feelings of culpability in their parents as consumers. Develop educational materials that highlight key messages, including materials that:

- Raise awareness of Cambodia's unique wildlife, prompting protective feelings of pride, respect and ultimately promoting the intrinsic value of species.
- Inform children that Cambodia's wildlife is at risk of extinction, which means their generation may not get to see these species.
- Highlights the role of bushmeat consumers in threatening Cambodia's wildlife.

Health Care Professionals: use doctors and health care professionals as influencers to share messages via new outlets that speak to the health risks associated with bushmeat consumption. Some messages could be specifically targeted at women who typically act as both primary care givers within the household and positive stakeholders for bushmeat consumption.

PHASE 1

The second phase of the behavior change campaign will target the elitist and pusher profiles as high status, powerful leaders within the bushmeat consumption community. By targeting these profiles, we aim to break the cycle of consumption by disrupting and disincentivizing the instigators and facilitators of the gatherings.

COMBINE OPPORTUNITIES 1/2/3/5/6/11

THE ELITIST

THE PUSHER

PHASE 2

The third phase of the campaign will target the non-intentional and intentional consumer profiles and aim to embed behavioral change across the consumer profiles long term.

OPPORTUNITIES 1/4/9

THE NON-INTENTIONAL CONSUMER

THE INTENTIONAL CONSUMER

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