Conservation, Consumption, and Livelihoods:

Contradictions in conservation projects and audiences in Vietnam

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationships between conservation organisations and consumers of wild animal products in Vietnam. Using semi-structured interviews across social worlds, this thesis shows the changing ways people relate to conservation projects and wild animal products. I argue that attempts to change consumer behaviours for conservation must take into account the diverse and complex reasons that people choose to engage in wild animal consumption. This thesis draws from research with conservation NGOs, wild meat consumers and restaurants, and rural hunters to illustrate the nuanced narratives these groups have surrounding conservation and wild animal products. Time spent in the TRAFFIC Hanoi office provides a backdrop for understanding consumer-targeted interventions related to wild animal products. I offer insight into opportunities for conservationists working on trade and consumption programs to develop meaningful and engaged projects that account for nuances in subjectivities and the processes by which environmental subjects are shaped.

DEDICATION

To those who never let me settle.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

"For as fast as these new creatures are being discovered and formally described, they are being wiped out. […] The result is a race between the forces of preservation and destruction in this part of the tropics - the band of terrain where most of the world's biodiversity is found" (Drollette 2013, xvii)

Conservation projects that aim to reduce wild animal product consumption in Vietnam tend to focus on particular narratives of consumers, even when research speaks to a more varied consumer base. This research shows the ways TRAFFIC navigates through the murky waters of cause and effect in terms of their consumer-based conservation efforts in Hanoi. The Wildlife Trade Monitoring Network, also known as TRAFFIC, is based in the UK and has a number of global offices. In Hanoi, TRAFFIC has directed its focus towards curbing rhino horn use and promoting a certification scheme for wild harvested medicinal and aromatic plants. The TRAFFIC office in Hanoi helped with the fieldwork of this research by participating in interviews and suggesting additional research sites. Chapter Three of this thesis relies heavily on information provided by TRAFFIC-Hanoi. This research also addresses the narratives that consumers of wild meat have regarding their consumption. Rapid species decline, particularly in neotropical regions such as Vietnam, have inspired a number of 'solutions' to retain biodiversity and achieve conservation goals. These solutions range from increased fortress-style conservation and blanket bans on species sale and consumption to legalising and regulating trade in vulnerable species including the establishment of wildlife 'farms'. Increasingly, 'supply-side' interventions have gained traction and support from policy-makers. However, the availability of case studies to

support these arguments show limited scope, offer inconsistent results, and often ignore the effects of these projects on production-side livelihoods.

In this thesis, I argue that mainstream conservation efforts targeting wildlife consumers in Vietnam do not address the breadth of drivers for consumption. As such, these conservation efforts are presented in ways that appeal to the sensibilities of donors and other outsiders who are often unaware of the myriad factors involved in one's decision to partake in wild animal product trade or consumption. Consumer-targeted conservation efforts in Vietnam tend to focus on a very narrow group of consumers, which ignores the majority of other identified consumer bases. NGOs appear to be very aware of these limitations, however institutional demands for marketable 'results' means that comprehensive interventions are not viable projects for NGOs to undertake. Although NGOs employ experts in order to define and outline conservation agendas, they do not seem to follow their own expertise. In addition, the production of expertise for international conservation NGOs and projects continues to rely on the importation of experts.

In order to make these arguments, I draw from three months of fieldwork in Vietnam from May to August 2016. The majority of this time was spent in Hanoi conducting interviews and collecting data regarding conservation projects. I show that projects such as TRAFFIC's Chi Initiative exclude well-documented consumer groups in favour of attractive marketing campaigns. Wild meat consumption in Vietnam remains largely understudied, however the few studies that have been conducted show that consumption is not exclusively the domain of conspicuous, status-conscious consumers. Yet, conservation interventions and some NGO-driven research continue to exclude narratives of wild meat consumption that do not fit into their marketing strategies. Finally, in this thesis, I argue that the disconnect between urban and rural conservation projects perpetuates Human-Nature dualisms and further marginalises groups that

are predominantly ethnic minorities. Conservation NGOs focus their projects on high-profile awareness campaigns that do not address complex drivers for consumption or the livelihood problems facing hunters and harvesters of wild forest products in Vietnam.

The outline of this thesis is as follows: first, in Chapter 2, I outline my guiding conceptual framework and methodologies for this research project. In chapter three, I examine the contradictions within consumer-based conservation efforts targeting rhino horn consumers in Hanoi. In chapter four, I explore the demands of urban consumers of wild meat. Chapter five offers readers a case study of the livelihood impacts of conservation on several hunters who live in the Pù Mát and Pu Huong Nature reserves in Vietnam.

1.2 Context

The Indo-Burma region of the world is considered to be, "one of the most biologically important regions of the planet" (Critical Ecosystem Partnership Fund 2012, xxi). The Indo-Burma biodiversity hotspot includes the entire countries of Vietnam, Thailand, Lao PDR, Cambodia, Myanmar; and parts of India, Malaysia, China, Hong Kong, and Macau (Critical Ecosystem Partnership Fund 2012, 2). The volume and diversity of species found within Indo-Burma place this region in the top eight biodiversity hotspots of the world (Myers et al 2000, 857). Because of the high value placed on biodiversity in this region, states such as Vietnam face pressures to conserve and maintain the integrity of these ecosystems. However, decades of wars followed by economic booms have made conservation efforts difficult. Within Vietnam, "the threats to almost all the wildlife are very high because there's high levels of hunting, high levels of habitat destruction, conversion to agricultural land […] really, almost everything is threatened" (NGO representative, interview with author, May 26, 2016; Sodhi et al 2004). The

existential nature of these threats increases attention for international conservation funding and projects within biodiversity hotspots.

The land of 'golden forests and silver seas', Vietnam is not only a biodiversity hotspot, but it is also a wildlife consumption hotspot. Vietnam is a country known for its 'exotic' foods such as cobra, civet, and monkey. Species such as pangolin and rhino have long been associated with wealth and status. While others, porcupines for example, are frequently associated with rural diets. However, most animals are not too taboo for Vietnamese cuisine. The arbitrary distinctions made between 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' meat sources (for example dog meat) in the West do not limit Vietnamese diets. Many of these wildlife products come from Vietnam or surrounding areas, however increased trade and disposable incomes within Vietnam have enabled consumers to look beyond the region for wildlife products. Vietnam has outgrown its former identity as merely a transit country for international trafficking of wildlife products and the country is quickly becoming a destination country for such imports as rhino horn and other endangered species. In addition, species within the country are increasingly desired on black markets for meat or medicinal purposes. This consumer demand for species facing increasingly harder circumstances in which to survive is seen as a major cause for concern amongst conservationists worldwide.

What is driving this 'Impending Disaster' (Sodhi et al 2004)? Is it merely the result of out-of-control development causing deforestation and pollution? Or are other forces at play, such as the growing middle class and their appetites for 'exotic' meats (Drollette 2013)? Not only are these questions complex, nuanced, and interdependent, but the resulting 'solutions' offered by a myriad of state and non-state actors play out in countless ways. In this thesis, I offer insights with which to navigate the ways 'problems' and 'solutions' are identified, understood, and

addressed by conservation NGOs, consumers of wild animal products, and people whose livelihoods depend upon wildlife markets.

Many conservation efforts are aimed at protecting key species from depletion in a given territory. Without conservation, the argument goes, over-exploitation of fauna will lead to "empty forests" in which complex ecosystem interactions are limited (Redford 1992). This can have long-term effects on the ability of forests to continue supporting human and animal populations that rely on forest ecosystems. The loss of biodiversity also decreases ecosystem resilience in the face of a changing climate.

As previously noted, many experts consider the region to be facing a crisis that, "is likely to develop into a full-fledged disaster, as the region is home to one of the highest concentrations of endemic species" (Sodhi et al 2004, 654). Common narratives regarding conservation projects in Vietnam are that the increasing incomes of Vietnamese consumers are, in part, driving species into extinction. Through conspicuous consumption of wildlife products such as wild meat and rhino horn, endemic species will be lost to the world. So one narrative goes. Other narratives point to weak state regulations for industrial development, clear-cutting, pollution, and agricultural expansion. The rapidly shrinking habitats for endangered species puts them at greater risk for extinction.

In response to these crises, several efforts to mitigate or reverse the impacts of species and habitat loss have been implemented by a variety of groups. Globally, international organisations such at the United Nations have taken stances against the destruction of the environment (United Nations "Millennium"). Transnational conservation organisations, working

under the auspices of CITES and CBD[1], have undertaken multi-faceted attempts to mitigate and reduce illegal trade/consumption of wild animal products (Drury 2011).

Global efforts to halt species extinction rely heavily on the identification of a species as 'endangered' by the IUCN Red List (The IUCN). Once listed as a species of concern, endangered, or critically endangered, these species may be upgraded in their CITES ranking to designate how much trade through a permits system is legal. Once a species is identified as 'at risk', international conservation efforts begin to step in. The methods for addressing and achieving conservation goals vary by organisation, region, and species. I will briefly outline the context for conservation projects that target rhino horn, wild meat, and hunting. In my research, these are the dominant areas of conservation research and the application of conservation projects plays out in wildly different ways globally and within Vietnam.

In many neotropical regions, such as Vietnam, high-profile species are at risk of extinction due to human pressures. This is the result of several factors including higher rates of biodiversity in neotropical regions relative to other climates and increasing agricultural, urban, and industrial developments related to rapid economic development (Sodhi et al 2004). A variety of 'solutions' have been proposed which range from militarised protection of conservation areas to legal and regulated trade of flora and fauna from protected areas. As several authors and economists have noted[2] the costs of enforcing total bans or fortress-style conservation are prohibitively high for many governments in these areas (Kusters et al 2006). While CITES regulates trade in many endangered species, enforcement is often lacking and illicit markets

[1] The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) and The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) are international agreements which identify and regulate use of species deemed important and endangered. These agreements follow a UN framework and rely on the expertise of scientists.

[2] See Chapter 4 of this thesis for a more detailed engagement with environmental economics and conservation 'solutions'

operate with varying levels of discretion. Because enforcement and conservation money is lacking, many NGOs have stepped in to fill policing roles to stop poaching and black market wildlife trading. These organisations often lack the power to enact formal punishments and so change in behaviours is often limited.

Emphasis on enforcing anti-poaching regulations is a primary mode of operation for CITES signatories. These members agree to address risks to species at the supply-level. However, Challender and MacMillan (2014) note that, "illicit international trade in many CITES-listed species is currently increasing or at record or conspicuous levels" (485). High levels of corruption and weak enforcement in supply, transit, and destination countries for products such as rhino horn have fostered environments in which wildlife crime has blossomed. Rhinos are a very high profile conservation target. The loss of rhinos from mainland Southeast Asia has brought international attention to the remaining global rhino populations, most of which live in Africa. Anti-poaching efforts in Africa include extensive militarisation and fortress-style conservation (Lunstrum 2014; Fletcher 2010). These projects only address the preservation of individual members of a species' population. After poaching, wildlife products are smuggled and traded around the world. The final destinations for most rhino horns are China, Hong Kong, and Vietnam (Save the Rhino).

Enforcement tactics within wildlife destination countries such as Vietnam typically include arrests of traders or low-level importers (Milliken and Shaw 2012). Even when a 'kingpin' is arrested, the trade networks continue to operate. In September 2016, The Guardian published a two-part expose of the powerful connections and payoffs that support international trade in wildlife in Southeast Asia. These pieces argued that top government officials directly benefited from and participated in the protection of these trade networks (Davis and Holmes).

While global conservation efforts may target the species at risk, the extensive trade networks and demand for wildlife products mean that poaching is merely one aspect of an international chain.

Addressing the supply-side of wildlife trade is only one side of complex and interconnected networks. Many conservationists argue that demand for wildlife is driving extinction (Sodhi et al 2004). As such, targeted consumer-based conservation interventions have gained popularity. Within Vietnam, demand for wildlife products such as rhino horn is reported to have dramatically increased in recent years, as has the price of rhino horn in Vietnamese black markets (Challender and MacMillan 2014, 487).

Conservation efforts in to reduce demand for rhino horn in Vietnam are a far cry from the armed guards following rhinos in southern Africa. Due to the high cost of rhino horn in Vietnamese markets, it is seen as a product for wealthy and powerful people to cure hangovers or win favours by presenting it to powerful officials. Others are drawn to rhino horn for its perceived health benefits in the face terminal illnesses (Miliken and Shaw 2012). This range of consumers shows that there are complex reasons behind consumer desire and demand for rhino horn. Conservation groups that target consumers of rhino horn in Vietnam have rolled out several high-profile projects that target the wealthy and elite consumers and purchasers of rhino horn.

Similar to rhino conservation, wild meat and hunting conservation projects roll out differently in Vietnam than at the global level. Globally, wild meat and hunting for it are considered important for the livelihoods and subsistence of many rural people around the world (Lee et al 2014). Within Vietnam, urban consumption of wild meat is proving to be related to wealth and concerns over food safety from industrial agriculture. As with the drivers for rhino horn consumption, wild meat consumers vary.

Conservation organisations have to navigate the complicated relationships that wildlife consumers have regarding status and valuation of these products in order to develop programmes and projects. There are many international groups with a defined emphasis on conservation. These organisations include the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), which operates in a similar manner to the United Nations in terms of its structure and role as a funder of projects rather than a directly involved organisation. More focused groups include TRAFFIC, the Wildlife Trade Monitoring Network (TRAFFIC), the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), and the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF). Each organisation attempts to tackle issues related to the 'destruction of nature' through various means.

TRAFFIC, as previously stated, is an international conservation organisation based in the UK. The mission of the organisation is, "to ensure that trade in wild plants and animals is not a threat to the conservation of nature" (TRAFFIC.org). Rather than focusing on conservation through means such as protected areas or captive breeding programs, TRAFFIC aims to address conservation through trade. As with all NGOs, TRAFFIC researches and produces reports related to projects associated with the organisation. I and other conservationists and academics working in the area heavily cite many of the reports developed by TRAFFIC regarding wild animal products in Vietnam. These reports offer nuanced insights to the drivers for demand and consumption-targeted conservation opportunities. Projects in Vietnam reflect the findings from reports, such as the Chi Initiative that is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Within Southeast Asia, the opportunities to engage in wildlife trade or consumption are nearly limitless. Because of this, each TRAFFIC office in the region addresses aspects of wildlife trade that are most pressing to that locality. Rhino horn and medicinal plants make up the bulk of work for the Hanoi office. Rhino horn trade and consumption, in particular, is treated as more

specific to Vietnam than to any other country in Southeast Asia. The regional head office in Kuala Lumpur targets a wide range of trafficking issues, including wild animals for food and medicine (WAFM). However, due to time and budget constraints, I was unable to visit this office during my fieldwork.

Due to the non-state aspect of NGOs, these groups are dependent on donations and external funds to support their operations. Funding is dependent on donations from governments and individuals. Groups that market their campaigns well to donors will get more money. For conservation NGOs, media headlines that highlight the problems of a changing climate, mass extinctions, and other environmental crises, capture the attention of symbolically concerned members of wealthy European and North American countries. These individuals subsequently open their pocketbooks to donate money in an attempt to absolve individualised guilt over the plight of the 'Third World' without substantive personal change (Blühdorn 2007). Through donations to international conservation organisations, affluent North Americans and Europeans 'do their part' and can claim involvement in 'saving the planet' (Maniates 2001, 41; Luke 1997, 58).

People who donate to conservation organisations feel vindicated in their use of this method thanks to strategic marketing by NGOs, and media headlines that decry the reprehensible ways 'other people' treat their environments (Lunstrum 2017). This promotion of conservation projects without critical reflection by the donors can work to perpetuate narratives of destruction and salvation. Many of these conservation projects focus on the neotropical regions of the world such as southeast Asia. An important goal of my project is to challenge conservation narratives that ignore the complicated and overlapping experiences of conservation and consumption of wildlife.

1.3 Research Questions and Contributions

1.3.1 Research Questions

The central research questions that guide this work are: How and why are conservation organisations addressing issues of species loss in Vietnam? How do consumers of wild animal products relate to conservation efforts targeting consumption? In what ways are livelihoods impacted by changing market dynamics; how are these markets related to conservation projects? Several sub-questions come from these, including:

- Who are the primary actors in Vietnamese conservation?
- What are the strategies of conservation NGOs regarding consumption and conservation of wild species in Vietnam?
- Why do people consume wild species in Vietnam?
- What role do women play in conservation? How can other voices be included in conservation agendas?

1.3.2 Contributions

This research is important and timely because of the increase in global initiatives related to conservation in Southeast Asia, the increase of human pressures on forests in Vietnam, and the widening wealth gap between rural and urban Vietnam resulting in uneven distributions of access to livelihoods. Although Vietnam is recognised as a growing destination country for trade in endangered wildlife, very little research has been done to understand the forces behind this trend. The few studies of consumer-behaviour related to wildlife products have indicated that there are diverse and complex drivers for consumption. However, consumer-based conservation efforts have targeted very narrow groups of consumers who are predominately male and whose desires for wildlife products seem to be based upon wealth and status. This excludes consumer bases that are driven to wildlife products out of fear and health concerns. Rather than address

these tangible and quantifiable drivers, conservation organisations have focused instead on high-profile campaigns that are difficult to assess.

This research complicates narratives of consumption and consumer-based conservation projects. As seen with TRAFFIC, an early study of consumers indicated that health was a primary driver for rhino horn purchasing. However, their Chi Initiative focuses almost exclusively on male businessmen. Similar findings for wild meat consumption show that this practice is not exclusive to wealthy men seeking to flaunt their status, but rather includes health conscious women who are concerned about food safety. Methodologically speaking, the intentional exclusion of participants based on assumed narratives of wild meat consumption shows the risks of perpetuating bias within research (Sandalj, Treydte, and Ziegler 2016).

This research is important because it shows that NGOs need to advocate for comprehensive projects rather than sexy-marketing campaigns. Additionally, this shows the importance of education programmes for donors. NGOs may pander to donors' misconceptions as a way to secure more funds for their projects. My findings show that NGOs may have data and research to support comprehensive projects; however, they become constrained through particular conservation agendas or donor demands. NGOs may also be limited in the scope of their target audiences for conservation projects due to the strength and power of wildlife trade networks. Wild meat and rhino horn consumption are banned in Vietnam, however high ranking officials are frequently reported to enjoy these illicit products and occasionally brag about it publically. This highlights the contradictions that conservationists must navigate.

Regarding hunters and livelihoods, it is my hope that this research will lead to conversations within NGOs, policy developers, and researchers about the inclusion/exclusion of livelihoods from conservation projects. Research involving the communities I visited has been

limited by short time spans for projects. The only sustained conservation initiatives have been small payments for 'protecting' buffer zone forests. However, my findings and other projects show that this has not led to a reduction in hunting or gathering from core zones of the forests. This is predominately because the livelihood opportunities are limited and the forest protection payments are insufficient for families to survive without other sources of income. Additionally, research groups in the area have tended towards human exclusionary forest-based research to identify biodiversity concerns and the ecology of the forests. Research projects that have included hunters rarely maintain funding for more than a few years and as such, the villagers that I spoke with are weary of participation in projects that they feel do not directly benefit them. While it is not always possible to produce immediate results that benefit hunters and conservationists, it is paramount that researchers and conservationists recognise the lives and livelihoods of people involved in these projects.

The aims of this research are to assist conservation organisations to expand their frames of research, promote donor education programmes, develop projects that work with rather than independently of other organisations with similar agendas, and to challenge dominant assumptions regarding consumption and desire for wildlife products in Vietnam. Additionally, I hope this research speaks to the importance of researcher awareness of positionality. The limited Vietnam-based literature published in English on these topics rarely contains critical engagement with researcher bias or positionality. This goal is important for academia as well as practice.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I outline the primary conceptual and methodological frameworks and practices used in this research. The importance of this chapter is that it situates the reader within my research and demonstrates the applicability of this project and findings into theoretical and practical discourses. Additionally, locating myself socially and geographically within this research allows for better extrapolation of my findings into other research projects.

This research emerges from a feminist political ecology foundation, which shaped my methodological, conceptual, and analytical approaches to this research. Political ecology emphasises power, networks, and the co-production of 'society', 'nature', and 'expertise' (Rocheleau and Roth 2007). Other dominant themes in my research are various governmentalities as they are exercised through/for conservation. Relationships between governmentalities and the shaping of environmental subjects; what Agrawal calls environmentality (Agrawal 2005). In addition to these theoretical frameworks, production of expertise as understood through Science and Technology Studies (STS) shaped my methodological approaches. Another important concept, which has emerged in parts of my research, is biodiversity and the development/enforcement of expertise particularly in relation to biodiversity and the promotion of human/nature dichotomies in conservation.

2.1.1 Political Ecology

The overarching framework, which guides all aspects of this research, is political ecology. This framework was chosen for its emphasis on the power relationships between

peoples and their environments and the narratives inherent in these power exchanges. As my work focuses on the narratives surrounding consumption and conservation of wild animal products, political ecology is a logical starting point. Neumann (2009) credits Blaikie and Brookfield with bringing the term 'political ecology' into use by joining political economy and cultural ecology. Through their work, political ecology emerged as a way to incorporate various understandings of human-environment interactions. Political ecology attempts to break down dichotomous understandings of 'nature' and 'society' while making visible the processes inherent in shaping relationships between and among human and other actors. Because the discipline is imbued with many theoretical backgrounds and applications, political ecology lacks a strong unifying set of practices. As argued by Roderick Neumann (2009), this multi-faceted, multi-focal character is what gives political ecology its strength (399). Attempts have been made to define political ecology as working through a set standard of practices, ideologies, or politics. These attempts, however, are counter to the goal of political ecology. What unifies this mode of scholarship seems to be, "a deep ethical commitment [...] on (sic) human agency and creativity, as well as on healthy environments and biodiversity" (Batterbury 2015, 28).

Conservation projects often emphasise the interconnectedness of ecosystem processes but may fall short of including humans who interact with these ecosystems. The importance of political ecology is that it treats humans as members their environments rather than external and inherently antagonistic to ecosystems. Processes of situating and contextualising research are fundamental to a political ecology approach (Forsyth 2004). Because political ecology encompasses a wide range of methods and frameworks, it offers hope for engaged research that actively promotes political change and seeks to upset dominant 'orthodoxies' that are only supported by continued inequitable power structures. In researching conservation projects,

political ecology provides a valuable starting place. An awareness of the co-production of 'expertise' will help my research present a more complete picture of networks involved in conservation. Within my research, the role of experts is important to understand the justifications and projects forwarded by conservation organisations.

By grounding this research in political ecology, I can draw from several other frameworks in order to explore dominant *environmental narratives* that are often taken as natural assumptions rather than critically interrogated (Forsyth 2008, 758). Examples of these problematic narratives include the perpetuation of stories that Vietnamese men use rhino horn as a sexual aid. While this narrative works well for conservationists and NGO donors, it is a narrative that originated outside of Vietnam yet is now entangled with current consumption trends (Milliken and Shaw 2012, 15). Other narratives include the presentation of hunting and poaching as essentially equivalent activities with the same goals in mind. While conservation organisations and international organisations recognise differences between subsistence or livelihood hunting and professional hunting, the actual line of distinction is incredibly blurry. By questioning narratives and seeking to move beyond simplistic explanations for consumption of wildlife products, I hope to incorporate other understandings into the complexities of consumption and the desire for these products.

2.1.2 Environmentalities

Another way to analyse and understand the ways in which behaviours are shaped is through a governmentality framework. For this research, I draw from environmentalities in particular as this framework is situated within a political ecology foundation. Governmentality,

as defined by Foucault (1976), concerns the processes by which subjects are shaped. These processes refine and reshape individuals in relation to society. Environmentality applies governmentality into the shaping of environmental subjects. Agrawal (2005) defines environmentality as the shaping of environmental subjects, typically through disciplinary measures. Agrawal (2005) argues that 'environmental subjects' may be agents of - or subordinate to - the environment (162). Through 'environmentality', environmental subjectivities are shaped and the technologies of power adapt to new 'realities' (Agrawal 2005, 166).

Fletcher (2010) presents four distinct categories of governmentality in relation to environmental conservation. For the purposes of my research, I will draw from Fletcher's (2010) distinctions as a starting point to differentiate various modes of power in conservation. My research emphasises "market-based neoliberal environmentality" and "disciplinary environmentality" (Fletcher 2010, 177). These categories are not mutually exclusive nor inherently complementary. Rather, competing interests and modes of deployment can complicate these expressions of power. The distinctions between disciplinary and neoliberal governmentalities can be seen as follows:

> a disciplinary governmentality operates principally through the internalisation of social norms and ethical standards to which individuals conform due to fears of deviance and immorality, and which they exercise both on themselves and one another, a neoliberal governmentality seeks merely to create external incentive structures within which individuals, understood as self-interested rational actors, can be motivated to exhibit behaviours through manipulation of incentives (Fletcher 2010, 173).

Fundamental to these categories is the concept of environmentality. I draw from Agrawal's presentation of environmentality and Fletcher's neoliberal environmentality as starting points to connect processes of biopower and governmentality to conservation schemes.

Conservation NGOs function within structures of environmentality as means to promote the shaping and maintenance of environmental subjects. In this research, neoliberal and disciplinary environmentalities (Fletcher 2010) come through as dominant frameworks to understand TRAFFIC's efforts in Vietnam. Neoliberal environmentality attempts to rationalise 'environmentally friendly behaviour' through economic incentives (Fletcher 2010, 176). A disciplinary environmentality emphasises the internalisation of norms and behaviours in order to mould individuals into appropriate citizenry. Deviance is unacceptable, and so environmental subjects work to uphold standards of behaviour for fear of alienation (Fletcher 2010, 174; Foucault 1977).These goals fit into neoliberal and disciplinary environmentalities because they attempt to intervene in subjects' behaviour through economic and social pressures.

Current global trends of neoliberalisation have resulted in profound shifts in conservation practices. These changes include: the commodification and privatisation of natural resources, the creation of capitalist markets for exchange of these resources, changed forms state intervention in the exchanges, and the "decentralisation of resource governance to local authorities and non-state actors such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs)" (Fletcher 2010, 172). States may become removed from the intimate level of exchanges in markets, yet the state often remains strong in its power to regulate or organise the conditions surrounding market interactions (Fletcher 2010, 173). Increasingly, conservationists have turned to markets and manipulation of markets in order to preserve conservation goals such as biodiversity (Corson and MacDonald 2012, 268). Additionally, the involvement of NGOs does not necessarily diminish state power, but may function instead as another apparatus for expressions of power (Raustiala 1997). This study does not trace state power, however the emphasis on NGOs merits recognition of the changing state dynamics in global conservation projects.

As states offload responsibility, NGOs have stepped in to absorb responsibility for conservation programmes in many parts of the world. States labelled 'developing' are pushed into outsourcing or offloading responsibility for many development and conservation projects (Harvey 2007, 76). Through austerity and World Bank sponsored poverty reduction plans, states with already low capacity rely on outside interventions to maintain state functioning. In Vietnam, several international organisations have various operations targeting conservation goals and agendas. These agendas are set by international groups such as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) which functions as an oversight and guidance body for the establishment of conservation projects. In this way, NGOs establish themselves as authorities of conservation. NGOs, in turn, must answer to their donors and other arenas of experts/expertise.

A common assumption of NGOs is that they operate 'external' to state governments, but often in close cooperation with states (Raustiala 1997). In some cases, NGOs may begin to work in 'state-like' capacities to maintain services when local governments lack the resources to administer programmes (Brechin and Salas 2011). Funding then is dependent on donations from states, international groups, and private donors. Donations for projects and organisations are contingent on the ability to 'show results' through standardised schemas and matrices of 'doing conservation' and the ability to prove 'expertise'.

A common method for NGOs to change behaviour is through market-based schemes and incentives. By promoting particular purchasing habits, or shaming (disciplining) those who consume wild meat, NGOs are able to forward agendas of conservation from urban centres. This use of markets presents an interesting link between the expansion of neoliberalisation and biopower as they relate to conservation. Forwarding ideas of 'consumer as citizen', neoliberal agendas place responsibility on the individual rather than systemic or structural issues that have

led to current environmental problems (Soper 2007; Maniates 2001). These market-based schemes emphasise the consumer as a key agent in conservation. While consumers and markets are not the only targets of conservation initiatives, NGOs can easily market these projects to donors for continued financial support. Additionally, projects focused on consumer behaviour offer organisations countless ways to monitor and then prove their successes. Because they count on attitude changes or a number of pledges, these matrices can be interpreted in ways that nearly always show success for the organisations involved.

Another limitation to consumer-targeted conservation is that these projects often fail to account for the livelihood impacts of neoliberal conservation (Forsyth 2008). For the purposes of my research, it is important to be cognizant of the interplay between various forms of governmentality mobilised by conservation organisations in Vietnam.

2.1.3 Boundary Objects and Standardised Packages

Processes of environmentality are often justified through the deployment of environmental narratives which are reinforced by experts. In order to highlight the ways these narratives may develop or become dogmatic, I employ science and technology studies to explore the use of boundary objects and standardised packages in conservation projects. Drawing from Science and Technology Studies as well as Actor Network Theory, I will work to understand how people affiliated with conservation organisations understand their role(s). International conservation relies on 'expertise', and I am interested to know how this knowledge is produced and how 'experts' are defined. The development of 'expertise' happens through networks of power and knowledge.

Tracing networks and the co-production of 'nature', 'society', and 'experts' are important in practicing political ecology (Rocheleau and Roth 2007). In the context of wildlife consumption in Vietnam, these narratives are shaped and (co)produced through, and by, different actors. These actors, as outlined for this research project, include consumers, traders, hunters, and conservation NGOs. Calls for Science and Technology Studies to move beyond the laboratory and to engage critically with the uneven power involved in 'circulation' of knowledges, will be answered through this research (Goldman and Turner 2011, 14). This research will investigate competing, overlapping, and potentially contradictory production and circulation of knowledges regarding wildlife consumption. Additionally, through processes of environmentality, the power networks that facilitate particular definitions will be explored.

Through this research, I address the relationships between standardised packages and boundary objects in the negotiations of knowledge and conservation strategies. Although large-scale conservation interventions function in dynamic and living environments, the challenges and processes of translation and boundary object-making merit comparison to Star and Griesemer's (1989) case study of museum curation. Designing and implementing conservation programmes requires the identification of boundary objects and subsequent translations across social, cultural, political, and economic worlds. International conservation NGOs rely on conservation agendas that function as boundary objects, "which are both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites" (Star and Griesemer 1989, 393). This means that boundary objects act as sites of translation between/among various social worlds.

Power expressed through the manipulation and mobilisation of boundary objects to forward specific knowledges is important for Science and Technology Studies and my research. I

draw from Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT) as a starting point to recognise symbols and inscriptions as loci of power (Latour 1996, 372). The negotiations from various social groups in order to understand, articulate, and stabilise particular 'facts' as a method of knowledge production are important to understanding boundary objects as Latour presents them (Latour 1996). This research focuses on the ways that 'wild' and 'wildness' are function as boundary objects. I argue that 'wild' and 'wildness' in meat and forest products are boundary objects because they have multiple meanings and values.

Boundary objects alone, however, offer an insufficient frame of analysis for international conservation agendas. For this reason, I draw from Fujimura's standardised packages (1992). According to Fujimura,

> A package differs from boundary objects in that it is used by researchers to define a conceptual and technical work space which is less abstract, less ill-structured, less ambiguous, and less amorphous. It is a *grey box* which combines several boundary objects […] with standardised methods […] in ways which further restrict and define each (169).

Standardised packages allow for temporal stability and translation for the purposes of large-scale mobilisation. Fujimura (1992) uses the example of cancer research to demonstrate the interactions between different scientific social worlds. For the purposes of this research, examples of standardised packages include the development of the IUCN Red List and its ranking of species into tiers of conservation concern. The Red List functions as a standardised package in that it combines boundary objects from various scales and social worlds in order to assess global risks to species. However, priority setting for NGOs must include regional and local risks as well as global risks for extinction. Translations of boundary objects and standardised packages require the involvement of various experts agreeing, in some way, on the

boundaries of a boundary object. For NGOs to identify and designate conservation goals and projects, a problem must first be agreed upon. NGOs interested in 'solving' these problems then translate them into marketable goals for funders and donors. In this way, conservation strategies come about as a negotiation between and among social worlds; scientists, researchers, policy-makers, etc

By expanding the frame of analysis to include the processes by which boundary objects and translations occur, it becomes possible to witness the exclusion of alternative methodologies in the face of standardisation. Fujimura (1992) argues that standardisation is the means by which collaborative work across worlds can occur (200). The processes of translation and standardisation are important for developing strategies and practices for conservation. The mobilisation of standardised packages can serve multiple functions. On one hand, the collection of data regarding specifics of species loss can promote global goals and initiatives amongst many social worlds. On the other hand, the generalisation of knowledges and privileging of particular knowledges may shut out marginalised voices from relevant conversations.

The legitimisation of specific scientific research to justify the 'protection' of certain areas can be seen through the lens of a standardised package as well. Vietnamese conservation and protection models are sourced from the IUCN and other international organisations. The methods for developing conservation strategies, reserves, and parks function as standardised packages of conservation. These methods are not inherently exclusionary, but their blind application serves to limit and reduce the autonomy and livelihoods of ethnic minority groups living in or near 'protected zones'.

Within conservation discourse and practices, standardised packages and boundary objects act as double-edged swords. Although neither of my arguments related to boundary objects and

standardised packages are particularly novel, the means by which I have mobilised them in conservation practice and theory will contribute to meaningful engagement in future conservation dialogues. By bringing forward methods for inclusion of alternative knowledges, this research project will improve future analyses and conservation efforts that aim to substantially impact humans and the environments on which they depend.

2.1.4 Biodiversity and Wildness

The most common usage of biodiversity claims a 'neutral' scientific standpoint, which ignores the social construction of Nature and privileges a limited form of expertise over other localised knowledges. Narratives of biodiversity and wildness depend upon the particular definitions which are mobilised by various interested groups (Forsyth 2004, 34). One goal of my research is to understand how definitions and values of biodiversity and wildness shift. Biodiversity is defined by the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) as, "diversity within species, between species, and of ecosystems" (Convention). This diversity is understood as complex webs of relationships. Biodiversity is monitored and identified by a myriad of scientists, who organise these relationship webs into matrices from which to identify levels of biodiversity. The expertise required to identify biodiversity is highly scientific and focuses on species other than human. By focusing on populations (human or otherwise), conservation interventions quantify values and goals into matrices (Fletcher 2010, 175). Additionally, the processes of codifying biodiversity make it easier to quantify and marketise Nature for sale in conservation markets (Corson and MacDonald 2012, 271).

Often, biodiversity studies will emphasise the presence of particular charismatic mega fauna as indicators of healthy ecosystems. This is because mega fauna require extensive networks of interrelations in order to maintain healthy high-level populations in addition to the

marketability of these conspicuous species. Conservationists and other experts design models around charismatic mega fauna in order to produce conservation plans and gain support and funds. Developing computer models for biodiversity planning "requires large quantities of usually inaccessible data, and yields models with a high level of structural uncertainty" (Sarkar et al 2006, 131). Modellers struggle to account for this uncertainty because ecosystems are dynamic and function in flux (Zimmerer 2000, 356). However, conceptions of ecosystems as tending towards equilibrium dominate global conservation discourses (Zimmerer 2000, 356). Some reasons for this continued dominance include the relative ease of modelling a static future rather than an unfixed, fluctuating, and unknown future dynamic of an area. Another reason may be the appeal of narratives that describe 'pristine wildernesses' prior to human intrusion promote humans as 'other than' Nature.

Many biodiversity projects promote a human/nature dualism by treating humans as 'other' than their environments. Humans are seen as an inherently negative outside actor or obstacle to biodiversity. This is one reason why First World policy developers disdain human actions that 'destroy' or otherwise alter 'pristine' Third World environments. These narratives promote conservation that seeks to remove 'harmful' humans from environments, particularly in biodiversity hotspots. For example, logging is often described as a negative relationship between humans and forests. It has been noted, however, that "good logging has a relatively limited impact on forest biodiversity", yet the presence and introduction of humans into forests is treated as an inherently negative interaction (Dennis et al 2008, 25). One reason for this is the higher levels of species diversity within neotropical regions of the world. Vietnam, for example, is part of a biodiversity hotspot in which scientists identify 'new' species regularly (Myers et al 200). This contradiction in 'acceptable' engagements with forest environments further perpetuates a

dualism between Humans and Nature and promotes privileging specific expertise and knowledges.

'Wild' as a term and concept has been heavily critiqued and problematised within political ecology. Cronon's heavily cited essay, "The Trouble with Wilderness" (1996) offers a poignant example of the ways in which 'the wild' presents a shifting and un-fixed meaning that is heavily class-based. Cronon (1996) argues that 'wilderness' represents a masculine, upper-class way to 'escape' the undesirable aspects of urban life (14). Within notions of 'wild' and 'unwild', one major challenge is the delineation between these identities. At what point does something become 'unwild'? This follows common arguments within political ecology that question the permeation of Human/Nature dualisms. The assumed differences between the 'natural' or 'wild' world and the 'social' or 'human' world perpetuate narratives of 'untouched wilderness'. Notions of pristine wilderness promote unequal engagements with environments which often favour the wealthy while criminalising the poor (Cronon 1996; 20). Conservation projects that promote the creation or segregation of spaces for the protection of biodiversity often follow these narratives of 'wild' places.

2.2 Methodology

The methodologies employed for this research draw heavily from the conceptual frameworks that shaped my research questions. In this section, I will outline the overarching methodologies in my research and the ways these methodological approaches shaped my research for each chapter of this thesis. This research was carried out over a period of three months in Vietnam. During this time, I volunteered with TRAFFIC in Hanoi and conducted interviews with NGOs, restaurant management, and potential consumers on the street. I also

spent one week conducting interviews with hunters in Nghệ An Province near the border with Lao People's Democratic Republic (PDR).

Throughout my fieldwork, an awareness of positionality, coming from my feminist political ecology background, shaped all aspects of my research. Recognising that there are a myriad of actors and participants engaged in non-linear processes of conservation and consumption, my fieldwork incorporated a mixed-methods approach that included interviews from various 'arenas' that I outlined prior to beginning this research. Each arena represented a different aspect of the commodity chain as well as conservation agendas. In order to understand the ways TRAFFIC functions in terms of conservation organisations, I approached my volunteer time as an organisational ethnography. The rationale for these approaches comes from Actor Network Theory and Science and Technology Studies, as I try to identify the relationships and (co)productions of knowledges between and among various arenas.

This research involves an acute awareness of the positionality of my role within the broad project of producing knowledges (Rocheleau 1995, 459). By adopting a feminist political ecology approach, I attempt to address, mitigate, and acknowledge various power relations and aspects of my positionality within this research. The feminist aspect of my research includes performances of identities and the roles assigned to genders in a conservation context. Incorporating feminist geography into my political ecology framework is important because it works to challenge the binaries of 'nature' and 'society' as well as rigid gender roles and performances. Feminist political ecology goes beyond simply analysing the co/re productions and performances of 'nature' and gender, it calls for a constant reflection on positionality and a strong intersectional approach to analysis (Rocheleau 1995).

2.2.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

My primary mode of data collection was semi-structured interviews. I chose this method because it offers respondents the ability to direct the interview towards topics or ideas that they consider important. My interview questions developed through meetings with my supervisor prior to embarking on my fieldwork and then again refined during the process of gathering information. Beginning with my broadest research questions, I narrowed the focus of those questions so that the answers provided would work to address my overarching questions. These questions were further narrowed and reworded into more empirically guided questions from which I drew interview questions in the field. The reasoning behind this question-tiering process was to develop interview questions that worked towards answering my overarching research questions.

Due to the semi-structured nature of my interviews, each question was not necessarily addressed. This was because some interviews were too short to cover all of the questions. I opted to exclude some questions because the answers were becoming redundant; the question seemed inappropriate to ask in the context of a given interview; or, the particular presentation of a question was not gleaning answers that applied to the research and required adjustment with the research assistant. The freedom afforded in semi-structured interviews means that conversation can flow freely between the interviewer and interviewee. In scripted interviews or surveys, participants have a limited number of responses and the researcher may feel constrained to engage in particular ways.

Participants were arranged into arenas based on their relationship(s) to wild meat and the location of interviews. Dividing interviewees into different arenas allowed me to prepare potential interview questions that addressed various aspects of my research questions in ways

that were appropriate to the contexts of each actor/participant (Appendix A). The process of partitioning arenas is similar to research groups based on affinity through similar social networks and dynamics (Rocheleau 1995, 461). However, due to the wide geographical range of interviews and the limited time for this research, participants were not asked to self-identify with affinities. Instead, the similarities of their roles related to interviews were used to identify arena representation based on the context in which we spoke. The major arenas of participants for this research are NGOs, consumers/restaurant management, and hunters.

NGO Interviews

All interviews with NGO staff members were conducted in English. Although most respondents were not native English speakers, their organisations operate predominately in English and so the interviews were conducted without the aid of a research assistant. Not all NGO offices responded to interview requests. In all, five NGOs responded to interview requests leading to four in-person interviews. One office offered to do an email interview and then replied to my questions list stating that they were unable to respond to my questions but hoped that I would find a recently published article to be useful (NGO representative, email communication with author, July 28, 2016). The 2016 article, "Is Wild Meat a Luxury? Quantifying Wild Meat Demand and Availability in Hue, Vietnam" by Sandalj, Treydte, and Ziegler, features heavily in my wild meat chapter.

While interviewing NGO representatives, I asked questions about wild meat in addition to questions about their organisation's conservation projects. This helps to locate individual organisations within larger conservation discussions and projects. My time spent with TRAFFIC, for example, offered insights into conservation projects that are not directly related to wild meat consumption but do speak to international conservation agendas. In order to learn

more about conservation projects and the ways NGOs locate themselves, I ensured that interviews with NGO representatives encouraged participants to relate their personal and professional experiences with conservation. By doing so, I have been able to understand the ways individuals within organisations as well as organisations themselves work within international conservation schemes.

Consumer/restaurant interviews

In order to understand consumer desire for wildlife products, particularly wild meat, my research focused on urban Hanoi and included semi-structured interviews and street-side surveying of residents. I worked closely with a translator/research assistant to conduct these interviews. Similar to other wild meat research in Vietnam, we used the term *thịt thú rừng* meaning 'meat of the forest' which is typically used to describe, "unusual or exotic species that are not necessarily derived from forest species" (Drury 2011, 248). We made this decision for several reasons. First, I was advised against using the term 'wild meat' because of its association with taboo or illicit activities because of campaigns by the Vietnamese government (NGO representative, personal communication with author, May 17, 2016). Because we were two strangers soliciting information about a potentially illegal activity, we chose to use the broader umbrella description of "forest animal". Additionally, "forest animal meat" helped to narrow our interviews to terrestrial species. Limiting the scope of this research to land-based species also fits within standard uses of 'bush meat' in academic and grey literatures (Lee et al 2014). Finally, the use of 'forest animal' worked to simultaneously narrow and broaden the scope of this research. Several 'forest' species are legally 'farmed' in Vietnam. This served to broaden the scope of the research because the drivers for consumption of farmed and hunted 'forest' species were found to overlap in unexpected ways, which will be discussed further in this chapter.

In order to find restaurants that may serve 'wild meat', we followed the advice of a member of TRAFFIC--we simply looked on Google for "where to eat wild meat in Hanoi". Nhung searched for restaurants on the internet; we also drove around Hanoi and looked for restaurants with signs or names suggestive of 'wild meat'. In Figure 4, I provide an example of a restaurant sign incorporating 'forest' into its name. The interior of this restaurant was similar to many other restaurants that do not advertise 'forest food'; it had a nice interior but appeared to be within the price range for many middle-class consumers. There are quite a few restaurants with names indicating 'forest food' even though the sale and consumption of wild meat is prohibited in Vietnam (Drury 2009a).

Figure 1 A restaurant in Hanoi, drawing from the appeal of 'forest food'. July 2016.

Once restaurants were identified as likely sources of wild meat, we solicited interviews with any available management staff. This proved far more difficult than finding restaurants. One restaurant we visited, called "rừng và biển" meaning "Forest and Sea" (it is common practice to name your restaurant after what it serves) had a menu that showed deer. When asked if anyone at the restaurant would be willing to participate in an interview, we were asked to leave

and told, "the topic is too sensitive and I hope you can understand that we can't talk about it". A similar scene played out at several wild meat restaurants, including one with tê tê (pangolin) on the menu.

Because of the difficulties in getting people at openly 'wild meat' restaurants to speak with us, Nhung and I opted to expand our search to include restaurants that specialised in other 'exotic' foods. Turtle (baba[3]) is very popular and upscale. There are numerous baba restaurants around Hanoi and we approached several of them to try to learn more about the restaurant side of 'wild meat' consumption. We expanded to baba because it is legal to sell, but also quite expensive. If someone wanted to host a tiếp khách[4] dinner, a private dining room at a baba restaurant would offer plenty of privacy to indulge in a variety of meats.

Interviews with potential consumers were conducted in popular walking areas of Hanoi. The process and locations of street-side interviews is similar to other consumer surveys that have been done in Hanoi (Drury 2009a; Venkatarama 2007). Mirroring these methods allows for greater extrapolation across surveys. Additionally, by approaching people in public areas, the likelihood of participation was increased since respondents felt comfortable in their anonymity being protected. The interviews followed a semi-structured format that emphasised drivers for consumption, perceptions of consumers, and species consumed. Out of 23 interviews with restaurants and potential consumers, 15 respondents openly admitted to selling and/or consuming wild meat. Of the remaining respondents, only two stated that there are no circumstances in

[3] baba and rua - In Vietnamese, there are different words for soft-shell and hard-shell turtles. While both are culturally significant, rua is considered highly taboo for consumption.

[4] Tiếp khách is a social custom in Vietnam that translates to "welcome guest" and the term may be used to include several activities. It always refers to a host inviting guests to a fancy meal, typically with large amounts of alcohol, and paid for by the host. The host is often male and invites business partners or influential people out as a way to improve face and demonstrate wealth and social status. In some cases, rare wild species are ordered because their high price, illegal trade status, and rarity help solidify the hosts' status.

which they would consume wild meat. This shows that wild meat consumption is a generally acceptable practice amongst a range of people in Hanoi.

The conspicuous consumption of wildlife, such as during tiếp khách, represents a wealthy and upper-class activity; but that does not represent all consumption patterns or desires for wildlife within urban Vietnam. It is helpful to note the class distinctions, if any, amongst consumers. This helps to determine the accessibility of wild meat to a variety of consumers. One method to determine the class distinctions between consumers is to track the price differences of various species. There have been very few large-scale studies of wild meat and wild animal products in urban Vietnam. These larger studies that have employed standardised surveys and questionnaires have ranked species in terms of their costs to consumers (Drury 2009a; Venkatarama 2007; Sandalj, Treydte, and Ziegler 2016). These studies are very limited in the scope of their analysis and the availability of other surveys to compare findings. Due to the time constraints of my research, I was unable to ascertain prices for wild meat.

Village Interviews

As previously noted, hunting and 'wild meat' can be sensitive subjects. For this research, contacting hunters proved to be even more sensitive than contacting restaurants. This is because many hunters are members of ethnic minority groups in Vietnam. The Vietnamese government recognises 54 ethnic groups in the country, 52 of which are considered minority groups and are entitled to reside within protected conservation areas that have significant historical or cultural meaning (McElwee 2010). Because of their residence within protected areas, and often quite remote locations of villages, it can be difficult for outsiders to access villages located within park boundaries. Additionally, it is difficult to establish and maintain contacts within the villages as an outsider because of the time required to build trusting relationships. Through connections

made during earlier interviews, I become affiliated with a professor of biology at Vinh University in Nghệ An Province, Vietnam. This professor, Professor Trung, invited me to come to Vinh and arranged interviews for me with hunters in some protected areas of the province. I spent 10 days with Mr Trung and his colleague Mr. Dung, we visited three villages in the Pù Mát and the Pu Huong protected areas that are part of the Nghệ An biosphere reserve. This area is a biodiversity hotspot (Myers et al 2000) located in the central Annamite Mountains that border Lao PDR.

All interviews in the villages took place in people's homes, most often the hunter's home. Some interviews took place in another home in the village due to opportunistic interviewing and the presence of a hunter in another hunter's home. Predominantly, the interviews were with men, however women and other family members were often present. There is a strong critique of TEK research that privileges male experiences and knowledge over female experiences (Brosius and Hitchner 2010). Within this research project, I have worked to include women's voices however, my limited time spent with hunters and their families made it difficult to investigate male or female identities and relationships with forests and hunting. An additional challenge to incorporating gender into my research was my dependency on Professor Trung as a translator. While I was able to communicate basic ideas in Vietnamese, there was no opportunity for me to connect with or interview anyone without Professor Trung's help. As previously noted, my status as a foreign researcher dramatically reduced the opportunities I had for encountering hunters. My presence in the villages was a bit of an anomaly. The forests are considered "too difficult" for women which is why there are nearly no female forest rangers. It is possible, that my 'toughness' in the field helped to establish my credibility as a researcher.

2.2.3 Other Methods

In addition to semi-structured interviews, other methods employed for my research include involvement with the TRAFFIC Hanoi office and an analysis of grey literature and media related to rhino horn consumption in Vietnam. During my three-month fieldwork in Hanoi, I worked as a volunteer in TRAFFIC's office. Prior to commencing my fieldwork, I contacted several NGO offices in Hanoi. TRAFFIC agreed to assist in my research and offered me access to a desk in the office.

Another important aspect of my methodological approach was an attempt to conduct an organisational ethnography. Organisational ethnographies are a way to understand the networks and translations between/among people within organisations. Because of the international and multi-levelled structure of NGOs such as TRAFFIC, I hoped to gain a clearer understanding of the power relationships and social networks within the office and organisation. Due to the time constraints and limited work available for me to do with the office, I was not able to pursue this aspect of my research in detail. My role within the office was to assist in light editing and proofreading of various news briefs or emails.

The organisational ethnography aspect of my research took place with TRAFFIC. An international environmental NGO based in the United Kingdom. TRAFFIC operates large regional offices as well as smaller country-specific offices around the world. The Southeast Asia regional office is located in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and the Hanoi office is treated as a small, but busy, outpost for the organisation. For the duration of my time in Hanoi, I spent an average of 3-4 days per week at the TRAFFIC office to offer my services as a part-time volunteer. The mandate of TRAFFIC International is to stop the trafficking of wildlife with a focus on conservation, however the office in Hanoi has been tasked with challenging consumption of

wildlife products such as rhino horn and other plant and animal products used in Traditional Chinese Medicine (TRAFFIC.org).

While working with TRAFFIC in Hanoi, I learned about the workings of the organisation as well as some of the personalities that drive conservation organisations in Hanoi. The office is run by a foreign head and typically staffed with one additional foreigner for English language projects. The rest of the staff are predominately Vietnamese women, with only two male staff members. One of which was a foreign communications officer. During my time with TRAFFIC, formal and informal interviews were conducted. The staff was very helpful in answering my questions and offered advice for my research. Although the office is not currently focused on wild meat per se, the Medicinal and Aromatic Plants (MAPS) and rhino horn consumption projects are in line with the broad focus of this research regarding changing modes and practices of environmental governance.

When I arrived in Hanoi, the head of the office was away for a conference and there was a foreign staff changeover. An American intern finished their term and a new full-time foreign staff member stepped in. Because my fieldwork lasted three short months, there were not many opportunities to involve me heavily in any projects since the regular staff were busy orienting a full-time employee. Another reason for my limited involvement with the organisation is that many offices reduce their work over the summer months for employees to spend holidays with family. Nevertheless, while working in the TRAFFIC office, I was privy to many conversations and had open access to ask questions of the entire staff at any time. This enabled me to understand the projects and rationale for many of TRAFFIC's projects.

The final methodological approach that I used for this research was an analysis of grey literatures. I engaged with NGO reports, special issue publications, and media reports regarding

rhino horn in Vietnam. All of these sources are published in English; however, some news stories come from the English language desk of the Vietnamese news office. I have included news stories as a way to highlight the narratives of rhino horn consumption from 'western' and Vietnamese perspectives. Additionally, the contradictory information within some NGO reports highlights the challenges of measuring conservation goals and success across organisations. As translations require various social worlds, it is fitting that I include grey literatures in this analysis.

2.3 Translator/Research Assistance

2.3.1 Miss Nhung

One of the most obvious ways in which I was forced to grapple with my positionality was through my insufficient knowledge of the Vietnamese language. In order to conduct the majority of the interviews for this research, I needed the help of a translator and research assistant. It was very important that the person I worked with be able to adapt questions to fit various contexts, as well as sensitivity to cultural cues and an ability to express these to me. The research assistant I worked with in Hanoi was also my Vietnamese language tutor. In this way, our relationship involved fluctuating power dynamics. Although my role as the funder placed me in a more powerful position, my limited language skills left me entirely dependent on my research assistant/teacher. Miss Nhung[5] is a young Vietnamese woman whose family has lived in Hanoi for generations. She is a recent university graduate from the local university. During her studies,

[5] While the names of all interview respondents are withheld in this thesis, I have included the names of my research assistant and my contacts at Vinh University. I have done so with their explicit permissions.

she began working part-time as a Vietnamese tutor for foreigners in Hanoi. We worked together to adjust my guiding research questions into useable interview questions for various participants.

In some ways, our positionality as two young women asking questions about wild meat and conservation seemed to open a few doors of conversation. Several participants seemed interested in 'educating' us by explaining in detail their perspectives and understandings. Most of those participants expressed a sincere interest in the research and seemed compelled to offer advice regarding situations in which they felt other participants could mislead us. In other cases, some restaurants did not take us seriously and either ignored our questions or dawdled around answers. At one restaurant, the manager agreed to speak with us and almost immediately walked out of the interview because some fish sauce sales representatives arrived. There was no warning or indication of conclusion, the respondent simply got up and walked away. Further complicating the positionality of Miss Nhung and myself was the fact that many Hanoians often assumed she was not Vietnamese. Although her family is ethnic Kinh, the dominant ethnic group in Vietnam (United Nations Population Fund), her tanned skin and foreign counterpart often led people to think she was not Vietnamese. At one point, someone said to her, "your Vietnamese is very good". Overall, I think that our appearance as young foreign women may have helped ease our way into interviews. Because we do not look like government officials or other people with any law enforcement credentials, I think that people felt comfortable speaking candidly about sensitive topics.

2.3.2 Professor Trung

Further adding to my awareness of positionality, were my experiences in Nghệ An Province. In the villages, more so than in Hanoi, the novelty of my role as a young, white, female

researcher was obvious. My continued dependency on a translator was a constant reminder of my unique and complicated status. Luckily, Professor Trung, the professor with whom I travelled in Nghệ An Province, had pre-existing relationships in the villages and so I was the only foreign element to our visits. Professor Trung is a professor of biology at Vinh University and a head member of the Centre for Environmental and Rural Development (CERD), affiliated with the university. While preparing for my visit to Nghệ An Province, I spoke with Professor Trung and I asked if it would be difficult to get hunters to participate in interviews. His response was, "the hunters know me so they won't be shy, they know the teacher doesn't interrupt hunting". He has worked with many of the people in these villages for a long time and they have good relationships. During interviews, it was obvious that many people felt comfortable speaking openly with us because they knew there was not risk of retribution by the government for their forest use activities.

There were multiple power dynamics fluctuating during the time spent in these villages. My positionality with Professor Trung was that of a foreign researcher and an existing domestic research operation. He is a well-established biologist in Vietnam who has worked with researchers from all over the world. While I have no reputation as a researcher or academic, I was treated as an equal to Professor Trung. Although I felt myself to have very few qualifications, I needed to perform the identity of an expert. The positionality of Professor Trung and myself going to speak with hunters was that of outside experts coming into an area to research. Many of the people we spoke with live in the buffer zones of Pù Mát and Pu Huong Nature Reserves. The people who live in these villages are predominantly from an ethnic minority group called the Thai people. Professor Trung is ethnic Kinh, which may play into a power dynamic as well. While the help of Professor Trung and Ms. Nhung was essential to the

conduct and completion of this research, I am also aware of the complications and implications their involvement has for my own positionality.

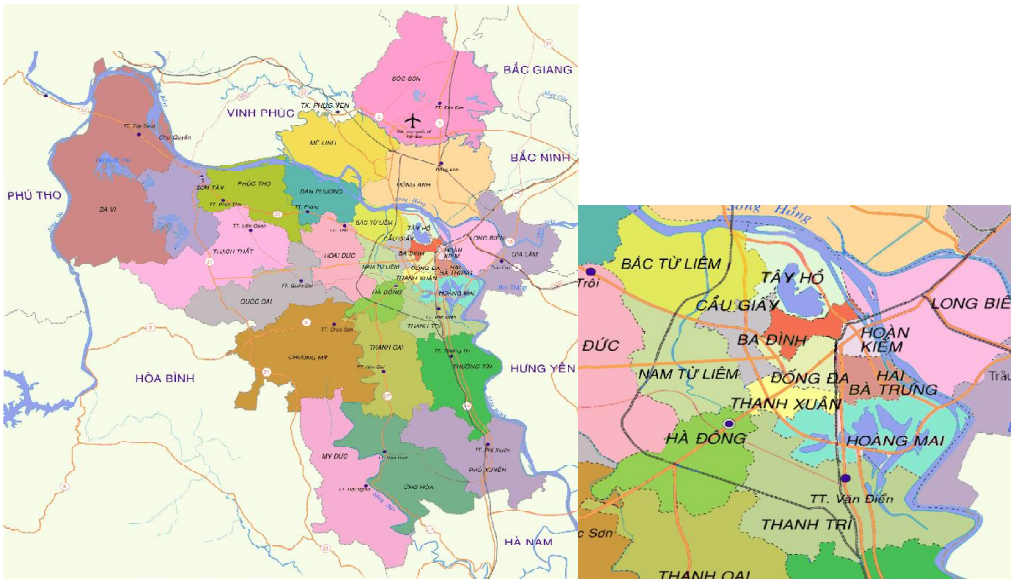
Professor Trung's career as a biologist has been spent in the central Annamites of Nghệ An Province. Mr. Dung's ties to the area are through community development and policies. More recently, they have worked in the biosphere with the financial support of the Centre for Environmental and Rural Development (CERD), a quasi-NGO group based at Vinh University. Professor Trung's other work is as part of the Saola Working Group (SWG) of the IUCN. Mr Trung and Mr. Dung have spent significant time studying forest ecologies and management practices, as well as facilitating some foreign researchers. Thanks to their long-standing relationships, I was able to side step many of the challenges associated with forging new contacts and interviewing about sensitive topics. Previous and on-going research by Professor Trung has emphasised hunting methods and personal accounts of changing forest species populations. While my research plan did not include focus groups, Professor Trung expressed to me that, "the hunters are tired of focus groups because they don't feel like they get anything from doing them". This did not alter my research, however I did find it interesting that focus groups and community mapping were felt to be 'overdone' by research projects that have taken place in the villages.

2.4 Field Sites

The primary field site of this research was Hanoi, Vietnam. I chose Hanoi because it is the capital and home to many international NGO offices. As of 2009, the population of Hanoi is 6.45 million (United Nations "Viet Nam"). The majority of street-side interviews were conducted in Hoàn Kiếm district as this area is a common area for people to gather and use park spaces. Other interviews were conducted in and around Tây Hồ (West Lake), Hai Bà Trưng, Cầu Giấy, and Đống Đa districts. These areas were also selected because they are busy areas and people are

more likely to respond to questions there. All NGO interviews in Hanoi were conducted in the Ba Đình district. During this fieldwork, I conducted nine sidewalk interviews and 17 interviews with conservation professionals. Interviews with conservation professionals included: staff members of TRAFFIC, other conservation NGO representatives in Hanoi and Vinh, and individuals associated with park management in Vietnam.

Initially, restaurant interviews were attempted in Hoàn Kiếm and Tây Hồ districts but we were advised by participants that districts further away from the core would be more likely to sell or advertise 'forest animal meat' because the enforcement of rules is less strict in those areas. We were advised to visit Cầu Giấy, Đống Đa, and Hai Bà Trưng districts as those areas are outside the central core of the city. Miss Nhung identified many of the restaurants we contacted. These restaurants were selected because they turned up on internet searches under key terms or the name/signage of the restaurant indicated forest animal meat would be for sale. This was determined by driving around the city and using internet searches. While we were successful in identifying several restaurants with clear indications of 'wild meat' for sale, none of the restaurants were willing to participate in interviews.

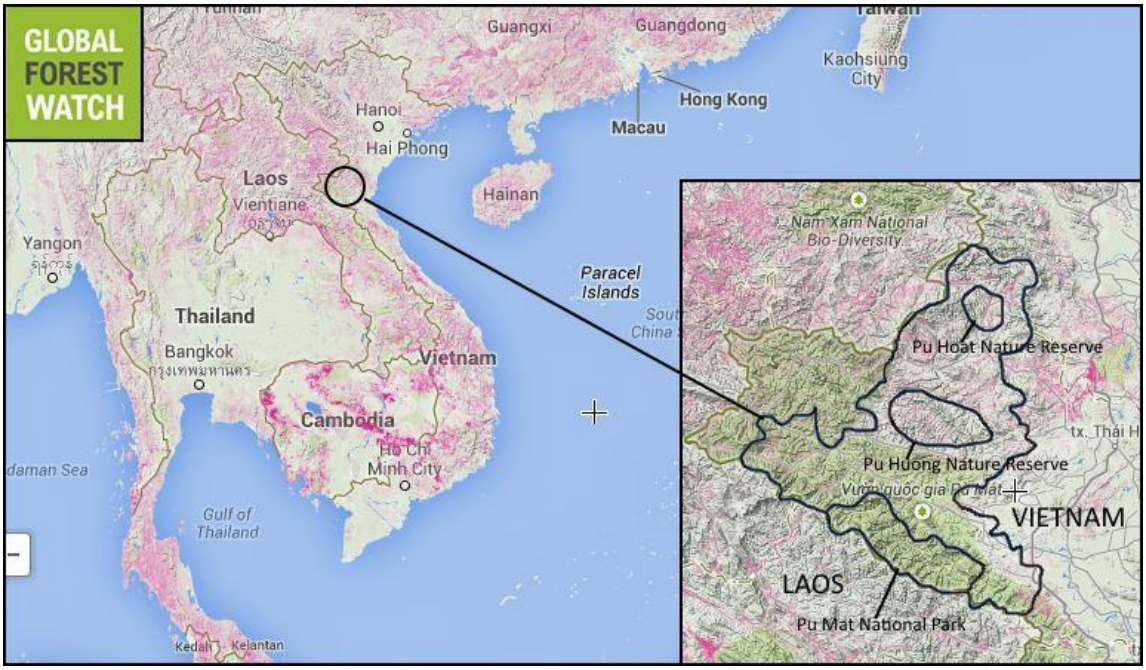


Map 1 This map shows central Hanoi and the surrounding districts. Interviews were conducted in the following districts: Hoàn Kiếm, Tây Hồ, Ba Đình, Hai Bà Trưng, Cầu Giấy, and Đống Đa Districts. Source https://www.myhanoitours.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Hanoi-District-Map.png

Instigating interviews about legal products, such as baba, allowed us to build trust in the interviews before we asked about illegal practices. A total of 13 restaurant interviews were conducted. One restaurant interview occurred in the city of Vinh during a field-site trip to Nghệ An Province. The findings of this interview mirrored findings from Hanoi-based restaurant interviews. Typically, these interviews were conducted with senior staff members or management which was helpful for us to understand the workings of the restaurant in a larger picture of consumption.

Through my contact with the Centre for Environmental and Rural Development (CERD) based out of Vinh University, I was able to interview hunters living in protected zones near the Lao PDR border. During my one-week trip to Nghệ An Province, 14 village based interviews and one restaurant interview were conducted. It was during this time, that I interviewed park management personnel as well. The villages that I visited with Professor Cao Tien Trung

(Professor Trung) and his associate Professor Dung, are in the Pù Mát and Pu Huong Nature Preserves in western Nghệ An Province. This province is a very rural province with a population of 2.9 million people (General Statistics Office). Much of the province spans a unique geographical region called the Annamite Mountains (Critical Ecosystems Partnership Fund). This area is recognised as a biodiversity 'hot-spot' due to the unique topography, climate, and relatively low levels of industrial development for much of the 20th century.



Map 2 The inset of this map shows the larger outline of the Western Nghê An Biosphere, and the location of the three parks within the biosphere area. In this research, I interviewed hunters in Pu Huong Nature Reserve and met forest officials in Pu Mat. Source: Global Forest Watch

The protected areas of Pù Mát National Park and Pu Huong Nature Reserve are located near the border with Lao PDR. In this region of the province, Thai minority groups are common (United Nations Population Fund 2011, 58) and several villages exist within buffer zones of these protected areas. Because of their ethnic minority status, the Vietnamese government allows these villages to remain and villagers are permitted to use lands immediately surrounding the

villages. Other areas of buffer zone forest are protected through payment for ecosystem services schemes (Pham et al 2013). These PES/Forest Protection schemes will be examined in greater detail in chapter five of this thesis. The village interviews were semi-structured and mediated through the translation of Professor Trung. He secured many of our contacts in advance of coming to the villages; however, some interviews came about through word-of-mouth after our arrival.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that by drawing from my conceptual frameworks, I shaped my methodologies to reflect a commitment to awareness of positionality as well as critical engagement with environmental narratives regarding conservation and wild animal product consumption. Through environmentalities as a framework, I have been able to recognise the contradictions within environmental governance in the form of NGOs and forces that pull people into desire for wild animal products. These contradictions highlight the importance of critical research and the difficulty in developing conservation projects. Furthermore, this work seeks to locate the production and then mobilisation of knowledges (Goldman and Turner 2011, 16). The promotion of a particular set of expertise as the ultimate determinant of conservation agendas has proven problematic and limited. When conservation projects "start off with the wrong story" (King 2003, 26), time and resources are poured in to promote environmental narratives that may be fundamentally out of line with the realities of a situation. Working with translators and research assistance forced recognition of positionality in ways that were unexpected and exciting. It also forced me to consider the narratives and assumptions driving my own desire to research international conservation organisations and the relationships of consumers to wild animal products.

CHAPTER THREE: CONSERVATION ORGANISATIONS

3.1 Introduction

Reducing the amount of biodiversity lost globally is the primary agenda under which the international conservation organisations operate. The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and the IUCN Red List are the grey boxes from which conservationists translate their projects (Fujimura 1992). A common method to protect biodiversity is through the creation of conservation areas that are secure from human-induced deforestation, what Fletcher (2010) identifies as sovereign environmentality (177). However, as noted by Forsyth (2004), humans and human actions in forests such as logging and hunting may actually have positive effects for ecosystem resilience. These contradictions have led some conservation organisations to identify other 'threats' such as demand for forest products, leading the groups to adopt market-based conservation which may include disciplinary or neoliberal environmentality (Fletcher 2010, 176). The Wildlife Trade Monitoring Network, TRAFFIC, stands as a good representation of the current shift of global conservation discourse. This organisation focuses exclusively on wildlife trade including trade networks, trafficking, and sale of endangered species. In Vietnam, TRAFFIC has a major project targeting rhino horn consumers and so this chapter will engage with consumer-based conservation.

Identifying consumers of wild animal products as drivers for biodiversity loss represents a shift in conservation discourse. Rather than direct interventions into threatened ecosystems, some conservation organisations now emphasise market-based approaches. This shift into identifying the consumer as a key driver for biodiversity loss is part of the neoliberalisation of

conservation (McCarthy and Prudham 2004, 276). Other indicators of the increasing neoliberalisation of conservation include the prominence of non-state actors stepping in to fund and implement conservation projects (Büscher et al 2012); the privatisation of conservation areas through NGOs (Brockington 2002); and the marketisation of Nature and environmental services (Roth and Dressler 2012). In this model, large international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) absorb the responsibilities for enacting, policing, and enforcing conservation agendas. In order to translate the threats to biodiversity through consumption of wild animal products into this neoliberalised conservation framework, processes of environmentality become evident.

Orientalism is another important concept to be aware of in global conservation discourses. Orientalism, as forwarded by Said is, "a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable amount of material investment" (1979, 6). International conservation is also a body of theory and practice with significant investments. Environmentality and Orientalism can reinforce each other through conservation actions of NGOs. The underlying logics of Orientalism and environmentality require an 'Other' whose behaviour must be shaped to meet the demands of a 'Western' world order (Lohmann 1993). These subjective 'Others' are presented in opposition to dominant economic and 'conservation-friendly' values. International conservation NGOs may fall into Orientalist behaviours through promotion of particular expertise and internalised biases against the 'other'.

While it is easy to criticise systemic structures that promote NGO-isation through neoliberal policies, I will instead highlight the ways in which TRAFFIC attempts to navigate these contradictions in order to meet the organisation's goals. One way to understand the actions of NGOs is to consider their objectives and programmes through the lenses of boundary objects and standardised packages. I argue that an analysis of translations across social worlds regarding

conservation practices is important for understanding the ways environmental subjects are shaped. This is important because it offers insights for conservationists to design and implement projects that are sensitive to the nuances of their target audiences. By focusing on the Chi Initiative conservation project run by TRAFFIC, I will highlight the influences and tensions within consumer-based conservation projects in Vietnam. This case study helps to show the ways that various NGOs in Vietnam locate their work within conservation projects. Then, I will narrow my focus to explore the relationship between Traditional Vietnamese Medicine (TVM) and consumer-based conservation efforts directed at quelling rhino horn consumption amongst Hanoi residents.

3.2 Locating NGO-based conservation within Vietnam

There are several large conservation NGOs working within Vietnam and with offices in Hanoi. The organisations employ various environmentalities based on their conservation targets. The historical basis for international NGOs in 'developing' countries draws from colonial pasts and may result in Orientalist projects. Primarily, these organisations are concerned with shaping subjects who will protect and invest in further conservation to halt or reverse biodiversity loss. An important way for these organisations to shape environmental subjects is through processes of Othering those who fall outside normative social behaviours.

Orientalism shapes and is shaped by all actors involved. Orientalism includes processes of othering and essentialising the Orient as 'wild', 'exotic', 'uncivilised', and fundamentally different from the rational, civilised West. Through the promotion of 'imagined geographies', the Orient continues to evolve in multifaceted and contradictory ways (Said 1979, 12). There is not a

singular experience of Orientalism, the power dynamic that enables the 'West' to other the 'Orient' manifests in various ways which are dependent on historical, cultural, and economic specificities. Because of the historical nature of Orientalism, international conservation organisations may unintentionally promote and perpetuate Orientalist ideas within their projects and among their donor bases.

Many NGOs, such as TRAFFIC, are cognizant of the complex relationships and identities related to consumption of rhino horn and other wild harvested products. These organisations rely on donors whose Orientalist conceptions of the 'Other' depend upon non-reflexive actions to 'civilise'. Processes of othering require experts. These people are the knowledge holders who filter and interpret knowledges of the 'Other'. From experts, knowledge of conservation, people, and projects becomes known by organisations.

For this research, I focused on TRAFFIC's work; I will briefly highlight some of the work done by other highly visible organisations in Vietnam. These organisations include the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), and Education for Nature - Vietnam (ENV). The IUCN functions as a coordination focal point for designing and outlining information that congeals into the standardised package of conservation strategy. One of the most influential roles of the IUCN is the production of the Red List, which identifies the conservation status and risks for species worldwide. This voluminous list, compiled by researchers, highlights regional and global risks to populations of species based on several criteria. Other conservation organisations rely on this list to give credibility to their agendas and projects. The IUCN Red List provides legitimacy to conservation projects because it enables groups to draw from a variety of experts.

Additionally, through the IUCN international and local NGOs can apply for grants to fund their conservation efforts. Over the last few years, almost $10 million (USD) have been awarded to groups for "biodiversity conservation and civil society capacity building" (NGO representative, interview with author, May 26, 2016) with close to $2 million of that money focused on illegal wildlife trade (The IUCN). WWF's work in Vietnam focuses on protecting and maintaining conservation areas with particular focus on endemic species in the Annamite mountains of Vietnam. They are also involved in snare removal as a way to combat illegal hunting of wildlife in conservation areas (WWF). The Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) works to document and enforce laws surrounding trafficking of wildlife across borders, particularly into China (WCS).

Education for Nature Vietnam (ENV) is the most well known Vietnamese environmental NGO operating in the country. They operate a wildlife hotline in English and Vietnamese for people to call in anonymous tips to protect and rescue wildlife. This hotline is popular amongst Vietnamese and foreign residents in Hanoi. Unlike the other organisations I have mentioned, ENV is a domestically run NGO. Its operations employ disciplinary environmentality and their studies are increasingly used to influence governmental action through publicity and public engagement (Mol 2009). TRAFFIC, the NGO with which I worked most closely, has projects emphasising consumer-based conservation in Hanoi. Conservation, as understood and presented by TRAFFIC, consists of four pillars. These pillars can also be understood as goals for conservation. They are, "[to] stop buying, [to] stop trafficking, [to] stop poaching, and international cooperation". The Hanoi office of TRAFFIC locates itself within the former two goals.

The experts mobilised by NGOs are typically foreign, while the majority of regional staff are local residents. During interviews at offices, I observed a largely female and Vietnamese staffing demographic with a very small number of foreigners. When asked about the breakdown of other offices in the region, one NGO representative mirrored my observations, however they did not actively point out the gendered aspect of these staff members. During this interview, it became clear that at least three of the four foreign staff for this NGO in Vietnam are male. Additionally, these foreign staff members represent the heads of various groups. One foreigner was described as, "the head of the Indo-Burma group, so this means that he's responsible for basically all of the country programs in the Indo-Burma region […] He's responsible for our work in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Myanmar" (NGO representative, interview with author, May 26, 2016). While there is limited foreign staff, they seem to constitute the majority of 'experts' used by these NGOs. The importation of experts and the enforcement of international conservation goals may limit the abilities of domestic conservation work because independent local groups or projects are often overlooked for international funds. When they are included in funding, it is often contingent on the absorption of the project into a larger NGO agenda, or with the approval of a foreign expert as witnessed by the countless 'partnerships'.

These organisations operate in different ways, and target different species and behaviours. From my observations, many of these organisations prefer to conduct independent studies rather than rely on findings from other groups. One NGO stated, "I think different NGOs and different organisations use different methods. For us, we use only our own system and we cannot quantify the whole […] country because we cannot monitor everything." This shows that organisations, which may draw from the same grey box of biodiversity and conservation, use these concepts in very different ways and are not always inclined to collaborate on projects. In

this way, organisations work to shape environmental subjects but they employ different approaches to their projects. Additionally, conservation groups may design projects that reinforce particular biases because each group draws from the Red List but translates these ideas into their own narratives.

3.3 Traditional Medicine Practices and Conservation

In order to understand how NGOs, specifically TRAFFIC, design and put forth consumer-based conservation projects, it is important to know some of the contextual and cultural basis for consumption. Before going into detail about TRAFFIC's campaign against rhino horn consumption, I will examine the relationship between Traditional Medicine practices in Vietnam and wildlife consumption. Worldwide, traditional medicines rely on plant and animal products in order to cure and address illnesses. The efficacy of medicinal plants has been well studied and supported in western medical practices (Taylor 2004). Animal products also have a long history in TVM and TCM. Characteristics of various animals are understood to transit to the consumer and work to rebalance bodily functions (Robertson). For example, pangolins, a scaly anteater native to parts of Asia and Africa, dig and so they have been used to 'release blockages' in the body (Robertson). The use and effectiveness of animal products in traditional medicine remains a largely understudied field for western researchers (Alves et al 2013, 26). As such, TM practitioners function as the knowledge holders and gateways through which medical knowledges must pass.

Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), Traditional Medicine (TM), and Traditional Vietnamese Medicine (TVM) are all incarnations and variations of medicine that is 'other than'

Western medicine and practiced in Vietnam.[6] Among Western audiences and consumers, many East and Southeast Asian medical practices have been branded 'Chinese Medicine'; however, the reality of these practices is that they are incredibly diverse in histories, materials, and applications. According to Van and Tap (2008)

> Traditional medicine in Viet Nam is broadly differentiated into two types. The first treatment process was created by Vietnamese peoples using materials native to Viet Nam, and is known as southern medicine (*Thuốc Nam*) or Traditional Vietnamese Medicine (TVM). The second treatment process was created by ethnic Chinese peoples using materials native to China. This is known as northern medicine (*Thuốc Bắc*) or Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) […] In Viet Nam it is widely acknowledged that TVM is used primarily for curing ailments and diseases, and TCM is used chiefly for enhancing or strengthening health (16). [7]

This distinction between purposes of engagement with Vietnamese and Chinese medical practices is important for understanding different drivers for consumption and products consumed. TVM is highly regarding in Vietnam, and state insurance plans cover many TVM treatments. In one conversation, it was revealed to me that, until recently, pangolin scales were covered under the state health plan to assist nursing mothers with lactation (NGO representative, conversation with author, June 2016). Regardless of the truth in this claim, the fact that a respondent shared this with me shows that TVM is so commonplace and socially embedded, that products from an endangered species are thought to be covered under health plans. This respondent said that the endangered status of pangolins has led state insurance to stop covering their scales for prescriptions.

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[6] Van and Tap (2008) note, "issues regarding 'ownership' of traditional medicine treatment processes can be politically and culturally sensitive" (16) and as such, I have taken care to refer to medicinal practices as TM when there could be overlap or confusion in country of origin.

[7] It is important to note that many ethnic groups populate Vietnam and China across vastly different geographical territories and, as such, medical practices within TVM and TCM vary as well.

Traditional medicine knowledges are boundary objects in that they must be translated and navigated by several social worlds. However, these knowledges do not function as standardised packages because they do not seek temporal stability. One of the only studies of TVM, by Van and Tap (2008) for TRAFFIC, documented the plant and animal species reported by TVM consumers, traders, and dispensers. This study was groundbreaking in that it sought to name the raw materials actively used by a variety of participants. Additionally, this study tracked the costs of these remedies and is cited heavily across conservation literatures and other NGO reports (Lee et al 2014, 16). As noted by Van and Tap (2008), this topic requires further studies, however their call has gone unheeded.

The use of animal products, not just rhino horn, in TM is presented as inherently opposed to, "our modern, globalised and technically advanced world" (Still 2003, 121) by many Western audiences. Taylor (2004) argues that preconceived, *Orientalist*, interpretations of 'Chinese' medicine by 'Western' audiences worked, "in turn, to influence Chinese society, and medicine itself" (96). This re-cycling of foreign conceptions into domestic thought is evident within Vietnamese medicine as well. The use of rhino horn as an aphrodisiac was considered, "a denigrating, unjust characterisation of the trade by Western media, but such usage is now, rather incredibly, being documented in Viet Nam as the media myth turns full circle" (Milliken and Shaw 2012, 15). The Orientalism inherent in Western presentations of TM makes conservation of species used in TM hard to navigate. In addition, processes of environmentality which present some behaviours as deviant can fit into Orientalist discourses by presenting Western rationality as superior to Vietnamese 'superstitions'.

TVM represents a culturally significant identity marker for many Vietnamese people. While traditional medicine practices are more prominent amongst rural and indigenous

communities worldwide (Lee et al 2014), the high volume of trade in cities shows that animals in TM are, "culturally important in urban areas" (Alves et al 2013, 32). Any conservation effort that targets medically significant species[8] must navigate the blurred territory of emotional and cultural values associated with species and medicine. In order to locate TM within conservation projects, I will explore the complex relationships between rhino horn, TVM, and consumer-based conservation efforts. Rhino horn consumption and conservation projects have interesting connections with Orientalism and environmentality, which will be explored in the following sections.

3.4 Rhino Horn, "*Strength from Within*"

According to Save the Rhino, an international conservation NGO with high profile links, there are less than 30,000 rhinos living in the wild, mostly in Africa. Of these, Save the Rhino claims that each species and individual is at risk for poaching (Save the Rhino). Rhinos are often killed for their horns, which are increasingly destined for Asian consumers (Lunstrum 2017). In 2011, the extinction of the Vietnamese Javan Rhino was the result of poaching (Baraniuk 2016; Brook et al 2011). In order to meet demand for rhino horn in Asia, rhino horn imports from southern Africa have boomed (Graham-Rowe 2011). This has led to increased militarisation of conservation including armed guards around rhinos in reserves (Lunstrum 2014). Conservation projects targeted at rhino horn consumers use processes of disciplinary and neoliberal environmentality. These projects also draw from Orientalist discourses through their portrayal of

[8] While not all TM plants or animal remedies have been proven effective, and while there are some highly effective synthetic alternatives to many endangered species-based treatments, the social significance of some species has embedded them into practices. It is neither the desire of the researcher nor the purpose of this project to assess the medical legitimacy of any TM remedies.

Asian consumers as irrational and un-scientific. To combat what is seen as the impending extinction of rhinos worldwide, various NGOs and governments have attempted to dampen the demand and supply of rhino horn. Militarising rhino guards only addresses one side of the rhino horn trade however; conservation targeted at Vietnamese consumers is quite different from the conservation in Africa.

The Orientalist underpinnings of rhino horn consumption are more obvious in the actions and rationale of conservationists outside of Vietnam but may be important for increasing funding for conservation NGOs, particularly those that depend on funding from international donors. This complicated relationship between NGOs and their donors highlights the tenuous interplay between various forms of environmentality and Orientalist logic. The intimacy of these relationships results in an awareness, which is not explicit, of their connections. Obvious practices of environmentality are not immune to Orientalism, and the implicit presence of Orientalism does not preclude its far-reaching influence. The current trends in global conservation merits a closer look at the ways Orientalism and environmentality are involved in these projects.

During my time spent with TRAFFIC, Orientalism was not a point of conversation. I did however observe differences within the way different publication types approach Orientalist narratives. A coffee-table book in the office described in detail the 'absurd' desires of black market wildlife consumers (Davies 2005). This book, titled "Black Market" by Ben Davies gives thanks to TRAFFIC and clearly targets a Western audience with limited background knowledge on wildlife trafficking and consumption. It would be easy for a reader to become swept up in Orientalist notions of 'backwards Asian traditions' such as eating the brain of a still living monkey and conflate all wildlife consumption with these graphic examples. While this book

brings concerns of animal welfare and wildlife trafficking to the forefront, it does so by capitalising on Orientalist and othering tactics. In contrast to that, research reports published by TRAFFIC explore nuances and recognise diversity amongst drivers for wildlife trade and consumers. These reports, many of which are cited in this thesis, are freely available to the public, however it is unlikely that the average person will encounter or read NGO reports. Within the organisation, there seems to be a strong tendency towards nuance and cultural sensitivity. However, publications targeted toward a general audience in the West seem to play off Orientalist preconceptions in order to garner attention for conservation organisation.

Marketing conservation projects to outside donors helps to secure necessary funding for many NGOs. Conservation NGOs working in Vietnam typically seek foreign or outside donations to fund their projects. Save the Rhino Vietnam, for example, has collaborated with famous athletes in the UK to 'save the rhinos' (Save the Rhino). The primary goal from their campaign is to stop the extinction of rhinos by presenting the consumption of rhino horn as a status symbol that feeds global crime networks. Through this superficial presentation of rhino horn consumption, donors are not asked to pass moral judgements beyond concern for the plight of the species. It does not seem to engage with drivers for consumption, which, as this thesis shows, are nuanced, and complex. Education for Nature Vietnam (ENV) has also partnered with Save the Rhino in order to secure better funding for their projects. Unlike Save the Rhino, ENV takes on the role of 'rational' expert by presenting rhino horn as a 'magical cure' and showing consumers as gullible and unintelligent. Rather than recognising the diversity of drivers for rhino horn consumption, ENV states, "One might as well seek relief chewing on fingernails!" (Education for Nature Vietnam). These two organisations both seek donor funding in order to continue their conservation projects. While both must navigate the murky waters of Orientalism

in conservation, one attempts to deflect attention away from the consumer while the other puts blame squarely on consumers. These tactics result in marketing campaigns that either avoid or embrace Orientalism.

Rhino horn has been used in TM for detoxification and fever reduction (Still 2003, 119). Consumed as a general health treatment, rhino horn is also popular for curing hangovers (Guilford). There is a sensationalised, and untraceable, story of a government official curing his cancer by using rhino horn (Save the Rhino; Milliken and Shaw 2012; Ammann 2011). This story perpetuates and its 'facts' become stabilised through repetition among and across social worlds. One of the most popular Western narratives about rhino horn consumption in Asia, are the claims that it works as a penis enhancer or treatment for erectile dysfunction (Still 2003, 119). This claim appears to have originated outside of Vietnam, but the allure of enhancement has caught on within the country (Save the Rhino). It works well for enlightened 'scientific' outsiders[9], allowing them to dismiss this narrative through scientific studies of the efficacy of these remedies (Still 2003). The persistence of the claim that rhino horn assists in virility may be evidence of the orientalising of rhino horn consumers by 'enlightened' outsiders. Assuming positions of perceived scientific superiority due to Western training and expertise designations fits within Orientalist narratives of conservation.

The consumption of products such as rhino horn may be considered curative or enhancing depending on the consumer and their desired effects; there are many reasons why people choose to consume rhino horn. In a 2012 consumer survey, TRAFFIC identified several key drivers for rhino horn consumption. This survey has influenced TRAFFIC's rhino horn

[9] In this case, the outsiders I refer to are the same people who donate to conservation NGOs mentioned at the beginning of this thesis. I also call to mind the Orientalism of the 'Western gaze'.

consumption projects. I will now highlight the key findings from this report as they shape current TRAFFIC projects. The Milliken and Shaw (2012) report referenced throughout this paragraph identified four categories of rhino horn consumers as "terminally or seriously ill patients", "habitual users on the social circuit", "protective young mothers", and "elite gift givers" (Milliken and Shaw, 134-137). TRAFFIC found that, while social users and gift givers are considered 'face' consumers, mothers constitute a large consumer base (Milliken and Shaw 2012, 136). Another consumer group identified by TRAFFIC in 2012 are terminally ill consumers. There are reports of rhino horn dealers coercing people into spending their life savings for rhino horn 'cures' (Ammann 2011). However, these claims are unsubstantiated beyond media and NGO reports. This level of substantiation is more than the claim of rhino horn as a cancer curative in that these reports include interviews with people caught up in rhino horn trade as either dealers or purchasers.

In the 2012 survey by TRAFFIC, one of the most commonly cited reasons for consumption, as stated by consumer respondents, is privilege and social status afforded to those who have the means to access rhino horn (Milliken and Shaw 2012, 87). Purchasing pieces of horn is quite expensive and shows a particular status through wealth. However, as the study team for TRAFFIC's 2012 report found, health is also an important factor in the decision to consume rhino horn. The variety of consumer groups identified by TRAFFIC is significant because TRAFFIC's efforts aim almost exclusively at 'face consumers' rather than health-focused consumers. While these identities are not mutually exclusive, they are not inherently complementary either. Overlap amongst these consumer groups is important to recognise, as is the differences between these desires. The primary method by which TRAFFIC has reached out to consumers is through their Chi Initiative.

The Chi Campaign, or Chi Initiative[10], has rolled out as a multi-phase project to target rhino horn consumers. From posters in the Nội Bài International Airport in Hanoi to events and partnerships, TRAFFIC has emphasised the idea that Chi, or strength, comes from within (Nguyen). These efforts speak to middle and upper class, businessmen who are described as "the most prolific consumers of rhino horn" (TRAFFIC.org). The campaign draws from a well-known actor, Trần Bảo Sơn, to demonstrate that success is not dependent on a horn, but rather from one's hard work and determination. The use of a celebrity in the Chi Initiative is strategic and comes from information gathered for a 2007 report of Hanoi wild animal product consumers. This report argued that, "almost half (44%) of respondents feel that using celebrities is either effective or very effective" (Venkatarama 2007, 26). Through the various efforts of this campaign, TRAFFIC hopes to, "instil zero-tolerance toward threatened wildlife consumption in the Vietnamese business community" (TRAFFIC.org). Internalising new norms and identifying behaviours as inappropriate for environmental subjects, is a fundamental process of disciplinary environmentality.

The use of highly visible posters and billboards is strategic because it enables TRAFFIC to market their campaign to potential rhino horn consumers and purchasers. The following images show two examples of Chi Initiative posters. Figure 1 is of two posters in the Nội Bài International Airport in Hanoi. These posters show well-suited men rejecting rhino horn and finding the 'key' to their success outside of rhino horn. It is interesting to note that these posters depict faceless male figures, ostensibly to encourage potential rhino horn recipients or purchasers to rethink their role(s) because they can identify with the figures. Another important aspect of

[10] This project has rolled out in two parts. Initially, the project was called the "Chi Campaign". For the second stage of this project, it has been renamed "Chi Initiative" because the language of 'campaign' is seen to be too harsh and similar to government projects and criminal activities. Initiative is thought to be a more encouraging term.

these posters is their location in high traffic international airport. These posters target wealthy international businessmen and their associates. Placing these posters in places where well-traveled and well-paid individuals will see them is a strategic move by TRAFFIC; however, it does highlight the limited target audience the organisation hopes to reach.

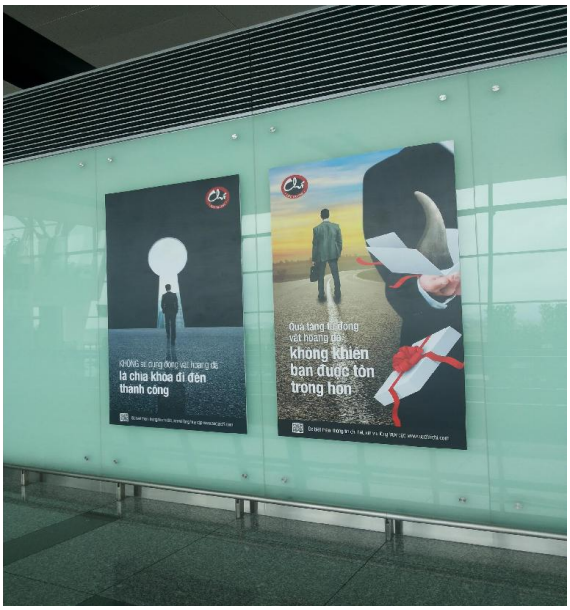

Figure 2 This image shows two Chi posters displayed in the Nội Bài International Airport in Hanoi Vietnam. August 2016

Figure 2 is from the second phase of the Chi Initiative and it draws from the celebrity appeal of famous actor, Trần Bảo Sơn. In this ad, we see a well-dressed man, with a modern suit leaning out of what appears to be a nice sports car. He is sitting in the back of the car, which may show that he is so wealthy that he employs a driver rather than operating the car himself. The translation of the text reads, "Gain prosperity through inner strength - Invite hardship using rhino horn". The meaning of this slogan is a warning that use, through consumption, purchasing, or gifting, of rhino horn will lead to negative consequences. Both of these examples draw from

disciplinary environmentality because they seek to address the individual and alter acceptable behaviours.

Figure 3 This image shows Mr. Trần Bảo Sơn a famous Vietnamese actor. The main text translates as, "Gain prosperity through inner strength - Invite hardship using rhino horn"
Source: http://www.traffic.org/home/2016/7/6/chi-phase-ii-vng-t-chi-li-vi-sng.html

TRAFFIC's strategic targeting of businesses and business owners is important because it enables the organisation to engage with multiple forms of environmentality in order to change behaviours. While one part of the Chi Initiative targets individuals and calls for the shifting of norms on the individual level, the push for Corporate-Social Responsibility (CSR) scales up their message to the institutional level. This translation of new norms from the individual to the institution shows another way that TRAFFIC wants to influence behaviour. Disciplinary environmentality and neoliberal environmentality are employed together in order to change individual and corporate cultures.

The English language Chi handout has a sub-heading that says, "Good for Vietnamese business, good for the world's wildlife" (Appendix B). Throughout the pamphlet, business leaders are reminded that their behaviour influences everyone around them. This serves to internalise and regulate behaviours. In a section titled "Why CSR?"TRAFFIC highlights many economic benefits and increased business opportunities as justification for engaging with CSR (7). Within the business community, the Chi Initiative works to internalise new business culture within the context of environmental subject making. For example, one step of the suggested CSR strategy is to, "prepare a pledge for staff to sign, stating they will not harm the business' reputation by consuming illegal wildlife products, especially rhino horn" (9). Figure 3 shows the relationship between individual and institutional disciplining. The phrasing of this pledge is strategic because it shifts the burden of 'saving face'. Rather than labelling the individual who rejects rhino horn as deviant, this pledge makes the act of consumption deviant.

WHAT YOUR COMPANY CAN DO

TRAFFIC can help you develop a CSR strategy incorporating the following activities and practices to tackle illegal wildlife trade and promote wildlife protection:

STATEMENT

- Incorporate a CSR message into your Company Profile, stating your views and policies on the use of illegal wildlife products.

INTERNAL COMPLIANCE

- Incorporate your company's stance on illegal wildlife trade into your company's credentials, corporate profile, Code of Conduct and HR and CSR policies;
- Share messages about your zero tolerance policy and list consequences for the consumption of illegal wildlife products, especially rhino horn;
- Prepare a pledge for staff to sign, stating they will not harm the business's reputation by consuming illegal wildlife products, especially rhino horn.

PARTNER COMPLIANCE

- Develop a Code of Conduct for business partners stating you will not work with those involved in illegal trade or consumption of wildlife products, especially rhino horn.

CAMPAIGN

- Use an e-signature with a message about wildlife protection;
- Post a banner on your company website;
- Include an image or message on corporate communications materials;
- Host an event or publish articles to spread the campaign message.

Figure 4 In this excerpt from the English version of the Chi Initiative booklet, there are several examples of disciplinary environmentality.

The use of posters and promotion of CSR to establish companies as 'forward thinking' does not assume an Orientalist perspective. However, the strategic marketing of the Chi Initiative to masculine, 'face consumers' of rhino horn mirrors Orientalist conceptions of TM and rhino horn consumption.

The CSR model forwarded by TRAFFIC capitalises on neoliberal and disciplinary environmentalities. Additionally, the development of CSR programming for TRAFFIC employs 'experts' from Intelligentmedia. This company markets itself as "the leading Vietnam-based marketing and communication firm in Vietnam" (Intelligentmedia). The organisation claims connections to a number of Vietnamese and international projects, however the website is dominated by images from the Chi Initiative. Additionally, it appears that this office is part of a much larger international marketing and business strategy group called Frost and Sullivan (Intelligentmedia). The importance of this connection is that TRAFFIC has enlisted an international organisation in order to direct the CSR aspect of the Chi Initiative. Although the data TRAFFIC has used to justify the Chi Initiative comes from the NGO's research (Venkatarama 2007), the mobilisation and marketing of this project comes from another source. Intelligentmedia functions as another translation point for consumer-based conservation of rhino horn. This relationship is indicative of additional outside expertise driving the actions of the project.

TRAFFIC understands that the drivers for consumption are complex. However, the targeted audience of their project, business people (mostly men) shows that they must still negotiate the 'appropriate' audiences for campaigns. The donors to TRAFFIC are less interested in a grandmother buying rhino horn in case someone gets cancer, and more interested in the conspicuous consumption and masculine practices that are troped in the 'West'. At the same time,

I might add that not all of TRAFFIC Hanoi's programming is focused on wealthy consumers of rhino horn, as a major aspect of the office's work deals with the legal harvesting of medicinal and aromatic plants. This project employs different tactics than the Chi Initiative and merits some discussion in this thesis.

3.5 Medicinal and Aromatic Plants

In Vietnam, TRAFFIC has also focused its efforts on regulating and conserving the wild harvest of medicinal and aromatic plants (MAPs). Their projects target harvesters of these species as well as TVM practitioners and teachers. One of the most important aspects of this project is the *promise of market access* for harvesters through third party certification. In order to earn certification, harvesters must agree to restrictions on forest use and specified harvest areas. These restrictions mirror a modified sovereign environmentality in that access and rights associated with land and resources are constrained. Community members in pilot areas must all agree to follow the restrictions set forth by FairWild's experts. If anyone in the community fails to meet these requirements, the operations will lose their certification (FairWild).

The trade in non-timber forest products, such as MAPs, is considered to be very important for the livelihoods of many people and to promote protection of forests by capitalising on other resources (Kusters et al 2006). TRAFFIC's support for projects, such as FairWild certification, fall in line with their goal of Asset-Based Community Development. The emphasis is to promote 'communities' and to improve livelihoods of forest-dependent people in Vietnam. This works through neoliberal environmentality because it is the potential of a market that is

used to justify the costs of certification and strictly regulated use of and engagement with specific forest ecosystems that have strong cultural and historical ties to communities.

TRAFFIC has collaborated with FairWild, a label proudly displayed on many MAPs products in the European Union. FairWild claims that their certification will improve biodiversity and ecosystems, while promoting fair labour practices and encouraging responsible purchasing by consumers (FairWild). One of the largest drawbacks to FairWild certification is the large costs associated with certification, as well as the uncertainty of market access. While the organisation claims that harvesters can expect up to 30% more for their certified products, they make no promises nor do they facilitate access to premium price markets (FairWild). TRAFFIC has initiated pilot programmes with communities they have identified as willing to participate. Once these communities 'see the benefits' of paying for certification from FairWild, other communities will be drawn into the scheme.

TRAFFIC argues that the majority of consumers in Vietnam want to see engagement with Corporate-Social Responsibility, and are willing to pay higher prices for products that are labelled and traceable (TRAFFIC.org). This is counter to other findings regarding rhino horn, that show consumers are disconnected from the death of the rhino required for the horn they consume (TRAFFIC.org).

While the organisation claims to have concern for indigenous people's rights to access and livelihoods, the assumption that MAPs collectors or processers have the same intentions for these resources as international organisations limits the autonomy of local people (Li 2002, 265). However, in order to gain and maintain costly certification, all users of MAPs areas must follow FairWild's management plans. Unlike the Chi Initiative, FairWild certification focuses on forest-

dependent people who are often ethnic minorities with limited opportunities for livelihood opportunities.

The promotion and promises of markets that will promote specific conservation goals and 'responsible' behaviour along the supply chain fits into a neoliberal environmentality. FairWild certification only holds value if the market materialises. Yet, it is through shaping of behaviours of harvesters, processers, and consumers, that FairWild hopes to cultivate a market for sustainably harvested wild plant products.

3.6 Conclusion

Narratives of *why* people desire wild animal products such as rhino horn are varied and complicated. Many narratives include the perceived medical value of rhino horn. However, the ways these narratives are used by conservation organisations tend to draw from limited studies. While several NGO-funded studies (such as those cited in this chapter) have identified many reasons people turn to rhino horn, consumer-based interventions focus on an elite consumer group (TRAFFIC.org). This may be due to the appeal of these campaigns for donors, or it may be related to an organisational bias regarding drivers for consumption of wild animal products. Projects, such as the Chi Initiative, promote the internalisation of new norms regarding performances of status and power. This focus allows organisations to present their work as 'changing social norms'; however, the ability to measure the effects of these campaigns is difficult because so much of the trade in rhino horn is undocumented (Ammann 2011).

TRAFFIC-Vietnam is a small office and their focus is primarily on the Chi Initiative and a certification scheme for medicinal and aromatic plants. The majority of my time spent in the

office did not involve the MAPs project because my research focus is more on wild animal products than plants. However, I have briefly included this project because it relates to larger themes of neoliberal environmentality and conservation. While the MAPs project targets harvesters of wild plants, the ultimate goal is consumer habit change. The relationships between consumers and wild animal products, and subsequent efforts to change these dynamics, require nuanced approaches that are not necessarily profitable for organisations attempting to secure funds from donors.

CHAPTER FOUR: WILD MEAT CONSUMERS IN HANOI

4.1 Introduction

Wild meat plays an important role in the lives of many people around the world. The value of wild meat is understood through a variety of lenses and contexts. For some, the value of wild meat is its supposed nutritional properties. Others believe wild meat's value is expressed as a projection of social status related to its rarity and the costs of procurement. In Vietnam, there is an increasing trend of wild meat consumption that has largely been attributed in the media to the latter value. Because consumption is perceived as a primary driver for species loss, efforts to preserve biodiversity have often targeted consumers.

However, as Drury (2011) notes, consumer-targeted interventions are "based on a limited knowledge of consumer behaviour, which hampers the design of effective measures to influence demand" (248). As well, Drury points out that research on consumer demands has only recently focused on Vietnamese consumers (2011). Similar to conservation efforts aimed at rhino-horn consumers, studies of the drivers for consumption as well as the targeted projects to address consumption in Vietnam tend toward essentialist understandings. For this aspect of my research, I build on the limited consumer-based research of drivers for wild meat consumption. While some scholars and NGOs have recognised the diversity of consumer bases (Venkatarama 2007; Drury 2009a, 2009b, 2011), others have largely ignored the opportunity to explore the nuances of wild meat consumption (Sandalj, Treydte, and Ziegler 2016). I use the term 'drivers' because it encompasses push and pull forces such as markets, social, and cultural relationships that may influence consumption in different ways.

For some consumers, wild meat is associated with wealth and status through the consumption of increasingly rare species. Consumption of wild animal products in urban settings

often exists as something for the ultra elite, people with high-level connections (Venkatarama 2007). My findings show that middle-class Vietnamese consumers are increasingly attracted to wild meat for reasons other than conspicuous displays of wealth and status. While their access to wild meat requires a particular level of status and wealth, the middle-class consumer base is not the same as the elite group of consumers. In this research, I was unable to access ultra-elite consumers. All consumer respondents appeared to be middle- to upper-class, and restaurants tended to cater towards these groups as well. A few restaurants that were visited appeared to cater towards a more elite consumer; however, they were generally unwilling to participate in interviews.

Current research often uses the term 'wild meat' as a static and fixed concept, however this does not reflect the reality of meanings and values inherent in the term. There is not a fixed point at which meat *becomes* un-wild, rather 'wild meat' should be understood through a spectrum that reflects and engages with a multiplicity of understandings of wildness. 'Wildness' in meat is context specific, shifting, and exists within a spectrum of meanings. Economic factors influence these meanings. However, the desire for wild meat is not limited to a particular economic class. I argue that, rather than attempting to define wild meat as an object, the drivers for consumption offer a more accessible way for conservationists to address extinction concerns. This is because a strategy of addressing the drivers for consumption rather than particular species can be used to shift dialogue towards meaningful changes rather than high profile campaigns to 'save' individual species in the name of biodiversity.

By complicating 'wild meat', I hope to show how it functions as a boundary object through its myriad of uses and translations across social worlds (Star and Greisemer 1989). Wild meat is a boundary object because its definition is not refined through interaction with various

social worlds, but rather, its meaning shifts with each interaction. Some of the translations that wild meat must go through include translations from hunters, farmers, and traders to restaurants and consumers. Other translations, such as translations between people from various economic classes add to the complication of wild meat.

In this chapter, I will show how my anticipated findings regarding drivers for consumption proved insufficient to the realities of wild meat consumption in Hanoi. In order to address the complex realities of wild meat consumption, I outline the main drivers for consumption including food safety concerns. Following my analysis of consumption drivers, I will outline some market-oriented attempts to mitigate the effects of over-harvesting through farming of wildlife. I will conclude this chapter with a brief overview of participant reported rationales *against* consumption of wild meat.

4.2 'Wild Meat'

The literature of 'wild meat' consumption focuses on Africa and Latin America. Research on the consumption of 'wild meat' in Africa and Latin America has typically considered subsistence (protein), lack of access to affordable farmed meat, and traditional uses (important events) to be the primary drivers of consumption (Lee et al 2014). A literature review conducted by the Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) by Lee et al in 2014 noted that the majority of wild meat research emphasised livelihoods of hunters (Lee et al 2014, 3). Although there is recognition of 'wild meat' consumption in Asia, there is very little research on the drivers for wild meat consumption, particularly in Southeast Asia. The primary available research regarding wild meat consumption in Vietnam comes from several NGO studies and one PhD project

Within the available studies of 'wild meat' consumption in Vietnam, the drivers for consumption are sometimes contradictory. For example, Sandalj, Treydte, and Ziegler (2016), writing for WWF, claim that, in Hue, very few of their participants considered 'wild meat' to be 'fashionable' (108). However, Drury (2011) found that "over two-thirds of Hanoian respondents believed eating wild meat was 'popular' and 'fashionable'" (252). Although these studies are several years apart and based in different cities, Hanoi and Hue are two of the largest cities in Vietnam and so data can be compared across sites. These results highlight the changing, complicated, and sometimes contradictory natures of 'wild meat' consumption and research.

In Vietnam, 'wild meat' consumption has increased with rising incomes (Lee et al 2014, 18). Allegedly, the primary driver for 'wild meat' consumption in Vietnam is conspicuous consumption of rare species for displays of wealth and status. Emphasis on prestige and status are standard in all reports and articles since at least 2007 when TRAFFIC conducted a comprehensive survey of Vietnamese wild animal product consumers in Hanoi (Venkatarama). This form of conspicuous consumption is typically performed by middle-aged businessmen participating in a social practice called tiếp khách.

During tiếp khách, the host will treat their business partners to an expensive meal with freely flowing alcohol. As a way to demonstrate wealth, the host will purchase exotic meats such as pangolin, cobra, or deer. This practice is common among wealthy men including government officials (Venkatarama 2007, 14). The rarer an animal, the more expensive it is and the more power a host can display. When asked about the consequences of species extinction, one restaurant respondent said, "people with money don't care about the environment […] they will find more rare things to eat". When asked to elaborate on this statement, the respondent explained that wealthy people would *always* find something to set them above or apart from the

general population. This respondent indicated that the risk of extinction might make some species more desirable to the ultra-elite. Much in the way that owning a limited edition sports car displays status, possessing the power and status to sample one of the last members of an endangered species demonstrates a social standing far beyond the grasp of vast majority of the population. This supports the idea that 'wild meat' works to uphold images of wealth and status.

While preparing for my fieldwork, I anticipated this form of conspicuous consumption to be the dominant driver of 'wild meat' consumption in Hanoi. However, once I began interviewing people in Hanoi, I discovered that there are other drivers for consumption and a wide range of consumers. Rather than super-elite male consumers, I encountered middle-class male and female consumers.

As noted in my methodology, I conducted a total of 23 interviews with restaurant staff and potential wild meat consumers. Out of these interviews, eight respondents were women. Opportunistic interview tactics encouraged the involvement of women in interviews. Within restaurants, staff interviews were eight men and five women. This may be related to the restaurant industry in Hanoi, or simply the demographics of restaurants that were visited. When asked about *who* consumes wild meat and *why*, restaurant staffs frequently mentioned tiếp khách. Even during tiếp khách, it seemed that women, thanks in part to their increased involvement in white-collar work, are invited by their bosses to these meals as well. During initial questions about wild meat consumption, most answers from restaurant staff related consumption to masculinity, status, and wealth. However, when asked about drivers, all restaurant respondents mentioned cleanliness and a desire for something 'new and exciting' that was true for consumers who were men and women. Additionally, family events were mentioned in several interviews as examples of an appropriate occasion to eat wild meat, for men and women.

4.3 Drivers for consumption

During interviews, respondents gave examples of 'forest animals' for consumption. Table 1 shows the frequency of various species mentioned by interviewees. It was surprising to note the relatively low frequency of high profile species such as pangolin. This animal is considered to be a top conservation priority and has recently been granted CITES Appendix I protection meaning that all international sales and trades of it are illegal (Dixon). The low frequency of rare species indicates that something more or other than rarity drives consumer desire. It is interesting to note that the species most commonly mentioned during my research are similar to findings from an initial survey of Hanoi wild animal product consumers published in 2007 (Venkatarama). Some key differences that I have found between Venkatarama's 2007 report and my own study are an increase in the frequency of porcupine consumption and the decrease in consumer references to snake. From my observations, it seems that the increase in porcupine consumption is related to the increase in porcupine farming in Vietnam (Brooks, Roberton, and Bell 2010). Farming will be discussed later in this chapter.

Table 1: Species referenced by respondents during interviews and the frequency with which these species were mentioned across interviews. Some respondents listed multiple species during an interview.

Species	*Frequency*
Civet	10
Deer	5
Monkey	1
Pangolin	3
Porcupine	13
Snake	3
Tiger	1
Turtle	8
Wild boar/pig	7

While conducting interviews, we did not exclude any potential respondents. Because of the wide net cast, a new group of wild meat consumers emerged: women. Many consumers of wild meat are women. They are not exclusively concerned with the rarity or displays of conspicuous consumption. Rather, they are interested in the quality of meat. During every interview, respondents noted a concern for the 'cleanliness' of their meat. This was cited as a primary driver for consumption of 'wild meat' because the respondents felt that 'forest animals' were less likely to be contaminated with chemicals than farm raised pigs and chickens.

Identifying women as consumers of wild meat is important because some studies in Vietnam have excluded women from questionnaires and surveys based on the assumption that they are unlikely to participate in conspicuous consumption and therefore are not viable participants for 'wild meat' research (for example, Sandalj, Treydte, and Ziegler 2016, 107). Excluding women from studies may lead to skewed results regarding purposed for consumption of wild meat. One study in Hue found that taste was the most common reason for consumption amongst male consumers (Sandalj, Treydte, and Ziegler 2016, 108). The authors noted that health was rarely listed as a driver for consumption (108). Contrary to that, Drury (2009a/2009b/2011) found that health featured as a primary driver for many consumers. Although these studies were conducted several years apart, my results are more similar to Drury's than to the more recent study by Sandalj, Treydte, and Ziegler. My findings in Hanoi show that health remains an important factor for consumption of wild meat. The most likely reason for this discrepancy is the intentional exclusion of women from the study sample by Sandalj, Treydte, and Ziegler (2016).

Pursing this unexpected avenue of consumers as concerned with health rather than rarity, taste, or status, we asked respondents about their fears. These concerns mirror other food safety

findings and it appears that the current fear is a new manifestation of long-term concerns for Vietnamese consumers. Most interviewees referenced recent news stories about contaminated pork. Studies of meat available in markets and grocery stores have shown pork contaminated with salbutamol, a chemical commonly used in inhalers as a steroid (Thu 2015). When fed to pigs, this chemical increases lean growth in a shorter time than standard raising methods (Ha 2016). Interestingly, the presence of this chemical also results in pork having a brighter red colour which consumers associate with freshness (Tuoi Tre News 2015). Unfortunately, salbutamol is known as a carcinogen and is illegal for use in pig farming (Thu 2015). The majority of respondents who mentioned cleanliness, claimed that wild meat was 'free from chemicals' and that it was 'grown naturally'.

In recent years, food safety concerns have plagued Vietnamese consumers. International and domestic pressures have increased 'organic' and 'safe' certification schemes (Peter Vandergeest, personal communication with author, September 2016). However, these projects have met with mixed results and continued mistrust from consumers. The proliferation of fears regarding contamination of vegetables with chemicals and pesticides resulted in government sponsored certification projects to ensure acceptable use of chemicals in production and processing of crops. However, independent audits found chemical contamination to be much higher than the allowable limit (Peter Vandergeest, personal communication with author, September 2016).

High levels of preservatives and antibiotics in Vietnamese shrimp have resulted in import restrictions placed by Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, Australia, and the European Union (VN Express International 2017). Within pork production, Vietnamese consumers are justifiably concerned about the quality of inspections. Through weak enforcement, corruption, and other

tactics, pork farmers and sellers are able to avoid punishment for illegal farming practices (Thu 2015). It is because of these concerns that many Hanoians, with enough disposable income to purchase specialty foodstuffs, have turned their attention to consuming wild meat.

Because wild meat consumption at restaurants became a common thread across interviews, I wanted to know *how* restaurants find these meats. While interviewing restaurant staff and management, we often asked about the process for procuring 'wild meat'. In what appeared to be an effort to avoid culpability, most restaurant respondents said that customers bring the meat in and ask for it to be cooked. One restaurant admitted that customers interested in 'wild meat' phone a few days or a week before their event to order particular animals. This particular restaurant manager offered valuable insight because they answered questions directly about their restaurant rather than presenting responses as hearsay from 'other places'. In this restaurant, Miss Nhung and I learned about traders who act as liaisons between restaurants and forest animal farms or hunters. Our respondent was unable (or unwilling) to share details regarding which species would come from 'farms' or are hunted. The processes of raising 'wild' species on farms and presenting them as 'safer' than consuming other livestock is important for understanding the relationships between consumers, desires, and producers/suppliers of various meats in Vietnam.

4.4 Farming wildness

Many interviews contained references to 'wildlife farms'. Across interviews, there were a variety of definitions and explanations for how these 'farms' are different from conventional farming methods for animals such as pigs and chickens. This further complicates, and adds to, understandings of wild meat in a way that challenges the rigidness of 'wild' as a categorical

boundary. It is important to interrogate meanings of wildness in meat, as its status as farmed or hunted may prove to be key in promoting conservation projects that target wild meat consumption.

Nearly all sidewalk and restaurant interview respondents described forest animal farms during interviews. This was an unexpected and interesting complication to the narrative of 'wild' meat. In this section, I outline the arguments surrounding wildlife farming as a response to rapidly declining forest biodiversity and increasing consumer demand for wildlife products. I will present these arguments with particular attention to the concerns and demands of Vietnamese consumers. The key points of this section are the role of (mist)trust in shaping consumer demand, and the relationships between conservation and production/consumption of various species.

Wildlife farming has some theoretical support, but the application of these ideas into measurable conservation projects has very little backing (Phelps, Carrasco, and Webb 2013, 245). Proponents of wildlife farming admit to several potential downsides to opening trade in (endangered) wildlife. These downsides include the potential for new consumer bases leading to increased demand, parallel markets, and laundering of ill-gotten specimens under the guise of 'regulated farms'. My findings have also indicated a consumer distrust of wildlife farms to quality or 'safe' meat. This mistrust appeared throughout interviews, but was most evident with discussing the enforcement of regulations and the ease with which all farms (raising wild or domesticated animals) seem to evade laws.

In order to understand and address the rationale for farming wildlife, I will engage with economic arguments surrounding the topic. This is important because of the role that markets, particularly under neoliberal environmentality, play in shaping consumer behaviour. It is also

important to recognise the ways that consumer behaviours may shape markets in relation to conservation. Economic theory suggests that farmed wildlife can substitute wild-caught or harvested species (Abbott and van Kooten, 2011). The rationale for wildlife farming or other "supply-side" policies is to,

> flood the market for wildlife commodities with captive-bred varieties and other alternatives. This will depress prices and make poaching unprofitable, thus allowing wild populations of endangered species to recover (Damania and Bulte 2007, 462).

In order to reduce the profitability of poaching, wildlife farming offers a way to increase supply to such a point that costs of production for wild-harvest become too high for poachers and traders to maintain market presence. Damania and Bulte (2007) estimate that captive breeding of rhinos may prove, "more effective in protecting rhino stocks" (470) than other methods of restrictive conservation. The models developed by Damania and Bulte (2007) consider various market systems in order to asses the potential impacts of wildlife farming on conservation target species. Through their modelling, it is not clear that wildlife farming *will* improve the conservation status of targeted species. However, Damania and Bulte express confidence in the *possibility* of farming as an important conservation method. Abbott and van Kooten (2011) argue that wildlife farming is a necessary method of conservation for charismatic species such as tigers (722).

This rationale supposes minimum carrying capacities for the maintenance of wild populations and assumes particular market behaviours including consumer choices. Applying economic theory into conservation proves challenging, as it is incredibly difficult to capture the variability and role of 'flux' on ecosystems and markets (Zimmerer 2000). Additionally, as Damania and Bulte (2007) show, there are increasing layers of complexity when various actors and drivers are added to models. The challenges of anticipating and modelling variable systems

and their interplay is only one difficulty for wildlife farming and biodiversity conservation plans (Sarkar et al 2006).

The 'stigma effect' refers to the role that social pressures play in reducing demand for wildlife products (Fisher 2004). Through internalisation of norms that deem consumption of certain species to be undesirable and shameful, the demand for illegal wildlife products will fall. Opponents to wildlife farming argue that regulated and legal trade will open the door for a new consumer base as the stigma associated with these products declines. However, 'wild meat' consumers in Vietnam appear unmoved by the legality of consumption. NGOs, consumers, and restaurants all indicated that government prohibitions did little to stifle interest in 'wild meat'. In direct opposition to the 'stigma effect', several respondents indicated that outlawing 'wild meat' seemed to have spiked an interest in the novelty and rarity of forest animals (Shairp et al 2016, 11). These claims are difficult to substantiate. When asked about species extinction related to hunting, one respondent shrugged and said, "it's supply and demand". This respondent claimed that rarity (and illegal trade status) appealed to some consumers, particularly amongst tiếp khách hosts. It appears that the 'stigma effect' works in the opposite way for status-conscious conspicuous consumers of 'wild meat' in Vietnam.

Another concern raised to challenge wildlife farming is the potential for parallel markets to develop in which some consumers prefer 'wild' versions to 'farmed'. The preference may be attributed to an assumption that 'wild' species have higher nutritional value, lower risk of chemical contamination, taste better, or are more desirable because of their rarity. This is important to consider because it is relevant to status-conscious consumers. As Shairp et al (2016) note,

> [f]or a 'super-elite' segment of Vietnamese society, whose members consume wild meat sourced animals to convey status and wealth, farm sourced meat is not an appropriate substitute as it lacks the product characteristics needed to symbolically convey status and wealth - expense and rarity (11).

For the 'clean meat' consumer, the potential of contaminated meat may also push them away from these regulated alternatives. One respondent stated that, while she was concerned for the environmental impact of overhunting, she did not trust wild meat farms to produce clean meat. While most respondents did express an assumption of 'cleanliness' in forest farms, they frequently reasserted the idea that, "it's better when it's hunted. Wild diet tastes better […] people think rarer tastes better". The emphasis on diet reflects a concern for food safety as well, which further complicates the drivers for consumption and methods of obtaining 'wild meat'. It is possible that the parallel markets for hunted 'wild meat' reflect multiple incarnations of status-based consumption: displays of wealth through rarity, and displays of wealth through access to 'truly clean' meat.

As noted by several ecological economists (See: Damania and Bulte 2007; Abbot and van Kooten 2011; Phelps, Carrasco, and Webb 2014), the cost return of farmed vs. poached wildlife is a significant barrier to the development of wildlife farms. Raising an animal from birth to harvest is costly and time consuming, whereas hunting an adult animal from a forest costs only the hunter's time and professional tools. Once the costs of production are reduced relative to the costs for poaching, Abbot and van Kooten assert that farmed wildlife will surpass wild-caught in terms of economic value and consumer choice (723). Their argument assumes that markets for wild-caught species will disappear (Abbot and van Kooten 2011). However, without addressing demands for wildlife, these economic models cannot be used to justify the intensive investments required for the establishment of wildlife farms.

Studies of wildlife farms in mainland Southeast Asia have shown that the standard economic models used to justify wildlife farming are not appropriate because they do not take into account the enforcement (or lack thereof) of regulations in addition to the dramatic cost variances between hunting and raising species for sale (Brooks, Roberton, and Bell 2010, 2813). These economic challenges to wildlife farming have led to reported instances of laundering wild-caught animals through licensed farms. This is not necessarily because of consumer demand for hunted rather than farmed species.

While arguments in favour of wildlife farming suggest that the costs of enforcing bans and protected areas are too great for developing economies to afford, the costs of maintaining, regulating, and monitoring farms is also substantial (Brooks, Roberton, and Bell 2010). Because of this, many 'regulated' farms are known to populate their farms with animals that have been illegally harvested from forests. In Lao PDR, regulations on bear farms stipulated that bears could not be wild in origin (Livingstone and Shepherd 2016, 177). However, Livingstone and Shepherd (2016) found that all of the bears on the farms they studied showed signs that they were not born on farms, but rather caught from forests (Livingstone and Shepherd 2016, 179). Attempts to farm porcupines in Vietnam have yielded similar examples of wild-caught animals being sold through licensed farms (Brooks, Roberton, and Bell 2010). The reasons for this practice include customer demand and production price. In interviews, the majority of consumer and restaurant (18 of 23) respondents indicated that wildlife farms are likely full of wild-caught animals and farms function as a rubber stamp of legitimacy in order to allow the sale of various species.

When asked about the process for obtaining forest-animal meat, one respondent said, "farms steal from the forest and put in cages". Brooks, Roberton, and Bell (2010) found that the

cost of wild-harvesting porcupines was half the cost of raising porcupines on farms in Vietnam (2813). The difficulty in tracing and regulating trades in wildlife further complicate any efforts to define wild animal products. A recent study by Education for Nature Vietnam (ENV) found that laundering wild-caught animals through farms is a standard practice (Education "Summary" 2016, 4). In addition to that, the study found that enforcement of regulations is severely impeded by corruption and lack of resources to verify documentation and animal origin (Education "Summary" 2016, 4). The findings of this report mirror the sentiments expressed by my interview respondents and media reports regarding food safety. However, academic research that relates food safety concerns, enforcement of regulations, and demand for wild meat is lacking.

I have included this section on wildlife farming as another narrative of wild meat and the relationships people have with these products. Conservation projects must recognise the supply and demand sides of wildlife consumption. Purists who claim that wild meat cannot be raised on farms and consumers who are interested in meat that is raised 'naturally' both present interesting narratives that conservationists should listen to. The degrees to which wildness is accepted or rejected by consumers are important to understand as they shape urban demands. In addition, the difficulties for wildlife farmers to make their enterprises economically viable are as varied as the species being consumed in urban restaurants. The role of wildlife farming in conservation has varied support and evidence of its effectiveness, and my purpose is not to assess these aspects. Rather, I hope to bring together the multiplicity of voices and narratives surrounding conservation in Vietnam.

4.5 Everyone else is doing it…

Against this backdrop of demand for wild meat, I wanted to know if or why anyone would choose *not* to consume these products. Understanding negative definitions and perceptions

of wild meat are important for consumer-based conservation efforts because these counterpoints may offer insights to projects with lasting impacts. When asked if there were reasons to avoid or abstain from eating 'wild meat', farmed or hunted, nearly every participant indicated that they considered it to be a healthier option than other meats. Other than personal limitations related to the high costs of wild meat, environmental/animal welfare concerns and the risk of diseases were the only reported reasons which were contrary to the trend of wild meat consumption.

An interesting complication to this narrative of 'healthier' meat is that many of the participants stated that they did not consume 'wild meat' (at least regularly) due to the cost of these meats. Venkatarama (2007) found that high cost was the primary limiting factor for Hanoi residents interested in using wild animal products including meat, medicines, and ornamental products (16). As noted by Drury (2011), typical consumers of wild meat are irregular consumers, showing that wild meat continues to be a "'luxury' product as opposed to an essential source of protein" (252). Out of 23 interviews, 18 presented cost as primary limiting factor for their consumption of wild meat. These respondents also indicated that they would not turn down an invitation to consume wild meat, especially if that invitation came from a boss.

Another interesting narrative surrounding wild meat farms was the perceptions of farm conditions for 'forest animals'. During interviews, several respondents expressed an idea that forest animals in farms are raised, "like wild" and the animals "eat wild diets". Only four respondents considered forest animal farms to be an acceptable substitute to hunted meat. On the other hand, eight respondents expressed concern over the safety of the meat from these farms and stated that hunted meat was preferable to farmed forest animal meat. These respondents said that they could not be sure that farmers were not feeding 'growth chemicals' to the animals in forest farms. It is important to note that some respondents expressed both views. The risks associated

with forest animal farming were perceived to be lower than the risks associated with mainstream domesticated farming. Almost all respondents indicated that meat, "from the forest is best, but farms are ok too". This seems indicative of a ranking or hierarchy of risk and desirability for wild meat products. However, none of these respondents expressed a desire to eat endangered or rare animals. As discussed earlier in this chapter, rarity does not appear to be a primary driving force in wild meat desire across middle-class consumers. The drivers for wild meat desire include cleanliness, health, and status. These drivers are neither inherently complementary nor contradictory, but rather impact individuals and society to varying degrees. This further complicates understandings of desire and drive for wild meat consumption.

Only two consumer/restaurant interviews of 23 said unequivocally that they would never eat 'wild meat'. Several other respondents stated that they 'hadn't' or 'likely wouldn't' but these statements were typically followed by a limiting factor such as cost or availability. One participant was an older male who identified as a vegetarian, but wanted to talk with us about the "popularity of wild meat among younger people" in Vietnam. He expressed concern for the depletion of forests and the treatment of animals in farms. The other key respondent was a female manager at an upscale seafood, wine, and cigar restaurant. The restaurant caters to a tiếp khách clientele, which means there are occasional requests for wild meat. The manager said that seeing a forest animal killed at her restaurant was upsetting and, because of that experience, she does not want to consume those meats. When wild meat is ordered, she said that, "even the chef thinks it's bad luck" and that she would prefer not to deal with wild meat. Although the restaurant manager we spoke with indicated that she was displeased with the consumption of wild meat, her role within the company and the high profits from catering to wealthy customers mean that she

feels unable to change the situation. As another respondent noted, "customers prefer it, so restaurants must meet demand".

While some consumers turn to unconventional meat sources, such as forest animals, there are risks associated with these unregulated and un-inspected animal products. One campaign by WCS to reduce wild meat consumption emphasises the risks associated with zoonotic diseases, however the campaign does not seem to have reached any of the respondents in my study group. Interestingly, while avian flu, a potentially deadly zoonotic disease, pushed many Vietnamese consumers to seek organic or alternative chicken sources (Peter Vandergeest, personal communication with author, September 2016), the risk of zoonotic diseases from wild-caught or otherwise uninspected meat sources does not seem to factor into consumer choices for wild meat. This may be because consumer desire for 'clean' meat is not necessarily related to diseases from the animals (such as avian flu) but rather to chemicals used in animal farming (such as salbutamol).

4.6 Conclusion

Wild meat, as defined by consumers includes a variety of species that may be hunted or farm-bred. The value of this meat may be social, as seen in practices of tiếp khách, or it may be through the security of providing 'clean' food to one's family. For traders, farmers, and restaurants, wild meat offers market opportunities. While consumers may claim to prefer hunted to farmed meat, many respondents claimed that consumers cannot discern a difference in taste and that, "restaurants will lie and say it's (sic) wild even if they get it from a farm". Due to the obscure nature of this commodity chain, it is difficult to know the extent to which consumer preference and production/harvest costs reinforce each other in perpetuating wild meat narratives.

The prevailing logic of tiếp khách is that rarity equates with cost of species, and therefore desirability. However, my findings show that there are many reasons why people engage or abstain from wild meat consumption. While previous studies of 'wild meat' consumption in Vietnam have ignored or been insufficient in addressing the breadth of consumer base, these studies all support the idea that 'wild meat' remains the domain of the wealthy. This does not reflect the reality of class, gender, and economic considerations that may influence individuals. In addition to these individual factors, concerns regarding the safety of farmed wild meat further complicate these relationships. Most of my respondents indicated that they do not consume 'wild meat' with regularity, primarily due to the cost of it. However, their desire for affordable 'clean meat' shows that it remains too expensive for many consumers. Because this demand is not driven by rarity, it remains to be seen how changing market dynamics may change supply, demand, and species desired for wild meat consumption.

CHAPTER FIVE: LIVELIHOODS AND HUNTERS IN PROTECTED FORESTS

5.1 Introduction

Thus far, I have presented examples of consumer-targeted conservation efforts in Vietnam. In this chapter, I present a brief case study of the livelihood impacts that forest conservation efforts have for people living in the Western Nghệ An Biosphere Reserve. As previously noted, Vietnam is part of the Indo-Burma Biodiversity Hotspot, a key site for global conservation. The region is home to a number of endemic mammals, the majority of which are at risk of extinction (Schipper et al 2008). This region has attracted a lot of international attention after the identification and classification of several 'new' species such as the saola (Van Dung et al 1993). As such, there have been numerous attempts to document rare animals and biologists have flocked to this part of the world in an effort to 'know' species before they are lost (Drollette 2013). Much of this research is species-focused and either excludes humans or considers them threats through hunting and other uses of forests (Grieser-Johns and Thomson 2005). This perpetuates human-nature dualisms as well as ignores pre-existing relationships that people may have with the forests that are studied.

In this chapter, I argue that consumer-targeted conservation efforts in Vietnam do not account for the livelihood effects of changing markets. Conservation projects that focus on people who live in or near protected or 'high risk' conservation areas offer insufficient and inadequate attempts to mitigate the negative livelihood effects of species loss. Additionally, the current scientific discourse regarding the production of knowledges in conservation requires a sustained and sincere involvement with people who live in close proximity to conservation priority species. Biodiversity conservation narratives require reassessment and the inclusion of

voices *other than* scientists and policy-makers, such as women, must be included in the development and deployment of new conservation strategies.

Hunting provides important sources of food and income for people (Lee et al 2014). In the Nghệ An biosphere, this is particularly true as it remains a highly rural province and the mountainous areas prove difficult for highly intensive farming (Grieser-Johns and Thomson 2005). In an attempt to reduce pressures on forest species, several protected areas have been set up including the Pu Mat National Park and Pu Huong Nature Reserve, hereafter, PMNP and PHNR. PMNP consists of 90,000 ha of core zone and 87,500 ha of buffer zone (Grieser-Johns and Thomson 2005, 6). Within the buffer zone, there are several ethnic minority villages with access to defined forest access and agricultural areas.

A World Bank report from 2005 shows that, order to supplement the loss of livelihoods from core zone access and agriculture in PMNP, many villagers have turned to hunting and trading (Grieser-Johns and Thomson 2005). This World Bank report found that changing market demands and species availability had caused a shift towards domestic trade in small mammals (Grieser-Johns and Thomson 2005, 7). There have been no other large studies of wild meat hunting and livelihood interactions in this area since the 2005 World Bank report. Other research in the region has focused on particular species or pilot programmes for conservation that have not resulted in long-term changes.

Responses to these livelihood and biodiversity problems have varied. One method employed by the Vietnamese Government has been to expand payment for ecosystem services (PES) schemes. These projects have rolled out in different ways across the country. These projects represent a 'hybrid neoliberalism' that seeks to join markets and civil society (McCarthy and Prudham 2004). Many PES projects function within processes of privatisation. In Vietnam

the state owns all forestland (To et al 2012, 240), and retains controlling interest in many companies involved in PES such as hydroelectric development projects (McElwee 2012, 420). This further complicates processes for understanding and analysing PES in Vietnam because the projects are neither state nor private.

A limitation for PES in Vietnam is the inequitable distribution of payments and burdens for residents in areas subjected to displacement for development. People living in forest regions face a variety of livelihood challenges, which may include issues that occur because of development assistance projects. In an effort to offset this livelihood loss, the government has set up payment plans to compensate local people (To et al 2012). As noted by To et al (2012), hydropower development has resulted in villager displacement and the reappropriation of forests away from land use certificate holders (245). Other projects include the delineation of 'core zones' and 'buffer zones' in high value forests. People, other than forest rangers and scientists, are prohibited from entering or using core zone areas of protected forests. This fortress style conservation intends to protect old growth forests and endangered species from further exploitation. Within the buffer zones, limited use of forestlands is allowed, with strict regulation (Grieser-Johns and Thomson 2005).

The government has also set up plans to pay people to 'protect' buffer zones of forest (To et al 2012). Because of the overlap between various PES and other payment for forest protection schemes in Nghệ An, it is difficult to isolate the impact of conservation projects in the area. During the course of my interviews, several respondents discussed dam development alongside forest conservation projects and so it was difficult in the field to discern the distinctions between various payment schemes. Among the households that participated in my research project, it appears that some have been included in one, both, or neither, of these state-promoted projects.

Through payments for protection of forests projects, many households have been 'employed' to 'protect' buffer zone forest areas. As noted by several authors (Dressler, To, and Mahanty 2013; McElwee 2012; To et al 2012), the process of land allocation and land titling in buffer zones may actually reinforce and exacerbate inequalities within villages. Many people in the villages grow their own food on allotted agricultural land, the amount of land designated to a village is limited. Some households reported that they do not have sufficient access to produce food for their household. In order to counter this, PES schemes pay households to enforce protection of buffer zones. Respondents in different villages reported different payment schemes.

While most research related to protected areas in Vietnam tends to focus on biologists identifying biodiversity markers, or on the negative impacts local residents have on forests, there are some examples of conservation research that attempts to bridge the human-nature divide. The identification of the saola in 1992 drew scientists from all over the world to Vietnam in search of the 'unicorn of the forest' (Van Dung et al 1993). However, the elusive saola has proven incredibly difficult to study and very little is known about its habits (Robichaud 1998). In an effort to improve knowledge about this species, which is estimated to have less than 700 total individuals (WWF "Saola"), alternative methods have been employed by conservationists to gather data. These methods include comprehensive interviews regarding last sightings of various forest species (Turvey et al 2015), hunter interviews (Wilkinson and Duc 2017), and camera traps (WWF). These methods represent a shift in the discourse of knowledge production to include local ecological knowledges. However, these changes are slow to catch on, and may still perpetuate some counter-productive environmental narratives relating to ethnic minorities and the gendered dynamic of forestry in Vietnam.

5.2 Narratives of forest conservation, hunting, and livelihoods

Conservation NGOs, local residents, and other conservationists must navigate complex narratives of use and conservation in protected areas. Some narratives of conservation seek local people to fill a "tribal slot" (Li 2000) and behave as guardians and protectors rather than users of forests and forest resources. Other narratives of villagers draw from uses or relationships with forests, such as logging or hunting that are seen as negative and undesirable behaviours. This is evident in a 2005 World Bank report, which indicated that people living in the PMNP buffer zone think that, "wildlife is a resource to be harvested" (9). The assumption in this report seems to be that villagers should be more concerned with the biodiversity of forests than with their own livelihoods. However, these impose incomplete narratives that ignore the complexity and range of relationships people may have with forests.

My findings from this research indicate that village residents are concerned with the depletion of the forests. Wild forest resources are culturally, socially, and economically important for the villages within the buffer zone of PMNP. Some conservation NGOs working in PMNP and PHNR recognise the importance of livelihoods and inclusion of hunters into conservation projects. However, the funding sources for these projects are limited and longevity of projects is financially unsustainable without long-term commitment from donors or the Vietnamese government.

Across interviews, respondents described a variety of payment values and methods. In one village interview, the PES compensation was 12 kg of rice every six months. This respondent indicated that money was preferable to rice. In a different village, a hunter and his wife complained that their compensation of 5,000,000 VND (approximately $275 CAD) per year was not enough to feed their family because they did not have access to agricultural land in the

village. This is similar to other studies of PES in Vietnam that have found large discrepancies between the amount pledged by the national government and the actual payments made to villagers (McElwee 2012; To et al 2012).

The process for allotting land and protection responsibilities is most often related to the number of adults in a household and their 'traditional' claims to lands. To et al (2012) detail these methods in case studies of other PES projects in similar upland areas of Vietnam. They show that land (re)titling during demarcation of protected areas and buffer zones can reinforce inequalities in villages as poorer households may lose access to forest areas while also limiting or denying access to agricultural land in buffer zones (To et al 2012). In my interviews, households involved in forest protection for payments told me that payments are made for the total area of land each household protected. A young couple without access to agricultural land expressed a desire to "protect more forest, so we can have more money", but the size of their household restricted their ability to protect more forest.

When asked to describe the process for 'protecting' buffer zone forests, respondents stated that they, "put up signs to tell people 'do not hunt here, go away' [and that they] check often to make sure people do not go into the forest". Because the buffer zones are considered unproductive and unusable, these limitations seem to have little effect on many households. The role of 'forest protector' seems to fall squarely on the shoulders of women in the villages. Due to time and logistical constraints, I was unable to pursue in-depth interviews with women regarding their use of forests. However, based on research in other parts of Southeast Asia, it is likely that women 'protect' the forests in addition to harvesting economic food plants and other forest resources (Peter Vandergeest, personal communication with author, May 2017). In one interview with a hunter, I asked about the buffer zone protection scheme and he said, "I don't know about

this, you have to ask my wife, she takes care of the forest while I hunt". This shows that women's relationships with forests are complex and may offer unanticipated insights into buffer zone ecosystems.

Hunting primarily occurs in the core zone because it is harder for forest rangers to police and there still some animals to hunt. Forest patrols appear to have little effect on the actions of hunters. Bribes and 'turning a blind eye' is commonplace in Vietnamese conservation (To et al 2012, 242). There were several stories of hunters evading punishment by bribing forest rangers. One respondent describes the bribes as, "a sort of tax because forest rangers don't make much [money], but we give them maybe 10 percent of honey we sell from the forest. This way they [the forest rangers] don't bother us much". The payment of these 'taxes' can be through money or forest goods. In the example above, forest rangers received honey gathered from the protected zone of the forest.

Changing markets and forest ecologies have changed the relationships that many hunters have with their quarry. It has been noted that, reflecting market changes and species availability, the hunters surrounding PMNP tend to be professionalised (Grieser-Johns and Thomson 2005). This supports my findings that hunters tend to be specialised, one respondent said that he "typically spends 3 out of 4 weeks every month out hunting". With so much time in the forest, it is unlikely that this respondent has time to personally engage in other activities such as farming. Other hunters have developed novel practices to locate animals. It has been reported that one nearby hunter uses trained dogs to catch animals. This is an unusual hunting practice in the area as snares are quite common and dogs run the risk of being caught by another hunter (forthcoming research project by SWG, communication with author, August 2016).

The cultural and social importance of hunting has shifted with changing markets and demands (Wilkinson and Duc 2017, 627), however many respondents indicated that they still consider the primary purpose of hunting to provide food. Several older participants said that there has been a change in methods and purpose for hunting. Many respondents described health tonics and the health benefits of several species, consistent with TVM practices (Lee et al 2014). They described urban interest in forest animal meat as driven by a desire for health and novelty. Interestingly, nearly every respondent during said that they preferred the meat of animals grown or hunted in their village areas to meat purchased from cities or nearby towns. They said this was because farmed meats are "full of chemicals, but forest meat is clean". While markets and forests have changed, it appears that a desire for health remains constant.

Alongside state-led conservation initiatives, residents in PMNP and PHNR have been brought into several NGO conservation initiatives. These projects have primarily focused on biodiversity conservation and protection of endemic species. Projects headed by WWF, the Danish Development Bank (DANIDA), and others have emphasised biodiversity and protection. Almost as if to illustrate the influence of these past encounters, most of the respondents indicated a perception that the core zone has "30% less animals" than in the past. The use of a specific percentage is intriguing; however, I feel that it comes from previous research and focus groups in the area. Professor Trung has worked with the villages in Pu Mat for many years.

Through his time working in the park, Professor Trung has facilitated research projects with a variety of NGOs and international groups. One community member excitedly showed me a sun-bleached poster that was prominently displayed near the front of his house. This poster, as explained to me by Professor Trung, shows which endangered species hunters should avoid. The

poster has been there for several years and originated with a conservation project that Professor Trung worked on during one of his first visits to the village.

Figure 5 These images show the conservation posters that Professor Trung brought to the village several years ago

The nature of NGO conservation projects is that many of them operate on limited timelines and with finite budgets. Because of this, the villagers I spoke with seemed to feel ignored in policy development that affected their lives. One previous conservation project was consistently referenced across interviews with hunters and their families. This project, sponsored by WWF, CEPF, and the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DANIDA) assessed village-level strategies for community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) in relation to forestry and hunting practices. Many respondents said they enjoyed the project, commonly called the 'hunting clubs' because they were not punished for hunting, but rather enforced responsible

community-based management of forests (Anderson, Long, and Pu Huong 2006). Implementation and development of Wildlife Management Clubs in nine villages was based on pilot clubs and then adapted to meet the needs of each village (Anderson, Long, and Pu Huong 2006, 7). The findings from this project were published in 2006 and there has not been any continuation of the 'hunting clubs' since.

Some of the key findings from the 'hunting clubs' study include an emphasis on land tenure and clarity of goals and means for conservation agendas (Anderson, Long, and Pu Huong 2006, 19). This reiterates common arguments for integrated conservation projects and community-based resource management. These arguments have been articulated for decades (Hardin 1968; Ostrum 1992), and yet application of these ideas remains limited and contingent on enforced assumptions of the desires of 'local peoples' (Li 2000). Another important finding from this project is the lack of sustainable funding for conservation projects. While often presented as a 'lack of capacity' (Sodhi et al 2004; Sarkar et al 2006), funding and institutional support for projects such as this are limited, which further limits community engagement and support. The Anderson, Long, and Pu Huong (2006) report argues that, "funding of any CBNRM mechanisms is essential (and expected) until there are clear benefits coming back to the whole community" (20). Without financial stability and incentives, people cannot be expected to give up their livelihoods for conservation projects that do not directly benefit them. However, government response to these findings appears to be limited at best.

Unfortunately, women and gender tend to be ignored in these projects. The aforementioned report (Anderson, Long, and Pu Huong 2006) does not mention 'women' once in the entire document. A more recent report prepared for CEPF for the development of capacity and conservation leadership includes women as an apparent after-thought to meet gender

inclusive requirements. While it is unlikely that this was done maliciously, women and 'other ethnic groups' are only mentioned once in the proposal document, and once in the final report document (Trung and Wilkinson 2015). The exclusion of women reinforces narratives of forests as masculine and livelihoods as a concern for men. Additionally, the perpetuation of TEK as male-dominated ignores the lived experiences and knowledges of women who may know forests in very different ways than men. The productivity of highlighting limitations in past projects is only useful if these aspects are addressed in future research. In the next section, I will outline a conservation project that is still developing and so offers opportunities to shift the trajectory of research.

5.3 Searching for saola

The IUCN has sponsored the Saola Working Group (SWG) as a coalition of conservationists interested in developing and implementing strategies to prevent the extinction of saola. This species is considered one of the most endangered species due to its small population, limited range of habitat, and pressures from humans (Kemp et al 1997). Compounding these factors, relatively little is known about saola (Robichaud 1998). Responding to this impending existential threat, the SWG hopes to develop a comprehensive conservation programme to preserve and reinstate the species into territories in Vietnam and Lao PDR (Saola Working Group). I argue that the SWG offers a unique opportunity to address and mitigate shortcomings of other conservation projects. Because the SWG membership includes NGOs and academics from a variety of disciplines and institutions, the opportunities for varied and inclusive research are many. However, there are still some limitations that must be addressed, these include the tendency to discount women in conservation research and projects and the presentation of some experts and expertise as infallible.

Due to the exceptional rarity of saola, biologists have never observed a saola in the forest (Turvey et al 2015). Several specimens have been caught and held in captivity in villages, but they have died (WWF "Saola"). One village member we spoke to said that his brother-in-law caught a saola and brought it back to the village. He described how big it was and showed us where they kept it. Unfortunately, this saola died after about a week of arriving in the village. The ability of this hunter to find and catch a live saola shows that local people have access to knowledge that biologists do not have. In keeping with participatory knowledge production and recognising the limits of traditional scientific research related to the saola, Professor Trung has been working with members of the Saola Working Group (SWG) of the IUCN to incorporate local knowledges into biological discourse.

Including the knowledges of hunters and village members into biology research is important for several reasons. The most compelling is the opportunity for previously ignored voices to become part of the production of knowledge regarding saola conservation. One way that the SWG is working to improve livelihood conditions is by employing local people in conservation efforts. For example, a hunter uses dogs, which is unusual for the region. The SWG has contacted this hunter to learn from him how to track the saola using dogs (Cao Tien Trung, personal communication with author, July 16, 2016). However, the funds available for saola conservation are time-limited and the longevity of these forms of employment may be contingent on the continued survival of a species that is very nearly extinct to begin (Trung and Wilkinson 2015).

Another important opportunity for SWG to help shift conservation discourse is through their use of interview-based data collection related to reported sightings of saola and other mega fauna in the region. Several researchers affiliated with SWG, including Professor Trung, have

worked to develop standardised interview guides and methods in order to extrapolate data from interviews into conservation knowledge. Highly systematic interview guides to track saola sightings are being developed by several members of the SWG. The purpose of including sighting histories into research are twofold: it allows researchers to aggregate data and formulate more reliable models for conservation projects (Turvey et a 2015, 429), and it shifts expertise to include, "different experts with knowledge of different but overlapping forest areas" (Wilkinson and Duc 2017, 627).

While this research offers opportunities to shift conservation discourse and the production of knowledges, there are still many ways in which this research may be limited. Although the expertise of hunters is becoming valued, there are many problematic gendered aspects to this research that must be addressed for SWG to be truly successful in their endeavour. As previously noted, hunting is a predominately male activity while the burden of protection tends to fall on women. In focus groups and community-mapping projects, in which village heads have identified 'forest experts', men have been chosen because, "knowledge of forest animals and hunting is seen as a male domain" (Hùng 2007 in Wilkinson and Duc 2017, 628).

By excluding women, or including them in very tokenistic and superficial ways, researchers show that their primary concern is core zones or particular species for protection rather than livelihoods and ecosystem health. Projects that seek to mitigate loss of livelihoods needs to recognise the household experiences of livelihoods and include women into these discussions. Additionally, these projects can benefit from women's perspectives because their role as forest protectors enables a unique perspective on changing forest ecosystems.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have highlighted the lived experiences of conservation projects and the importance of hunting as a livelihood for people living within the Western Nghệ An Biosphere. PES projects have rolled out differently across different communities and the impacts of species depletion and biodiversity loss are felt in different ways across communities. The findings of this part of my research add to existing studies that show the PES projects are not merely blind neoliberalisation projects, but function in hybrid and complex ways (McCarthy and Prudham 2004). In addition, changing forests and market demands have worked together to lead to the professionalisation of hunting in the area. These complicated relationships and blurred cause and effects demonstrate a need for conservation projects that leave room for complexity, socially and otherwise.

In an attempt to challenge dominant environmental narratives that treat men as the holders of local ecological knowledge, I tried to include women into my village interviews. However, as noted in my methodology, forest conservation is treated as a masculine practice and women are generally discounted from these projects. Very few female researchers have spent time in the villages I visited. I think that my role as a female researcher helped to include women into participating in interviews. In future research projects, I hope to include women as primary respondents.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis, I have drawn from a variety of sources to illustrate translations across social worlds. For this project, I have focused on the translation of conservation goals and projects across worlds of experts and the public in Vietnam. In order to understand and illustrate these translations, standardised packages, and processes of environmentality at play in conservation projects, several social worlds featured in this research. In Chapters three and four of this thesis, I explored consumer-based conservation projects put forth by NGOs. I also sought to understand how wild animal product (wild meat in particular) consumers related to these products and to conservation projects. In Chapter five, I attempted to locate these projects and markets within the reality of livelihoods for people living in and around the biodiversity hotspot forests of Vietnam.

Due to its high rates of endemic flora and fauna, neotropical regions are considered biodiversity hotspots (Myers et al 2000). This distinction makes these areas high profile targets for conservation and ecological research. However, states such as Vietnam face challenges in meeting international criteria for adequate 'protection' of valuable species. The challenges faced by Vietnam include high levels of corruption at all levels of conservation enforcement (Education "Summary" 2016), as well as 'insufficient' knowledge bases regarding biodiversity in the region (Sodhi et al 2004). In an effort to address and mitigate what is seen as an 'impending disaster' (Sodhi et al 2004), conservation NGOs have stepped in. Through processes of translation and the standardised packages used by international conservation organisations, narratives of expertise particular knowledges are reinforced.

Media outlets in many western countries paint grim pictures of rapidly declining biodiversity. The eye-catching headlines and graphic images of, for example, dead rhinos, stir the purse strings of readers far-away from the sites of destruction. These readers may be enticed, with attractive marketing, to donate money for projects that will 'save the rhino' or another attractive and endangered species. By sending money, donors feel a sense of engagement and relief at 'doing their part' without requiring critical engagement or questioning of projects (Luke 1997). International conservation organisations depend on funding through a variety of sources. Perhaps, it is through the attention given in media reports that NGOs are able to gather interest without spending their own funds. Without putting effort into correcting perceptions in western media outlets to account for nuances, NGOs can benefit from over-simplified and somewhat Orientalist notions held by donors.

In many cases, NGOs are aware of the nuances and contradictions within these over-simplified presentations. However, they do not act to rectify or adjust narratives. For example, TRAFFIC has identified several important rhino horn consumer groups; the Chi Initiative is a high profile, attractive marketing campaign that only addresses a very particular niche of consumers. The Chi Initiative does not address underlying fears driving many people to turn to rhino horn.

Perhaps one of the most interesting findings from this thesis is the complication of consumers and their desire(s) for wild animal products. Going into this research project, I anticipated conspicuous, high-profile consumption to be the norm. However, there are many more complicated relationships that people have with wild animal products in Vietnam. As 'face consumers' represent a powerful and super-elite group of wildlife consumers in Vietnam, the reach and efficacy of projects such as the Chi Initiative only work to adjust cultural assumptions

about performances of 'strength'. However, from my interviews, many people feel that this consumer base has little to no sense of responsibility due to their powerful connections and wealth. In contrast to the super-elite consumer, many wild animal product consumers are middle class and gravitate to these products as a way to mitigate food safety fears or other health concerns. Consumer-based conservation projects do not address these concerns. It is possible that NGOs avoid the wider consumer group because the organisations are ill equipped to challenge systemic issues of food-safety and consumer fears. Or, it could be that these organisations are disinterested in addressing the complex relationships that consumers have with wild animal products because it is hard to market conservation projects that do not have clear and distinct goals.

Another interesting connection regarding relationships with food came during my time in the villages in Pu Mat National Park and Pu Huong Nature Reserve. While there, I encountered many people who spoke with absolute mistrust of 'city meat' and expressed fears of contaminated meat that were similar to the ones articulated in Hanoi. This similarity indicates to me that food safety concerns are far greater than the simple presentation of wildlife consumers as purely status concerned.

Current research into saola conservation offers an interesting and important opportunity for conservationists and groups living in protected areas to work together. Thanks to the difficulty in studying live saola, biologists in Vietnam are being forced to cede their status as knowledge gatekeepers. This is not a particularly new methodological approach in biology, but it is offering novel approaches to producing knowledge and conservation strategies for a species that eluded scientists until the early 1990s. Because this project is evolving as it develops, there are many opportunities to address or mitigate researcher biases and shift narratives.

Moving forward from this research project, I hope that this project helps conservation organisations recognise the contradictions in their programs. I also hope that groups such as the Saola Working Group become more engaged with knowledges other than traditionally trained scientific experts. Additionally, promoting projects that work to include more voices and embrace nuances and messiness allows researchers to challenge the predisposition to "start off with the wrong story" (King 2003, 26). By shifting discourse and accepting that there may be conflicting narratives within and among relationships, it is my hope that research and conservation will work toward becoming more inclusive and comprehensive.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Table of questions used to develop interview questions and organise data

Actors/Arenas	Research Question(s)	Information to gather
Restaurants and consumers	What is wild meat?	-What species are served in restaurants? -What species are hunted and traded? - How is wildness in meat defined? - How does a restaurant owner/consumer know the 'authenticity' of meat? (Where does it come from?)
	How do performances of gender/identity play into consumption?	- Who consumes wild meat? Why? - How frequently do people (of various identities) consume wild meat? -How does wild meat fit into various identity narratives (such as gender or class)? -How do respondents report that identities or performances of identity have changed over the past (5, 10, 20) years?
	What is the role of markets in wild meat?	-Are some species more valuable (expensive) than others? Why? -How do respondents report that wild meat markets and demand have changed over the past (5, 10, 20) years? - Has anything changed a restaurant's ability to access/sell wild meat? -Have consumption/selling patterns changed over time? Why?

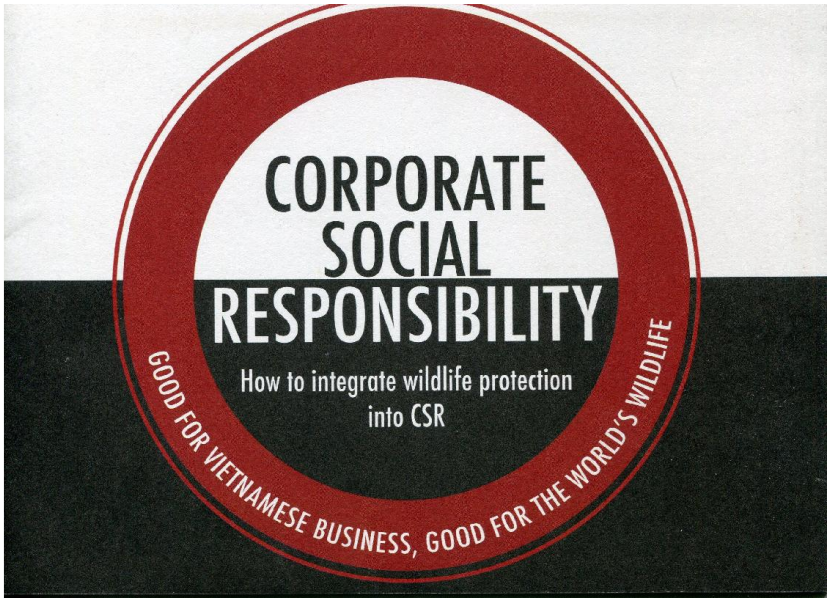
	What is the role of NGOs in changing consumption patterns?	-What are the specifics of conservation campaigns directed at consumption? -How (if at all) do restaurants or consumers feel affected by these campaigns? -Has anything caused them to reduce their consumption (price, availability, morality)?
Markets/Traders	What is wild meat?	-What species are traded? -Are people more concerned with the species or where the animal is from? ('wildness' as species or origin) -How do traders show the 'authenticity' of meat? -How do respondents report that wild meat markets and demand have changed over the past (5, 10, 20) years?
	How do performances of gender/identity play into consumption?	-Who trades wild meat? Who buys it? -How frequently do people buy wild meat? -Why do people purchase it? -How do respondents report that identities or performances of identity have changed over the past (5, 10, 20) years?
	What is the role of markets in wild meat?	-Are some species more valuable (expensive) than others? How has this changed in the past (5, 10, 20) years? - Has anything changed a trader's ability to access/sell wild meat? -Have consumption/selling patterns changed over time? Why?
	What is the role of NGOs in changing consumption patterns?	-Are there conservation campaigns targeting traders? How? -How (if at all) do traders feel affected by these campaigns?

		-Has anything caused them to reduce their participation in wild meat markets?
Hunters	What is wild meat?	-What species are hunted and traded? -Why do people buy wild meat? -How has demand changed in the past (5, 10, 20) years?
	How do performances of gender/identity play into consumption?	-Who hunts? Who sells? -How is hunting related to identity? -Why do people want to consume wild meat? -How do respondents report that identities or performances of identity have changed over the past (5, 10, 20) years?
	What is the role of markets in wild meat?	-How important is hunting for livelihoods? -How has the availability of animals for hunting changed over in the last (5, 10, 20) years? - Are there other livelihoods for hunters? -Has anything affected the ability of hunters to hunt? To sell wild meat? -Has the availability of species for hunting changed hunters' participation in markets?
	What is the role of NGOs in changing consumption patterns?	-Are there conservation campaigns targeting hunters? How? -How (if at all) do hunters feel affected by these campaigns? -Has anything caused them to reduce their participation in wild meat markets?

Conservation NGOs	What is wild meat?	-What species are hunted/traded/consumed?* -Why do people buy wild meat?* -Are any species targeted as more important for conservation? Why? *These questions will help to create a fuller picture of how different actors define wild meat and act as a point of comparison across actors.
	How do performances of gender/identity play into consumption?	-Who hunts/trades/sells/consumes wild meat (as identified by NGOs)? How have these actors been identified? -Why are people involved in wild meat? -Who are 'experts' regarding conservation strategies? -Who is targeted by conservation campaigns? -How do NGOs report that identities or performances of identity have changed over the past (5, 10, 20) years?
	What is the role of markets in wild meat?	-How have demand and markets for wild meat changed over the past (5, 10, 20) years? -What are some market-oriented approaches that NGOs have taken for changing wild meat consumption?
	What is the role of NGOs in changing consumption patterns?	-What campaigns have been put forward by NGOs? -Who are they targeted at (consumers, traders, hunters)? -Are they considered 'successful? Why?

Appendix B: Additional images from the Chi Initiative brochure

The following images are from the Chi Initiative promotional materials. The first image is from the cover of the English language version of the brochure. We see predominately images of men in western business suits. The images of women are either very sexual or 'blending in' with men.




Chí
SỨC TẠI CHÍ
CHARACTER COMES FROM WITHIN
"A successful businessman relies on his will and strength of mind. Success comes from opportunities you create, not from a piece of horn"
6