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3 **Understanding the influence of non-wealth factors in determining**  
4 **bushmeat consumption: results from four West African countries**

5

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29 **Abstract**

30 The meat of wild animals (bushmeat) is consumed extensively in many tropical regions.  
31 Over the past few decades bushmeat consumption has greatly increased, threatening the  
32 survival of some hunted species and the supply of animal protein to countless numbers of  
33 people. Understanding patterns of bushmeat consumption is thus vital to ensure the  
34 sustainable use of this resource. Although the economic drivers of bushmeat consumption  
35 has been well studied, non-wealth correlates have been poorly considered. Here, we analyse  
36 how factors such as age and gender influence bushmeat consumption in four West African  
37 countries, within the Guinean forests (Togo and Nigeria) and Sahel (Burkina Faso and  
38 Niger). We interviewed a total of 2,453 persons (1,253 urban, 1,200 in rural areas) to  
39 determine frequency of consumption of bushmeat as well as main species eaten. We found  
40 significant differences in bushmeat consumption between rural and urban areas in all four  
41 countries. In particular, the proportion of persons not consuming any bushmeat was highest  
42 in urban areas. Gender differences in bushmeat consumption was not generally important  
43 but young people consistently avoided eating bushmeat, especially in Togo and Nigeria, and  
44 in urban areas. The complicated interplay between tradition and evolution of social systems  
45 (especially the trends towards westernization) may explain the different perceptions that  
46 people may have towards consuming bushmeat in the four studied countries. In addition, we  
47 found considerable variation in types of bushmeat eaten, with antelopes and large rodents  
48 eaten by the great majority of interviewees, but bats, monkeys, and snakes being avoided,  
49 especially in urban settlements.

50 *Key words:* Age; gender; Togo; Burkina Faso; Nigeria; Niger; wildlife; species eaten;  
51 frequency.

52

## 53 1. Introduction

54 Terrestrial wild vertebrates are central to the nutritional wellbeing of many rural  
55 people, particularly those inhabiting the world's tropical regions (Fa et al., 2002; Golden et  
56 al., 2011). This reliance on wild meat is as much a consequence of the lack of alternative  
57 domestic meat resources (Mainka & Trivedi 2002; Nasi et al. 2008), as much as it is an  
58 attribute of centuries-old cultural traditions (Milner-Gulland et al., 2003). However,  
59 although wild animals have been hunted for millennia, their consumption has greatly  
60 increased over the past few decades (Nasi et al., 2011). In West and Central Africa,  
61 commercial hunting, especially to supply large urban centres, has risen dramatically, largely  
62 driven by a human population growth of 2–3% per year (Nasi et al., 2011). Such  
63 intensification of demand for bushmeat will have fatal consequences for many species but  
64 particularly large-bodied and slow-growing species if extraction exceeds their replacement  
65 rate (Wilkie et al., 2001). Indeed, the decline of some species as a consequence of bushmeat  
66 extraction has already been documented for tortoises (Luiselli, 2003) and antelopes (Fischer  
67 and Linsenmair, 2001; Grande-Vega et al., 2016; Hema et al., 2017). As a consequence, loss  
68 of wildlife may threaten the food security of many marginalized forest foragers, and farmer-  
69 forager communities that are isolated from markets and depend on bushmeat as their  
70 primary protein source (Eves and Ruggiero, 2001).

71 Few studies have centred on understanding why people eat bushmeat. Knowing  
72 what motivates people to eat bushmeat can help in developing politically acceptable ways to  
73 manage wildlife hunting and trading with the aim of halting unsustainable exploitation.  
74 Bushmeat may be eaten because it is cheaper or there are no alternatives available in the  
75 market place (Apaza et al., 2002; Wilkie and Godoy, 2001), because consumers prefer the  
76 taste of wildlife (Chardonnet et al., 1995; Trefon and de Maret, 1999) or to add variety to the  
77 diet and for special social events and occasions (Njiforti, 1996). Despite this variety of

78 possible reasons that may motivate buyers to eat bushmeat, most studies have focused on the  
79 socioeconomic background of consumers as the main reason underpinning their choice (e.g.  
80 Wilkie and Godoy, 2001; Brashares et al., 2011). In general, wealthier households consume  
81 more bushmeat in settlements nearer urban areas, but the opposite pattern is observed in  
82 more isolated settlements (Brashares et al., 2011). Nonetheless, Brashares et al. (2011) also  
83 indicate that household wealth is only weakly linked to wildlife consumption, and thus such  
84 a lack of a strong correlation could be explained by the undisclosed importance of other  
85 factors e.g. spatial differences in wealth. Thus, understanding what may influence  
86 consumption patterns, other than wealth, are urgently needed to disentangle the part played  
87 by ecological, socioeconomic and cultural factors. Recent studies have shown that price and  
88 income have significant roles in determining the level of consumption of bushmeat, fish,  
89 chicken, and beef (Apaza et al., 2002; Wilkie and Godoy, 2001; Wilkie et al., 2005).  
90 However, few investigations have focused on how bushmeat consumption is affected by  
91 geographic location, gender or age of consumers; all attributes of a population that reflect  
92 cultural influences (Hema et al., 2017; Luiselli et al., 2017).

93 Household surveys have been extensively used to understand potential linkages  
94 between conservation and local livelihoods. Studies reporting on the amounts and  
95 preferences of bushmeat consumed have focussed on the collection of quantitative  
96 household-level data and have been useful in determining possible socioeconomic  
97 characteristics of a community that may be linked to bushmeat consumption. However,  
98 household surveys have both theoretical and logistical weaknesses. Logistically, these  
99 surveys can be costly in terms of time and resources especially if adequate sample sizes are  
100 collected. Theoretically, a given household often includes resident of different ages (from  
101 over 80 to less than 5 years old) and scholarization levels (from complete illiteracy to  
102 university-level students), and these may be linked to contrasting lifestyles and points of  
103 view, including their perception towards bushmeat consumption (Luiselli et al., 2017). Thus,

104 focusing on just households can introduce biases to the overall conclusions. To avoid these  
105 biases face-to-face interviews allow the collection of large amounts of qualitative  
106 information that can be used to ascertain bushmeat consumption levels and factors that may  
107 affect these. Here we use interview responses from inhabitants of rural communities and  
108 urban centres in a number of localities in four West African countries to: 1) quantify the  
109 frequency of consumption of bushmeat, 2) determine the influence of gender and age, and 3)  
110 assess whether location (rural/urban; in forest versus in savannah habitats), and country  
111 influenced bushmeat consumption.

112

## 113 **2. Methods**

### 114 *2.1. Study sites*

115 We interviewed a total of 2,453 individuals (1,253 urban, 1,200 in rural areas) from  
116 27 separate human settlements in Nigeria, Togo, Burkina Faso and Niger (Fig. 1). Study  
117 localities in Nigeria and Togo were located within the Guinean Forests of West Africa  
118 region; swamp forest and moist rainforest vegetation zones in southern Nigeria (Niger Delta  
119 Environmental Survey, 1998; Oates et al., 2004) and in the deciduous moist forest zone of  
120 southwestern Togo (Ern, 1979). Sites in Burkina Faso and Niger were found within the  
121 Sahel, in Sudanian and Sahel Acacia savannahs (Thiombiano and Kampmann, 2010).

122

### 123 *2.2. Interviews*

124 To obtain information on bushmeat use, we conducted face-to-face interviews using  
125 a standardized questionnaire. All data were gathered during 2012-2016. We selected  
126 interviewees at marketplaces, roadsides, canteens, restaurants, hairdressing salons, food  
127 shops, and other gathering places. We stopped the first person we encountered after a given  
128 time period (in minutes); the time interval was randomly generated by a Random Number  
129 Generator. Local scientists (VO, NA, GP, DS, WG, EAE and other students) performed all

130 interviews. All interviewees were informed of the aims of the project and their consent was  
131 obtained before proceeding. All interviews were conducted in the local language.

132 We interviewed persons in Ouagadougou, Niamey, Lomé, Benin City, Port Harcourt,  
133 Calabar (all cities with more than 500,000 residents) as well as in rural villages (500 to  
134 25,000 inhabitants, apart from Pama that has about 40,000 inhabitants). We recorded the  
135 interviewees' gender (male or female) and age ( $\leq 25$  years, 26-50 years,  $\geq 51$  years) but not  
136 their names (St. John, 2010; Nuno et al., 2014; Luiselli et al., 2017). To avoid non-  
137 independence of the data, we never interviewed two persons of the same family or those  
138 living in the same house, even if they were not relatives (see also Hema et al., 2017, for  
139 similar procedure).

140 Interviewees were asked the following two questions: (1) Do you like eating  
141 bushmeat? (2) If yes, how often do you eat bushmeat? Interviewees would then be asked if  
142 they ate bushmeat frequently (at least once a week), rarely (about once per month or less) or  
143 never. Persons who answered that they consumed bushmeat only occasionally were then  
144 asked whether they selected the type of animal or whether they would just buy/eat whatever  
145 kind of bushmeat was available.

### 146 2.3. *Statistical analyses*

147 We employed Generalized Linear Models (GLZs) to determine the relationship  
148 between bushmeat consumption frequency and site (rural versus urban), gender  
149 (male/female) and age classes (three categories) (Hosmer and Lemeshow, 2000). The codes  
150 for the variables used in the GLZs are given in Appendix 1. In the model, the response  
151 "never eat bushmeat" was the dependent variable (i.e. consumption data were converted into  
152 a binary variable, 1 = eat (often or rarely) and 0 = never eat bushmeat) and the identity of the  
153 link function and a normal distribution of error were used (McCullagh and Nelder, 1989).  
154 Three age categories were used for all analyses: persons aged less than 25, aged less than 50,

155 and aged 51 years or more. In the GLZ models, a stepwise forward regression procedure was  
156 used to test the statistical significance of each variable in turn, and variables were excluded  
157 when they did not correlate significantly with the dependent variable (Wald test  $P > 0.05$ ).

158 To explore deviance and hierarchical partitioning, the selected variables were  
159 analyzed in order to determine the comparative influence of each variable (Borcard et al.,  
160 1992). The decomposition of the variation into subsets of explanatory variables was carried  
161 out by means of a partial regression analysis (Legendre and Legendre, 1998).

162 Frequency differences between groups of interviewed people were analyzed using  
163 the  $\chi^2$  test, for comparing both differences among frequently-eating, rarely-eating and non-  
164 eating bushmeat respondents, and for determining differences in terms of type of bushmeat  
165 eaten. The statistical software PASW 11.0 was used for all analyses, and alpha was set at  
166 5%.

167

### 168 **3. Results**

#### 169 *3.1. General patterns*

170 A summary of the data gathered for this study is shown in Table 1, the raw dataset is  
171 given in Appendix 2. In general terms, bushmeat was consumed more often by rural than  
172 urban interviewees in all countries (Fig. 2). An average total of  $70.3 \pm 15.7\%$  of rural  
173 respondents answered that they ate bushmeat (either eaten rarely or often) in contrast to only  
174  $42.8 \pm 19.0\%$  of urban interviewees. In all countries more rural than urban respondents ate  
175 bushmeat; 1.59 times more in Niger, 1.26 times more in Nigeria, 0.46 times in Togo and  
176 0.14 times in Burkina Faso.



177 A general GLZ model using data from all countries pooled and type of bushmeat  
178 eaten as the dependent variable showed that, the probability of eating ungulates or birds was  
179 significantly affected by gender or age of the respondents respectively, while the eating of  
180 monkeys, bats, carnivores, crocodiles, snakes and turtles was influenced by the age of the  
181 respondents and their urban/rural location (Table 2).

182 We found significant differences in responses between interviewees in Guinean  
183 forests and the Sahel region. Age classes, followed by urban/rural location, accounted for  
184 the strongest pure effect in the Sahelian localities with gender explaining only a very small  
185 proportion of the variance (Fig. 3). Within the Guinean forest localities, urban/rural location  
186 was the predominant effect, age had a lesser relevance in terms of explained variance, but  
187 gender had almost no effect (Fig. 3).

188 We found a significant effect of distance (in km) of the interviewee to the nearest  
189 urban area where the probability of never-eating bushmeat increased in Sahelian countries,  
190 but not in the two countries within the Guinean forest region (for Sahel: GLZ estimate =  
191 6.56, standard error = 1.34, Wald = 24.0,  $P < 0.0001$ ; for age classes: estimate = -7.62,  
192 standard error = 2.32, Wald = 10.79,  $P < 0.001$ ; for Guinean forests: in all cases  $P > 0.165$ ).

### 193 3.2. *Country effects*

194 Our GLZ model revealed that effect of country on bushmeat consumed were  
195 relatively minor (Table 2). Nonetheless, country had a statistical effect on the consumption  
196 of primates, with people from the Guinean Forests countries being more likely to eat  
197 monkeys than people in the Sahel (Table 2). Thus, apart from primates, there were no other  
198 statistical differences between areas of Guinean forest countries and Sahelian countries in  
199 terms of the probability of consuming the various types of bushmeat.

200 Overall, there were no significant differences between countries (in all cases, at least  
201  $P > 0.225$  at  $\chi^2$  test) in the proportion of those respondents who declared that they never ate  
202 bushmeat (Table 3) as well as in those that declared to frequently eat bushmeat (Table 4).  
203 However, there were clear confounding effects of age, gender and urban/rural location on  
204 the pure effect of the country (see below). Overall, patterns for the frequency of ‘often-  
205 eaten-bushmeat’ responses were more consistent among countries than in the ‘never-eating-  
206 bushmeat’ answers (Table 4).

207 In Togo, there was a significant effect of age in urban and rural areas; the frequency  
208 of respondents never-eating bushmeat declined significantly with age in both locations  
209 (Table 3). No effect of gender was found, but the differences between rural and urban areas  
210 depended on the strength of the frequency decreases of never-eating-bushmeat respondents  
211 in these two locations, i.e. rural and urban people in Togo tended to respond similarly. In  
212 Nigeria (Table 3), there was no effect of age in urban areas (people do not eat bushmeat in  
213 general) but in rural areas (only young people did not eat bushmeat). In addition, there was a  
214 significant effect of gender in urban areas, with women avoiding eating bushmeat more than  
215 men. The overall differences between rural and urban areas were significant for both gender  
216 and age (Tables 3 and 4). In Burkina Faso, there was a significant effect of age in urban  
217 areas (more young people did not eat bushmeat) but not for rural areas, where people do  
218 generally eat bushmeat independent of their age (Tables 3 and 4). In Niger, there was only a  
219 significant effect of age, with more young people responding that they would never eat  
220 bushmeat compared to older people, in both urban and rural locations (Table 3).

### 221 3.3. *Age effects*

222 Our GLZ model revealed that the age of the interviewees affected the probability of  
223 consuming primates, bats, carnivores, crocodiles, snakes and chelonians, in all cases older  
224 people were more likely to consume these animals than younger people (Table 2).

225 Overall, age had a significantly stronger effect on the likelihood of consuming  
226 bushmeat in the Sahelian region compared to the Guinean forest region (Fig. 3).  
227 Nonetheless, the tendency was the same in both regions: young people tended to never or  
228 very rarely consume bushmeat significantly more than people of >25 years age ( $P < 0.001$  at  
229  $\chi^2$  test).

230

### 231 3.4. *Gender effects*

232 Overall, gender effects were negligible in both Sahelian and Guinean forests regions,  
233 and contributed little to the hierarchical variance partitioning in the interview dataset (Figure  
234 3). Nonetheless, some effects of gender were detected in the attitude of consuming a few  
235 types of bushmeat as well as in a few local contexts. Indeed, although most people ate  
236 ungulates and rodents, there were significant effects of gender on the consumption of these  
237 animals, with men being more likely to eat them than women (Table 2). In addition, females  
238 tended to avoid eating bushmeat more frequently than males in some countries such as  
239 Nigeria. However, this was not a pure gender effect, as it was mediated by age and  
240 rural/urban condition in a rather complicated way (Tables 3 and 4). Overall, the ‘often-  
241 eating-bushmeat’ response was especially linked to men in either Guinean forests (e.g. Togo)  
242 or Sahel (e.g. Burkina Faso) regions.

243

### 244 3.5. *Rural versus urban*

245 Whether living in rural or urban locations determined the outcome of the  
246 interviewees’ answers in the Guinean forest region but not in the Sahelian region (Fig. 3). In  
247 other words, attitude towards bushmeat of people from Sahelian regions was similar in both  
248 rural and urban locations, whereas in the Guinean forest region there were differences  
249 between locations. In addition, in terms of frequency of never-eating bushmeat people,  
250 statistical differences between rural versus urban conditions were much higher ( $P < 0.001$  at

251  $\chi^2$  test) than those occurring between countries (see above). Whether a person lived in an  
252 urban or rural location affected the probability of consuming bushmeat much more than their  
253 country of residence.

254 A total of 41.9% of urban and 67.3% of rural respondents stated they consumed  
255 bushmeat (Fig. 4); this difference being significant ( $\chi^2 = 231.9$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $P < 0.0001$ ).

256 According to the different response categories, most interviewees in rural areas mentioned  
257 they frequently ate bushmeat ( $\chi^2 = 7.3$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $P < 0.05$ ), but in urban areas most said they  
258 never ate bushmeat ( $\chi^2 = 193.4$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $P < 0.0001$ ).

259 Overall, ungulates and rodents were eaten by almost all respondents in either rural or  
260 urban areas, but carnivores, monkeys and snakes were eaten rarely (differences significant at  
261  $P < 0.00001$  compared to ungulates and rodents,  $\chi^2$  test), and mainly in rural areas (Fig. 5).

262 Contingency table analysis showed that there were no significant differences between urban  
263 and rural areas in terms of frequency of respondents eating the various bushmeat types ( $\chi^2 =$   
264 14.48,  $df = 8$ ,  $P = 0.0699$ ). However, our GLZ model revealed that primates, bats,  
265 carnivores, crocodiles, snakes and chelonians were significantly more likely to be eaten by  
266 rural than by urban people, with the highest estimates being for monkeys and bats (Table 2);  
267 it was unlikely that people from urban areas, in any of the surveyed countries, ate monkeys  
268 and bats.

269 Differences between urban and rural areas were also strongly mediated by the effects  
270 of age and gender (Tables 3 and 4). Overall, there were significant differences in both  
271 gender and age between rural and urban areas.

#### 272 4. Discussion

273 Previous studies have suggested that bushmeat was universally preferred “due to its superior  
274 taste” (King, 1994) and thus African communities therefore preferred and thus primarily ate

275 bushmeat. These statements were not based on empirical evidence until a study reporting on  
276 two-choice taste tests showed that consumers in Gabon had only a weak preference for  
277 bushmeat and only rural consumers consistently preferred bushmeat over alternatives  
278 (Schenck et al., 2006). This result is particularly important given that it manifests that even  
279 though basic desires such as hunger and the need for nourishment can influence food choice,  
280 availability and cultural norms also affect these. Thus, it is not simply taste that is driving  
281 demand for bushmeat, but that price or other culturally mediated factors such as familiarity,  
282 tradition, and prestige play a role.

283         Our analyses indicate a very clear and significant difference in bushmeat  
284 consumption among rural and urban peoples in all countries. This effect appeared in 7 out  
285 of 7 models, in all four of the investigated countries. This difference has been demonstrated  
286 in a number of other studies in the African continent (e.g. in the Democratic Republic of  
287 Congo, see Van Vliet et al., 2014) and in Madagascar (Jenkins et al., 2011). This contrast  
288 between rural and urban dwellers is largely explained by the availability of bushmeat versus  
289 alternative protein sources. Rural dwellers are usually restricted in terms of the availability  
290 and accessibility of domestic meats but in a much better position to option these resources  
291 from the wild. By contrast, urban dwellers have greater access to alternative proteins (Apaza  
292 et al., 2002). Nonetheless, cultural complications also explain the preference of non-  
293 bushmeat proteins by urban people (see Luiselli et al., 2017 and below).

294         Our analyses clearly showed that age was important in most countries; the pure effect  
295 of age was significant in 5 out of 7 models, in Nigeria, Togo and Niger. Younger  
296 interviewees generally ate less bushmeat than older persons. That young people ate less  
297 bushmeat can in part be due to a growing ‘westernization’ of the lifestyles, especially among  
298 the middle classes. These sector of the community often do not see it as ‘socially acceptable’  
299 to consume bushmeat, since this is perceived by them as a sign of ‘being very local’ (i.e. not

300 culturally advanced). In contrast the eating of ‘fast foods’ (hamburgers, pizza, kebab, etc.) is  
301 now the favourite ‘social diet’ of young people. This pattern is especially evident in urban  
302 Nigeria and Togo (our unpublished observations), where young interviewees not only  
303 declared that they would not eat bushmeat, but even commented that eating bushmeat was  
304 not acceptable because it produces a loss of personal prestige within their circle of friends.  
305 In this regard, it was particularly interesting that, among the rarely-eating bushmeat urban  
306 people, a sample of 7 young (<25 years) persons from Togo and 15 from Nigeria declared  
307 that they would never eat bushmeat in public, but that very occasionally they do during  
308 private family events, and only when they visit their rural relatives. Thus, among the  
309 respondents who declared that they rarely ate bushmeat, many would only consume  
310 bushmeat in special circumstances. We suggest that in urban areas the lower consumption of  
311 bushmeat is not because of lack of access, but that it responds to a more culturally-driven  
312 avoidance in response to the changing socio-economic context.

313           By contrast to the effects of age we observed in our study, the pure effect of gender  
314 was only apparent in 1 out of 7 models. In terms of mixed factors, ‘Gender X Rural/Urban’  
315 were significant in 4/7 models and ‘Age X Rural/Urban’ were significant in 5/7 models,  
316 whereas ‘Gender X Age’ in 2/7 models. From these results, we conclude that rural/urban  
317 and age are much more important than gender in determining the probability for a person to  
318 consume bushmeat. The non-effect of gender is probably related to the enhanced equal  
319 rights of women and men in West African societies (especially in Nigeria), with young  
320 generations being much more equal in terms of gender and lifestyle (see Gender Equality  
321 Index database by the African Development Bank, available at [www.afdb.org](http://www.afdb.org)). Thus, since  
322 young men and women typically share a similar life-style (especially in urban areas), even  
323 their food preferences tend to be very similar.

324 Since, in all countries, and in urban areas in particular, most of the young  
325 respondents stated they never ate bushmeat, this would suggest that bushmeat consumption  
326 has been substantially decreasing among the new generations of West Africans,  
327 independently on their local culture, religion, ethnicity and level of human development. In  
328 Nigeria, where the level of human development (average wealth and scholarization  
329 standards) are clearly higher than in the other countries (the country being the 22th economy  
330 of the world; World Bank, 2016), only older people in rural areas (age > 51 years) answered  
331 that they consumed bushmeat more regularly (Table 2).

332 Although our study is the first to cover a broad spectrum of situations, it is important  
333 to note that bushmeat trade analysis are much easier to undertake in the Guinean forests  
334 region (such as Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria; e.g. see Fa et al., 2002a, 2002b, 2006) than in  
335 Sahel. This difference is related to the fact that in the Sahel region there are no open  
336 bushmeat markets and people here may be more reluctant to answer interviewers openly  
337 because of social norms (Hema et al., 2017, but see Lindsey et al. 2013). This is also  
338 possibly linked to the fact that forest can occur close to urban areas in the Guinean Forest  
339 region (e.g., Niger Delta forests surrounding Port Harcourt), whereas the same is not true in  
340 the Sahel where all the forested or mature savannah sites (from which most of the bushmeat  
341 trade does originate) are situated far from larger urban centres (our unpublished  
342 observations). Therefore, ‘hub’ markets (Akani et al., 2015) are more likely to be found  
343 nearby large cities in the forest zone than in the savannah zone. In conclusion, we argue that  
344 the cultural drivers of wildlife use are crucial to take into account when seeking long-term  
345 sustainability solutions of wildlife resource extraction (e.g., Luiselli et al., 2017).

346

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428 lowland Amerindian societies. *Conserv. Biol.* 15, 1–9.
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430 Table 1. Synopsis of the interview raw data collected during the present surveys in the four studied countries.

	<b>Urban</b>			Total urban	<b>Rural</b>			Total rural
	Often eaten	Rarely eaten	Never eaten		Often eaten	Rarely eaten	Never eaten	
<b>Burkina Faso</b>								
Males (< 25 yr)	0	0	7	7	4	2	2	8
Males (< 50 yr)	7	69	43	119	66	24	7	97
Males (> 51)	7	12	1	20	17	9	3	29
Females (< 25 yr)	2	1	10	13	1	1	21	23
Females (< 50 yr)	6	52	30	88	17	21	33	71
Females (> 51)	1	8	6	15	9	5	3	17
TOTAL SAMPLE	23	142	97	262	114	62	69	245
<b>Niger</b>								
Males (< 25 yr)	2	2	56	60	20	11	45	76
Males (< 50 yr)	4	6	32	42	30	20	39	89
Males (> 51)	5	6	22	33	33	9	37	79
Females (< 25 yr)	1	0	46	47	14	9	44	67
Females (< 50 yr)	4	7	39	50	24	11	30	65
Females (> 51)	7	7	26	40	22	10	31	63
TOTAL SAMPLE	23	28	221	272	143	70	226	439
<b>Togo</b>								
Males (< 25 yr)	11	9	33	53	14	8	21	43
Males (< 50 yr)	12	16	15	43	33	24	2	59
Males (> 51)	14	12	5	31	24	7	1	32
Females (< 25 yr)	0	11	41	52	4	16	26	46
Females (< 50 yr)	7	17	23	47	14	7	4	25
Females (> 51)	16	11	11	38	16	2	2	20
TOTAL SAMPLE	60	76	128	264	105	64	56	225
<b>Nigeria</b>								
Males (< 25 yr)	7	14	56	77	17	31	11	59
Males (< 50 yr)	12	23	44	79	21	23	8	52
Males (> 51)	16	31	39	86	22	41	5	68

Females (< 25 yr)	3	6	62	71	13	43	14	70
Females (< 50 yr)	7	12	46	65	9	11	2	22
Females (> 51)	19	23	35	77	14	5	1	20
TOTAL SAMPLE	64	109	282	455	96	154	41	291
GRAND TOTAL	170	355	728	1253	458	350	392	1200

431 Table 2. Results of the Generalized Linear Model on the probability of eating bushmeat by type of animals  
 432 by country, urban/rural locality, age, sex and gender (female/male). Intercepts are included in all models, and  
 433 the explained deviance (in %) is also shown. Negative estimates for gender means a preponderance of male  
 434 respondents. Positive estimates for age indicates a preponderance of older age classes respondents.

Variable	Estimate	St. error	Wald	P
<b>Ungulates</b>				
Intercept	211.71	72.41	8.55	0.003
Gender	-1.68	0.82	4.18	0.041
Explained deviance (%)	90.20			
<b>Rodents</b>				
Intercept	295.85	202.43	2.14	0.144
Gender	-5.14	2.29	5.02	0.025
Explained deviance (%)	88.08			
<b>Monkeys</b>				
Intercept	-2079.08	431.87	23.17	0.000001
Country	5.93	2.99	3.92	0.048
Urban/Rural	-31.26	4.89	40.89	0.000001
Age	14.92	2.99	24.85	0.000001
Explained deviance (%)	34.07			
<b>Bats</b>				
Intercept	-1596.00	376.76	17.94	0.000023
Urban/Rural	-29.26	6.03	23.54	0.000001
Age	16.13	3.69	19.08	0.000013
Explained deviance (%)	45.79			
<b>Carnivores</b>				
Intercept	-1408.96	335.10	17.68	0.000026
Urban/Rural	-17.45	5.36	10.58	0.0011
Age	14.22	3.28	18.74	0.000015
Explained deviance (%)	55.90			
<b>Birds</b>				
Intercept	-837.82	493.40	2.88	0.089

Age	7.33	3.42	4.60	0.032
Explained deviance (%)	88.74			
<b>Crocodiles</b>				
Intercept	-1439.25	453.05	10.09	0.0015
Urban/Rural	-22.29	5.13	18.89	0.000014
Age	15.28	3.14	23.68	0.000001
Explained deviance (%)	46.41			
<b>Snakes</b>				
Intercept	-1330.51	345.56	14.82	0.000118
Urban/Rural	-20.61	5.53	13.87	0.000195
Age	13.41	3.39	15.66	0.000076
Explained deviance (%)	55.05			
<b>Turtles</b>				
Intercept	-853.91	296.62	8.29	0.0039
Urban/Rural	-15.25	4.75	10.31	0.0013
Age	9.156	2.9079	9.91504	0.001639
Explained deviance (%)	64.03			

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435

436

437 Table 3. Summary of the results of contingency tables on the frequencies of the never-eating bushmeat respondents by country. In this table, ‘towards’ would  
 438 indicate the direction of the significant effect. For instance, if in a given area, there was a significantly higher number of ‘never-eating-bushmeat’ respondents for  
 439 young people (< 25 years age), this is highlighted in the table with ‘towards young’.

	Differences between gender in rural	Differences between gender in urban	Differences by age in rural	Differences by age in urban	Differences between urban and rural by gender	Differences between urban and rural by age
Togo	P = n.s.	P = n.s.	P < 0.01 (towards young) P < 0.01 (towards old people)	P < 0.01 (towards young)	P = n.s.	P = n.s.
Nigeria	P = n.s.	P < 0.05 (towards men)		P = n.s.	P < 0.01 (due to men in urban areas)	P < 0.05 (due to age in rural areas)
Burkina Faso	P < 0.01 (towards men)	P < 0.05 (towards women)	P = n.s.	P < 0.05 (towards young)	P < 0.0001 (due to opposite signs of differences)	P < 0.05 (due to consistent trends of age: young do not eat bushmeat)
Niger	P = n.s.	P = n.s.	P < 0.05 (towards young)	P < 0.05 (towards young)	P = n.s.	P = n.s.

440

441



442 Table 4. Summary of the results of contingency tables on the frequencies of the often-eating bushmeat respondents by country. In this table, ‘towards’ would  
 443 indicate the direction of the significant effect. For instance, if in a given area, there was a significantly higher number of ‘never-eating-bushmeat’ respondents for  
 444 young people (< 25 years age), this is highlighted in the table with ‘towards young’.

	Differences between gender in rural	Differences between gender in urban	Differences by age in rural	Differences by age in urban	Differences between urban and rural by gender	Differences between urban and rural by age
Togo	P < 0.05 (towards men)	P < 0.05 (towards men)	P < 0.05 (towards young)	P < 0.01 (towards young)	P = n.s.	P = n.s.
Nigeria	P = n.s.	P = n.s.	P = n.s.	P < 0.01 (towards young)	P = n.s.	P < 0.05 (due to young people responses negative effect)
Burkina Faso	P < 0.001 (towards men)	P < 0.001 (towards men)	P = n.s.	P < 0.0001 (towards young)	P < 0.05 (due to men)	P < 0.05 (due to young people responses negative effect)
Niger	P = n.s.	P = n.s.	P = n.s.	P < 0.05 (towards young)	P = n.s.	P = n.s.

445

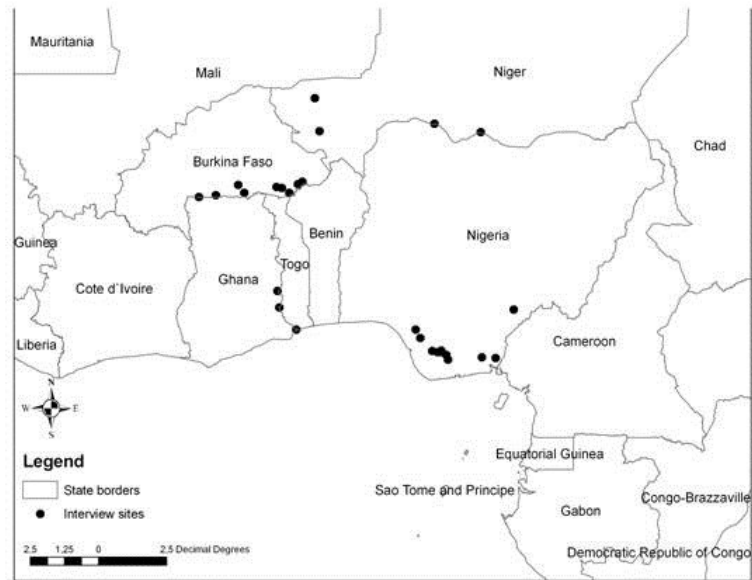
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447 Table 5. Significant effects ( $P < 0.05$ ; indicated with a X) of the various parameters on the frequency of  
 448 respondents claiming to eat bushmeat, by a GLM mixed model analysis.

	Nigeria	Togo	Burkina Faso	Niger	Guinean Forests	Sahel	All pooled
Gender			X				
Age	X	X		X	X		X
Rural/urban	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gender X Age		X			X		
Gender X Rural/Urban	X		X			X	X
Age X Rural/urban	X	X		X	X		X

449

450 Figure 1. Map of West Africa showing the study sites where interviews were carried out



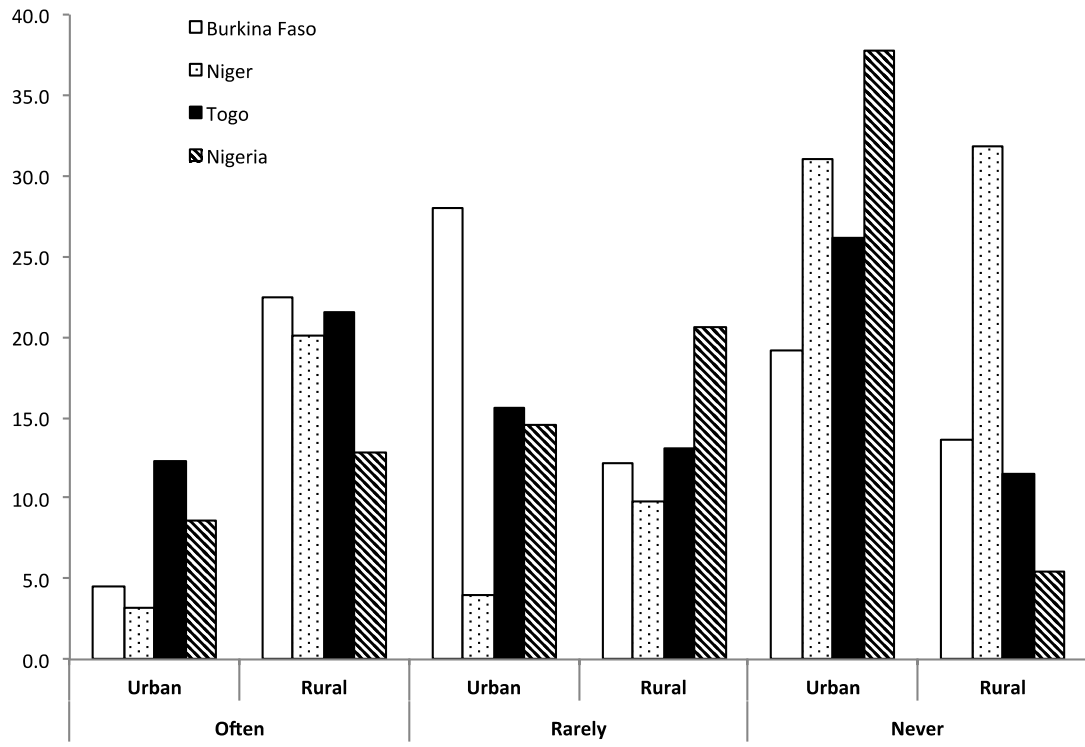
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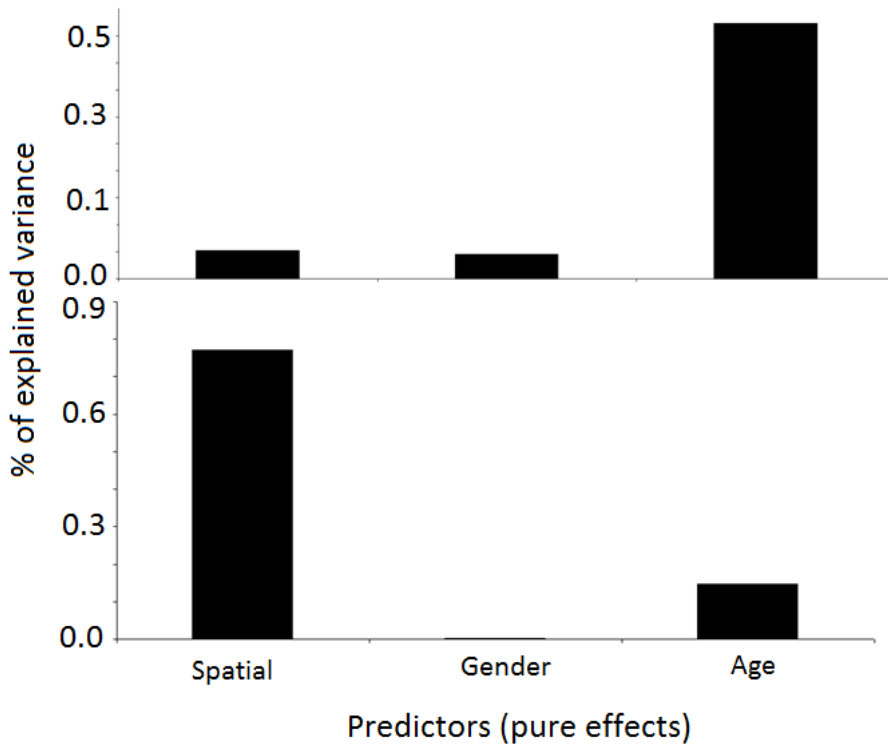
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454 Figure 2. Percent interviewees responding whether bushmeat was eaten often, rarely or never in urban and  
 455 rural settlements in the four countries studied in West Africa.

456



457 Figure 3. Relative importance of predictors (pure effect), as determined by hierarchical variation partitioning,  
458 for the model considering all the interviewees' responses as dependent variable, for the Sahel countries  
459 (upper graphic) and for the Guinean forests countries (lower graphic). Spatial = urban/rural.

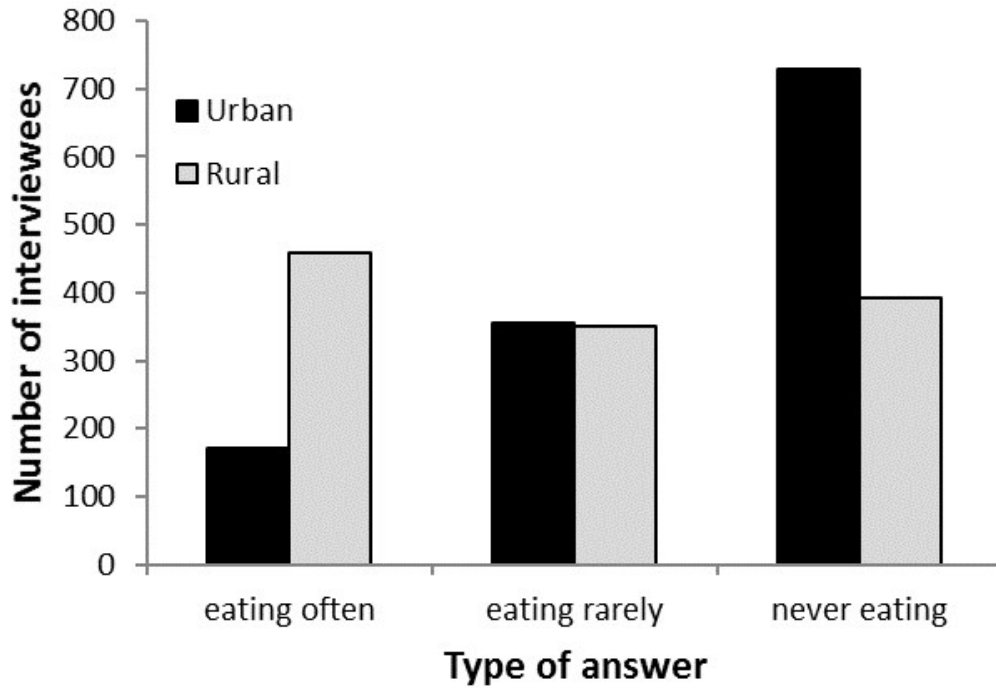


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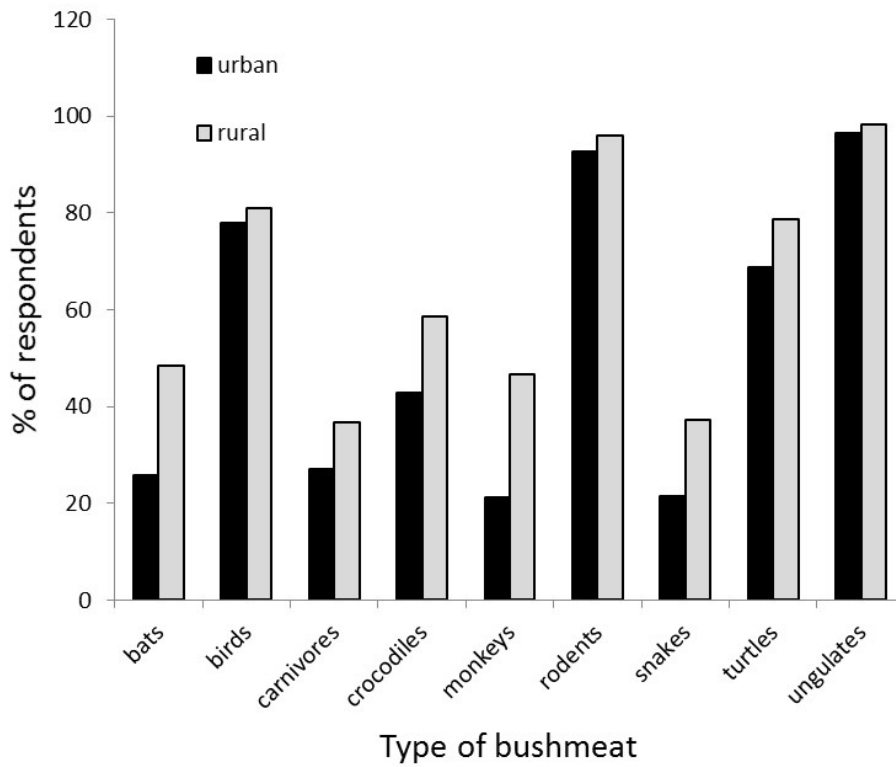
463 Figure 4. Distribution of the various types of answer by respondents in urban versus rural areas in the four  
464 studied countries of West Africa as for whether they would eat bushmeat often, rarely or never. All data from  
465 the different countries were pooled for this graphic



466

467

468 Figure 5. Distribution of the various types of answer by respondents in urban versus rural areas in the four  
469 studied countries of West Africa as for the type of consumed bushmeat is concerned. All data from the  
470 different countries were pooled for this graphic



471

472





## 474 Appendix 1. Codes for the variables used in the Generalized Linear Models (GLZs).

Country	Class	Locality	Cod Loc	Cod age	Cod sex	Never eat bushmeat
Burkina Faso	Males (< 25 yr)	URBAN	1	g	1	7
Burkina Faso	Males (< 50 yr)	URBAN	1	m	1	43
Burkina Faso	Males (> 51)	URBAN	1	a	1	1
Burkina Faso	Females (< 25 yr)	URBAN	1	g	0	10
Burkina Faso	Females (< 50 yr)	URBAN	1	m	0	30
Burkina Faso	Females (> 51)	URBAN	1	a	0	6
Burkina Faso	Males (< 25 yr)	Rural	0	g	1	2
Burkina Faso	Males (< 50 yr)	Rural	0	m	1	7
Burkina Faso	Males (> 51)	Rural	0	a	1	3
Burkina Faso	Females (< 25 yr)	Rural	0	g	0	21
Burkina Faso	Females (< 50 yr)	Rural	0	m	0	33
Burkina Faso	Females (> 51)	Rural	0	a	0	3
Nigeria	Males (< 25 yr)	URBAN	1	g	1	77
Nigeria	Males (< 50 yr)	URBAN	1	m	1	79
Nigeria	Males (> 51)	URBAN	1	a	1	86
Nigeria	Females (< 25 yr)	URBAN	1	g	0	71
Nigeria	Females (< 50 yr)	URBAN	1	m	0	65
Nigeria	Females (> 51)	URBAN	1	a	0	77
Nigeria	Males (< 25 yr)	Rural	0	g	1	59
Nigeria	Males (< 50 yr)	Rural	0	m	1	52
Nigeria	Males (> 51)	Rural	0	a	1	68
Nigeria	Females (< 25 yr)	Rural	0	g	0	70
Nigeria	Females (< 50 yr)	Rural	0	m	0	22
Nigeria	Females (> 51)	Rural	0	a	0	20
Niger	Males (< 25 yr)	URBAN	1	g	1	4
Niger	Males (< 50 yr)	URBAN	1	m	1	4
Niger	Males (> 51)	URBAN	1	a	1	7
Niger	Females (< 25 yr)	URBAN	1	g	0	1
Niger	Females (< 50 yr)	URBAN	1	m	0	9
Niger	Females (> 51)	URBAN	1	a	0	6
Niger	Males (< 25 yr)	Rural	0	g	1	6
Niger	Males (< 50 yr)	Rural	0	m	1	5
Niger	Males (> 51)	Rural	0	a	1	9
Niger	Females (< 25 yr)	Rural	0	g	0	3
Niger	Females (< 50 yr)	Rural	0	m	0	7
Niger	Females (> 51)	Rural	0	a	0	9
Togo	Males (< 25 yr)	URBAN	1	g	1	33
Togo	Males (< 50 yr)	URBAN	1	m	1	15
Togo	Males (> 51)	URBAN	1	a	1	5
Togo	Females (< 25 yr)	URBAN	1	g	0	41
Togo	Females (< 50 yr)	URBAN	1	m	0	23
Togo	Females (> 51)	URBAN	1	a	0	11
Togo	Males (< 25 yr)	Rural	0	g	1	21
Togo	Males (< 50 yr)	Rural	0	m	1	2
Togo	Males (> 51)	Rural	0	a	1	1
Togo	Females (< 25 yr)	Rural	0	g	0	26
Togo	Females (< 50 yr)	Rural	0	m	0	4
Togo	Females (> 51)	Rural	0	a	0	2

475

476

477 Appendix 2. Summary of the raw data on the types of eaten bushmeat by people in the investigated countries.

		Males (< 25 yr)	Males (< 50 yr)	Males (> 51)	Females (< 25 yr)	Females (< 50 yr)	Females (> 51)	Total interviewees
Nigeria		21	35	47	9	19	42	173
	ungulates	21	34	45	9	19	40	
	rodents	21	31	41	9	19	39	
Urban	monkeys	2	7	11	0	3	6	
	bats	3	7	8	1	3	11	
	carnivores	2	10	15	0	2	5	
	birds	15	26	33	5	15	28	
	crocodiles	8	15	27	1	5	9	
	snakes	1	3	5	0	0	3	
	turtles	16	22	26	6	14	32	
Nigeria		48	44	63	56	20	19	250
	ungulates	48	43	61	56	20	19	
	rodents	48	41	55	56	18	19	
Rural	monkeys	6	23	31	3	3	11	
	bats	7	17	22	7	5	13	
	carnivores	9	14	20	21	6	11	
	birds	39	40	55	45	17	17	
	crocodiles	23	21	38	32	9	17	
	snakes	2	8	19	4	6	9	
	turtles	44	33	51	36	16	19	
Togo		20	28	26	11	23	27	136
	ungulates	19	26	25	11	22	25	
	rodents	13	23	24	11	22	23	
Urban	monkeys	4	6	6	0	1	4	
	bats	4	9	6	0	1	3	
	carnivores	8	6	6	0	2	8	
	birds	15	21	21	10	17	23	
	crocodiles	3	18	8	3	6	11	
	snakes	2	4	4	0	1	6	

Togo	turtles	9	16	16	5	15	24	169
		22	57	31	20	21	18	
Rural	ungulates	22	54	31	20	21	18	
	rodents	22	49	31	20	21	18	
	monkeys	14	25	25	2	11	15	
	bats	13	27	27	0	8	17	
	carnivores	3	11	21	1	6	16	
	birds	16	24	31	17	19	18	
	crocodiles	13	26	28	3	8	14	
	snakes	11	22	20	1	6	11	
	turtles	14	41	27	16	17	16	
Niger		4	10	11	1	11	14	51
	ungulates	4	9	11	1	11	14	
	rodents	4	10	11	1	11	14	
Urban	monkeys	0	1	4	0	4	7	
	bats	0	2	3	0	5	11	
	carnivores	0	1	4	0	8	7	
	birds	4	8	9	0	10	12	
	crocodiles	1	6	6	0	7	8	
	snakes	1	4	6	0	7	5	
		turtles	3	8	9	0	10	
Niger		31	50	41	23	35	32	213
	ungulates	30	48	41	22	35	32	
	rodents	29	48	41	23	35	32	
Rural	monkeys	8	21	26	16	20	25	
	bats	12	33	27	14	20	27	
	carnivores	8	19	17	11	16	22	
	birds	21	41	37	18	31	31	
	crocodiles	9	28	33	13	28	28	
	snakes	8	21	27	9	18	25	
		turtles	23	33	38	16	28	

