Jack, Kim-Louise (2015) *Media framing of the illegal trading in ivory: a mixed method approach* [MSc.]

http://endeavour.gla.ac.uk/70/

Deposited 6 December 2016

Media Framing of the Illegal Trading in Ivory: A Mixed Method Approach

Kim-Louise Jack

2108936J

School of Political and Social Sciences

Submitted in Fulfillment of the Degree of

MSc in Criminology and Criminal Justice

University of Glasgow

7th September 2015

Abstract

The illegal trading in elephant ivory and rhinoceros horn is a pressing international issue with widespread consequences. Despite recognition and a range of preventative and regulatory measures the trade in ivory, which is defined in this study as elephant tusk and rhinoceros horn, is reportedly increasing at a rapid rate and is one of the most prominent aspects of the illegal wildlife trade in general. The media are undoubtedly becoming an increasingly trustworthy and reliable source of information for individuals around the world about pressing issues such as the illegal trading in ivory and thus it is important to understand the ways in which the media frame and portray the issue as a whole, the perpetrators, the consequences, the causes and the solutions. Based on media framing theory of mass communication, the aims of this dissertation were to explore how the news media framed and translated the illegal ivory trade and its perpetrators to a lay audience and into public discourse as well as who the news media blamed for the issue. This was explored through a mixed method approach using both a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative discourse analysis of English language newspaper articles between 4th of February 2015 and the 4th of August 2015. The main findings were that the illegal ivory trade was framed as an episodic crime issue to which there was often no solution and no cause. Despite the fact the illegal ivory trade has emerged as part of a sophisticated and organised worldwide criminal network, the news media on the issue maintain a fairly monolithic and provincial perspective and crucially frame the offenders as 'typical' poachers from Africa. Furthermore, the news media placed the blame for the illegal ivory trade on the poachers above all else. It is concluded that overall there is a persistent pattern of news coverage and that certain aspects of the illegal ivory trade were featured and emphasised over others and the hegemonic understanding of media power as an expression of elite interests was apparent during framing and blame placement.

Acknowledgements

I would firstly like to sincerely thank my wonderful parents. Their amazing support during the dissertation period and throughout my Master's degree and their never ending encouragement has been essential in helping me achieve my degree. For this, I am truly grateful and I love you both very much. Secondly, I would like to thank my amazing boyfriend not only for his incredible support throughout this time but for his much needed help in completing some of the data analysis. I honestly cannot thank you enough, I could not have done this without you, you made the worst days that little bit better and for that I am truly grateful. I would also like to thank my friends and family for their continued support and encouragement, I am thankful to you all. Finally, I am truly indebted and thankful to my dissertation supervisor Dr Donna Yates. Dr Yates's support, advice and expertise along with quick and constructive feedback helped me immensely during the dissertation period.

Contents Page

Chapter 5

Chapter 6

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1

Introduction

The principle aims of this dissertation is to explore the media's framing of the illegal elephant ivory and rhinoceros horn trade and the people involved. The focus is on the ways in which the media make sense of this issue, how the elements in a message are organised to help the audience understand and interpret it, how they frame the perpetrators and where the blame for this international trade is placed. Over the years, the media has undoubtedly become an increasingly trustworthy and reliable source of information about a wide range of issues for individuals around the world. With the majority of the public not having first-hand experience or knowledge of crimes, media representations have become a crucial and more often the only source into such a reality (Moore, 2014; Rawlinson, 2002). Thus it is important to understand the ways in which the media frame prominent news information. Framing theory, a bone of contention amongst scholars from a variety of disciplines and academic domains, on a basic level refers to the ways in which "events and issues are organized and made sense of, especially by the media, media professionals, and their audiences" (Reese, 2007: 7). According to Chyi and McCombs (2004) the news media often frame an issue or an event by highlighting and giving salience to certain elements of a noticed reality whilst excluding others and this can lead individuals to interpret and understand issues differently.

The illegal trading in elephant ivory and rhinoceros horn is one issue which despite receiving a great amount of attention in the news media and the recent abundance of research and rich body of literature being produced has not seen any exploration into how the news media frame and translate the issue and its perpetrators to a lay audience and into public discourse. Thus, this provides a rich opportunity for analysis and it is the contention of this dissertation to take advantage of this opportunity and fill the gap in the literature. Despite such recognition and a range of preventative and regulatory measures the trade in ivory, defined in this study as elephant tusk and rhinoceros horn, is reportedly increasing at a rapid rate and is one of the most prominent aspects of the illegal wildlife trade in general (Milliken, 2014; Traffic, 2014; WWF, 2015; Wyatt, 2013). Previously valued somewhere between $10 and $20 billion the illegal wildlife trade, including trade in ivory, is according to some sources the second most profitable market behind drugs (South and Wyatt, 2011; Worchol, 2004;

Zimmerman, 2003). More recently, according the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the value has increased and is now estimated to be closer to $50 billion (UNEP, 2014). The consequences resulting from the rapidly increasing ivory trade are extensive with 1,004 rhino were killed for their horns in South Africa in 2013, a dramatic increase from the thirteen killed in 2007 (Wildaid, 2013; WWF, 2015). Furthermore, in 2013 an estimated 30,000 elephants were killed across Africa; this is a 35% increase from 2012 (Messenger, 2014). The consequences of the illegal trade in wildlife do not only surround the population of the animals and extinction. A trade of this magnitude and its links to organised crime has severe impacts on biodiversity and it threatens societies, communities and ecosystems around the world and therefore has widespread impacts on the environment, economy, human well-being and it also impacts national security (Wyatt, 2013). Thus, how the media make sense of an issue, which is now recognised as a serious transnational crime with very real widespread consequences, is both a significant and meaningful question worthy of exploration and analysis.

In this dissertation the research questions posed are: (1) how does the news media frame the issue of illegal elephant ivory and rhinoceros horn trade; (2) how are the perpetrators framed in news media; and (3) where does the news media place blame for the issues relating to the illegal ivory trade. To answer these research questions a mixed methodology is adopted in which a quantitative content analysis of 434 English language newspaper articles from between February 2015 and August 2015 informs a qualitative discourse analysis of ten of these newspaper articles.

The following chapter is an extensive literature review which explores the rich body of literature on the illegal trade in elephant tusks and rhino horn, it attempts to combine it to create a comprehensive picture of the nature, extent of such a crime and the range of actors who are involved. In the third chapter the mixed methodology of a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative discourse analysis is discussed in detail through research design, methodology, sampling, coding and the limitations of the study. Chapter 4 presents the results and data analysis of firstly the quantitative content analysis through statistics, figures and tables. Secondly, it presents the results of the qualitative discourse analysis. This is followed by a discussion and interpretation of the results in chapter 5 and the final chapter is the conclusion in which the main findings of the dissertation are summarised and recommendations for future research are proposed.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2. 1 The Illegal Elephant Ivory and Rhinoceros Horn Trade

The illegal trading in wildlife and wildlife products in general is known to be one the most lucrative illicit economies in the world, second only to the drug trade (Warchol, 2004; Zimmerman, 2003; South and Wyatt, 2011). In recent years the illegal trade in elephant ivory and rhino horn has reached unprecedented levels according to NGOs such as TRAFFIC and the WWF. As a result rhinoceros and elephant populations are declining dramatically, with 33,000 elephants being killed in 2013, an increase of 7,700% in rhino poaching in 2014 (Wildaid, 2013; WWF 2015), and this year has seen the last of the male northern white rhinos being placed under twenty-four hour armed guard in Kenya (Herman, 2015). Ayling (2013) has even predicted that at the current rate of decline rhinoceros as a species could be extinct in 10 years, by 2025. According to many researchers, academics, policy makers and NGOs this is the result of an expanding globalised market and a heightened demand for ivory (Messenger, 2014; The London Declaration, 2015; Sollund, 2013; TRAFFIC 2014; U.S. Wildlife & Fish Service, 2013; Wildaid, 2013; Wyatt, 2013).

The definition of 'illegal wildlife trade' is still widely debated and the extent of the illegal wildlife trade in general and the illegal ivory trade is almost impossible to measure precisely and there is a lack of empirical clarity on the scope of the problem (Nyoc and Wyatt, 2013; Sobel, 2014). In 2008, Wyler and Sheikh state that the "illegal wildlife trade involves the illicit procurement, transport, and distribution— internationally and domestically—of animals, and animal parts and derivatives thereof, in contravention of laws, foreign and domestic, and treaties." (2008: 1; Nyoc and Wyatt, 2013). Whereas Wyatt (2009: 145) in her book defines the illegal trade in more detail: " the illegal wildlife trade is the specific name of the green crime that involves the illegal trade, smuggling, poaching, capture or collection of endangered species, protected wildlife (including animals or plants that are subject to harvest quotas and regulated by permits), derivatives or products thereof". Where these two definitions differ noticeably is in their attention to global nature of the trade, Wyler and Sheikh (2008) includes in their definition the international and domestic nature of the trade, whereas Wyatt has no mention of it. This is significant and as it is important to highlight that the illegal wildlife trade is not isolated to the remote regions of the globe or to specific areas with high number of endemic animal populations; rather it is an ubiquitous activity that

through supply, transit and demand affects every nation and region of the globe (Wyatt, 2013).

It has been widely debated as to whether any form of the illegal wildlife trade constitutes a transnational organised crime. It has been argued by some that the illegal ivory trade is not an organised crime in itself but within the trade there can be and there often is involvement from organised crime networks, this is especially the case in recent years (Herman, 2015; Interpol, 2015; Naylor, 2004; Rosen and Smith, 2010). Having arguably moved to new levels, the poaching of rhinos and elephants is now more likely to be operated by organised crime syndicates (Montesh, 2012). According to Naylor (2004) it has been militarized in two distinct ways; firstly they have access to more modern weapons sourced from spill-overs of regional wars, secondly poaching is no longer committed by community locals or what was previously considered to be a 'typical' poacher, but rather new poaching gangs which are made up of military men and organised crime syndicates. However, it could be argued that this militarisation has only occurred in certain areas of the African continent, particularly South Africa and Kenya and is the response to stricter regulations coming into force such as unmanned drones, armed anti-poaching patrols, and sniffer dogs (The Guardian, 2013).

Central to this debate is the definition of an organised crime group, which itself is widely contested. The current definition proposed by the United Nation's convention of transnational organised crime is that an organised crime group is a "structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit" (UNODC, 2004: 5). This definition is full of ambiguities and it raises many questions, for example, what is a structured group? What is a "serious" crime? What makes a crime "serious"? and how long is a "period of time"? There are certain key characteristics that are present in this and almost all definitions of organised crime; practice of corruption, resilience, a willingness to use violence, structure and illegal enterprise for economic gain (Finckenauer, 2005; Zimmerman, 2003). The majority of these characteristics can be seen in certain aspects of the new level rhino and elephant ivory trading. The predominant forms of organised crime exist with the purpose of providing and supplying goods and services which are rare, strictly regulated and often illegal. It is the presence of these conditions alongside a desire from a large segment of the population for these particular products or services that make this provision of them a very profitable and lucrative business (Finckenauer, 2005). The ivory trade is exceptionally

lucrative with rhino horns currently fetching upwards of US $22,000 per kilo on the Asian black market (Montesh, 2012).

Furthermore the consequences of an illegal trade of such magnitude are widespread and severe. The consequences are not isolated to the animals that are poached although it is one of the biggest factors driving the current decrease and near extinction of elephant and rhino species. It also presents numerous continuous threats to a number of different aspects of society, communities and ecosystems around the world; it has environmental, economic, human welfare and national security impacts (Wyatt, 2013). In addition, the links this trade has to organised crime contribute to the consequences by threatening the legitimacy of governments and civil society due to their willingness and readiness to use violence and excessive force to achieve their goals and they also have the ability to undermine political stability. This is particularly true for the developing nations in which the supply aspects of the trade take place. They are considered to be a burden on the legal economy and their use of corruption is detrimental to developing democratic countries (Zimmerman, 2003).

The international trade in wildlife and products, including ivory and also plants is regulated by the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES), now signed by 181 member countries (CITES, 2015). Regulation for CITES has meant placing species in three 'Appendices' based on the degree to which they are threatened with extinction from international trade. This is implemented through a program of permits which impose great restrictions on those species found in Appendix one, the ones most threatened with extinction (Rosen and Smith, 2010; Webb, 2001). In response to the rapidly declining numbers of African elephants and all species of rhinoceros CITES implemented an international ban on ivory in 1989 which made the act of buying and selling ivory internationally illegal and the African elephant species joined all rhino species and Asian elephants in Appendix One. It is important to emphasise that the CITES Convention was not set up to prevent the trading in ivory, but to regulate the trade in order to prevent the extinction of entire rhino and elephant populations (Sollund, 2013; Zimmerman, 2003). However, this is not self-executing; it contains no internal enforcement mechanism or implementation which means that there are no infrastructures, management authorities or penalties automatically enforced within or out with countries that have signed the treaty. Thus CITES can only be effective and efficient to the extent that member countries enact and enforce the specific provisions of the treaty (Webb, 2001).

One of the factors driving this increase in ivory poaching is the demand in Vietnam (Milliken and Shaw, 2012). Vietnam is considered to be one of the world's top consumers of ivory. The reasons for this are related to the unprecedented levels of disposable income and slack government policy. Furthermore, the rapidly changing attitudes of the population is fuelling a booming market for luxury commodities and ivory is an aspect of this indulgent, status-conscious consumption (Milliken, 2014). The source of the ivory for this market is believed to be Africa and in 2004 a research study found that most of the rhino horn in the Vietnam's traditional medicine market originated from Africa (Nguyen and Nguyen, 2008). From this it can be inferred that the illicit trade is a chain that extends from the poachers at a local community level or the organised crime syndicates operating in Africa to the traffickers/middlemen who smuggle and transport the illicit goods and finally to the end-user buyer usually in an Asian country, such as Vietnam (Montesh, 2012). Moreover, there is thought to be a diverse mix of actors involved in the illegal ivory trade and unpicking who is to be held responsible and who to blame is a very challenging task. According to Wyatt (2013) different levels of blame and responsibility can be attached to different actors depending on their motivations and levels of engagement with the trade.

2.2 The Poachers

The crime of poaching is defined as the illegal taking of wildlife in violation of the law. Poaching can involve any means of illegally killing animals and/or taking them from the wild alive (Lynch, 2014). The poachers of wildlife are considered to be the main suppliers of the illicit market; they supply the traffickers with wildlife or products to traffic/smuggle to satisfy the demand from the buyers. Previously, the best way to describe a typical rhino or elephant poacher was as an individual operator, peasant farmer or occasionally as a commercial poacher poaching to either relieve a threat to their livelihood and out of necessity or for sport (Naylor, 2004; Worchol et al, 2003).

However, the current wave of rhino and elephant poaching, primarily in Kenya and South Africa, is not committed by these typical poachers, rather it is being committed by sophisticated criminal networks. There is evidence suggesting the use of advanced technologies such as helicopters, veterinary tranquilisers, night vision equipment, high-powered weapons and silencers to kill rhinos at night while attempting to avoid law enforcement and anti-poaching patrols (Ayling, 2013; Montesh, 2012; Wyatt, 2013). These networks have markedly different characteristics to that of typical poachers. They are thought to be small-size syndicates and some members have high levels of skills and expertise in

veterinary work, logistics and hunting, with highly specialised roles, access to expensive equipment and weapons and well developed connections. According to the definitions of organised crime, the new wave of rhino poaching represents a form of organised crime. However, some aspects which are not clear are how these individual members locate each other and also how they establish trusting relationships. Moreover, due to the current scarcity of wild rhinos it is thought that despite the use advanced technology, organised crime syndicate poachers may still require the assistance and inside information provided by the locals (Milliken and Shaw, 2012). Elephant poaching has gone much the same way as rhino poaching. This can be seen in an example from 2012 when a large group of organised syndicates broke into Cameroon's Bouba Ndjidah National Park and slaughtered hundreds of elephants using AK-47s and rocket-propelled grenades (Christy, 2012).

The motivations and rationalisations are primarily categorised as ignorance, trophy seeking, subsistence/out of necessity, opportunity and greed/money profit (Eliason, 2004; Wyatt, 2013). The poachers have been found to actually only receive a small amount of the money and profit and they were often the ones who had the most to lose, whilst the traffickers take most of the profit (Messenger, 2014; Nyoc and Wyatt, 2013). The motivations for the organised crime networks involved in the illegal ivory trade can be categorised predominantly as greed and profit. With rhino horn fetching around US $22,000 per kilo (Montesh, 2012) and elephant tusks around $2100 per kilo (The Guardian, 2014) the illegal ivory trade is an extremely lucrative business. Lax government enforcement controls in the exporting countries means apprehension and punishment is low risk.

In Wyatt's (2013) deconstruction of the offenders of wildlife trafficking, different levels of blame are attached to different types of poachers. This is dependent on their motivations, involvement and the circumstances under which they illegally poach. Taken together these characteristics determine the construction and placement of blame and guilt upon the actor in this initial stage. Subsistence poachers who are acting out of necessity with their criminality conceptualised in terms of their poverty are attributed little to no blame by Wyatt. This is because certain levels of understanding and empathy can be seen towards the impoverished individual's situation. However, in the case of the organised crime syndicates blame and guilt is high and more straightforward. These poachers are specialised and professional with no concern for the environment, biodiversity or the abuse suffered by the animals evidenced by the hundreds of animals killed annually. This greed and disregard for the consequences makes this group of poachers fall into the highest categories of blame (Wyatt, 2013).

There are a number of criminological theories explaining the phenomenon of poaching. Cohen and Felson's (1979) routine activities theory is commonly used theory to explain poaching. This theory suggests that crime is committed when three necessary elements are present: a suitable target, a motivated offender, and an absence of a capable guardian (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Newburn, 2007). Relating this to poaching, there are motivated offenders, they are motivated namely by greed and profit or by subsistence, there is suitable targets; elephants and rhinos are vulnerable and the money gained from their ivory makes them highly attractive to motivated offenders and finally there is a lack of capable guardians in the form of numbers of law enforcement officers, and the officers susceptible to corruption are not considered to be capable. Rangers who are capable and present are likely to be killed.

2.3 The Traffickers

The traffickers, sometimes referred to as the middlemen, smugglers or exporters of ivory are the second link in the supply chain who function as a vital connection in the illegal ivory trade facilitating the movement of the ivory form the initial suppliers to the end users (Montesh, 2012). Little is known about these middlemen; however research from the illegal drug trade indicates that these middle stage processes of transportation and distribution involve a large number of people (Worchol et al, 2003). In the illegal ivory trade there may be middlemen involved in the storage, handling, transport, industrial production, manufacturing, export and marketing and occasionally the selling of ivory (Zimmerman, 2003). The traffickers may work as part of a larger organised criminal group or individually and can differ in their levels of involvement in terms of frequency, ideology and commitment (Wyatt, 2013). However, those working as part of an organised crime network are argued to be frequently involved and resilient. They tend to lack ideology (Finckenauer, 2005) and are characterised as being committed to making profit not necessarily to the ivory being trafficked. These middle stages may include corrupt law enforcement and government officials who help to move the product along the illicit chain. Many traffickers are able to afford to pass some of their profit on to government and law enforcement officials, most of whom are susceptible to bribery. Moreover, this according to Zimmerman (2003) creates a vicious cycle where government and law enforcement officials are being bribed to let smugglers move ivory internationally, which can consequentially lead to a continuation of profit from the end users with which the officials can be bribed with again. In the past exporters of ivory have allegedly included a former head of Kenya's wildlife service, members of the Tanzanian and Zairian governments, German missionaries, and diplomatic staff members from Indonesian, Pakistani and North Korean embassies (Naylor, 2004).

The ivory ban implemented in 1989 means that is it illegal to traffic ivory internationally, unless the ivory was acquired before the ban. It has been documented that these traffickers are sophisticated and cunning in developing tactical ways to smuggle ivory whilst evading detection (Nyoc and Wyatt, 2013). In some cases the paperwork of the ivory is falsified to make the ivory appear as though it was collected from before the ban (Christy, 2012; Lemieux and Clarke, 2009; Rosen and Smith, 2010). It has been argued that most ivory is smuggled out of Africa via aeroplane or in ship cargo. Occasionally rhino horn is transported in powdered form in subtle containers making it difficult to identify during baggage screening in airports (Worchol et al, 2003). Elephant tusks are bigger than rhino horns and are therefore more difficult to conceal. Sometimes they are cut up into smaller pieces, however as tusks are often sold to buyers as trinkets this can have an impact on their value (Vigne and Martin, 2011). In Wyatt's 2013 offender hierarchy she argues that the middlemen are among those least guilt and blameworthy. This is due to them not acting out of sense of ideology or commitment to selling ivory and their motivation being solely profit.

The criminological theory surrounding the criminality of these traffickers is arguably rational choice theory. Advocates of this theory suggest that the actors make rational calculations about certain courses of action and their anticipated benefits or deficits (Newburn, 2007). This theory seems to fit in neatly with the criminality of traffickers as those who traffic ivory seem calculated and rational due to the fact that they weigh the benefits, in terms of profits, from participating in the illegal trade against the costs of getting caught; namely fines (Sollund, 2013). The traffickers rationalise that the profits far out weight the cost of any fine. The profits gained from a rhino horn are around US $22,000 per kilo (Montesh, 2012) and for elephant tusks it is about US $2,100 per kilo (The Guardian, 2014). However previously fines for ivory were low, some issued were found to be as low as US $390 (BBC, 2014). However, in the last few years most specifically, they have increased exponentially. Last year, for example, a Chinese smuggler who was moving 3.4kg of raw ivory was caught by the Kenyan authorities and was fined US $233, 100. This was the first penalty handed out since Kenya introduced their new anti-poaching law (BBC, 2014).

2.4 The Buyers

The final stage of the trade is the ivory being sold to the final buyer. Occasionally, this can be the person who makes a specific order for the ivory; however the ivory is often bought from a market or online (Wyatt, 2013). Currently, Vietnam takes the place of the top consumer of ivory, particularly rhino horn, closely followed by China (Milliken and Shaw, 2012). Within

these Asian countries one of the biggest groups of consumers are those who use ivory in traditional medicines. For thousands of years China and Vietnam have held longstanding attitudes and deep-rooted beliefs in the benefits of medicine which is made from rhino horn (Worchol et al, 2003). An estimated four thousand different types of medicines ranging from contemporary cures to traditional herbal remedies are made with wildlife products, including rhino horn in Vietnam (Vantomme et al, 2002). Despite the fact that a study undertaken by TRAFFIC in 2008 found that most traditional Chinese doctors were opposed to the use of wildlife in medicine because of the widespread consequences resulting from it, a large number of people still prefer these traditional medicines, particularly Vietnamese people (TRAFFIC, 2008). In fact it has been suggested some traditional medicine users see that the international pressure to eradicate such practices as a threat to their culture and an attempt to impose Western ideals upon them (Lee, 1996).

Those people who fall into this category of consumer are often the ones who are ill and can be characterised as wealthy and desperate. Historically, rhino horn is associated in Vietnam with reducing temperatures, and purging the body and blood of toxins, it apparently treats ailments ranging from high fever, delirium and severe headaches to convulsions, epilepsy, and even strokes (Milliken and Shaw, 2012). Recently, rhino horn has been promoted as a treatment for life-threatening diseases such as cancer (Milliken and Shaw, 2012). It could be argued that in the absence of credible clinical trials to question the evidence of the effectiveness of the apparent medicinal properties of rhino horn, most people suffering from serious illness and oncological disorders are consequentially victims of false hope and possibly financial fraud (Milliken and Shaw, 2012; Montesh, 2012). Another group of consumers with similar motivations and usage of rhino horns are affluent mothers who keep rhino horn ready for home preparation of medicines so that they can treat aliments such as high fevers in their children (Breaking the Brand, 2015; Milliken and Shaw, 2012). This group again use rhino horn despite the apparent lack of scientific proof of any pharmacological value and trust cultural traditions that have been passed down through the generations.

However, beyond this demand for rhino horn to be used in traditional medicine there is demand also from affluent, habitual, and what Milliken and Shaw (2012: 15) refer to as 'face consumers'. Moreover, it is argued that the most obsessive usage of rhino horn comes from a group of rich, affluent and primarily male consumers who use it as a hangover cure, status symbol and an indicator of success. This group of 'face consumers' frequently imbibe rhino horn mixed with water and occasionally alcohol as a hangover cure and sometimes as a

general health tonic; furthermore it is mixed with wine to produce what is referred to as the 'alcoholic drink of millionaires' (ibid, 15). Such an extravagant consumption of rhino horn is a means of flaunting wealth and is used as an indicator of success amongst associates and communities. Rhino horn is also used as expensive gifts by business people in order to score favours and occasionally bride socio-economic or political elites (Milliken and Shaw, 2012).

Elephant ivory has a slightly different group of consumers, although occasionally it is also used in order to enhance, maintain or save face in a similar way to rhino horn by affluent elites (Gwin, 2012; Montesh, 2012). The biggest group of consumers of elephant ivory are Roman Catholics in Filipino societies. Elephant ivory has been used and plays an important role in the culture and fabric of Filipino society for hundreds of years and still continues to be significant in contemporary times (Martin et al, 2011). The Roman Catholics worship the Santo *Niño de Cebu* statue carved from elephant ivory by carvers in small workshops in private homes across the country (Christy, 2012; Martin et al, 2011). The majority of consumers buy most of the statues directly from the dealers and carvers (Martin et al, 2011). Thus, by being sold directly to the customers, markets and retail outlets are avoided. This makes the illicit market more difficult for authorities to detect. In this instance, ivory is considered to be sacred and believed to remove bad spirits, bring luck and protect from harm and black magic and are often found in people's homes and in churches (Christy, 2012). Such beliefs, like that of traditional medicines, are deep-rooted and have been around for centuries; however the demand for ivory is just as voracious as in the past, despite the rapidly declining elephant and rhino populations. Elephant ivory is also carved into a variety of other items such as figurines, chess sets, piano keys and chopsticks (Lemieux and Clarke, 2009).

According to Wyatt (2013) the motivations behind consumption is linked to the amount of blame and guilt that is attached to them. She argues that 'committed' buyers are those who believe in the consumption of wildlife and often subscribe to a belief that wildlife consumption is healthy, necessary and/or an entitlement regardless of the illegality and the negative consequences involved. From this the links to the consumers of ivory are clear; those consuming for health and cultural reasons hold the belief that consumption is necessary and healthy and the 'face consumers' believe in their entitlement to consumption. According to Wyatt (2013) it is the committed buyers who are the most blameworthy. However, where this deconstruction and placement of blame falls apart is where in the demand for traditional medicines the consumers do not necessarily go out of their way to purchase something rare or endangered. Furthermore, the high level of blame on those following thousands of years of cultural traditions and those suffering from cancer is questionable.

There is a variety of criminological theories which could be used help understand why people commit such a crime and apparently ignore the resulting widespread consequences. The interaction between Sutherland's differential association theory (1939) and Aker's social learning theory (1967, 1996) helps to some extent. It advocates that criminal behaviour is the result of interactions with a person's social environment either through imitation or operant conditioning. Imitation can occur within the family, peer groups and communities. It is theorised that an individual's behaviour is influenced by the social norms and cultural values which are present in particular groups or communities and individuals strive to function as an integral part of these social groups and therefore use consumption to demonstrate compliance with group norms and values (Montesh, 2012; Winfree et al, 1994). This imitation of behaviour is thought to explain why affluent mothers consume rhino horn for its apparent traditional medicinal properties; it could be argued that this type of behaviour has been imitated for centuries thus passing down the values of traditional medicine recipes for generations. Imitation of cultural values and interaction with others arguably explains why Roman Catholics consume elephant ivory for religious reasons. Furthermore, Gwin (2012) argues that cultural values are important and often lead consumers into believing that engaging in acts of conspicuous consumption is necessary in order to enhance, maintain or save face and that it is this concept of face consumption in the social networks of affluent Vietnamese people that drive this rigorous consumption of rhino horn.

2. 5 Preventative and Regulatory Measures

Recently with the dramatically increasing illegal trade in ivory, there has been a tremendous amount of preventative and regulatory strategies implemented aimed at tackling it. Such approaches include implementing international trade bans and regulatory schemes at national and international levels (Pires and Moreto, 2011). One of the more recent approaches to tackling the illegal wildlife trade and specifically the illegal ivory trade is situational crime prevention (SCP). SCP focuses on implementing changes to or the management of the contextual environment so that the opportunities to commit crime are either block or greatly reduced (Clarke, 2008). This is done using many techniques such as increasing the risks, target hardening, reducing the rewards and increasing the effort (Lemieux and Clarke, 2009; Pires and Moreto, 2011). Many of the approaches employed can be seen as an example of SPC, for example, Kenya implementing stricter punishments or the Zambian government's reliance on their five year prison sentence for rhino or elephant poachers could be seen as increasing the risks (Worchol et al, 2003). However, there are limitations to this approach. Firstly in general there is the issue of displacement which means that if the crime is prevented

in one setting, it could potentially re-appear elsewhere. Secondly, by blocking or reducing the opportunities to poach, hunt, import, transport or export a product such as ivory could have the unintended consequences of increasing the drive for and profitability of the target (Zimmerman, 2003).Thus, the willingness of the buyers to pay for the product at an increased price make it worth the risks.

A survey conducted by IFAW found that over 70% of Chinese people did not know that ivory comes from dead elephants (IFAW, 2015). This has resulted in numerous campaigns designed to educate the consumers of wildlife products about the cruelty and conservation impacts it is having. In some countries which are along the illegal ivory trade chain there have been the public burning and crushing of ivory stockpiles which have been previously confiscated (IFAW, 2015). This public destruction serves a symbolic purpose sending a message that elephants and rhinos are worth more alive than dead and it also brings attention to the disturbing numbers of elephants and rhinos being slaughtered. A final preventative campaign strategy that is worth mentioning comes from the NGO Wildaid. The aim of this organisation is to end the illegal wildlife trade by reducing the demand through high impact, culturally sensitive multimedia public awareness campaigns around the world (Wildaid, 2013). These campaigns are primarily targeted at the consumers of rhino horn and elephant tusks in Asia. However, it could be argued that this strategy is ineffective when the profiles and motivations of ivory buyers are considered as these media campaigns which show pictures of poached and slaughtered animals or disturbing statistics are unlikely to influence the buyers. This is due to the buyers having a lack of affinity with the animals whose product they are using; they deny there is any injury or harm as a result of their consumption and their main concern in the consequential prestige and status consumption of such products bestows on them in the eyes of others (Breaking the Brand, 2015).

2.6 Framing Theory and The Media

The majority of previous research using framing theory has used it to describe how the media portray certain issues. Over the past few decades, framing theory and analysis has provided a way to understand how certain issues are organised and interpreted (Johnson et al, 2012). Advocates of framing theory such as Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) and Entman (1993) explain that media framing is based on the premise that how an issue is made sense of and characterised in the news media can have an impact on the way in which the audience interprets the issue. The frame determines how people understand and remember an issue as well as how they evaluate and choose to act upon it (Entman, 1993). This affords a great deal

of power to those who frame (Sobel, 2014). According to Entman (1993) to frame an issue is to select certain aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text. This is done in such a way as to promote a particular angle, problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and recommendation (Entman, 1993). Reese (2007) reveals that one of the intentions of media framing is to use it as a tool in conveying ideologies and achieving some kind of desired political end. Borah (2011) suggests that framing has its origin in two academic disciplines; sociology and psychology. The sociological foundations of framing can be seen in the works of Goffman in 1974. In this instance framing is characterised as a tool or a device in which the audience use to help classify and catalogue information for easy consumption based on pre-existing internal frameworks (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).

It is widely suggested and argued that much of the knowledge and understanding the general public has about crime, criminals and the criminal justice system is largely based on what they have seen or heard through the range of media forms (Marsh and Melville, 2009). However, together these media forms through framing create a cultural landscape of crime one that many criminologists and academics argue is distinctly at odds with reality (Jewkes, 2009; Moore, 2014). Jewkes (2009: 24) thus describes the media as 'a prism, subtly bending and distorting the view of the world it projects'. It is argued that media frames are culturally determined and dependent on two factors. Firstly the frames are shaped by the production processes of the news organisations and the structural determinants of new-making (Jewkes, 2009). The second related factor is the assumptions that media professionals and producers make about their audience. Each of these related factors can influence the representations of crime in the minds of the public by news selection, prioritisation, tone and imagery (Chibnall, 1977; Jewkes, 2009).

With this, the news media are thought to be increasingly recognising the newsworthiness inherent in coverage of trafficking stories and thus coverage has increased in recent years (Sobel, 2014). Despite this however, research investigating how the media frames such trafficking stories is generally lacking. A study which looked into media framing of human trafficking in major US newspapers in 2012 found that the trafficking stories tended to be framed as a crime issue, as an episodic rather than a thematic issue, without solutions, lacking a victim perspective and focussed on the opinions of officials (Johnson et al, 2012). In relation to human trafficking it has been suggested that framing this issue as an international one does not localise the problem and is thought to lead lay audiences into believing that it only happens far-away, in remote regions of the world (Sobel, 2014).

Chapter 3
Methodology

The purpose of this study was to (1) explore how the media portray and frame the issue of the illegal elephant ivory and rhinoceros horn trade, (2) the people involved in it, and (3) to determine where the media places the blame for this illegal trade. These questions rendered this dissertation an explorative one and were answered through a mixed methodology in which both a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative discourse analysis were used.

3.1 Research Design

The unit of analysis in this study was articles in which the main focus was on the illegal trading in elephant ivory and/or rhino horn. Research questions 1 and 2 were based on the framing theory of mass communication, exploring the ways the news media organise and make sense of issue of the illegal trading in ivory. To answer research question 1 this study focused on several aspects; how the issue was defined in the articles/what type of issue it was presented as, the consequences, the solutions, the causes and the sources cited. These aspects taken together and/or separately were thought to show how the issue was framed. The type of issue the illegal trade was defined as in the articles was analysed as an independent variable, for the reason that is was thought that the other aspects explored would differ in their type according to the way the issue was defined. For example, if the issue was defined as a conservation issue, the consequences of the illegal trade mentioned may relate to the extinction of species, which would be different to those mentioned if it was defined as a crime issue. The ways in which the issue was defined was thought to be similar to those found in Johnson et al's (2012) study: crime, policy/legislation, activism/awareness and human rights. However, there were several differences, human rights as a category was excluded and there was the addition of conservation/environmental and organised crime categories. Johnson et al's (2012) study was used as it covered a wide range of ways in which an issue similar to that studied here could be defined.

For each of the other aspects focused on; the consequences, the solution, the causes and the sources cited, their categories were founded and based on previous research and the extensive literature produced on them. For example, heightened demand was chosen as a category under the causes as an extensive amount of research and previous literature has shown that a

heightened demand for ivory has lead to an increase in the illegal ivory trade (The London Declaration, 2015; Sollund, 2013; TRAFFIC 2014).

Research question 2 was answered in much the same way as research question 1; however the aspects focused on were who the offenders were, their nationality and the tone of the article towards the offenders. The tone was determined through whether the portrayal was positive in that the offenders were shown to be innocent or negative in which they were criticised and viewed as guilty. These aspects were chosen to be focused on as they were thought to when taken together give an idea of the ways in the people involved in this trade were framed. Similar to question 1 for each of the aspects focused on their categories were based on previous research.

For research question 3, the research design changed slightly and was no longer designed towards the exploration and identification of frames; rather it was designed so that the placement of blame by the news media could be identified. For this part, an interpretation of the meanings, patterns and classifications identified from the articles was required and a decision was made as to where the blame was placed based on this analysis.

Research began with a small overview and general description of the reporting of the illegal trading in ivory. This allowed for some context to be given, relating to the place and time of the stories.

3.2 Methodology

In this study a mixed methodology was adopted in which both qualitative methods and qualitative methods were used. This combined methodology was designed to address the different foci of each of the three research questions. For research questions 1 and 2 a quantitative content analysis was used. A quantitative approach for these questions was preferred as it enabled the researcher to employ the framing theory of mass communication and to develop a wide ranging numeric description of frames drawn from the newspaper articles. The frames were then considered to be objective and generalisable to other newspaper articles. A quantitative content analysis of 434 English language newspapers was undertaken. According to Berelson (1952) content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and numeric description of the manifest content of communication. Quantitative content analysis involves the classification of parts of a text through the application of a structured, systematic coding scheme from which conclusions can be drawn about the message content. Quantitative content analysis is a popular choice of method for

those researching the issue framing of media forms. In their study of sex trafficking in US newspapers, Johnson et al (2012) use a quantitative content analysis to understand how the issue of sex trafficking was framed during a year of coverage.

Each of these variables was coded by hand by the researcher and an experienced second coder. Data was then entered by hand into the statistical package IBM SPSS (Statistical Products and Service Solution) and was manipulated and analysed.

After the initial quantitative evaluation, the articles which included a negative tone towards the offenders were taken together and ten articles were randomly selected to be analysed using a qualitative discourse method. Articles with a negative tone were chosen as it was anticipated that they would place blame more explicitly as opposed to those with a neutral or positive tone. A qualitative discourse method was preferred to answer research question 3 as it allowed for a greater interpretation of the articles and for any underlying meanings, connotations and language to be discovered and analysed in great depth and in more detail and this was important when interpreting and determining who the news media blame. The form of discourse analysis used in this study was based on Foucault's conception of discourse. According to Foucault (1981) discourse can be understood as a way of constructing and distributing meanings in such a way that it controls and governs what individuals consider being reality in the social world and the truth about many social problems. Thus, discourse analysis was used as a means of analysing the newspaper articles for the purposes of uncovering hidden meanings, ideologies, and agendas through language and text.

The articles for this analysis were taken from between the 4th of February 2015 to the 4th of August 2015 in order to gain an understanding of how the issue and the perpetrators are framed in the most up-to-date articles. Newspapers were chosen as the news media form to analyse in this study for three reasons. Firstly newspaper stories were more favourable as it was thought that they more than other news media forms allowed for a variety of frames to be tested and analysed. Secondly, they are a popular media form with the general public in the majority of nations and thirdly newspaper archives are free, constantly up-dated, easy to access for research purposes and the search option make them a suitable and convenient choice. Additionally, all English language newspapers were chosen instead of only UK national papers to gain a broader range of frames for analysis on an international issue and also to avoid a narrow range of frames provided by a small number of corporations which dominate the UK news industry.

3.3 Sampling

For the quantitative analysis, a sample of 500 newspaper articles was initially selected. This allowed for a substantial yet representative analysis of frames. A LexisNexis academic search was conducted for all English language news between February 2015 and August 2015 which included the words "illegal ivory trade", "ivory smuggling", "elephant ivory", or "rhino horn". These key terms were used as they were found to yield the most relevant results relating to the aims and objectives of this study. A total of 1040 articles between 4th of February 2015 and the 4th of August 2015 were found. Using the online sampling source Research Randomiser (Urbaniak and Plous, 2013) a random sample of 500 of the 1040 articles was produced. This allowed each article to have an equal chance of being selected. From the random sample of 500 articles, the articles in which the main focus was not the ivory trade or the subject was not elephant or rhino ivory were discarded this left a sample of 434 to be analysed. The sample for the discourse analysis came from the articles which in the quantitative content analysis were found to have a negative tone towards the offenders. Ten articles were randomly selected again using the Research Randomiser (Urbaniak and Plous, 2013).

3.4 Coding

Coding was an essential part of the research process as all the variables in this analysis were categorical. The coding instruments used included the LexisNexis database and a coding sheet. A copy of the coding sheet can be found in Appendix One. To insure inter-coder reliability, trial rounds of newspaper analysis were conducted. Inter-coder reliability refers to the extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic or code for a specific variable and reach the same conclusion (Lombard et al, 2010). It is considered by many to be a crucial part of content analysis as Neuendorf (2002: 141) states: "given that a goal of content analysis is to identify and record relatively objective characteristics of messages, reliability is paramount. Without the establishment of reliability, content analysis measures are useless". Two trial rounds were conducted in total. The sample of newspaper articles for each trial was taken from outside of the random sample for the research analysis. In each trial the same thirty articles were examined by the two coders; the primary researcher and another experienced coder. The primary researcher provided the characteristics that were to be looked for in each articles, these characteristics were the same for both the trial rounds and the research analysis to ensure consistency. In the first trial round, the coders reached a 60% agreement on average. This was calculated using Holsti's (1969) formula for inter-coder

reliability. The formula explains 2M/N1+N2, where M represents the number of coding decisions the coders agreed on during the trial and N refers to the number of articles coded by each coder. In the trials Holsti's (1969) formula was applied to eight out of the eleven variables in the analysis these were; the definition of the issue, the consequences, the causes, the solutions, the sources cited, the offenders, the offender's nationality and the tone. The resulting agreement percentage of the first trial round was considered to be too low for optimum intercoder reliability. The lower scoring variables were looked at subsequently and changes were made to the coding sheet in order to prevent misunderstandings and clarify the vagueness of some of the categories. Subsequently in the second trial an 80% agreement was reached on average.

3.5 Limitations

There were several limitations to this study. Firstly, the only media form analysed was newspaper articles. There is research which indicates that the popularity of the newspaper in this digital age is declining (Siles and Boczkowski, 2012; Thurman, 2014). Furthermore, it could be argued that newspapers have a select audience. Certain people are more likely to read newspapers overall. Thus, the way newspaper articles frame a certain issue such as the trading in illegal ivory may influence or effect a only a certain population. A second limitation is that the LexisNexis database was used in this study. This could have been limiting as not all newspapers are accessible through this database, however for the purposes of this study the LexisNexis database proved to be a helpful tool. A third limitation was that only English language newspaper articles were analysed. This was a limitation as different frames and ways of making sense of the issue of illegal ivory trading may be prominent in articles which were not in English, and with it being an international issue this was quite possible.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis

4.1 Content Analysis

The results of the content analysis of 434 newspaper articles are shown and described starting with an overview and some general descriptive statistics on the newspaper reporting of the illegal trading in elephant and rhino ivory. This is followed by the results of the discourse analysis.

Figure 1 demonstrates that the highest proportion of newspaper articles came from African news outlets, almost a majority with 47.93%. The lowest proportion of newspaper articles came from Australian news outlets, only 4.15%. The highest proportion of newspaper articles in Asia were from India, closely followed by China with 34.92% and 26.98% respectively. The majority of newspaper articles from Africa came from South Africa, 56.73%.

Figure 1 Pie chart showing the percentage of articles originating from each continent and two pie charts showing the percentage of newspaper articles originating from each country in Asia and each country in Africa.
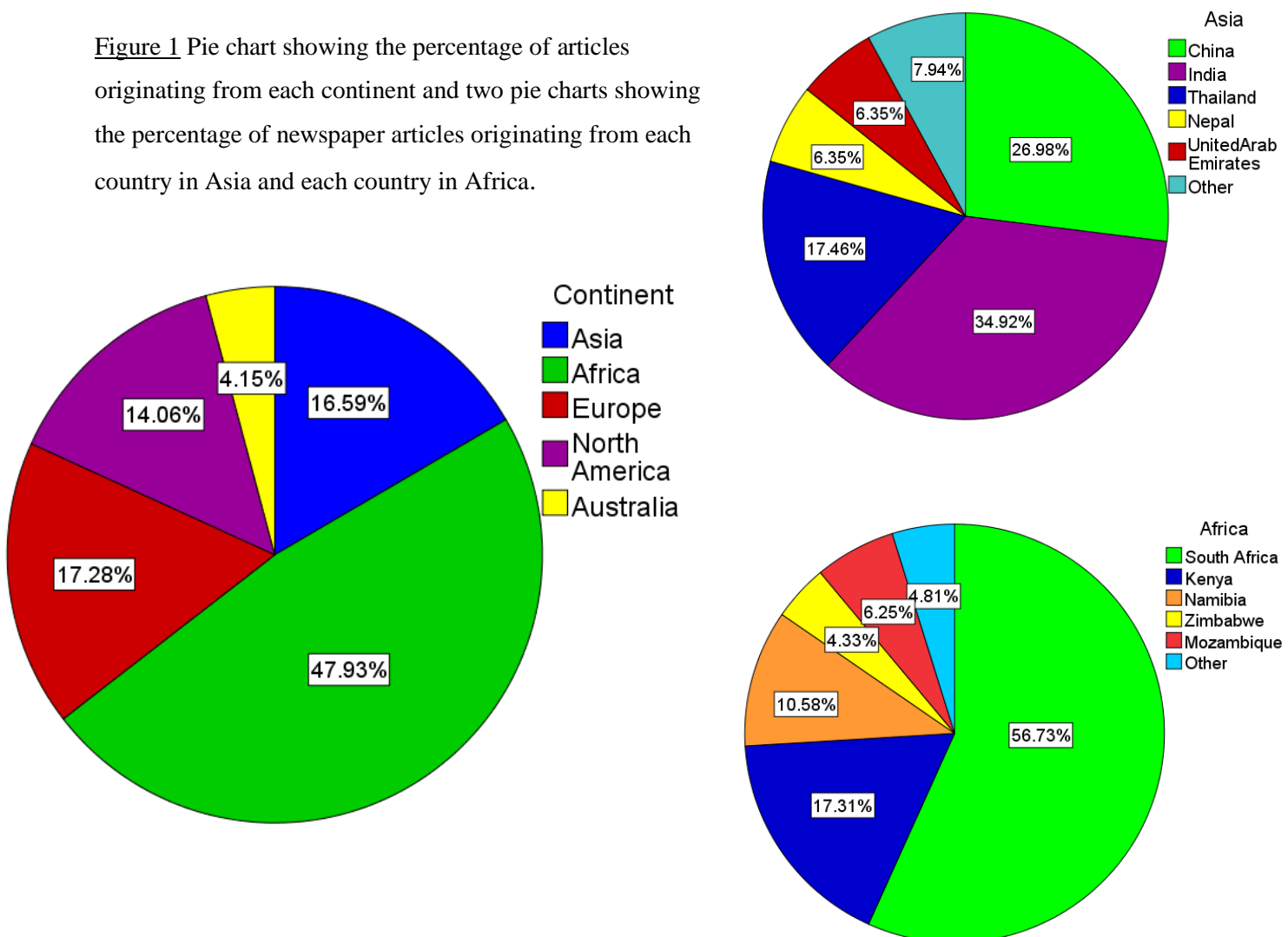
In relation to the issues associated with the illegal trading in elephant ivory and rhino horns Figure 2 demonstrates that the in the majority of newspaper articles, 52.53%, crime was the issue most frequently associated with the illegal trade. The issue of organised crime, treated separately from crime throughout the analysis, was least frequently associated with the trade, with it only occurring in 2.765% of the newspaper articles. The issues of policy/legislation and conservation/environment were associated with the illegal trade in almost the same percentage of articles.

Figure 2 Bar graph of the percentage of newspaper articles and each issue type
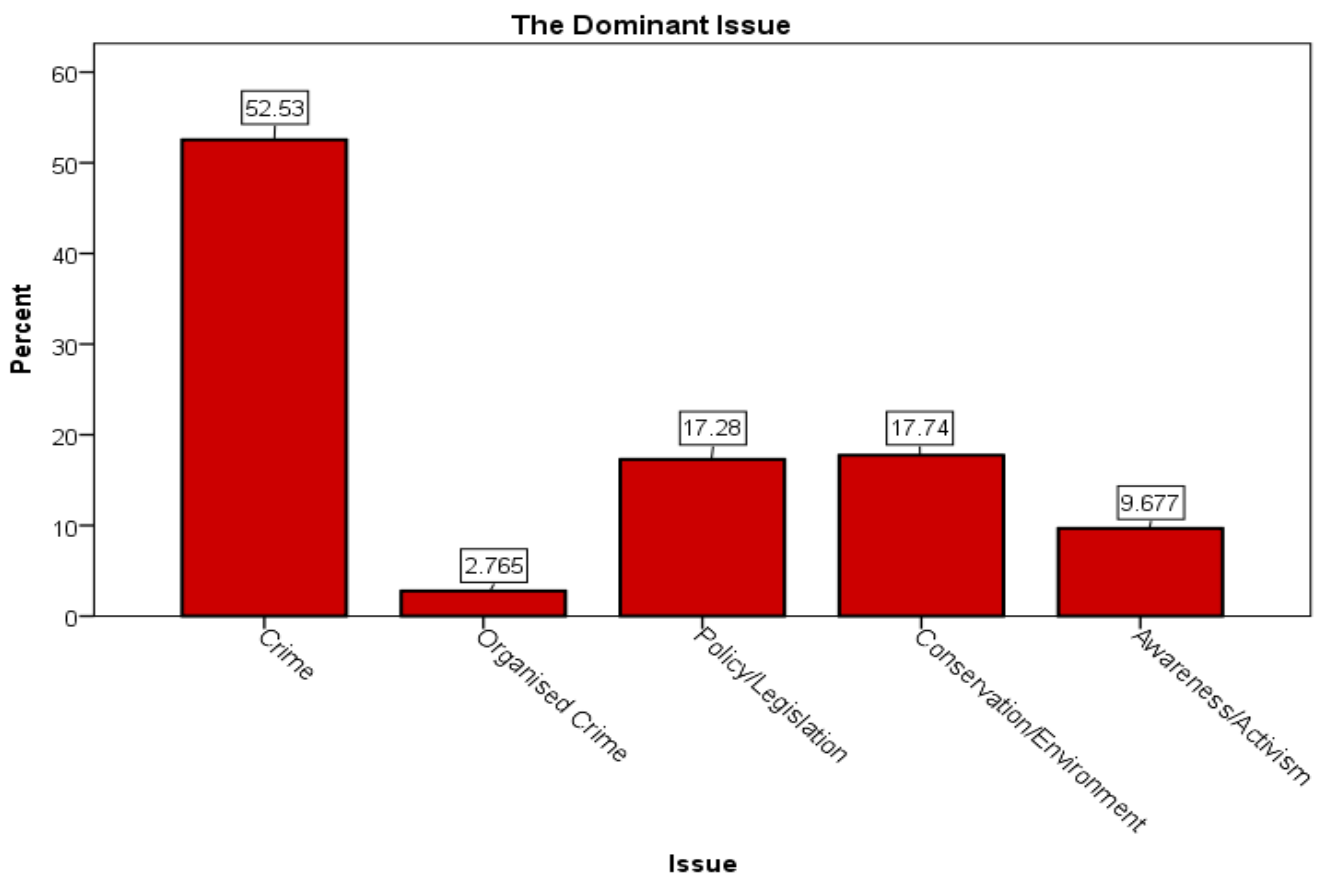
Overall, most of the articles were event-driven in that they tended to report on events such as court cases, arrests, legislative meetings, a new scientific solution or an event to raise awareness; this would suggest that the reporting on the illegal ivory trade was more episodic.

Figure 3 Bar graph of the percentage of newspaper articles identifying each offender type.
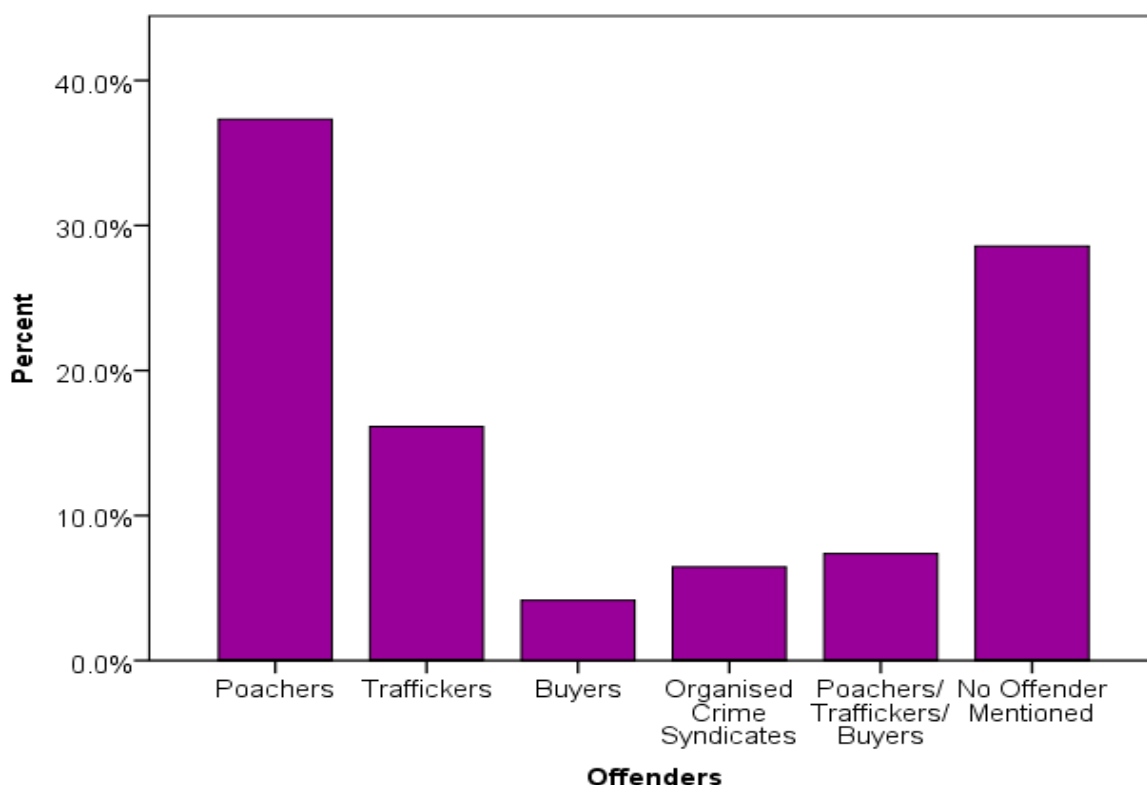
Figure 3 shows that the offenders of the illegal trading in elephant and rhino ivory were identified as poachers in 37.33% of the articles, traffickers in 16.13% of the articles, buyers in 4.15%, organised criminals in 6.45%, all three (poachers, traffickers and buyers) in 7.37% and 28.57% of the articles mentioned no offenders.

The main issues that dominated the 434 newspaper articles focusing on the illegal trade in elephant ivory and rhino horn in the last six months were crime (52.53%), organised crime (2.765%), policy/legislation (17.28%), conservation/environment (17.74%) and awareness/activism (9.677) as seen in Figure 2. Comparisons were made between the articles dominated by these main issues on several framing dimensions consequences, causes and solutions mentioned and the sources quoted in the articles. The results from this can be seen in Table 1. Table 1 demonstrates firstly that regardless of the issue dominating the article, the main consequence of the illegal ivory trade identified in the articles was the decrease of rhino and/or elephant populations or/and their possible extinction. Eighty-six percent of conservation-focused articles identify this consequence. This relationship is statistically significant with a Fisher's Exact Test p-value of < 0.05 and there is a moderate level of association which is indicated by the Cramer's V value. This is also the case for the

relationship between a crime-focused articles and this consequence. However, 49.6% of the crime-focused articles never mentioned any consequences of the illegal trade. Any other consequences, relating to the environment, the economy or national security, are mentioned in very few newspaper articles, regardless of the issue focus.

The causes of the illegal trading in elephant ivory and rhino horn identified were found to be similar among the articles. The majority of the articles regardless of the issue focus did not identify a cause of the problem. When a cause was identified, the cause most frequently identified in the articles, regardless of the issue focus of the article was the heightening of demand leading to the trading in illegal ivory. The majority of crime-focused articles (53%) did not present any discussion or mention any solutions to the problem of illegally trading in elephant ivory and rhino horn: this was a statistically significant result. However, around a quarter of the articles with a policy/legislation focus discussed legalisation of the trade as a solution, another statistically significant result with a strong association. Awareness/activism-focused articles also mentioned educating the public/raising awareness as a solution to the problem. The types of sources quoted in the articles reinforced the issue that dominated that article. That is crime-focused articles most frequently quoted law enforcement officials/local authorities, a statistically significant result, while awareness/activism-focused and conservation/environmental-focused articles most frequently quoted conservationists/veterinarians/NGO spokespersons, this was the case for more than a third of the articles and is another statistically significant result. Academics/experts/researchers were quoted in very few of the articles, regardless of their focus. Furthermore, the lack of law enforcement/local authorities quoted in conservation/environment-focused and awareness/activism-focused was a statistically significant result.

Table 1 Cross Tabulation of articles dominant issue by consequence, cause, solution and source

	Crime N = 228	Organised Crime N = 12	Policy/ Legislation N = 75	Conservation/ Environment N = 77	Awareness/ Activism N = 42
Consequences					
Declined animal populations/Extinction	47.8%*m	58.3%w	42.7%w	85.7%*m	69.0%w
Other-Environmental/ Economical	2.6%w	0.0%w	1.3%w	0.0%w	0.0%w
No Consequences	49.6%*m	41.7%w	56.0%w	14.3%*m	31.0%w
Causes					
Heightening Demand	18.4%*w	33.3%w	28.0%w	32.5%*w	23.8%w
Poverty/Necessity	3.1%w	0.0%w	1.3%w	1.3%w	2.4%w
Lack of/poor Law Enforcement	3.5%w	8.3%w	4.0%	2.6%w	0.0%w
Lack of Concern/ Education/ Ignorance	1.3%*w	16.7%*w	2.7%w	7.8%*w	2.4%w
No Cause	73.7%*w	41.7%w	64.0%w	55.8%*w	71.4%w
Solutions					
DNA Testing	2.2%w	0.0%w	0.0%w	2.6%w	0.0%w
Education/ Raising Awareness	5.3%w	0.0%w	2.7%w	3.9%w	28.6%*m
Increased/ Stricter Punishment	4.8%w	8.3%w	4.0%w	1.3%w	0.0%w
Coordinating Efforts/ Promoting NGOs	6.1%w	16.7%w	5.3%w	5.2%w	7.1%w
Demand Reduction	2.2%*w	0.0%w	5.3%w	10.4%*w	11.9%*w
More Resources	11.8%w	16.7%w	10.7%w	10.4%w	2.4%w
Legalisation	0.9%*w	8.3%w	22.7%*s	0.0%*w	2.4%w
Burning Stockpiles	2.6%w	0.0%w	5.3%w	0.0%w	14.3%*w
Saving Rhinos	5.7%w	0.0%w	0.0%*w	15.6%*w	0.0%w
Total Banning	0.4%*m	0.0%w	21.3%*s	0.0%*w	4.8%w
Other	4.4%*w	16.7%w	8.0%w	20.8%*m	0.0%w
No Solutions	53.3%*m	33.3%w	14.7%*m	29.9%*w	28.6%w
Sources					
Government Officials	14.9%*w	8.3%w	38.7%*m	16.9%w	21.4%w
Law Enforcement Officials	27.2%*s	0.0%w	6.7%*w	0.0%*w	0.0%*w
Conservationists/ NGO Spokespersons	14.9%*w	25.0%w	21.3%w	31.2%*w	35.7%*w
National Park Officials	5.7%w	16.7%w	4.0%w	2.6%w	0.0%w
Journalists	0.4%w	8.3%w	0.0%w	1.3%w	0.0%w

Academics/ Researchers	8.3%w	0.0%w	0.4%w	7.8%w	11.9%w
Report	2.6%w	25.0%*m	1.3%w	1.3%w	0.0%w
Other	7.5%w	0.0%w	10.7%w	13.0%w	2.4%w
No Sources	18.4%w	16.7%w	13.3%w	26.0%w	28.6%w

Note: *Fisher's Exact Test is significant at <0.05, w = Cramer's V value indicates a weak association, m = Cramer's V value indicates a moderate association, s = Cramer's V value indicates a strong association

Looking at the months in which the articles were published allows some context to be given to the articles; it enables the researcher to investigate what was happening at the time of reporting and how this might have affected the reporting of the issue.

Table 2 Cross tabulation of month articles were published by offender types

	Feb N = 51	Mar N = 62	Apr N = 65	May N = 93	Jun N = 71	Jul N = 80	Aug N = 12
Offenders							
Poachers	35.3% w	25.8%*w	33.8% w	29.0% w	46.5% w	56.2%* w	8.3%* w
Traffickers	9.8% w	16.1% w	10.8% w	29.0%* w	14.1% w	10.0% w	25.0% w
Buyers	2.0% w	4.8% w	12.3%*w	3.2% w	0.0%* w	1.2% w	16.7% w
Organised Criminals	0.0% w	4.8% w	3.1% w	15.1%* w	8.5% w	2.5% w	8.3% w
Poachers/ Traffickers / Buyers	2.0% w	0.0%* w	12.3% w	8.6% w	4.2% w	10.0% w	33.3%* w
No Offenders	51.0%*w	48.4%*w	27.7% w	15.1%* w	26.8% w	20.0% w	8.3% w

Note: *Fisher's Exact Test is significant at p <0.05, w = Cramer's V value indicates weak association

Table 2 demonstrates the relationship between the months that the articles were published and the types of offender mentioned in the articles. Poachers were the type of offender most frequently mentioned, regardless of the month the article was published. The majority of articles published July (56.2%) mentioned poachers and very few mentioned the buyers and traffickers. The articles published in March mentioned poachers in only 25.8% of them. As table 2 demonstrates, there is an increase in the mentions of poachers in articles as the months pass. Organised criminals are most frequently mentioned in articles published in May compared to the other months; this is a statistically significant result. The majority of articles published in February mentioned no offenders. However, any association between the month

in which the article was published and the type of offender mentioned is a weak association according to the Cramer's V value.

Figure 4 Bar graph of the offender's origin and offender type
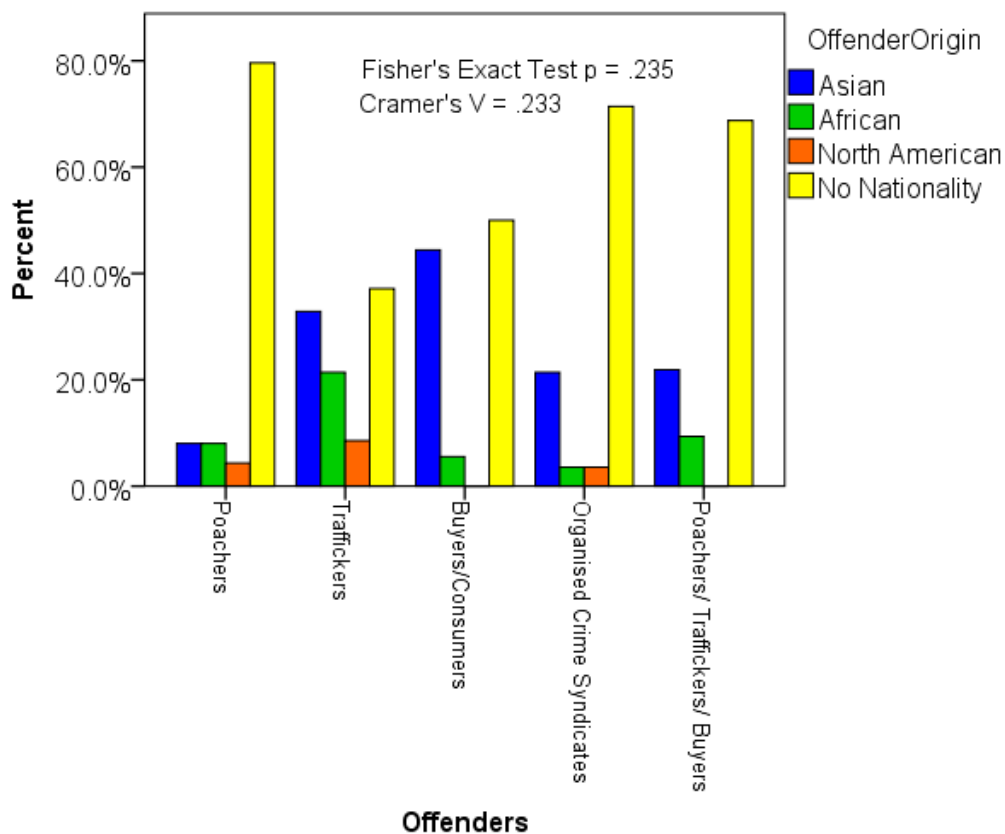
From Figure 4 it can be seen that in the majority of cases no nationality is mentioned for the offenders, regardless of their type. Most of the traffickers whose origin is mentioned in the newspaper articles are from Asia, around 33%, however the traffickers compared to the other types of offender have the most diverse range of nationalities. Around the same percentage of poachers whose origin is mentioned are from Africa and Asia. Furthermore, of the buyers and organised criminals whose origin is mentioned in the articles most of them come from Asia, around 42% and 20% respectively. However, these results are not statistically significant and the Cramer's V value indicates a moderate association.

Comparisons are made between the articles dominated by these main issues on more several framing dimensions which are the perpetrators of the crime; the offender types and the offender's nationality. These results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Cross tabulation of articles dominant issue by offender type and offender nationality

	Crime N = 228	Organised Crime N = 12	Policy/ Legislation N = 75	Conservation/ Environment N = 77	Awareness/ Activism N = 42
Offenders					
Poachers	41.7%*w	16.7%w	22.7%*w	54.5%*w	14.3%*w
Traffickers	26.8%*m	0.0%w	10.7%w	1.3%*w	0.0%*w
Buyers	4.4%w	8.3%w	0.0%*w	3.9%w	9.5%w
Organised Crime Syndicates	5.3%w	66.7%*s	4.0%w	3.9%w	4.8%w
Poachers/traffickers/buyers	9.6%w	0.0%w	2.7%w	7.8%w	4.8%w
No Offenders	12.3%*m	8.3%w	60.0%*m	28.6%w	66.7%*m
Origin of Offender					
Asian	21.5%*m	33.3%*w	0.0%*w	2.6%*w	4.8%w
African	12.7%*m	16.7%w	0.0%*w	2.6%w	0.0%w
North American	3.9%w	0.0%w	4.0%w	2.6%w	0.0%w
No Origin Mentioned	61.8%*s	50.0%*w	96.0%*m	92.2%*w	95.2%*w

Note: *Fisher's Exact Test is significant at $p < 0.05$, w = Cramer's V value indicates a weak association, m = Cramer's V value indicates a moderate association, s = Cramer's V value indicates a strong association.

Table 3 shows that when the offenders were mentioned in the article, poachers were the most frequently mentioned and this was the case for all the articles expect organised crime-focused articles. The majority of organised crime-related articles (66.7%) mentioned organised crime syndicates as the offender of the illegal trading in ivory; this was a statistically significant result with strong association. The buyers of ivory were most frequently mentioned in awareness/activism-focused articles; however it was only in a very small proportion of these articles (9.5%). This is compared to no buyers mentioned in the policy/legislation-focused articles and only 3.9% of the conservation/environment-focused articles. The majority (60%) of the policy/legislation-focused articles mentioned no offenders. This was a statistically significant result and there was found to be a moderate association.

In terms of the origin of the offenders, the continent from which the offenders originate in other words, the majority of the articles, regardless of which focus they have, do not mention the offender's origin, this result is also shown in Figure 4. This particularly is the case for those articles with a policy/legislation-focus and an awareness/activism-focus as the majority of them do not mention any offender at all. Where the origin of the offender is mentioned, Asia is most frequently the origin of the offender; this is the case for crime-focused, organised crime-focus, conservation/environment-focused and awareness/activism-focused

articles. Africa was the second most frequently mentioned origin of the offender with 12.7% and 16.7% of the crime and organised crime-focused articles respectively mentioning it.

Figure 5 shows the relationship between the types of offenders and the tone of the articles towards these offenders. It demonstrates that regardless of the offender type mentioned, the majority of the articles had a neutral tone towards the offenders. The articles which mention poachers are the only articles in which a proportion (2.5%) had a positive tone. 27.6% of the articles mentioning poachers had a negative tone towards them, however 50% of the articles mentioning organised criminals as the offenders of the illegal ivory trade had a negative tone towards them and only 15.7% of the articles mentioning traffickers had a negative tone. Thus, articles which mentioned organised criminals were more likely to have a negative tone than those mentioning the poachers or the traffickers. This relationship is statistically significant, however the association is weak.

Figure 5 Bar graph of the offender type and the tone of the articles towards the offender
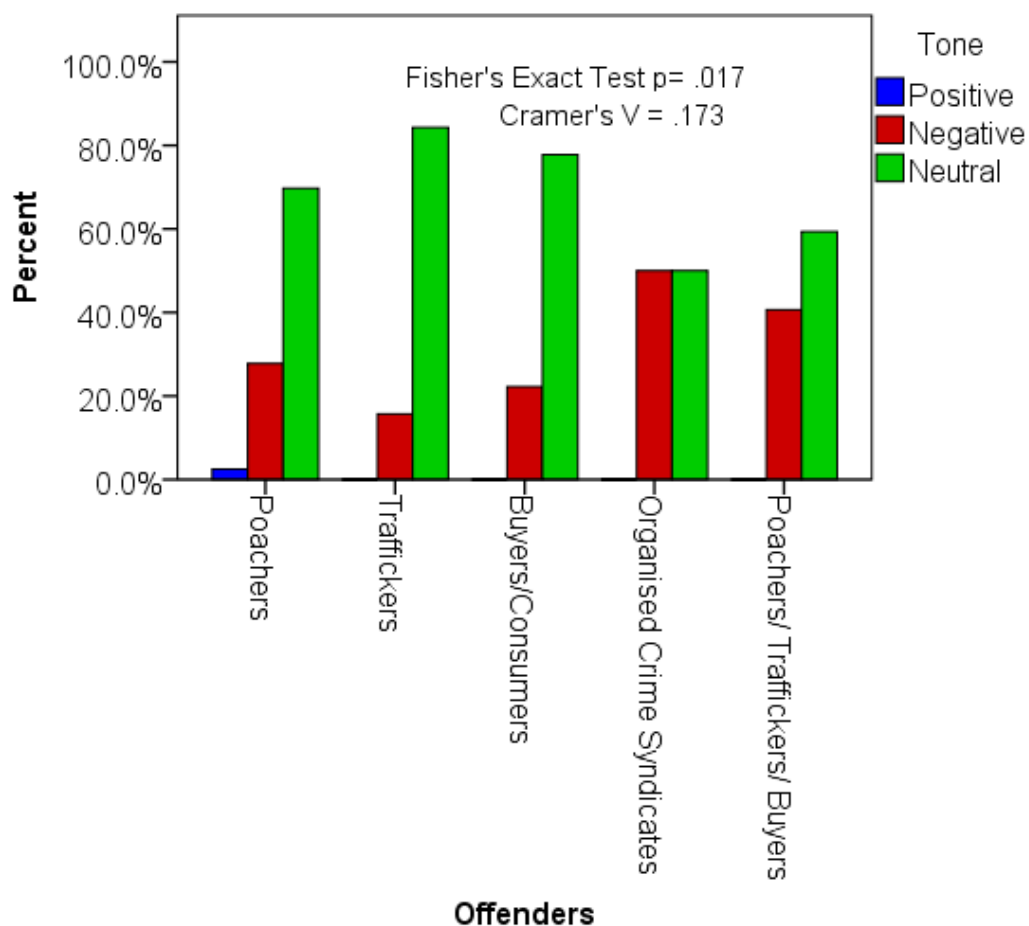
The relationships between the types of offenders mentioned in the articles and the consequences, causes and solutions are compared in Table 4.

Table 4 demonstrates that in the majority (71.6% and 50.0% respectively) of the articles in which poachers and those in which organised crime syndicates were mentioned the consequence of declining elephant and/or rhino populations and/or their possible extinction was also mentioned, this was a statistically significant relationship and the association was moderate. In the articles in which the traffickers were mentioned, the majority (66.7%) mentioned no consequences of their illegal trading; this was the same for those articles which mentioned the buyers of ivory. In terms of the causes, the majority of the articles which mention an offender do not mention a cause for the illegal trading in ivory. However, regardless of the type of offender mentioned, when a cause is mentioned it is most frequently heightened demand. Of those articles mentioning the poachers, the most frequently mentioned solution was more resources/training. Of those mentioning the traffickers the most frequently mentioned solutions were more resources/training, increased/stricter punishment for offenders and coordinating efforts/promoting NGOs. Of those articles mentioning the buyers, the most frequently mentioned solutions were increasing awareness/educating the public, demand/market reduction strategies and the total banning of the ivory trade.

Table 4: Cross tabulation of offender type by consequences, causes and solutions

	Poachers N = 162	Traffickers N = 70	Buyers N = 18	Organised Criminals N = 28	Poachers/ Traffickers/ Buyers N = 32	No Offenders Mentioned N = 124
Consequences						
Declining Animal Populations/ Extinction	71.6%*m	34.3%*m	33.3%*w	50.0%w	65.6%w	58.1%w
Other- Environmental/ Economical	3.1%w	0.0%w	0.0%w	3.6%w	0.0%w	0.8%w
No Consequences	25.3%*m	65.7%*m	66.7%w	46.4%w	34.4%w	41.1%w
Causes						
Heightening Demand	22.8%w	18.6%w	33.3%w	32.1%w	25.0%w	23.4%w
Poverty/ Necessity	4.3%*w	0.0%w	0.0%w	0.0%w	3.1%w	1.6%w
Lack of/ Poor Law Enforcement	3.1%w	1.4%w	0.0%w	14.3%*w	0.0%w	3.2%w
Lack of Concern/ Education/ Ignorance	2.5%w	0.0%w	0.0%w	14.3%*w	9.4%w	2.4%w
No Causes	67.3%w	80.0%*w	66.7%w	39.3%*w	62.5%w	69.4%w
Solutions						
DNA Testing	1.9%w	1.4%w	0.0%w	3.6%w	0.0%w	1.6%w
Education/ Raising Awareness	3.7%w	1.4%w	11.1%w	3.6%w	18.8%*w	10.5%*w
Increased/ Stricter Punishment	4.3%w	7.1%w	0.0%w	3.6%w	3.1%w	1.6%w
Coordinating Efforts/ Promoting NGO's	3.7%w	7.1%w	0.0%w	7.1%w	3.1%w	10.5%*w
Demand Reduction	4.9%w	1.4%w	11.1%w	7.1%w	3.1%w	6.5%w
More Resources	17.3%*w	7.1%w	5.6%w	14.3%w	6.2%w	4.8%*w
Legalisation	4.3%w	0.0%*w	5.6%w	10.7%w	6.2%w	6.5%w
Burning Stockpiles	1.2%*w	1.4%w	0.0%w	0.0%w	3.1%w	9.7%*m
Saving Rhinos	11.7%*	0.0%w	0.0%w	3.6%w	12.5%w	0.8%*w
Total Banning	2.5%w	5.7%w	11.1%w	0.0%w	0.0%w	7.3%w
Other	10.5%w	4.3%w	5.6%w	10.7%w	12.5%w	4.8%w
No Solutions	34.0%w	62.9%*m	50.0%w	35.7%w	31.2%w	35.5%w

Note: *Fisher's Exact Test is significant at p< 0.05, w = Cramer's V value indicates a weak association, m = Cramer's V value indicates a moderate association, s = Cramer's V value indicates a strong association.

4.2 Discourse Analysis

The second part of this mixed methodology was a qualitative discourse analysis on ten newspaper articles. This discourse analysis examined the language used in the article in order to draw inferences about who the news media either explicitly or implicitly blame for the issue of trading in illegal ivory. Specifically, the connotations, implications and rhetoric which the articles evoke were examined. Four dominant themes emerged in the analysis; the focus on animals suffering, the poachers as 'uncaring and inhumane butchers', the uses of rhino horn as unjustified and the power of the 'cartels'.

Focus on Animal Suffering

In the articles the theme of animal suffering was dominant. Identifying and focusing on the animal victims of the illegal trading in ivory, the elephants and the rhinos, and telling their stories is significant as it creates an emotional response from the readers. Stories of or involving animal suffering generally have been found to be distressing to readers, evoking a willingness to help as well as feelings of pity and sadness towards the animal victims and anger and annoyance towards the perpetrators of this cruelty (Kogut and Ritov, 2005; Tiplady, 2013). This is not just the case for animal victims but for human victims of crimes also. For example, in law discourses, victim stories or the stories of the survivors are used to invite an emotional reaction from the jury (Brooks and Gerwirtz, 1998). In the analysis, the articles point of focusing on the animal victim's suffering not only evokes emotional responses towards the identified offender it also places the blame and guilt, whether explicitly or implicitly onto these offenders. In some of the articles there were graphic descriptions of what had happened to the animals in specific instances and how they had suffered. For example, take this quote from an article in the Daily Mail in February 2015:

> 'Graphic video of a white rhino that had its horns, tongue, nose and eyes savagely hacked off by poachers has gone viral online - illustrating the brutal damage poachers inflict' (Daily Mail, February 2015).

This quote clearly illustrates the use of focusing on and describing an animal's suffering. The use of a list here suggests that the injuries to the rhino were extensive; there wasn't just one single injury. Furthermore, the use of the word 'savagely' to describe how the parts were removed emphasises the violence and brutality of the attack on the rhino. It creates no illusion of a neatly performed medical procedure to remove the part humanely, it creates the idea that this was done in the cruellest and inhuman way possible. Also 'hacked off' again highlights the violence and brutality, however it also suggests the lack of care taken to

remove the horn and thus towards the rhino. This description indicates an attempt at evoking an emotional response from the readers by the author, specifically sadness and pity towards the rhino. The inflictors of this extensive suffering were identified as 'poachers' in this article. Additionally, it states that the description given is only an 'illustration of the brutal damage'. This suggests that it is only one example of what poachers have done and are capable of doing, creating the impression of an ongoing problem and not just a single, isolated event. The identification of poachers as the inflictors of this extensive and brutal suffering alongside the lack of any mention of the consumers of rhino horn or the traffickers implicitly places the blame for not only the animals suffering but for the illegal trading in ivory on the poachers. It is important to note that there were articles; article 2, article 3, and article 7, which described the suffering of elephants and identified as elephants as the victims in a similar way to that of the rhinos.

In other articles there were descriptions given or statistics highlighting how the rhinos or the elephants as a species were suffering in terms of declining numbers and nearing extinction as a result of the illegal trading in ivory. A quote from an article in the Washington Post in July 2015 illustrates this:

> 'Rhinoceroses are on a path to extinction, possibly within a decade: The estimated 20,000 animals stand little chance against poachers' (Washington Post, July 2015).

This is the first line of an article in the Washington Post. It illustrates the suffering of rhinos as a species and not the suffering of an individual rhino. The quote indicates that rhinos are in danger of extinction. 'Extinction' is a powerful word and its position in the article, in the first sentence, has a shock value for the lay readers. It is alluding to the complete eradication of a well known species from which there is no return. In this instance, poachers are again identified as the offenders. The last part of the quote 'stand little chance against poachers', gives the impression of the rhinos as helpless and vulnerable and it suggests that the poachers are determined and formidable predators. Here it can be understood though the identification of the poachers and the lack of identification of the traffickers or the consumers of ivory that poachers single-handedly making rhinos extinct. Thus, once again poachers are place in a position of blame.

Uncaring, Inhumane Butcher Rhetoric

The second dominant theme identified in the analysis was the portrayal of poachers as uncaring and inhumane butchers. Frequently identified in the articles alongside the animal victims, the poachers are portrayed in a primarily negative light and are constructed as being

uncaring towards the animals and the species as a whole; their actions are constructed as being inhumane and they are often described as butchers. Whereas the dominant feature of the victims is their suffering, the dominant feature of the poachers is the fact that they are poachers; they are given no other characteristics such as gender, age or status. The lack of characteristics or description given to the poachers in the articles gives the readers nothing to relate to, thus giving the poachers the status of 'others'. The articles illustrate this, the first one through a quote in the article from a veterinarian and the second in the headline:

"You just can't believe that somebody from our own species can do that to an animal," Marais said of the gaping wound that exposed part of the rhino's skull and narrowly missed her eyes" (The Star Tribune, June 2015).

"Spy Cameras fitted to endangered rhinos to stop them being butchered by poachers" (The Daily Mirror, July 2015a).

The first quote from South Africa's Star Tribune is from a veterinarian who was described in the article as an expert wildlife surgeon. The use of a quote from someone in a position of power in terms of knowledge and status in animal welfare suggests that the author of this article holds the veterinarian's views to be credible and essentially agrees with them. The quote itself illustrates the theme of poachers being constructed as inhumane. It refers to an incident in which a group of poachers took a rhino's horn leaving devastatingly extensive injuries to the rhino's face. The rhino was found a few days later and a group of veterinarians have been trying to save her life ever since. The quote implies that this act of cruelty was incomprehensible, unjustified and demonstrates the uncaring nature of these poachers. It suggests that these poachers are not human as if they were they would not be able or capable of doing this, thus constructing them as inhumane. The sentence which follows the veterinarian's quote is then used to sway the readers to the side of the victim as it attempts to evoke feelings of pity and sadness towards the victim through highlighting its undeserved suffering and innocence.

The second quote from the Daily Mirror was the headline from an article published in July 2015. It illustrated the 'uncaring butcher' rhetoric with the use of the word 'butchered' and the inclusion of the 'endangered' status of the rhinos. The word 'butchered' suggests that rhinos are not just being killed they are being killed violently, brutally and indiscriminately without a care for the specific rhinos or the species. The identification of poachers as the offenders of this butchery and the lack of mention of the traffickers or the consumers indicated that they are single-handedly responsible for the status of rhinos as endangered.

Thus, the poachers are who the media have placed the blame on for the declining rhino and elephant populations and it could be argued the illegal trading in ivory due to their uncaring and inhumane acts of butchery. This 'uncaring and inhumane butcher' rhetoric was also a theme when elephants were the victims in article 2, article 3, and article 7.

The Unjustified Use

The 'unjustified' use of rhino horn was another dominant theme identified in the analysis. In some of the newspaper articles the reasons why rhino horn is in such high demand was identified. In four of the articles analysed, the high demand for rhino horn for its apparent medicinal benefits on the Asian market was mentioned. In all four of these articles the usage and belief in its consumption was constructed through the language used as being unjustified. Take these quotes from articles published in The Sunday Times in March 2015 and in Washington Post in July 2015 as examples:

'A senior Chinese official looked me in the eye when I was last in Beijing and told me that rhino horn is an established cure for a high fever. Others use it for hangover cures. Yet rhino horn has exactly the same medicinal qualities as toe nails (The Sunday Times, March 2015).

'There's a massive market in Asia for rhino horn, though there's no medicinal value at all. It's like chewing your hair or your fingernail. They're selling it for everything from a virility booster to a cancer drug or to cure a poisonous bite from a sea snake' (Washington Post, July 2015).

The first of these quotes from The Sunday Times is a quote in the article from Owen Paterson, a former environment secretary and MP. The use of a quote from a politician in the article suggests that the issue is of political importance and there is need for governmental intervention. The quote itself describes a conversation had between two politicians, one British and one Chinese and it suggests that the belief in rhino horns medicinal properties is sincere and genuine: 'looked me in the eye and told me'. However, the quote from Mr Paterson then goes on to explain that the medicinal properties in rhino horn are 'exactly the same' as those found in toe nails. Comparing rhino horn to toe nails suggests that this belief although apparently sincere and genuine, is absurd and ridiculous. It suggests that the consumption of rhino horn is unjustified when toe nails, which everyone has, do the same thing. The second quote from an article in the Washington Post constructs and portrays the Asian market and its consumption of rhino horn in much the same way as the first quote. However, in this quote specific consumers are not identified only a consumer culture is

identified. The sentence structure in this quote implies that the author is quick to discard and reject the reasons for rhino horn consumption as the point about them having no medicinal properties comes before identification of specific uses. Additionally, the 'at all' at the end of the first sentence suggested that there is no doubt and no uncertainty surrounding lack of medicinal properties. Furthermore, consuming rhino horn was compared to chewing hair or fingernails; this implies again the absurdness and ridiculousness consuming rhino horn and thus illustrating the unjustified use. The identification in these quotes, specifically the latter, of the consumers of rhino horn and the construction of an overall negative tone towards their belief of medicinal properties in rhino horn would suggest that they are blameworthy. The theme of 'unjustified uses' was only mentioned in the articles in relation to rhino horn consumption and not elephant tusk consumption.

It is the Cartels that are in charge

The final theme identified in the analysis was that it was the 'Cartels' that were in charge and in control of the trading in illegal ivory. Three of the articles analysed identified 'cartels' as being involved in the illegal trading of ivory. However, no definition or description is given in the articles to what was meant by 'cartel' therefore it was assumed that they were referring to organised crime groups in lay terms. These cartels were constructed in such a way that indicated they were pulling the strings in the trading in illegal ivory. For example take this quote from an article in the Daily Nation in July 2015:

> 'The poachers at large are said to be four Tanzanians working for a cartel operating in both countries' (The Daily Nation, July 2015).

The quote indicts that the 'cartels' are involved in the illegal trading of ivory, however they were not the ones retrieving the elephant tusks in the case of this story. 'Working for' suggests that the poachers were not retrieving the elephant tusks for themselves instead they were doing it for the 'cartels' in exchange for money, thus implying that it is the cartels that are in charge of the trade and not the poachers. Furthermore, the quote indicates that the poachers and the cartels are different groups not only through identifying them separately but by stating that they are operating in different locations. It could be argued that the articles that mentioned the cartels and construct them in this way place the blame on the cartels as they are given status, the poachers however are constructed as doing only the dirty work of these others.

Chapter 5

Discussion

This dissertation aimed to explore how the news media framed the issue of illegal trading in elephant ivory and rhino horn and the people involved as well as who the news media blame for the issue. This was explored through a mixed method approach using both a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative discourse analysis of English language newspaper articles. This was an exploration that was untouched on in the literature, despite an abundance of research on the areas separately. Thus, it was the contention of this dissertation to fill this gap in the literature.

Entman (1993: 55) argued that news media framing acts as an 'imprint of power' by setting the boundaries for discourse over an issue and identifying the actors and interests that often compete to dominant the text (Johnson et al, 2012). This 'imprint of power' that media framing has is recognised and has been used frequently in the last few years as one of the primary resources in illuminating different opinions over the issue type, on the causes, consequences, solutions and the people involved in the illegal ivory trade. Based on the quantitative content analysis conducted in this study it was found that the sources cited in the newspaper articles reflected the dominant issue focus, thus contributing the framing of the issue. However, it was difficult to determine whether the sources cited were based on the dominant focus or whether the dominant focus was based on the sources cited. Crime was the dominant issue focus of articles on the illegal trading in ivory, however it was impossible to determine whether the authors of the articles had used law enforcement to illuminate the crime focus of the issue or whether the law enforcement sources were chosen because of their availability and thus determining the articles focus as crime. This framing of the dominant issue focus could influence the ways in which the audience interprets the issue. The opinions of scholars and academics on the issue of trading in illegal ivory is strong and diverse, as reflected in the literature review, however this was not reflected in the content analysis. Academics and researchers were one group which the readers do not hear from in the news coverage of the trade. This is perhaps due to the views of academics being made redundant with the episodic style of reporting on the issue.

The majority of the articles analysed were published in Africa and Asia. This can be interpreted as the countries in closest proximity to the illegal trade having the most coverage of it. From the literature it can be seen that the majority of poaching happens in Africa and

the source of demand for ivory are Asian markets. Thus, it makes sense that those articles with the most coverage of the trade are published in the countries in which it occurs. Where the newspapers are published can potentially have an effect on how this issue is framed. This is because frames according to Jewkes (2009) are shaped by the production processes of the news organisations and the structural determinants of news-making and it is assumed that these are different in different countries and nations. Furthermore, this can have implications for crime eradication and conservation as it could be seen as an issue in and an issue for the nations in which poaching and ivory consumption occurs and not one which is international and requires international intervention.

The relationship between the month in which an article was published and the type of offender mentioned was one of significance which again could have an effect on the way the issue is framed. This analysis allows there to be some context to the framing of the issue of trading in ivory and the offenders that were mentioned. It allowed for an explanation to be given as to why in July was there was a higher percentage of articles published mentioning poachers than in any other month. In July, there appeared to be an increased media interest in the illegal ivory trade for several reasons. Firstly, President Obama visited Kenya in July and the illegal ivory trade was one of the priorities on his agenda. Secondly, Prince Harry spent his summer de-horning rhinos in Africa. Thirdly the US announced major import restrictions on the ivory trade shortly before July. Each of these factors made it increasingly likely that poachers were mentioned in the news. Furthermore, these events involve high profile people; the President of the United States and a member of the British Royal Family, which increased the likelihood of news coverage. Galtung and Ruge (1965) and Chibnall (1977) in their criteria for newsworthiness suggested that stories involving elite persons or persons of a particularly high status are likely to be picked up by a newspaper. On the other hand, this could be the result of the same stories and thus the same offenders being published in different newspapers being included in the content analysis. This is arguably a criticism of the study.

Newspaper coverage of the illegal ivory trade between February 2015 and August 2015 has been dominated by a crime focus. There was a tendency of these crime focused articles to have an episodic style of reporting to centre on a specific event such as an arrest, a court case or a seizure of ivory. Unlike thematic reporting, episodic reporting does not portray the issue of the illegal trading in ivory as a recurring one; it frames it through applying a telephoto lens to the coverage of the issue. This finding is similar to that of Johnson et al's (2012) study in that the most dominant issue type was found to be crime and an episodic style of reporting

was identified when exploring how the new media framed in the issue of sex trafficking. Furthermore, the framing of solutions suggests which solutions are legitimate and who will play a role in enacting them. However, the majority of the newspaper articles analysed in this study, particularly those with a crime focus, did not mention solutions to the illegal trading in ivory. This is in contrast to what the literature advocates; an increasing amount of preventative and regulatory strategies aimed at tackling it. The articles in the content analysis alerted the readers to a crime problem, however discussion of this problem was confined to a particular case, an arrest or a court case, one which was being handled by the police or the criminal justice system and thus required no additional intervention. These reductive articles do little to assist readers in understanding that trading in illegal ivory in their communities was a part of a boarder issue and one which is ongoing.

From the content analysis it was found that the framing of solutions, when solutions were mentioned in the articles, suggested that overall the power to eradicate illegal trading in ivory lay with governments and policy makers. This was to be done either by implementing a total ban of ivory, through legalisation of ivory trading or through increasing resources and training with reference to conservation efforts. Yet the majority of the articles in which there was a policy/legislation focus did not mention any offenders, causes or consequences. In other words the readers of these articles learned of the measures made or proposed, however they did not learn about the consequences, causes or offenders that the legislation or policy was attempting to address. Only in a small proportion of the articles was the power to eradicate the trade given to the public and this was in the articles with an awareness/activism focus. It is presumed that the public would identify and eliminate ivory trading once they were made aware and were educated on the issue. This solution suggested to readers that trading in illegal ivory is not a problem that only occurs in 'other' places and affects 'other' people, rather it is one that affects nations, societies, communities and individual alike, this is apparent from the economic, environmental and national security impacts discussed in the literature review (Wyatt, 2013). In Cho's (2006, cited in Johnson et al, 2012) study of how the news media framed the issue of an anti-prostitution law in Korean, for example, the framing of the issue as an economic loss and the dominant suggestion of raising awareness as a solution were found to be effective. It demonstrated to people that all Koreans would suffer as a result of the law, whether or not they were involved in the sex industry. It could be argued that a similar framing of the economic and environmental consequences resulting from the illegal trading in ivory and the solutions as raising public awareness/educating the public would be similarly effective in portraying the issue as an international one with

international effects, not just an issue which affects only those countries in which it primarily occurs.

Another finding from the content analysis was that very few of the articles were dominated by an organised crime focus. This was surprising as much of the academic literature and research on the trading in illegal ivory suggests that it involves organised crime; this was particularly evident in the new wave of poaching (Montesh, 2012). However, this was not reflected in the news coverage of the issue and the framing of the consequences suggested that the economic and national security impacts, which are linked to the organised crime aspects of the trade, were not cause for concern.

The framing of the causes in the articles can help the reader's to understand the context and complexity of the issue and allow them to identify the forces creating the issue, it can also influence who the reader's attribute the blame to. However, in the majority of articles regardless of the focus did not mention the cause/s of ivory poaching, perhaps due to the episodic framing of the issue. This finding was similar to that regarding the offenders identified and the framing of the causes. This was a surprising finding considering the amount of academic research which has been conducted on the causes and theoretical explanations of poaching, trafficking and consumer behaviour. When a cause was identified it lay with the demand side of the trade. This suggested that the overall responsibility for the trade in illegal ivory was attached to the consumers; however regardless of the article focus the consumers were those that were least frequently identified. The consumers, it could be argued, were the least frequently identified as the offenders due to them being Asian; a finding from the content analysis and one that is advocated in the literature, and Asia being one of the main places the newspapers in this analysis were published. Thus, so as not to criminalise themselves they are not mentioning themselves as the cause. This is a reflection of the power structures in media organisation, it has been argued that the media represent and reflect the interests of the rich and the powerful (Marsh and Melville, 2009).

In terms of the offender's nationality, the results appear to reflect the academic literature. The poachers were found to be of African origin and the consumers were found to be of Asian origin. An interesting finding was that neither Vietnam nor the Philippines were identified in the articles as being places in which ivory consumption takes place. According to the literature Vietnam is currently the world's top consumer in rhino horn ivory (Milliken and Shaw, 2012) and the Philippines is a top consumer of elephant ivory, therefore it is surprising that neither country is mentioned in the news media as being so. The traffickers were framed

to be the most divert group of offenders in terms of their nationality and this reflects the academic literature as this is the stage of the trade involving the most people (Worchol et al, 2003).

The discourse analysis yielded similar findings to the content analysis in that the most frequently mentioned offender was the poacher and in the majority of the ten articles analysed there was an episodic framing of the issue. The aim of the discourse analysis was to uncover who the news media were attaching the blame to for the illegal ivory trade. One of the key themes arising from the analysis was that the newspapers tended to construct, through language, poachers as uncaring and inhumane butchers. Even the identification of poachers and a lack of reference to the traffickers or the buyers suggested that poachers were in the position of blame. It could be argued that poachers are mentioned more often due to their stories or the stories in which they are involved in being more newsworthy. According to Jewkes (2009) there are twelve news structures and news values that shape the news: threshold, predictability, simplification, individualism, risk, sex, celebrity or high status persons, proximity, violence, spectacle or graphic imagery, children, and conservative ideology and political diversion. The stories involving poachers tended to hold eight of these values. However, with the added construction of them as uncaring and inhumane butchers this suggests that they were explicitly blamed for the illegal ivory trade.

 Additionally, the focus of the majority of the articles in this analysis was on animal suffering and the poachers were always portrayed as the cause of this suffering. Stories on animal suffering evoke reader feelings of sadness and pity towards the animal victims and anger and disgust towards the perpetrators and there is in explicit placement of guilt and blame. However, in this instance it could be argued that the poachers are explicitly blamed for the animal suffering, but only implicitly for the illegal ivory trade. This is a similar finding to that of the content analysis as the consequences were almost always identified as declining animal populations and/or extinction alongside the poachers.

In the articles the poachers were identified as a group, whereas the consumers were identified as more of a culture, one which held unjustified beliefs. This arguably puts poachers in a blameworthy position yet again as people are easier to blame than a culture. Interestingly, the articles that do mention the consumers they only mention those who consume ivory for its apparent medicinal benefits. There is a lack of mention of those 'face consumers' (Milliken and Shaw, 2012). This raises many questions regarding why this is the case; perhaps it relates again to the media reflections of the interests of the powerful. It also raises questions as to

whether this consumption would be constructed in a similar way as traditional medicinal consumption. Another interesting finding was that the theme of unjustified uses was only apparent in reference to rhino horn consumption and not elephant ivory consumption. This raises a considerable number of questions regarding why, is carving ivory for worship or art justifiable in comparison to purposeless medicinal uses? Or is this justification outweighed by animal suffering too? It could be argued that this mention of only rhino horn consumption may simply be a reflection of the sample size and thus this is a criticism of the study.

A slightly surprising, yet explainable finding was that government and law enforcement officials were not identified as offenders or as being involved in the illegal trading in ivory in either the content analysis or the discourse analysis. The academic literature on the trade demonstrated that government officials and law enforcement officials were involved in the trade, mainly in the transiting of ivory, through their corruption. Officials were susceptible to monetary bribes in exchange for letting the traffickers pass through the borders with the ivory without being apprehended. However, this finding is explainable through the hegemonic understanding of media power as an expression of elite interests. In other words, the media and news organisations are thought to reflect the interests of the powerful and the rich and thus, it would not be in their interest to criminalise themselves by revealing their involvement in the illegal ivory trade. Therefore, within media discourse those within a position of power are not blamed for this trade, despite being categorised amongst those considered to be most blameworthy in Wyatt's (2013) hierarchy of offenders. It is argued that this is an example of when the media through framing create a cultural landscape of crime that is at distinct odds with reality (Jewkes, 2009; Moore, 2014). There was a slight ambiguity relating to who was blamed by the news media when the articles mentioned the 'cartels'. However, the 'cartels' were only mentioned in three out of the ten articles; therefore overall the poachers were still in the position of blame.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings presented in this dissertation overall show a persistent pattern of coverage and provide evidence that certain aspects of the illegal ivory trade were featured and emphasised over others at least during the last six months of coverage. These were arguably distinctly at odds with the reality as advocated by the academic literature. The main findings from the quantitative content analysis was that the illegal ivory trade was framed as an episodic crime issue to which there was often no solution and no cause. Despite the fact the illegal ivory trade has emerged as part of a sophisticated and organised worldwide criminal network, the news media on the issue maintain a fairly monolithic and provincial perspective and frame the offenders as typical poachers from Africa. The findings from the content analysis can be considered representative of the news coverage on the issue and are generalisable. The main finding from the qualitative discourse analysis was that the news media placed the blame for the illegal ivory trade on the poachers above all else. It is important to note that the results from the discourse analysis are not representative of all newspaper coverage of the illegal ivory trade due to the small sample size and are not generalisable. However, the analysis does give an insight into how the news media portray certain aspects of the illegal trade and on whom the blame for it is placed. Exploring how the media frame the issue of the trading in illegal elephant ivory and rhino horn and the people involved in the trade is an important area of research. This is because it is proposed that the way the media frame and make sense of an issue can have an impact on the way in which the audience interpret the issue and with the illegal ivory trade being a pressing international issue it is important to understand media framing for conservation, eradication and regulatory purposes. Future research in this area could be vast, it could look into how the media construct the animal victims, if there is a difference between the construction of rhinos and elephants as victims and other animals such as tigers or pangolins and how this is reflected in the solutions that are framed. Furthermore, research could aim to investigate the theme of unjustified uses in the media around different forms of consumption, for example, medical consumption of ivory versus arts and worship consumption of ivory.

Bibliography

Akers, R. L. (1967) Problems in the sociology of deviance: Social definitions and behaviours. Social Forces, 46(4), pp. 455-465.

Akers, R. L. (1996) Is Differential Association/Social Learning Cultural Deviance Theory? Criminology, 34(2), pp. 229-247.

Ayling, J. (2013) What Sustains Wildlife Crime? Rhino Horn Trading and the Resilience of Criminal Networks. Journal of International Wildlife Law & Policy, 16(1), pp. 57-80.

BBC. (2014) 'Chinese ivory smuggler gets record Kenyan fine', BBC [online]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25925176> [Last Accessed 16th July 2015].

Berelson, B. (1952) Content Analysis in Communication Research. New York: Free Press.

Borah, P. (2011) Conceptual issues in framing theory: A systematic examination of a decade's literature. Journal of Communication, 61(2), pp. 246-263.

Breaking the Brand. (2015) 'Campaigns: Vietnamese New Year Campaign (Tet)', Breaking Brand [online]. Available at: <http://breakingthebrand.org/campaigns/> [Last Accessed 17th Apr 2015].

Brooks, P., and Gerwitz, P. (1998) Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law. New Haven: Yale University.

Chibnall, S. (1977) Law-and-Order News: An Analysis of Crime Reporting in the British Press. Abingdon: Routledge.

Christy, B. (2012) 'Ivory Worship', National Geographic [online]. Available at: <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2012/10/ivory/christy-text> [Last Accessed 22nd June 2015].

Chyi, H.I., and McCombs, M. (2004) Media salience and the process of framing: Coverage of the columbine school shooting. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 81(1), pp. 22-35.

CITES. (2015) 'Member countries', CITES [online]. Available at: <http://www.cites.org/eng/disc/parties/index.php> [Last Accessed 16th Apr 2015].

Clarke, R. V. (2008) Situational prevention, In Wortley. R., and Mazerolle. L. (eds.) Environmental Criminology and crime analysis. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Cohen, L. E., and Felson, M. (1979) Social Change and crime rate trends: A routine activities approach. American Sociological Review, 44(4), pp. 588-608.

Daily Mail. (2015) 'Mutilated beyond belief, the white rhino left to die after poachers hacked off half its face to harvest precious horn'. The Daily Mail [online] (Last updated Feb 18th 2015). Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2561831/END-THE-POACHING-Horrific-video-white-rhinos-hacked-face-goes-viral-online-illustrating-ravages-poaching.html> [Accessed on 18th Aug 2015].

Eliason, S. L. (2004) Accounts of Wildlife Law Violators: Motivations and Rationalisations. Human Dimensions of Wildlife, 9, pp. 119-131.

Entman, R. M. (1993) Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. Journal of Communication, 43(4), pp. 51-58.

Finckenauer, J. O. (2005) Problems of Definition: What is Organised Crime?. Trends in Organised Crime, 8(3), pp. 63-83.

Foucault, M. (1981) The Order of Discourse, In Young, R. (ed.) Untying the text: A post-structuralist reader. London; Routledge.

Galtung, J., and Ruge, M. H. (1965) The Structure of Foreign News. Journal of Peace Research, 2(1), pp. 64-91.

Gwin, P. (2012) 'Rhino Wars', National Geographic [online]. Available at: <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2012/03/rhino-wars/gwin-text> [Last Accessed 20th July 2015].

Herman, J. (2015) 'Armed rangers on armed guard 24/7 protect the last male northern white rhino left on Earth', Powerful Primates [online]. Available at: <http://www.powerfulprimates.com/15258/armed-rangers-on-armed-guard-247-protect-the-last-male-northern-white-rhino-left-on-earth> [Last Accessed 16th Apr 2015].

Holsti, O.R. (1969) Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities. Reading: Addison-Wesley.

IFAW. (2015) 'Reducing Demand for Wildlife Products', IFAW [online]. Available at: <http://www.ifaw.org/international/our-work/wildlife-trade/reducing-demand-wildlife-products> [Last Accessed 17th Apr 2015].

Interpol. (2015) 'Environmental Crime', Interpol [online]. Available at: <http://www.interpol.int/Crime-areas/Environmental-crime/Environmental-crime> [Last Accessed 14th July 2015].

Jewkes, Y. (2009) The Construction of Crime News, In: Jewkes, Y. (ed.) Crime and Media: Volume 2. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Johnston, A., Friedman, B., and Shafer, A. (2012) Framing the problem of sex trafficking: Whose problem? What remedy? Feminist Media Studies, 14(3), pp. 419-436.

Kogut,T., and Ritov, I. (2005) The 'Identified Victim' Effect: An Individual Group or Just a Single Individual? Journal of Behavioural Decision Making, 18(3), pp. 157-167.

Lee, J. (1996) Poachers, Tigers and Bears...Oh My! Asia's Illegal Wildlife Trade. Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business, 16(3), pp. 497-515.

Lemieux, A. M., and Clarke, R. V. (2009) The International Ban on Ivory Sales and its Effects on Elephant Poaching in Africa. British Journal of Criminology, 49(4), pp. 451-471.

Lombard, M., Snyder-Duch, J., and Bracken, C. C. (2010) 'Matthew Lombard Intercoder Reliability: Practical resources for assessing and reporting intercoder reliability in content analysis research projects', Matthew Lombard.com [online]. Available at: <http://matthewlombard.com/reliability/> [Last Accessed 8th Aug 2015].

Lynch, M. J. (2014) 'Poaching and Animal Trafficking', Green Criminology Blog [online]. Available at: <http://greencriminology.org/glossary/poaching-and-animal-trafficking/> [Last Accessed 6th June 2015].

Marsh, I., and Melville G. (2009) Crime, Justice and the Media. London: Routledge.

Martin, E., Martin, C., and Vigne, L. (2011) The Importance of ivory in Philippine Culture. Pachyderum, 50, pp. 57-67.

Messenger, S. (2014) 'Exclusive Interview with an Elephant Poacher', The Dodo [online]. Available at: <https://www.thedodo.com/interview-with-an-elephant-poa-390317914.html> [Last Accessed 16th June 2015].

Milliken, T. (2014) 'Illegal trade in Ivory and Rhino horn: An Assessment to Improve Law Enforcement Under the Wildlife Traps Project', A TRAFFIC Report. Available at: <http://static1.1.sqspcdn.com/static/f/157301/25542141/1413203999027/W-TRAPS-Elephant-Rhino-report.pdf?token=3rdpKogvHVZZ2shVO3G%2BQoP9OX4%3D> [Last Accessed 30th July 2015].

Milliken, T., and Shaw, J. (2012) 'The South Africa – Viet Nam Rhino Horn Trade Nexus: A Deadly Combination of Institutional Lapses, Corrupt Wildlife Industry Professionals and Asian Crime Syndicates', A TRAFFIC Report. Available at: <www.traffic.org/species-reports/traffic_species_mammals66.pdf> [Last Accessed 13the July 2015].

Montesh, M. (2012) 'Rhino Poaching: A New Form of Organised Crime, College of Law Research and Innovation Committee of the University of South Africa', Rhino Resource Centre [online]. Available at: < <http://www.rhinoresourcecenter.com/pdf_files/136/1368077595.pdf> [Last Accessed 16th June 2015].

Moore, S. E. H. (2014) Crime and the Media. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Naylor, R. T. (2004) The Underworld of Ivory. Crime, Law & Social Change 42(4-5), pp. 261-295.

Neuendorf, K. A. (2002) The content analysis guidebook. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Newburn, T. (2007) Criminology. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Nguyen, D. N. V., and Nguyen, T. (2008) 'An Overview of the Use of Plants and Animals in Traditional Medicine Systems in Viet Nam', TRAFFIC Southeast Asia Report. Available at: <https://portals.iucn.org/library/node/9616> [Last Accessed 13th July 2015].

Nyoc, A. C., and Wyatt, T. (2013) A green criminological exploration of illegal wildlife trade in Vietnam. Asian Criminology, 8(2), pp. 129-142.

Pires, S. F., and Moreto, W. D. (2011) Preventing Wildlife Crimes: Solutions That Can Overcome the 'Tragedy of the Commons'. European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, 17(2), pp. 101-123.

Rawlinson, P. (2002) Mafia, Media and Myth: Representations of Russian Organised Crime. The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 37(4), pp. 346-358.

Reese, S. D. (2007) The framing project: A bridging model for media research revisited. Journal of Communication, 57(1), pp. 148–154.

Rosen, G. E., and Smith, K. F. (2010) Summarising the evidence on the international trade in illegal wildlife. Ecohealth, 7(1), pp. 24-32.

Scheufele, D.A., and Tewksbury, D. (2007) Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. Journal of Communication, 57(1), pp. 9-20.

Siles, I., and Boczkowski, P. J. (2012) Making sense of the newspaper crisis: A critical assessment of existing research and an agenda for future work. News Media & Society, 0(0), pp. 1-20.

Sobel, M. R. (2014) Chronicling a crisis: media framing of human trafficking in India, Thailand and the USA. Asian Journal of Communication, 24(4), pp. 315-332.

Sollund, R. (2013) Animal Trafficking and Trade: Abuse and Species Injustice, In Westerhuis, D., Walters, R., and Wyatt, T. (eds.) Emerging Issues in Green Criminology: Exploring Power, Justice and Harm. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

South, N., and Wyatt, T. (2011) Comparing Illicit Trades in Wildlife and Drugs: An Exploratory Study. Deviant Behaviour, 32(6), pp. 538-561.

Sutherland, E. H. (1939) Principles of Criminology. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott.

The Daily Mirror. (2015a) 'Spy Cameras fitted to endangered rhinos to stop them being butchered by poachers'. The Daily Mirror [online] (Last updated July 20th 2015). Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/spy-cameras-fitted-endangered-rhinos-6099685> [Accessed on 20th Aug 2015].

The Daily Nation. (2015) 'Hunt on for Tsavo elephant killers'. The Daily Nation [online] (Last updated July 29th 2015). Available at: <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Hunt-on-for-Tsavo-elephant-killers/-/1056/2813624/-/9ynaxu/-/index.html> [Accessed on 20th Aug 2015].

The Guardian. (2013) 'The war on African poaching: is militarisation doomed to fail?', The Guardian [online]. Available at:

<http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2013/aug/13/war-african-poaching-militarisation-fail> [Last Accessed 13th July 2015].

The Guardian. (2014) 'Price of Ivory in China Triples', The Guardian [online]. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/jul/03/price-ivory-china-triples-elephant> [Last Accessed 14th July 2015].

The London Declaration. (2015) 'Kasane Conference on the Illegal Wildlife Trade', Gov.co.uk [online]. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/415690/review-progress-kasane-conf-150317.pdf> [Last Accessed 17th Apr, 2015].

The Star Tribune. (2015) 'South African veterinarians intervene to save rhino named Hope, mutilated by poachers'. The Star Tribune [online] (Last updated Jun 9th 2015). Available at: <http://www.startribune.com/south-african-medics-make-big-effort-to-save-hope-the-rhino/306640101/> [Accessed on 19th Aug 2015].

The Sunday Times. (2015) 'A few well-aimed shots can stop poachers making rhinos extinct'. The Sunday Times [online] (Last updated Mar 1st 2015). Available at: <http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/newsreview/features/article1524807.ece> [Accessed on 20th Aug 2015].

Thurman, N. (2014) Newspaper Consumption in a Digital Age: Measuring multi-channel audience attention and brand popularity. Digital Journalism, 2(2), pp. 156-178.

Tiplady, C. M., Walsh, D. B., and Phillips, C. J. (2013) Public Response to Media Coverage of Animal Cruelty. Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics, 26(40), pp. 869-885.

TRAFFIC. (2008) 'What's driving the wildlife trade? A review of expert opinion on economic and social drivers of the wildlife trade and trade control efforts in Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR and Vietnam', TRAFFIC [online]. Available at: <www.traffic.org/general-reports/traffic_pub_gen24.pdf> [Last Accessed 4 July 2015].

TRAFFIC. (2014) 'New report identifies actions needed to curtail illegal ivory and rhino horn trafficking', TRAFFIC [online]. Available at: <http://www.traffic.org/home/2014/9/22/new-report-identifies-actions-needed-to-curtail-illegal-ivor.html> [Last Accessed 8th July 2015].

U.S. Wildlife & Fish Service. (2013) 'CITES & Elephants: What is the "global ban" on ivory trade?', U.S. Wildlife & Fish Service [online]. Available at: <www.fws.gov/le/pdf/CITES-and-Elephant-Conservation.pdf> [Last Accessed1st Aug 2015].

UNEP. (2014) 'UNEP Year Book 2014 emerging issues update: Illegal Trade in Wildlife', UNEP [online]. Available at: <http://www.unep.org/yearbook/2014> [Last Accessed 8th July 2015].

UNODC. (2004) 'United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime And The Protocols Thereto', United Nations [online]. Available at: <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/treaties/CTOC/> [Last Accessed 13th July 2015].

Urbaniak, G. C., and Plous, S. (2013) 'Research Randomizer (Version 4.0)', [Computer Software]. Available at: <https://www.randomizer.org/> [Last Accessed Aug 3rd 2015].

Vantomme, P., Markkula, A., and Leslie, R. N. (2002) 'Non-wood Forest Products in 15 Countries of Tropical Asia: An Overview', FOA Corporate Document Repository [online]. Available at: <http://www.fao.org/docrep/005/ab598e/AB598E26.htm#9827> [Accessed 20th July 2015].

Vigne, L., and Martin, E. (2011) Southern China's illegal ivory trade flourishes. Oryx, 45(4), pp. 473–474.

Warchol, G. L. (2004) The transnational illegal wildlife trade. Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society, 17(1), pp. 57-73.

Warchol, G. L., Zupan, L. L., and Clack, W. (2003) Transnational criminality: An analysis of the illegal wildlife market in Southern Africa. International Criminal Justice Review, 13(1), pp.1-27.

Washington Post. (2015) 'Remarkable airlift rescues 200 rhinos from poachers'. Washington Post [online] (Last updated Jul 20th 2015). Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/why-the-worlds-20000-rhinos-stand-little-chance-of-surviving/2015/07/20/8a8efc4e-264d-11e5-b72c-2b7d516e1e0e_story.html> [Accessed on 18th Aug 2015].

Webb, J. T. (2001) Prosecuting Wildlife Traffickers,: Important Cases, Many Tools, Good Results. Vermont Journal of Environmental Law, 12, pp. 1-12.

Wildaid. (2013) 'Annual Report 2013', Wildaid [online] Available at: <http://www.wildaid.org/sites/default/files/resources/WildAid_Annual_Report_2013_Final_Low-Res.pdf > [Last Accessed 6th June 2015].

Winfree, L. T., Backstrom, T.V., and Mays, G.L. (1994) Social Learning Theory, Self-Reported Delinquency, and Youth Gangs: A New Twist on a General Theory of Crime and Delinquency. Youth Society, 26(2), pp. 147-177.

WWF. (2015) 'Threats to the Illegal Wildlife Trade: Overview', WWF [online]. Available at: <http://www.worldwildlife.org/threats/illegal-wildlife-trade> [Last Accessed 8th July 2015].

Wyatt, T. (2009) Exploring the organization of Russia Far East's illegal wildlife trade: two case studies of the illegal fur and illegal falcon trades. Global Crime, Special Issue: Illegal Markets and the Economics of Organized Crime, 10(1–2), pp. 144–154.

Wyatt, T. (2013) Wildlife Trafficking: A Deconstruction of the Crime, the Victims and the Offenders. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Wyler, L., and Sheikh, P. (2008) 'International Illegal Trade in Wildlife: Threats and U.S. Policy', Order Code RL34395 Congressional Research Service, Available at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/102621.pdf> [Last Accessed 12th June 2015].

Zimmerman, M. E. (2003) The Black market for wildlife: Combating transnational organised crime in the illegal wildlife trade. Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law, 36, pp. 1657-1689.

Appendix One

Coding Sheet

Unit of Analysis: the illegal trade in elephant ivory and rhino horn

Dates: Between the 4th of February and 4th August

Independent variables

Name of Newspaper (full name of newspaper e.g. The New York Times):

Nation/Country Newspaper is from:

Month Article Published:

        1 = February

        2 = March

        3 = April

        4 = May

        5 = June

        6 = July

        7 = August

What is the Dominant Type of Issue Being Described?:

        1 = Crime

        2 = Organised Crime

        3 = Policy/Legislation

        4 = Conservation/Environmental

        5 = Animal Abuse

        6 = Awareness/ Activism

        7 = Other (Please Specify)

Dependent Variables

The Consequences:

        1 = Declining Animal Populations/Extinction (to the animal victims)

        2 = Environmental

        3 = Economical (issues relating to political and/or government stability)

        4 = Other (Please Specify)

        5 = No Consequences Mentioned

<u>The Causes:</u>

          1 = Heightening Demand/Greed

          2 = Poverty/Necessity

          3 = Lack of/ Poor Law Enforcement/Legislation/Unregulated Markets

          4 = Lack of Concern/ Lack of Education/ Ignorance

          5 = Other (Please Specify)

          6 = No Causes Mentioned

<u>The Solutions: Recommended/Discussed/Suggested</u>

          1 = DNA Testing

          2 = Educating the Public/Increasing Awareness

          3 = Increased/ Stricter Punishments for Offenders

          4 = Coordinating Efforts/ Promoting NGO's

          5 = Demand/Market Reduction Strategies

          6 = Other (Please Specify)

          7 = No Solutions Mentioned

          8 = More Resources/Rangers/Legislation/Training

          9 = Legalisation

         10 = Burning/Crushing Stockpiles

         11 = De-Horning

         12 = Total Ban of Ivory Trade

         13 = Rhino Farming

         14 = Re-location of Rhinos

<u>The Sources Cited/Quoted (If more than 1 source, select the dominant source):</u>

          1 = Government Officials/ Politicians/CITES Officials/Ministers

          2 = Law Enforcement Officials/Local Authorities

          3 = Conservationists/Veterinarian/ NGO Spokesperson (WWF, IFAW)

          4 = National Park Officials/Spokesperson

          5 = Victims/Witnesses

          6 = Journalist/Media

          7 = Academic/Expert/Researcher

          8 = Report-Media/legal

          9 = Other (Please Specify)

        10 = No Sources Cited

The Offenders:

    1 = Poachers

    2 = Traffickers/Smugglers/Exporters/Importers

    3 = Buyers/Consumers

    4 = Organised Crime Syndicates/Networks/Cartels

    5 = Poachers and Traffickers/Smugglers

    6 = Poachers and Buyers

    7 = Traffickers and Buyers

    8 = Poachers, Traffickers and Buyers

    9 = Other (Please Specify)

   10 = No Offender/s Mentioned

The Nationality of Offenders:

    1 = Vietnamese

    2 = Chinese

    3 = Kenyan

    4 = Tanzanian

    5 = Mozambican

    6 = South African

    7 = British

    8 = American

    9 = Other (Please Specify)

   10 = No Nationality Mentioned

   11 = Not Applicable

Tone Towards Offenders:

    1 = Positive

    2 = Negative

    3 = Neutral

    4 = Not Applicable

Table 5 Bibliographic information on ten articles of discourse analysis

Article	Newspaper	Country	Author	Date	Headline
1	Washington Post	USA	Manuela Hoelterhoff	21st July 2015	'Remarkable airlift rescues 200 rhinos from poachers'
2	The Independent	UK	Sarah Tijou	31st July 2015	'Elephants seek safety in Gabon': 100 elephants are being slaughtered for their ivory every day in Africa, and Gabon is a refuge for some of the remaining population
3	The Sunday Times	UK	Owen Paterson	1st March 2015	'A few well-aimed shots can stop poachers making rhinos extinct'
4	The Daily Mail	UK	Ryan Lipman	18th February 2015	'Mutilated beyond belief, the white rhino left to die after poachers hacked off half its face to harvest precious horn'
5	The Star Tribune	South Africa	Christopher Torchia	9th June 2015	'South African veterinarians intervene to save rhino named Hope, mutilated by poachers'
6	The Herald	South Africa	Gareth Wilson	17th February 2015	'Poachers Kill 2 rhino in Kei River Reserve'
7	The Daily Nation	Kenya	Lucy Mkanyika	29th July 2015	'Hunt on for Tsavo elephant killers'
8	The Daily Mirror	UK	John Von Radowitz	20th July 2015	'Spy Cameras fitted to endangered rhinos to stop them being butchered by poachers'
9	China Daily	USA	Chris Davis	1st April 2015	'putting one wildlife trafficker out of business is always good news'
10	The Daily Mirror	UK	Tom Parry	9th June 2015	'Suspected ivory smuggling kingpins arrested in Kenya as Interpol probe illegal trade's links with terrorism'

<u>References for Articles in Discourse Analysis</u>

Washington Post (2015) 'Remarkable airlift rescues 200 rhinos from poachers'. *Washington Post* [online] (Last updated July 20th 2015). Available at: < http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/why-the-worlds-20000-rhinos-stand-little-chance-of-surviving/2015/07/20/8a8efc4e-264d-11e5-b72c-2b7d516e1e0e_story.html> [Accessed on 18th Aug 2015].

The Independent UK. (2015) 'Elephants seek safety in Gabon: 100 elephants are being slaughtered for their ivory every day in Africa, and Gabon is a refuge for some of the remaining population'. *The Independent UK* [online] (Last updated July 31st 2015). Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/campaigns/giantsclub/gabon/elephant-seek-safety-in-gabon-10431154.html> [Accessed on 18th Aug 2015].

The Sunday Times. (2015) 'A few well-aimed shots can stop poachers making rhinos extinct'. *The Sunday Times* [online] (Last updated Mar 1st 2015). Available at: <http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/newsreview/features/article1524807.ece> [Accessed on 20th Aug 2015].

Daily Mail. (2015) 'Mutilated beyond belief, the white rhino left to die after poachers hacked off half its face to harvest precious horn'. *The Daily Mail* [online] (Last updated Feb 18th 2015). Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2561831/END-THE-POACHING-Horrific-video-white-rhinos-hacked-face-goes-viral-online-illustrating-ravages-poaching.html> [Accessed on 18th Aug 2015].

The Star Tribune. (2015) 'South African veterinarians intervene to save rhino named Hope, mutilated by poachers'. *The Star Tribune* [online] (Last updated June 9th 2015). Available at: < http://www.startribune.com/south-african-medics-make-big-effort-to-save-hope-the-rhino/306640101/> [Accessed on 19th Aug 2015].

The Herald South Africa. (2015) 'Poachers Kill 2 rhino in Kei River Reserve'. *The Herald Live* [online] (Last updated Feb 17th 2015). Available at: <http://www.heraldlive.co.za/poachers-kill-two-rhino-kei-river-reserve/> [Accessed on 19th Aug 2015].

The Daily Nation. (2015) 'Hunt on for Tsavo elephant killers'. *The Daily Nation* [online] (Last updated July 29th 2015). Available at: <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Hunt-on-for-Tsavo-elephant-killers/-/1056/2813624/-/9ynaxu/-/index.html> [Accessed on 20th Aug 2015].

The Daily Mirror. (2015a) 'Spy Cameras fitted to endangered rhinos to stop them being butchered by poachers'. The Daily Mirror [online] (Last updated July 20th 2015). Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/spy-cameras-fitted-endangered-rhinos-6099685> [Accessed on 20th Aug 2015].

China Daily. (2015) 'Putting one wildlife trafficker out of business is always good news'. *China Daily* [online] (Last updated Apr 1st 2015). Available at: <http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/epaper/2015-04/01/content_19971100.htm> [Accessed on 20th Aug 2015].

The Daily Mirror. (2015b) 'Suspected ivory smuggling kingpins arrested in Kenya as Interpol probe illegal trade's links with terrorism'. *The Daily Mirror* [online] (Last updated June 9th 2015). Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/suspected-ivory-smuggling-kingpins-arrested-5852572> [Accessed on 20th Aug 2015].