

**The framing of rhino horn demand reduction by Vietnamese
ENGOS: cultural and other factors influencing the
'Responsibility' frame in ENGO media outputs**

Author

Smith, Michael

Published

2017-09

Thesis Type

Thesis (Masters)

School

School of Hum, Lang & Soc Sc

Copyright Statement

The author owns the copyright in this thesis, unless stated otherwise.

Downloaded from

<http://hdl.handle.net/10072/371949>

Griffith Research Online

<https://research-repository.griffith.edu.au>

**The framing of rhino horn demand reduction by
Vietnamese ENGOs: cultural and other factors
influencing the “Responsibility” frame in ENGO media
outputs**

Michael Scott Smith

**(Master of Journalism, Graduate Certificate of Higher Education, Diploma of
Professional Writing and Editing)**

School of Humanities, Languages and Social Science

Griffith University

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

Research

September 2017

ABSTRACT

Rhinos in Africa are threatened species mostly because of the trade in rhino horn centred in Vietnam. Can the media play a role in saving the rhino? This study aims to identify and analyse the key frames used by Environmental Non-Government Organisations (ENGOS) in Vietnam in their media campaign to reduce demand for the rhino horn and to evaluate the frames' effectiveness.

The study reviews the literature and addresses three key research questions about the identity of the frames, the cultural and other factors that influence the production of the frames and the efficacy of the frames used in respective ENGO campaigns. It uses a mixed method approach of press release framing analysis and semi-structured interviews to address the research questions. It identifies that four key frames are used almost exclusively by ENGOS, three of which belong to generic framing categories found in the environmental communication literature: "science", "public accountability" and "attribution of responsibility". The fourth frame "empowerment" represents a key function of social marketing campaigns in Vietnam.

This study finds that the main challenges for ENGOS are proving Vietnam's responsibility for the rhino poaching in South Africa, creating culture and audience appropriate frames to influence public opinion in order to change the behaviour of buyers and users of rhino horn and advocating stronger enforcement and prosecution efforts in Vietnam. It finds some ENGO strategies and practices potentially problematic - such as the use of consequence and association instead of evidence in the "Responsibility" frame, and the persistent but possibly unintentional enactment of crisis themes in a culture where the consumption of rare wildlife is highly valued. However, it finds that existing

strategies such as the use of local staff to consult on cultural issues, using themes that are pertinent to the public, building relationships with selected journalists, interactions with selected elites, indirect gentle consumer-focused communication approaches and the use of graphic photos of mutilated rhinos or rhino family groups instead of photos that capture the animal's power and majesty may be effective.

The study recommends that ENGOs should emphasise the data they have collected that is evidence of Vietnam's role as a key consumer nation; and become more "frame aware" in their selection, exclusion and emphasis of framing devices in their media outputs. It recommends the ENGOs produce strategic background frames, such as biodiversity education frames to begin the process of competing with existing problematic audience frames. The results suggest implications for further research such as a content analysis and framing analysis of the ENGO's social media outputs. In a developing country which has a phenomenal uptake of social media and smart phone use such a study would be timely. Also useful would be a study of the dramatic interpretation of frames that ENGOs incorporate in television public service announcements (PSAs), an exploration of the investigative journalism practice into the illegal wildlife trade in Vietnam and a study into the generalisability of key messages and frames used by ENGOs in Vietnam to reduce demand in a selection of key illegal wildlife products. By taking both an internal and external approach to investigating the source strategies and cultural and external factors influencing framing of this emerging environmental movement in Vietnam, this study also illuminates the efficacy of current communication strategies and suggests ways to achieve improved outcomes combatting worldwide threats to wildlife.

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

“This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself”

Michael Scott Smith

.....

"Some of the images and other third party content in this thesis have been used under s41 of the Australian Copyright Act".

CONTENTS

The framing of rhino horn demand reduction by Vietnamese ENGOs: cultural and other factors influencing the “Responsibility” frame in ENGO media outputs	1
ABSTRACT	2
CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP	5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	10
CONTENTS	6
TABLES	8
IMAGES	9
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	10
1.1 Limitations	5
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1. Wildlife trade	7
2.2. Environmental NGOs	10
2.3. Framing theory and environmental communication	16
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	30
3.1 Introduction to methodology	30
3.2 Pilot study	32
3.3 Insights of pilot study	35
3.4 Press release sample selection	36
3.5. Key personnel sample selection	39
3.6. Expert sample selection	41

3.7. Limitations of the sample.....	42
3.8. Theoretical positioning of the methodology.....	43
3.9. Framing analysis.....	47
3.10. Conference attendance: interviews and event attendance.....	48
3.11 Interviews with experts.....	50
3.12. Interview analysis.....	50
3.13. Conclusion.....	52
CHAPTER 4: FOUR KEY FRAMES: CULTURAL AND OTHER INFLUENCES.....	53
4.1. Introducing the key frames.....	53
4.2. ENGO methods of communication and key messages.....	55
4.3 Four Frames in the press releases: Responsibility, Lip Service, Empower and Voodoo Wildlife Parts.....	59
4.3.1 Responsibility frame.....	61
4.3.2 Lip Service frame.....	62
4.3.3 Empower frame.....	65
4.3.4 Voodoo Wildlife Parts.....	66
4.4 Cultural factors of influence.....	68
4.5 Internal factors of influence.....	71
4.6 External factors of influence.....	75
CHAPTER 5: FRAME IN FOCUS: THE RESPONSIBILITY FRAME.....	80
5.1 Introducing the “Responsibility” frame.....	80
5.2 Responsibility frame sub-themes.....	81
5.3 Press releases and the Responsibility Frame.....	87

5.4 Uncovering influencing factors in the interviews and presentation.....	93
5.5 Efficacy of the “Responsibility” frame.....	108
5.6 Discussion and chapter conclusion	115
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	122
6.1. Four frames	122
6.2. Frame in focus: The “Responsibility” frame.....	127
6.3. The efficacy of connection and association versus evidence.....	129
6.4 ENGO routines.....	132
6.5 ENGO ideologies and cultural considerations.....	135
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	140

TABLES

Table 3.1 Change’s press releases in the pilot study sample with the dominant frames they contained	35
Table 3.2 Websites of ENGOs in the press release sample and number of press releases archived on the websites	39
Table 3.3 ENGO key personnel interviewees and citation	40
Table 3.4 Experts interviewed	41
Table 3.5 Outline of research methods	52
Table 4.1 ENGO campaign communication methods	58
Table 4.2. Table of key messages (Messages sourced from interviews and press releases)	59

Table 4.3. ENGO use of key dominant and competing frames in press releases	60
Table 4.4 Dominant and competing key frames in the press release sample.....	63
Table 4.5 Table of key generic frame types used by the ENGOs to reduce demand in Vietnam	66
Table 4.6. Cultural factors that potentially influence the framing process	69
Table 4.7 Internal factors that potentially influenced the framing process	74
Table 4.8 External factors that potentially influence the framing process	78
Table 5.1 Responsibility frame and sub-themes	86
Table 5.2 Appearance of “Responsibility” frame in ENGOs’ press releases	92
Table 6.1. Clash of ideologies between ENGOs and Vietnamese audiences	135

IMAGES

Image 5.1 (Traffic 2015). “30 of VCCI’s senior trainers received guidance on promoting wildlife protection through corporate social responsibility” (Traffic, 2015 15 June, caption)	83
Image 5.2. (Benson 2016). This image was used in a 2016 WildAid press release. Images of rhinos that appear in press releases in the sample often include a baby rhino, potentially as a framing device to enact the “Family Values” sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame. Image by Shannon Benson.....	92
Image 5.3. Traffic and WWF joint campaign to reduce demand for rhino horn (Traffic, WWF 2013).....	106
Image 5.4. Traffic’s Chi Campaign (Traffic2014).....	107

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With thanks to my principal supervisor Professor Mark Pearson for his supervision and support, helping me craft my proposal and for his adroit pragmatism at every step of the research; my associate supervisor Professor Stephen Stockwell for first suggesting I undertake research and his illuminating conversations and passion about the world of meaning. I'd like to thank them both for their visits while I was on sick leave with a broken back and for sticking with me as the research drew out for an extra year.

I'd like to thank my family for their interest, patience and support; Dr Robbie Mason for his calm head in all matters administrative; Dr Amanda Howell for battling for my original PhD proposal that gave way to this MAR; Tim Smith for unflagging moral support; Griffith for the opportunity, all the valuable workshops and the funding that helped send me to Hanoi; Dr Warwick Blood, Dr Hamish McLean and Dr Shane Gunster for their advice on framing and methodology; and Sharyn Casey for proofreading.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the news framing by Environmental Non-Government Organisations in Vietnam that are campaigning to reduce demand for rhino horn in that country. Unlike earlier research on news framing by environmental claim-makers as part of the frame-building process (Nisbet 2009, Cox 2010, Dirikx and Gelders 2009) this research focuses on the ENGOs operating to reduce the rhino horn aspect of the Illegal Wildlife Trade (IWT) in Vietnam. Firstly, using a framing analysis that exclusively focuses on the press releases archived on the websites of the seven ENGOs in the sample, I explored the news frames that appeared and coded them into four overarching framing categories. Secondly, I attended the November 2016 Hanoi IWT conference, where government and non-government organisation IWT stakeholders gathered, to interview key personnel of ENGOs working to reduce demand for rhino horn in Vietnam about how they worked. Thirdly, while in Vietnam I interviewed experts about the efficacy of the media work of the ENGOs with a focus on Vietnam media and the Vietnamese target public segments. Fourthly, using the data from the interviews with key personnel and experts I explored the influencing factors in the production of the news frames and the efficacy of the frames. In this introductory chapter, I provide some background about the IWT in rhino horn, the ENGO context in Vietnam, the theoretical framework and importance of the research and an explanation of my credentials with this topic in Vietnam.

Illegal Wildlife Trade (IWT) is a key factor driving the extinction of species (Broad 2003) and is one of the most lucrative illegal trades in the world (Wyler and Sheikh 2008; Prieksat 2009; Barber-Meyer 2010, cited in Ngoc and Wyatt 2013, p. 129) worth \$8-10 billion annually (UNODC 2014). Vietnam is a key consumer and transit country in the IWT with a great number of transnational IWT networks operating in the country (Ngo 2010, cited in Ngoc and Wyatt 2013, p. 130). There has been much

international media interest recently in the burgeoning transnational IWT in rhino horn between South Africa and Vietnam. Over the past decade, more than 7000 rhinos have been lost to poaching (Save the rhino: poaching statistics 2017). Their horns had been hacked off apparently to supply the key consumer markets in Vietnam or China. Conservation groups in both South Africa and Vietnam have been working to reduce supply and demand respectively. Three key international IWT conferences have been held in recent years to address the issue: London 2014, Kasane 2015 and Hanoi 2016.

Since rhino poaching began to escalate in 2007 a small number of Environmental Non-Government Organisations (ENGOS), some local some international, have worked in Vietnam to reduce demand, by lobbying the Vietnamese government to crack down on the trade and by running public campaigns to change consumer awareness and behaviour. The considerable body of knowledge about IWT issues internationally has grown over several decades. It consists often of scholarly articles and books with short sections that speculate on the roles that the media - and the media efforts of conservation groups - could play to mitigate IWT. Some authors have focussed on the IWT issue in Vietnam (Van Song 2008, Drury 2009), some have looked at it from a criminologist standpoint (Ngoc and Wyatt 2013), while some have examined the work of local ENGOS (Sumrall 2009) and international ENGOS (IENGOS). All have suggested the importance of media work, while Sumrall made strong recommendations for ENGOS to build relationships with journalists, which my findings show have occurred. Since the 1990s media and sociology researchers have developed an elaborate framework describing the media work of ENGOS, claims making and source strategies. News framing is a key area of interest for some of these scholars (Hansen 2011, Anderson 1991, 1997). Hansen (2011, p. 13) noted a gap in the research that mapped the careers of claims-makers. An interview done by DeLuca

(2009) with a Greenpeace media analyst and Lester's essay (2011) based on an interview with Sea Shepherd's founder shed some light on the media work of claim-makers. Some researchers have focused on the work of wildlife conservation groups and animal rights issues in Asia (Lin 2012). Surprisingly few scholarly articles have been published in peer reviewed journals analysing the media or the media work of ENGOs regarding IWT. Much of the literature available on framing and environmental communication to date has concentrated on climate change, but some recent articles are beginning to address the intersection between IWT, ENGOs and environmental communication (Duthie et al 2017; Jeffreys 2016; Truong et al 2016). However, there is little if any that also ties in news framing with the rhino horn trade and Vietnam.

To address this gap, this research investigates the news framing of media releases and related claim-making activities of seven ENGOs working in Vietnam to reduce demand for rhino horn in that country. By including most of the key ENGOs working in this area, the research provides a substantial picture of the media work that is occurring in this small specialised set of organisations. Important questions need to be clarified which form the basis of the research:

RQ1: What are the key frames relayed via ENGO media releases?

RQ2: What cultural and other factors are relevant in their production?

RQ3: How effective are the selected ENGOs' communication strategies in relaying those messages and frames in the eyes of experts in the field?

There are several merits for research into how ENGOs in Vietnam are addressing the demand issue. Firstly, demand continues in Vietnam and more recently in China to drive rhino poaching in South Africa. Secondly, there is still a need for government commitment in Vietnam to better enforcement and the stronger application of

penalties. Thirdly, Vietnam has a small young local ENGO sector that is campaigning alongside established international ENGOs to reduce consumer demand for the horn. These under-resourced ENGOs - unlike large, well-resourced PR agencies - have the extra challenge of pushing issues that the government, media and public potentially do not see as important. Additionally, environmental communications such as the media outputs of ENGOs in Vietnam are a key way that the public can learn about important environmental issues (Cox 2010), while the framing of issues and events that is communicated through such language and imagery (Lakoff 2010, p. 74) is an “unavoidable reality” (Nisbet 2009, p. 15) in public affairs communication practices. The framing has the potential to influence societal change (McCombs 2013) and “generate the level of public engagement required for policy action” (Nisbet 2009, p.14). Fourthly, Vietnam has distinct cultural aspects and possible journalism culture differences (Brossard et al 2004, in Hansen 2011) that warrant investigation in terms of framing (Hansen 2011).

To help address these issues, this research adopts a mixed internal and external approach (Anderson 1997, p. 34) and social constructionist perspective (Blumer, 1971; Schneider, 1985; Spector and Kitsuse 1973, cited in Hansen 2011, p. 9) to journalism studies by investigating source strategies and frame building at the claim making ENGO level (Snow and Benford 1992) and by looking at frames as dependant variables (Scheufele 1999), while adding a potentially new dimension to the externalist approach by giving important consideration to the sites and functions of frames (Entman 1993). Hence, following this chapter this thesis will first outline the relevant literature in the three areas of IWT, ENGOs and framing, source strategies and environmental communication in **Chapter 2**. In **Chapter 3** I will explain the methods used to investigate the frames and factors that influence them, including cultural factors, and the methods implemented to explore their efficacy.

The literature offers possible explanations which help inform the methods. **Chapter 4** will introduce the four key frames used by the ENGOs identified in the sample, the cultural and other influencing factors involved in their production and their efficacy in the eyes of experts. One of the four frames identified, the “Responsibility” frame will be examined in greater depth in **Chapter 5** the “Frame in focus” chapter. Because of the richness of the data and the limited space available for extended description and analysis in the context of this Masters Thesis, the detailed examination of the three remaining frames - “Lip Service”, “Empower” and “Voodoo Wildlife Parts” - will be the subject of future publications by the author. Finally, **Chapter 6** will conclude the thesis with a final development of the themes and findings that have emerged, while noting the limitations of research, recommendations for ENGOs and implications for further research.

1.1 Limitations

There were several possible limitations of this research. Firstly, since this research, which aims to illuminate the framing of press releases in Vietnam, is conducted by an English speaker with limited Vietnamese language skills, it is limited to the English press releases and communications of ENGOs in the sample. This carried the risk that important frames were overlooked. To address this, one local ENGO kindly translated a portion of their press releases from Vietnamese to English for my research. As was the case with the outputs from other ENGOs, the extent and meaning of their Vietnamese press releases was only partly clear. I sought to qualify the phenomenon with key personnel who relayed that while there were some differences between English and Vietnamese versions they were likely to be minor. This limitation concerning language differences also applied to the data from the semi-structured interviews with interviewees being a majority Vietnamese: key ENGO personnel (seven out of eleven) and experts (seven out of nine). Out of a total

14 Vietnamese interviewees, only one could not speak English, but his colleague, who translated, was a competent English speaker. The issue of interviewees with English as a second language was mitigated to an extent by my cross-cultural experience working in media for four years in Vietnam and some skills at speaking Vietnamese. Secondly, it was not possible to be certain that I had collected all the press releases archived on the respective ENGO websites for the sample. Thirdly, since the research is an exploration of source strategies (Anderson 1991) and claims-making activities (Solesbury 1976) it is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate the news framing in the Vietnamese and international media to provide a detailed examination of media effects. This presents important implications for further research which could possibly use Jim Macnamara's (2006) theories on measuring and evaluating public relations campaigns. However the interviews with experts shone some light on the potential efficacy within Vietnam of the news framing in the press releases. Fourthly, since this research is positioned in the scholarship on environmental communication and journalism with the aim to build on the theory in the news framing, source strategies and environmental claims-making, it does not purport to be expert in public relations or social marketing theories. And finally, because of the small sample size, the research is more suggestive than conclusive in its findings.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Despite the iconic nature of rhinoceros and Vietnam's alleged key role in the potential crisis for rhino species, little if any literature specifically addresses media representations of rhino horn IWT in Vietnam generally or the media work of pressure groups on the topic specifically. However, there are three major areas of review most relevant to my topic and the research questions which are wildlife trade, environmental NGOs and the use of framing theory in environmental communication explaining the sectionalisation of the literature review into those three major areas.

2.1. Wildlife trade

It is important to start with a basic survey of the literature around wildlife trade which gives some context to the situation around rhino horn usage and trade in Vietnam, a nation with an established wildlife trade in animals and domestic demand that is increasing in line with prosperity (Drury 2009). The south-east Asian nation has a history as both a IWT consumer country and as a transit country with an estimated total 3500 to 4000 tonnes of wild animals and wild animal parts per year (Van Song 2008). This includes an extensive IWT across the Chinese border in the north of the country of 2500kg to 3500kg daily (Van Song 2008), a fact that is discussed in **Chapter 5** for its significance to the "Responsibility" frame in ENGO media outputs. Governments, ENGOs and various stakeholders in Vietnam and South Africa, which are both signatory countries to the Convention of International Trade of Endangered Species (CITES), are trying to work together to reduce the illegal aspects of the trade. One aspect of the illegal wildlife trade is in rhino horn which is threatening African rhinoceros species with extinction. "The combination of increasing demand and high black-market prices for rhino horn in Asian markets has fuelled an escalation in rhino poaching since 2007, particularly in South Africa" (Ferreira, Pfab, Knight 2014, p. 1).

The two main approaches in recent decades to prevent rhinos being killed for their horns have been to regulate the trade and to protect rhinos in situ (Leader-Williams 2003). Anti-poaching programs are often funded by NGOs (Haas and Ferreira 2015, p. 1), private interests, or governments. Despite intensive anti-poaching efforts in Kruger National Park, which is the epicentre of rhino poaching in South Africa, the number of rhinos killed every day has increased (Haas and Ferreira 2015, p. 10) and was predicted to start reducing the population levels by 2016. Regulating the trade in order to provide a quota of the commodity legally is very contentious, however South Africa in 2017 legalised the sale of rhino horn within that country for that purpose. International trade is still banned. The third tactic to reduce the illegal trade in rhino horn is demand reduction in Vietnam (Milliken 2012), but according to Milliken and Shaw (2012) despite efforts of NGOs and governments the demand has escalated rather than slowed. Two key components of demand reduction that have been identified by the international NGO Traffic, one of the ENGO subjects of this research, are behaviour change and societal control (Burgess 2016).

Haas and Ferreira (2015, p. 11) argued all three tactics used to reduce the illegal rhino horn trade were in “conflict and competition” with transnational wildlife crime syndicates, which comprised three main groups – producers, supply chains and consumer retailers. Hence they argued the solution might lie with disrupting the syndicates. Schneider (2008, p. 291) argued that governments were reluctant to target illegal wildlife consumers as they are generally regarded as law abiding citizens, and also argued that in order to reduce demand the impact of their buying the illegal goods must be made known to them. This idea is relevant in the production of a key frame identified in this study, the “Responsibility” frame. The focus on consumers by ENGOs is theorised in Gunster’s (2011) research on climate communication but for different reasons. Gunster (2011) agreed with risk and hazard scholar Susan Cutter

(1993) and journalism sociology scholar Alison Anderson (1997) who argued that consumers were targeted because (as the famous sociology essayist Ulrich Beck (1992) argued in his seminal book “Risk Society”) the government authorities were not trusted to implement actions or did not care enough about the environment. Indications of enforcement efforts in Vietnam by the ENGOs in the sample support these views together with Schneider’s (2008) argument.

As a signatory to CITES, the Vietnamese government has promulgated laws prohibiting trade in animals and plants listed in CITES annexes including rhino horn. Punishments vary from fines of VND50 million (\$A2768) to VND500 million (\$A27680) to jail sentences up to three years (Truong et al 2016, p. 355). Trade and consumption is deemed to be high but few convictions have been made (Milliken and Shaw 2012). Most people arrested for rhino horn have been involved in transporting the horn, however an alleged syndicate kingpin was arrested Vietnam in April 2017, marking a “breakthrough” (*ENV Wildlife Crime Bulletin: Suspected leader of rhino horn network arrested in Hanoi 2017*) in enforcement efforts.

Milliken and Shaw (2012) through interviews and reviewing literature found the main groups using rhino horn were terminally ill patients, the well-off who used it as a health tonic, wealthy mothers who treated their children’s fevers with it, and those who used it for gifting to increase their social status, but admitted that despite their findings consumers remained a mystery. In 2016 a social marketing scholar published with two other authors the results of a 2014 survey of 608 males who were rhino horn end users based in Vietnam’s two biggest cities Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. The first survey of its kind found that the high price limited use to the wealthy who used it in social and professional networks for a sense of self and belonging to a status community (Truong et al 2016). Truong et al (2016) also found that just short of half of their sample had used rhino horn, a significant finding that is discussed in the

framing section on “Responsibility”. Anti-wildlife trade ENGO, Traffic, the client that commissioned the survey, initiated a new campaign targeting wealthy males with this psychographic as a result of the survey (Truong et al 2016). As Truong discussed the implications of the survey to Traffic’s “Chi” campaign, which was the subject of Traffic’s presentation that I recorded at the Hanoi IWT conference, this paper is very relevant to my research.

Drury (2009) conducted research in Vietnam’s capital, Hanoi, and found demand for wildlife medicine products was positively linked to the consumers’ age and education. The population surveyed displayed a utilitarian attitude towards wild animals while successful Vietnamese men in the nation’s capital had an especial liking for products from rare animals. Lee (cited in Broad et al 2003, p. 18) found, “Many traditional medicine consumers were motivated to avoid use of endangered species” but “a small proportion of consumers indicated they would use medicines containing endangered species despite the conservation implications.” Another aspect of the rhino horn trade is animal rights. Li and Davey’s (2013) China study suggested that animal rights issues in Vietnam were more economic than culturally derived.

2.2. Environmental NGOs

Given the thesis examines the communication strategies, processes and influencing factors of environmental non-government organisations (ENGOS) and their effectiveness, this section of the literature review introduces and positions the work of the most relevant research into ENGOS, their roles and approaches. Princen and Finger (1994, p. 16) defined environmental NGOs as, “non-profit groups whose primary mission is to reverse environmental degradation or promote sustainable forms of development, not to pursue the objectives of governmental or corporate

actors”. In their ground-breaking study of environmental pressure groups in Britain, Lowe and Goyder (1983) described the environmental movement as a “major social phenomenon” for its size and growth. According to Princen and Finger (1994) citizens alone or as unorganised units cannot be effective agents of change. Nor, they argued, are governments capable of responding effectively to environmental problems because of the dominant politics of maintaining power and managing economies, an unfortunate reality factoring in the framing process and a situation that interviewees in my study said was the case in Vietnam. Therefore, Princen and Finger suggested ENGOs were potentially the key actors needed to “assume that change, whether it be in the form of social learning or political transformation” (1994, p. 11).

ENGOs’ communications function to educate, raise awareness and organise public pressure on officials to stand by commitments (Princen and Finger 1994) but are most effective when they foster social learning to contribute to “learning our way out” particularly when they link local to global (Finger 1994, p. 65) while anticipating and adapting to changing conditions (Princen 1994a). Lowe and Goyder (1983) found ENGOs used media effectively to “take offensive” (p. 180) also finding that media was ENGOs’ “valuable ally” in challenging beliefs.

ENGOs have developed bargaining assets to achieve their goal and gain access to powerful actors (Princen 1994a), of which the Hanoi IWT conference proved to be a powerful example. A key asset is their capacity to gain media attention. Other assets include their transnational character, access to information, the capacity to reach constituencies, rally support, carry out research and perform heroic actions (Princen 1994a). ENGOs make themselves useful to government actors by doing valuable research and supplying it, offering to other actors “what those actors can’t do for themselves” (Princen 1994a, p. 37). Lowe and Goyder (1983, p. 178) argued that

when ENGOs gain access to formal negotiations with governments costs include a “certain loss of freedom” including showing “restraint in public behaviour”.

It is essential to position the role of ENGOs in the political and cultural landscape of Vietnam. The exertion of influence over politics and the media by ENGOs in socialist/communist Vietnam differs from the influence of ENGOs in the West as described by Princen and Finger (1994), however there have been increasing parallels since the move for *Đổi Mới* or “renovation” in the 1980s and the subsequent move to integrate Vietnam into the global economy. ENGOs leveraging on new concepts of corporate social responsibility in Vietnam is a clear example. Lowe and Goyder (1983, p. 181) argued “environmental groups are part of a wider social movement which has its origins in a major shift in values in society”. NGOs are a part of civil society in Vietnam. Workers unions and women’s committees have been active in Vietnam’s civil society as government organised NGOs since *Đổi Mới* in the 1980s (Thayer 2009, p. 2). In contrast to the democratic civil society systems that Princen and Finger (1994) described, Vietnam’s communist one-party political system exerts state and party control widely over organisations in the country (Thayer 2009).

By the mid-1990s a Vietnam government decree allowed community groups or “community based organisations” (CBOs) to form and have more say in community issues. When the gates opened for international NGOs (INGOs) to come into the country the INGOs developed a mandate to cooperate with these CBOs as though the CBOs were NGOs, which they technically weren’t because they were in fact “extensions of, if not agents of, the state” (Thayer 2009). INGOs in Vietnam including international ENGOs (IENGOs) came under the regulation of the Vietnam Union of Friendship Associations. CBOs have flourished by the thousands because of “the approach adopted by UN agencies, INGOs and foreign aid donors” (Thayer 2009, p. 7). The Vietnamese government which on one hand resisted the political

influence function of the NGO definition welcomed the international funding that the NGO definition brought (Thayer 2009). This cooperation and accompanying funding was enhanced through Vietnam becoming a signatory of treaties (Adams 2014) such as CITES, which in turn arguably enhanced ENGOs' "bargaining assets" (Princen 1994a). In addition, Vietnamese "NGOs" tended to work in league with government policy rather than resisting it, and also began performing tasks the party state was no longer performing (Wells-Dang 2012).

Vietnam is a member of the World Conservation Union (IUCN) through the Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment which includes the National Environmental Agency. Other key environmental organisations in Vietnam include the Center for Natural Resources and Environmental Studies (CRES) at Vietnam National University in Hanoi, the Institute of Ecological Economy, Vietnam Union of Science and Technology Associations (VUSTA) and World Wide Fund for Nature Indochina Program Office (Trzyna 2001). Vietnam is also a signatory of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) since 1994. Vietnam's law to ban the sale and possession of rhino horn is a consequence of it being a CITES signatory.

Since international integration and accession to the World Trade Organisation in 2007, NGOs have had a growing influence in Vietnam (Smith, 2008) with their main influence in the socio-economic area. Several non-governmental organisations are currently working to reduce the illegal wildlife trade in Vietnam (Sumrall 2009) particularly in a Web 2.0 context where they are generating much of their own material. The messages and framing present in the material is either consumed directly by social media audiences or is picked up by mainstream media and built into more traditional news formats.

Tang and Zhan (2008) in their study of environmental NGOs in China found that civic NGOs which are founded and run entirely by citizens have a varied effect on government because of restrictions. In particular they have strived not to be oppositional to the government although there were growing signs of actions that were oppositional in nature. Cooper (2006) took a similar view to Tang and Zhan of NGO's ability to influence government policy in China arguing that while they were hobbled by the political situation they were becoming more dynamic and effective in pressuring for political change. She argued environmental NGOs in China were at the forefront of civil society. Similarly, Thayer (2009) argued Vietnamese "NGOs" tended to work in league with government policy rather than resisting it. In Vietnam, Thayer (2009) argued that Vietnamese domestic "NGOs" and mass organisations were constrained and infiltrated by the state, making them arms of the state rather than instruments of the people. Potter's findings in Indonesia may be relevant in the Vietnam context. Potter (1996, p. 32) found that while environmental NGOs in Indonesia opposed Indonesian policies they were tolerated by the government because they channelled student opposition in acceptable ways and gave the government access to influential global NGO forums.

In addition, Tang and Zhan (2008) argued that while a growing middle class generally strengthened and supported the work of NGOs due to education and the middle class's interest in a better world, this was not the case in China. Chinese NGOs lacked solid societal support because the middle class did not wish to be seen to be oppositional to the policies of the government which had supported and allowed middle class wealth.

Mol (2009) claimed independent environmental NGOs in Vietnam had bleaker prospects than in China because of stricter registration and government control. A few international NGOs in Vietnam were only tolerated by the government if they

cooperated and did not oppose. Pressures for better environmental management in Vietnam mainly came from links to the international economies and international aid with only marginal influence from the global civil society. Mol's findings in 2009 have relevance to this research as, due to the immersive nature of the data collection, I was able to observe strong partnerships between Vietnamese and international NGOs in the IWT field and anecdotally observed a strong desire of international NGOs to partner with more local NGOs. While Vietnam has lagged behind China, a number of domestic environmental NGOs have emerged which have been able to build partnerships with the media. Mol (2009) discussed Vietnam's media and new media as also lagging behind China in terms of freedom. Journalists need to have their articles checked for sensitive information by their editors before publishing. Vietnam at the time of Mol's writing was still more restricted and regulated than China, although the difficulty to regulate internet and new media has put NGOs in Vietnam in more contact globally and afforded websites less restrictions than international pressure could have achieved in 10 years (Mol 2009).

Just a few years after Mol's (2009) research was published, Wells-Dang published a paper on China and Vietnam's civil society networks based on over 150 semi-structured interviews. Wells-Dang (2012) found that lobbying and social mobilisation in Vietnam tended to be non-political, particularly with sensitive environmental topics and was done through state owned newspapers, blogs and international media. Successful advocacy activities included workshops for government members and using academics as sources. Tactics such as using translations of similar issues occurring internationally adds legitimacy to the issue (Wells-Dang 2012, p. 48). Using the rhetoric of the state to hold it to account on its own laws is another strategy that has succeeded in Vietnam. The research demonstrated that NGO's advocacy should not be seen to threaten elites or their constituencies, rather subtlety

and a slow, gentle hand is needed. Wells-Dang (2012, p.53) concluded there was enough freedom for ENGOs in Vietnam to carry out their advocacy work.

2.3. Framing theory and environmental communication

This section expands on the last section which reviewed the literature relating to the civil society sector in Vietnam with an emphasis on their campaign and media work in the political context of Vietnam. It does so by reviewing the relevant literature on environmental communication and framing theory, with a focus on where those areas overlap. A large fraction of the literature on environmental communication and framing theory concerns Western democratic situations as opposed to the communist system in Vietnam. The political context of Vietnam's media is relevant to cultural and other factors that influence framing addressed in RQ2 and to the expert views of the efficacy of the framing addressed in RQ3, hence it is important to understand the type of media system that the ENGOs in Vietnam are trying to influence.

Media in a communist country like Vietnam has important differences to the libertarian model of media in Western democracies according to the four models of the press proposed by Siebert et al (1956). In contrast to the libertarian model that emphasises free speech, the fourth estate role and an individual's right to know, under the Soviet communist model the press is required to accomplish state objectives and not be critical of the state (Siebert et al 1956).

The previous section described that Vietnam's civil society model is also under more state control than in Western systems (Thayer 2009) but restrictions have eased as a part of economic reform (*Đổi Mới*) allowing an emerging environmental civil society (Sumrall 2009) similar to the emerging "green public sphere" in China (Yang and Calhoun 2013). Hence Vietnam's media and civil society conditions present unique challenges to an emerging ENGO sector that is campaigning against the illegal rhino

horn trade in a key consumer country. Yang and Calhoun (2013) argued that the NGOs in China “must heed the political context: the different types of media are subject to varying degrees of political control”. As framing grew out of scholars’ interest in the power of political communications, a brief description of the history of framing theory is useful to understand the significance of framing by social movements in general.

In 1974 Irving Goffman wrote his sociological study “Frame analysis” on how humans organised their experience. Goffman (1974) theorised that frames were the versions of the answer to the question “What is it that’s going on here?” but conceded that the number and variety of possible frames to a social experience were too many to comprehend. Therefore, he posited, to make sense of the world (p. 15) frames needed to be isolated and limited to perceptions that participants considered valid (p. 9), in accordance with principles of organisation that governed events (p. 11). These frameworks of understanding of social experience are rarely understood or need to be justified (Goffman 1974, p. 8) by the individuals who easily apply them. Fifty-two years earlier Walter Lippmann (1922) was credited with originating the idea of framing by arguing that the news media and not the physical world were responsible for our cognition of the world and the pictures that we created in our minds of it. In 1980 Todd Gitlin used Goffman and Lippmann’s social constructivist concepts of framing to discuss how the anti-Vietnam War movement was portrayed using frames by the movement itself and in the media. The pictures in our heads varied according to the different frames: one a picture of a radical crowd of militant protestors, the other a picture of a group of morally aware students advocating for world peace. The two different images of the same movement in the U.S. about the Vietnam War were framed for different reasons by groups with differing agendas and values. Gitlin’s case study of a movement illustrates the importance and purpose of a social

movement's framing of events and itself, especially when there is opposition that communicates conflicting frames in a framing contest. In terms of ENGOs in Vietnam, it is important to understand Gitlin's depiction of the framing contest that the US peace movement was involved in during the Vietnam War, because of the investigation of frames and the influences to ENGO framing aspect of RQ2. This research acknowledges the undoubtable existence of competing frames that conflict with the ENGO framing of the rhino horn trade in the Vietnam public sphere. For example, such frames assumedly appear in the online advertising of rhino horn in Vietnam, a trade which local ENGO WildAct highlighted in a 2016 media release that I will discuss in **Chapter 5** on the "Responsibility" frame. A limitation of this research is that I was not able to analyse these important competing frames because they were communicated in Vietnamese.

In my research, I have found framing theory to be a useful framework to interrogate the processes, factors and influences of the ENGO creation of media releases and campaign communications because framing theory directs the researcher to consider the attitudes and needs of everyone involved in the communication process. Such detailed considerations of factors and actors involved in an issue are conducive to effective public communication. "The concepts of "framing", "interpretive packages" and "cultural resonances" have provided productive – and often overlapping – frameworks for analysing environmental communication" (Hansen 2011). Entman's (1993) framing theories encompass four aspects of framing that form the theoretical framework of my research: frame functions; frame locations; framing devices and cultural resonances. Entman is much quoted on frame functions:

Framing essentially involves *selection* and *saliency*. To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral*

evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.
(Entman 1993, p. 52, emphasis in original).

Framing is sited within the communicator, the audience, the text and the culture (Entman 1993), hence this research's framing analysis of the text and discovery through the interviews of the attitudes of a wide range of stakeholders involved in the ENGOs communication practice and their understandings of culture. Entman (1993) argued that frames were a part of culture and the sum of all frames was the culture. Lakoff (2010 p 71) argued that "all thinking and talking involves framing" and "all of our knowledge makes use of frames and every word is defined through the frames it neutrally activates." The cultural aspect of framing is very important in the Vietnamese context because Lin (2012) noted the rules of communication etiquette varied culturally and for wildlife issues the values of animal rights and animal protection were Western values (Lin 2012) while Vietnamese culture had a utilitarian view of wildlife (Drury 2009).

Entman's synthesis of the body of framing theory at the time provides key categories for my framing analysis. For collective action frames Bedford and Snow (1992) added another important function useful to my research - a motivational frame "to urge others to act in concert to affect change" (2000, p. 615). They expanded on Entman's causality function to theorise "prognostic framing" which makes "attributions to who or what is to blame". This is relevant to my research in terms of accurately pointing the finger of responsibility in Vietnam.

deVreese (2005) noted that Entman provided some of the tools to discover which components of a text constituted a frame which I will discuss in the next chapter on Methodology. Entman (1993, p. 52) listed "the presence or absence of key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements." Lakoff (2010) also argued

that a single word can activate its defining frame. I will use Gamson and Modigliani's term "framing devices" for these specific constituent parts (cited in deVreese 2005, p.54) that enact frames. To be categorised, frames must have framing devices that are identifiable characteristics but the frames also need to be commonly observed and distinguishable from other frames (Cappella and Jamieson, cited in deVreese 2005, p. 54). Tankard (2001), provided a list of the "focal points" to analyse in a media text for framing devices: headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection and concluding paragraphs. Where relevant, it is important to also identify news values where they are significant in the media outputs, as deVreese (2005) stated that there can be an interplay between news values and frames. deVreese identified "generic" frames that are useful to analyse the frames that emerged in the sample. For example, the "Responsibility" frame that I identified is a version of a frame that deVreese classified as a generic frame.

Frame building (deVreese 2005, p. 52) and claims-making are a joint part of the communicative process that my research aims to investigate through identifying frames and key messages. An aspect of frame building refers to the factors that influence news frames (Benford and Snow 2000), hence the factors that influence frames in ENGO media outputs are a part of the frame building process. Scheufele (1999, p.109) argued that there were at least five factors that influenced news frames in that process which are important to answer RQ2. These are "social norms and values, organisational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines and ideological or political orientations of journalists (e.g., Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Tuchman, 1978)". "The frame building process is also influenced by a "continuous interaction between journalists and elites" (Gans 1979; Tuchman 1978, cited in deVreese 2005, p.52). These key influencing factors, which were adapted to apply to the ENGOs in the sample instead of to journalists as

Scheufele first intended, helped inform questions for the semi-structured interviews and will be discussed in the methodology and data analysis chapters.

Since news framing's inception as an area worthy of media and communication scholars' attention, scholars have investigated multiple aspects of framing in various contexts. Framing research has been conducted in the environmental communication context most extensively on the issue of climate change. Nisbet (2009) argued that reframing climate change can generate public opinion and policy action. But framing research regarding particular species as in my research into the framing of the rhino horn trade is a relatively new topic. Examples include a study into the risk framing of sharks on shark diving websites conducted jointly by marine and communications scholars (Gore et al 2011). Closely related to framing, Jeffrey (2016) gauged the efficacy of celebrity activism in China regarding shark fin soup and a WildAid campaign that used a former famous Chinese basketball player. She found a potential for a combination of celebrity and corporate activism to be a "significant force for social change in China" but "Western" models need refining for the Chinese context. The threat to wildlife, the illegal wildlife trade, that Jeffrey addressed and which is the topic addressed in the media outputs of the ENGOs in the sample for this research, is one of the contexts where there are gaps in the framing research. This research tends to support Jeffrey's findings regarding WildAid's campaigning while building on it by interviewing key WildAid personnel on the rhino horn campaign in Vietnam. Another aspect of environmental communication that has had some recent attention is the emerging activity of local ENGOs in Asia. Yang and Calhoun (2013) showed that "NGOs were the primary discourse-producing publics of the fledging green public sphere in China" responsible for new ways of talking about the environment and importantly in new spaces. Framing is an aspect of claims-making

of ENGOs so the literature on the source strategies and claims-making activities of environmental sources and ENGOs will be examined next.

In order to delineate key areas of research in environmental communication since the 1970s, Hansen noted:

... three main foci of communication research on media and environmental issues: the production/construction of media messages and public communications; the content/messages of media communication; and the impact of media and public communication on public/political understanding and action with regard to the environment. (2011, p.7)

My three research questions concern the three foci that Hansen identified with a focus on framing. The third foci which is the impact of such communications is addressed in RQ3 through interviews with experts but there are implications for further research potentially using public relations evaluation scholar Jim Macnamara's (2006) methods of gauging public relations impact on the media. Hansen (2015) suggested that it wasn't until the 1990s that the scholarship of environmental communication shifted away from simple journalistic terms such as balance and bias to encompass the broader discursive practices, social roles and dynamics in which my research is positioned. Anderson's 1991 article on source strategies and subsequent 1997 book *Media, culture and environment* was an important early contribution in such sociological studies of environmental communication. Anderson argued ENGOs need to work on improving their media strategies despite under-resourcing issues:

Although environmental pressure groups have much greater access to the media now, they need to be even more concerned about developing very clear strategies and about targeting different sections of the public in different media. And they need to be more selective about the material they send to the media... (Anderson 1991, p. 469).

The findings discussed in later chapters suggest Anderson's argument is still just as relevant 26 years later in the context of ENGOs in Vietnam. More recently Hutchins and Lester (2015, p. 337) investigated the "switching points" involved in "mediatised

environmental conflict”. They argued the mediatisation involved complex interactions between ENGOs, media, government and industry, a situation that seems to build on Scheufele’s influences (1999) and Entman’s framing sites (1993) and echoes the findings of my research.

Environmental communication literature identifies various frames that appear commonly in communications. Nisbet (2009) provided a useful typology of generic frames commonly used in environmental communication with clear definitions, of which Nisbet’s “Public Accountability” frame fits well with the key “Lip Service” frame in Vietnamese ENGO media outputs. Dirikx and Gelders (2009) identified “responsibility”, “consequence” and “conflict” frames in climate change reporting, of which “responsibility” and “consequence” describe the “Responsibility” frame that dominates a majority of the press releases in the sample. Through interviews of ENGO personnel and case studies including analysis of media texts Anderson (1991; 1997) demonstrated common frames in British ENGO’s media outputs such as “science”, “conflict”, “drama”, “law and order” and “deviance”, some of which are relevant to discuss in the Vietnamese context. The Vietnamese ENGOs featured the “science” frame persistently. I found Nisbet’s generic version “Scientific and technical uncertainty” provided an apt definition of the “science” frame. Anderson’s observation that images were also used as framing devices was also important in my methods.

Anderson outlined ENGO practices such as pledged support of famous personalities, using expert sources to discuss cause and effect (Corner and Richardson 1993, cited in Anderson 1997, p. 37), exploiting the media’s appetite for poignant events, providing research to gain legitimacy and the employment of novel and dramatic

stunts that comply with journalist's news values to command media attention (Greenberg cited in Anderson 1991, p. 469). The use of a range of these methods by the ENGOs is outlined briefly in Table 4.1 in **Chapter 4** to provide a better understanding of the context that framing is done in.

Anderson (1991) and Hansen (1993, p. 175) argued that ENGOs were tied to using scientific evidence to gain legitimacy. This is important to understand in terms of the efficacy aspect of RQ3, in the discussion of "Responsibility" frame and in discussions of the "Voodoo Wildlife Parts" (VWP) frame. Maibach (2010) and Nisbet (2009) found evidence that reframing issues as issues pertinent to the public can have positive effects when they suggested reframing climate change as a health issue has implications for public perceptions. My findings in **Chapter 5** show the ENGOs raised several issues or negative consequences of rhino horn IWT as sub-themes of the "Responsibility" frame that are pertinent to the public. Cox (2010) took pertinence further, suggesting better efficacy would come from "leveraging on contentious sites".

Anderson found different ENGOs had different approaches to media. She found that British ENGOs viewed national newspapers as the easiest and best targets for their media outputs (1991, p. 470). Anderson's findings, though dated, are still relevant in the context of ENGO's use of media releases in Vietnam. Despite a strong take up of social media and smart phones, Vietnam still has a strong newspaper reading culture and several national newspapers. Other findings that support my choice of ENGO press releases for the sample include Lester (2011, p. 126) referring to research that showed although ENGOs used new media they still hung on to old media logic and used new media to bypass old media or to gain old media attention. In 1976

Sachsman researched the relationship between environmental sources and journalists and found half of the articles published originated from source's press releases (cited in Hansen 2011, p. 11). Hansen (2011) built on more recent evidence to suggest that journalistic reliance on information subsidies from environmental groups has probably increased since the 1970s because of the increasing pressures and office based style of reporting work now. Lester (2007) approached the agenda setting issue from the social movement's perspective arguing they need the media to promote their frames while they compete for public attention with other groups. Lester (2007, p. 17) expanded on social movements' need for media access arguing that they need it to validate their existence to their members, the public and authorities. My findings also found that as well as newspapers Vietnamese ENGOs focus on television with Public Service Announcements (PSAs) suggesting a possible implication for further research.

The body of research into environmental claims-makers and source strategies includes several studies that were relevant to my research. Solesbury's (1976) seminal study on claims-making to keep environmental issues on the agenda theorised three tasks of effective ENGO campaigning that underlay much of the activity of the ENGOs in my research: commanding attention, claiming legitimacy and invoking action. Hansen (2015) suggested these tasks were useful tools when analysing an ENGO's communication practices. Overall, all three tasks were performed in the frames and messages in the media outputs of Vietnamese ENGOs. Solesbury (1976) found that achieving one task did not mean that NGOs achieved the others. An example is grassroots Vietnamese ENGOs' struggle for legitimacy with older target publics that was first raised in the semi-structured interview undertaken for the pilot study (T Tran 2016, pers comm, 2 July) and was raised again in subsequent interviews in Hanoi. It is important to understand the relevance of gaining

legitimacy in terms of the “Empowerment” frame that will be discussed in **Chapter 4**. Social marketing researcher Sally Paulin (2006) discussed empowerment as important in community engagement for sustainability. Hansen (1993) suggested a solution when he found that Greenpeace’s focus on the environmental problem and not on themselves was a factor in their legitimacy. This is pertinent to my research as some ENGOs found it more effective to remove branding from their campaign outputs. In 2011 Hansen noted the gaps in literature and called for the “careers of claim makers to be mapped to see how they “claim legitimacy” (2011, p. 13).

Recent claims-maker research from an internal perspective includes Lester’s essay based on an interview with the founder of anti-whaling ENGO Sea Shepherd, Paul Watson. Lester (2011) argued that media visibility was vital for the environmental pressure group bearing out her (2007) and Anderson’s (1997) earlier findings. Lester argued the media visibility of Watson’s Sea Shepherd was based on conflict and drama frames. Sea Shepherd avoided the theatre frames that Anderson (1997) and Hansen (1993) found in Greenpeace’s activities but balanced symbolism, real action and drama to command media attention. It is important to understand the significance of real action in the context of an ENGO acting in a socialist/communist government setting to answer RQ2, as government restrictions were an important external factor of influence in my findings. ENGO’s use of symbolism is pertinent in one of the four key frames identified in this study, “Voodoo Wildlife Frame”, which will be discussed briefly in **Chapter 4**. In another investigation into the claims-making processes of ENGOs, DeLuca (2009) interviewed Greenpeace organiser Soenke Lorenzen about the nature and purpose of Greenpeace’s environmental communications. Lorenzen’s responses displayed that her communication strategies were underpinned by scholarly theories, an observation worthy of discussion in the

Vietnamese ENGO context. This finding is relevant because it suggests that exploring scholarly literature is a part of the ENGO routine that influences framing, an influence that my data supports. The Greenpeace and other ENGOs' push for media outlets to publish "revolutionary" messages about climate change to invoke revolutionary change described by Lorenzen represents a shift in the communication strategies that Hansen and Anderson found in the 1990s and echoes Brulle's (2010) theories of a rhetorical communication mode that explicitly envisages a positive cultural shift. DeLuca's (2009) findings will be discussed in terms of young local Vietnamese ENGOs' use of the "Empower" frame in **Chapter 4**. In the interview with DeLuca, Lorenzen stated that Greenpeace and other ENGOs consistently conveyed a message about their specific solution to the climate crisis, similar to a solution-based framing strategy that a successful elephant NGO in Thailand used (Lin 2012). I will discuss this strategy in contrast to the tendency of Vietnamese ENGOs excluding branding from their media outputs in **Chapters 5 and 6**. Lin (2012) analysed the elephant ENGO's framing strategies using Benford and Snow's (2000) theory on diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing designed for social movement communications. The Greenpeace organiser also said Greenpeace had found strategic sites to leverage mobilisation on issues such as whaling, a strategy that Cox (2010) argued may result in behavioural change.

Gaining access to media is possible to map, but media effects scholars agree the effects of media on public opinion is muddy to map out but there is potential for impact. This research takes both an internal and external approach (Anderson 1997, p. 100) to framing research, so is not directly concerned with media effects. Rather the focus is primarily about what are the influencing factors in how ENGOs frame the issue. Interviews with experts then provide some indication of the effectiveness of their framing. It is important to understand media agenda setting because of the

efficacy aspect of RQ3. McCombs and Shaw's (1972) theories on agenda setting came from a discussion McCombs had in 1967 about whether the prominence of an event in the media influences its impact. Agenda setting theory describes the media's influence on what the public thinks about. McCombs expanded agenda setting to include public agenda, media agenda, political agenda and the "other agendas" that influence the media agenda such as agendas of sources and interest groups (McCombs 2013, p. 99).

There is a consensus among scholars that cultural considerations are vital in environmental framing research. Anderson (1997, p. 9) emphasised the importance of "local culture in framing public understandings of environmental issues". This is important to understand in terms of the cultural factor aspect of RQ2. Cox and Pezzullo (2016, p. 138) refer to research that shows how culture influences people's interpretations of information and sensitivity to environmental risks. Hansen and Linne (cited in Hansen 2011, p. 16) found strong differences in environmental reporting between different countries, which could be explained culturally while Brossard et al (cited in Hansen, 2011, p. 16) said such differences could be explained by different journalistic cultures. Nisbet and Newman suggested examining whether frames were "culturally consistent or antagonistic" (2015, p. 332). Collins (2013) argued the importance of not using vilifying frames for keeping environmental negotiations open while Lester (2014) posited that a weakness of transnational publics applying pressure to solve environmental problems is a lack of cultural understanding. But in Lester's 2016 investigation of conservation protests for the Great Barrier Reef she concluded transnational publics were possible thorns in the side of governments despite their weaknesses, but more research had to be done into their efficacy. Lakoff in his 2010 essay "Why it matters how we frame the environment" argued that the greater challenge of framing to protect the environment

is breaking down the entrenched salience of conservative culture. Lin (2012) found that a successful elephant ENGO in Thailand used a gradual “soft discrete approach in line with Thai culture” to express views or objections to local treatment of elephants. A culturally sensitive way is ascribed. “Not really so nice” was the strongest criticism that the locals permitted. The gentle strategy of communicating with locals starkly contrasted with the elephant ENGO’s campaigns overseas that won support and donations by highlighting the negatives and cruelty of Thai elephant handlers. My findings however showed to an extent that journalists in Vietnam were informed by international media. Hence ENGOs should possibly be consistent in their approach to local and international media.

There has been limited research into framing of the illegal wildlife trade. An example featuring illegal wildlife trade products was Jeffrey’s (2016) research into anti shark fin trade campaigns in Mainland China. In research on the framing of shark conservation that could suggest new frames of Vietnamese ENGOs, Hughes (2011) studied shark documentaries, arguing that by including humans and wildlife in the frame the creators of the documentaries were trying to convey the importance of humans participating in conservation.

As the literature review for this research is positioned with environmental communication looking at the campaign work of ENGOs in the social constructionist tradition from an overlapping internal and external approach (Anderson 1997), it does not aim to review the literature on public relations or social marketing which is quite extensive.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction to methodology

In this chapter, I will outline the methodology used to examine the news framing, the factors that influenced it and the efficacy of the news frames produced by ENGOs in Vietnam working to reduce demand for rhino horn. The methods were chosen that could best investigate the research questions:

RQ1: What are the key frames relayed via ENGO media releases?

RQ2: What cultural and other factors are relevant in their production?

RQ3: How effective are the selected ENGOs' communication strategies in relaying those messages and frames in the eyes of experts in the field?

Drawn from theory and methods from three key areas - news framing, source strategies and environmental communications - the research methods were used to identify the frames present in the English language press releases available on the websites of the seven ENGOs in the sample between 2014 and 2016 and to reveal and analyse the cultural and other factors influencing the frames as well as their efficacy. This chapter will firstly outline how the methodology is positioned and secondly will describe the core setting of the research and other key sources of data.

Hansen (2011 p 12) found that few studies have investigated environmental groups' claims-making activities, so my research took a mixed internal and external (Anderson 1997) approach and social constructivist approach (Blumer, 1971; Schneider, 1985; Spector and Kitsuse, 1973, cited in Hansen 2011, p. 9) to investigate the ENGOs' framing of a vital conservation issue – the rhino horn trade. Anderson observed that studies of environmental groups adopted internal and external approaches that often overlapped. Internal approaches investigated pressure groups'

decision making and public relations activities while external approaches considered the political factors that influenced these decisions and activities. Lowe and Goyder (1983) combined these two approaches successfully in one of the earliest research studies of the environmental movement. Constructivists argue that knowledge and meaning is created by the subject's interactions and epistemologically subjects create different meanings from the same phenomenon (Gray 2009, p.18). Therefore, the social constructivist approach which has been used to explore the connection between social movements and culture (for example, Gamson 1992; Gamson and Modigliani 1989, cited in Anderson 1997, p. 100) suited this investigation of framing which, by definition, concerns the importance or salience of an issue. With this research, I aimed to depart from popular terms of framing research involving media framing or the juncture between claims-makers and media (Sachsman, 1976; Lewis et al, 2008, cited in Hansen 2011, p.11), or the effect of media frames on the audience in regards to media effects. Instead my methodology took a social constructionist approach to media framing studies by first discovering what key frames were emerging from the respective campaigns of a small number of ENGOs working on this issue, then discovering what was going on in the activities and minds of claims-making ENGO staff in order to produce the frames and finally what assessment experts made of that work.

I used a mixed method approach using a qualitative framing analysis of the relevant press releases in English that were produced by the ENGOs and archived on their websites during the sample time period, with semi-structured interviews of ENGO staff who were involved with the production of media releases, which were carried out to understand the practices of creating meaning for the campaigns and to triangulate the data from the analysis of the ENGOs' press releases. Semi-structured interviews with experts were carried out to provide expert views of the efficacy of

media relations outputs and activities of the ENGOs in order to triangulate the data. deVreese (2005) stated that the study of framing building processes needs grounding in a measure of their effectiveness at gaining media exposure, so newspaper journalists and editors as experts were interviewed about the efficacy of ENGO media relations and news framing. This methodological framework has provided a rich description of the frames used in the ENGOs' efforts to reduce rhino horn consumption and trade, while also providing critical insights into factors affecting how and why those frames were produced.

3.2 Pilot study

It was decided to conduct a pilot study at the start of the research to gauge how successful the chosen methodology would be in the context of Vietnam. The initial method of data collection for a partial pilot study was to contact a prominent local Vietnamese ENGO working in Vietnam to reduce rhino horn demand that was willing to provide by email English translations of press releases that were only distributed in Vietnamese to Vietnamese journalists and media. The ENGO, called Change, provided 10 media releases outlined in Table 3.1, which focused on rhino horn from the 2014 to 2015 period, which I analysed using a framing analysis with a mixed inductive and deductive approach. I followed Blood et al's (2002, p.59) framing analysis method which used framing theory to identify framing devices in a news framing analysis of Australian newspaper reporting on mental health related issues. Framing devices included persistent inclusion, exclusion and emphasis (Gitlin 1980), placement of information and its prominence or repetition or association with culturally familiar language and symbols (Entman 1993, p. 53; Phalen and Algan 2001, p. 303). As images can be important framing devices for audiences to construct meaning, the analysis included photographs (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Gamson et al 1992) that were incorporated in the press releases. The pilot study sample of

media releases referred to in Table 3.1 provided some promising insights. The second part of the data collection practiced for the pilot study was to conduct a semi-structured interview with the ENGO's media relations person in English over Facebook Messenger as per the Ethical Clearance by Griffith University (Protocol 2015/719). Interviewing can be used in conjunction with other research techniques to explore issues further (Cohen and Manion, cited in Gray 2009, p.372)

The semi-structured interview method was used to qualitatively analyse "people's experience in context and the meanings they hold" (Holloway and Jefferson, 2008, p. 298). The method provided "elaborate data concerning respondents' opinions, values, motivations, recollections, experiences and feelings" (Wimmer and Dominick 2003, p. 139). The interview can change direction from the set questions which is useful in finding subjective interpretations of issues and events (Gray 2009, p. 373). One disadvantage of the method of data collection that Wimmer and Dominick (2003) noted is that generalisability can be difficult. The interview data was then analysed through a coding process to "make sense of the interview" (DeCuir-Gunby et al 2011) to reveal internal processes and influences on the frame building processes. Wells-Dang's (2012) paper on the workings of civil society networks in Vietnam was based on semi-structured interviews with NGO members. For the purpose of collecting data on the ENGO's process of specifically creating press releases, this semi-structured interview method of data collection in the pilot study had limitations because the interviewee tended to refer to the campaign broadly. This seemed to be because of several reasons including cross cultural communication limitations that made keeping questions and answers focused on exact topics difficult, as well as the interviewee's willingness to talk about factors that contributed to developing messages and frames for the campaign in general rather than just the press releases. I found this tendency to be across all the interviews in the sample. Despite the lack of

focus appearing to be a limitation, it wasn't really a limitation because the data collected was revealing about framing practices and influences which were relevant to many aspects of the ENGO's campaign. This was helpful because the analysis of the production of meaning in the press releases was chosen with the aim to provide insights into general campaign processes of creating messages and meaning rather than just the meanings of press releases.

Change press release headline	Date	Dateline	Dominant Frame
Stars urge Vietnamese to "stop using rhino horn"	3/4/14	Hanoi	Empower
Thu Minh and Thanh Bui take hard lessons from South Africa's poaching crisis back to campaign in Vietnam	16/4/14	Port Elizabeth, South Africa	Responsibility
Hollywood star Maggie Q urges Vietnamese to save rhino from extinction in "Stop using rhino horn" campaign	10/4/15	Hanoi	Responsibility
Hollywood star Maggie Q and the Vietnamese elite unite to save rhino from extinction	12/4/15	Ho Chi Minh City	Empower
30000 Vietnamese people sign to save the rhino	05/15	HCMC	Empower
"The call of the wild" – special art performance dedicated to rhinos	13/08/15	HCMC	Empower

“Understanding cancer” workshop – experts dispelling misconceptions about cancer treatment	20/08/15	Hanoi	Voodoo Wildlife Parts
Sir Richard Branson joins forces with Vietnamese business leaders to save rhinos	15/09/15	HCMC	Empower
Vietnamese youth stage funeral procession to protest rampant poaching, rhino horn trafficking	19/09/15	HCMC	Responsibility
Year-End gathering friends of the rhino	26/01/16	HCMC	Empower

Table 3.1: Change’s press releases in the pilot study sample with the dominant frames they contained

3.3 Insights of pilot study

The press releases in the pilot study sample revealed certain themes, that I later was able to classify into the key frames. I observed the press releases changed over the sample period in several ways, suggesting that Change was learning and progressively developing new strategies to reduce demand. The press releases in 2014 used celebrity messengers who “urge” Vietnamese consumers to stop using rhino horn because of the consequences for the rhino and because the belief in the horns magical powers was a misconception. This message developed later in the sample period into a call to “unite” or “join forces” with ambassadors of the Vietnamese elite who don’t use rhino horn. The changing themes and frames raised questions of what cultural or other factors were influencing the frames and what theories could apply in this case. Gunster (2011) argued that instead of telling people to stop a particular behaviour because it is wrong, a more successful approach involved telling them that

everyone is behaving in a more positive alternative way. Thus the framing analysis may have suggested that Change was taking a gentler, less direct, approach while narrowing the focus more accurately on who was using rhino horn from the Vietnamese public to elites. Change may potentially have focused on consumers because - as Gunster (2011), Cutter (1993) and Beck (1992) theorised - the public doesn't trust the government to act effectively on an environmental problem. Three main frames started to emerge in the pilot stage: the "Responsible" frame which was enacted by Change's message "When the buying stops the killing can too". The other frames that emerged were the "Empower" frame and "Voodoo Wildlife Parts" frame. The releases presented some legitimacy issues with claims like "World's largest campaign" and "over US\$11 million in donated media."

The analysis of the press releases and interview of a key personnel at Change confirmed firstly that my methods were effective; secondly that Change produced frames in its media outputs; and thirdly there were a variety of influencing factors involved. It specifically suggested to me the importance of cultural factors in the production of frames. I was then confident of proceeding with the methodology to investigate a larger sample.

3.4 Press release sample selection

The central methodology for the main study was a framing analysis of press releases in English by seven ENGOs, three of which were local while four were international, all working in Vietnam to reduce demand for rhino horn. The ENGOs in the sample met three criteria: they were prominent, having attended the conference, they had an office or a partner with an office in Vietnam, and they produced media outputs to address the rhino horn trade which were archived on their website. The entire pool of ENGOs from which the sample was chosen was quite small. To illustrate that my

sample represented a substantial portion of the ENGOs working in Vietnam on the rhino issue, on the eve of the Hanoi IWT conference 13 organisations working in IWT in Vietnam signed a joint statement (WildAct 2016). Five of the 13 worked in IWT, but not on the rhino issue, while one of them was not an ENGO. My sample included five of the remaining seven: ENV, Traffic, WildAct WCS and WWF and two more who attended the conference but weren't invited to sign the joint statement, Change and WildAid. The only ENGO in the sample that did not fulfil all the sample inclusion criteria was Change which was the first selected and used for the pilot study as a friend had introduced me to one of the Change staff. (Serendipity can be an acceptable subject and data selection process in qualitative research, as noted by Stebbins (2008, p. 815). Change only publishes media releases in Vietnamese on its website, but was happy to translate 10 of them and email them to me. Change however fitted the first and second criteria as it was at the Hanoi IWT conference and had an office in Vietnam. The mix of local Vietnamese ENGOs and international NGOs was chosen to garner a holistic picture of the ENGO landscape.

The sample of the press releases included those from seven ENGOs. The selection criteria for the press releases in the sample were:

- they were from ENGOs in the sample,
- they were archived on the ENGOs' websites in the media or news section,
- they had strong relevance to the illegal rhino horn trade in Vietnam which was signified by the prominent use of words such as "rhino" and "Vietnam" in key "focal points" of the document (Tankard 2001), and
- they were published between January 2014 and December 2016.

The three-year sample time period was justified in order to capture a large enough sample. The limited sample size was clear early at the pilot study stage when Change

provided 10 press releases for the 2014/2015 period. It should be noted that qualitative research is concerned more with the “richness of the data” than with the size of a sample, although it must be adequate enough to reach a point of “saturation” of categories or, in this case, justification for the selected frames (O’Reilly and Parker 2012).

To demonstrate some consistency over the sample time, the 2014-2016 period included all the international IWT conferences and three of the four years that rhino poaching statistics exceeded 1000 per year. To find media releases for the sample of each ENGO, searches were conducted in the ENGO’s search function of the website’s media section for key words “Vietnam” and “rhino”. A manual search of the press release section of each ENGO website was also conducted to capture the relevant press releases in the time period which the search engines failed to pick up. The Vietnam webpage of the ENGO was searched wherever possible. The number of press releases matching the criteria archived in each ENGO’s website is outlined in Table 3.2. The IENGO Traffic was the only IENGO that did not have a Vietnam webpage. WCS had an incomplete Vietnamese webpage so press releases were sourced from the WCS international homepage. While WWF had a Vietnamese webpage the search of media releases concerning Vietnam were the same as the WWF homepage search revealed. WWF and WCS have Vietnamese media officers based in Vietnam, who were emailed, but they did not reply, so a limitation is that my press release sample may be missing some locally targeted press releases that I may have been able to obtain through the ENGOs’ local media managers as I did in the pilot study. However, as I have explained, apart from being available in Vietnamese, it is unlikely the press releases would differ significantly from the international versions.

ENGO	Website	Number of press releases in sample
Change	http://www.changevn.org/	10
ENV	http://www.envietnam.org/	13
Wild Act	http://www.wildact-vn.org/	11
Wild Aid	http://www.wildaid.org/tags/vietnam http://www.wildaid.org/	14
Traffic	http://www.traffic.org/home	14
WWF	http://vietnam.panda.org/en/	10
WCS	https://programs.wcs.org/vietnam/Wildlife-Trade/Wildlife-trade-news.aspx https://www.wcs.org/	4

Table 3.2: Websites of ENGOs in the press release sample and number of press releases archived on the websites that fitted the sample criteria.

3.5. Key personnel sample selection

To answer RQ2, interviewees for the semi-structured interviews with key personnel were selected on the criteria that they worked for an ENGO working to reduce demand for rhino horn in Vietnam, or for an ENGO's partner organisation and had knowledge of the campaign. Table 3.3 list the selection of ENGO key personnel interviewed and the speakers at the Traffic presentation that I recorded. To avoid confusion with the ordering of Vietnamese names I have also included how they are cited.

Change Director - Hoang Thi Minh Hong. (H Hoang)

Change Media Relations Officer - Tung Nguyen Trang. (T Trang)

ENV Vice Director - Nguyen Thi Phuong Dung. (D Nguyen)

WildAid Managing Director - John Baker. (J Baker)

Traffic Director of Policy Traffic International - Sabrie Zain. (S Zain)

Traffic Consumer Behavioural Change Coordinator and Senior Program Officer -
Gayle Burgess. (G Burgess)

Traffic Vietnam representative - Trinh Nguyen. (T Nguyen)

Traffic partner Vietnam Chamber of Commerce (VCCI) - Le Thi Thu Thuy. (TTT
Le)

WCS Policy Coordinator -Duong Viet Hong. (H Duong)

Representative A

Representative B

Table 3.3. ENGO key personnel interviewees and citation (Note: interviewees have been de-identified where requested in accordance with the ethics protocol.)

I could not secure an interview with a personnel from a key ENGO, Traffic, who said they were too busy with the conference, however I recorded their presentation on rhino horn demand reduction in Vietnam, “Behaviour change to combat wildlife crime” at the Hanoi IWT conference. Three key Traffic personnel and a Traffic partner representative presented. They were introduced by a World Bank representative who is an advisor for the World Bank’s Global Wildlife Program. I included the three key Traffic personnel and the partner representative in the sample of key personnel. The transcript of the interview with the World Bank representative was included in the interviews with experts sample, which is outlined in Table 3.4

A limitation of the sample was that the respondents had varying levels of familiarity with the local campaign and media relations work at a local level. Questions in the semi-structured interviews centred on the processes of creating messages and frames for the campaign.

3.6. Expert sample selection

To answer RQ3 and provide qualitative evidence of the efficacy of the ENGOs frames and messages a sample of experts was interviewed. The sample selection was based on meeting one of three criteria: their expert experience of ENGOs operating to reduce demand for illegal wildlife products in Vietnam; their knowledge of the media in Vietnam; or their knowledge of the public relations sector in Vietnam. The interviewees are listed in Table 3.4. Five of the nine experts interviewed chose to remain anonymous. One expert, Jeremy Eppel, presented with Traffic at the conference. Six out of the sample were Vietnamese. The interviews were in a semi-structured format with questions that varied according to the interviewees' roles. Some interviews were done in person, some via Facebook Messenger. All were recorded and transcribed. The questions focused on the processes, factors and efficacy of ENGOs creating messages and frames in conjunction with the media.

Journalist A

Journalist B

Journalist C

Newspaper editor A

Green Viet Representative, Le Thi Trang (T Le)

International Organisation Worker A

World Bank representative, Jeremy Eppel (J Eppel)

PR agency partner in Vietnam, Fionn Geaney (F Geaney)

Vietnamese media academic, Hong Thu Vu (H Vu)

Table 3.4 Experts interviewed (Note: interviewees have been de-identified where requested in accordance with the ethics protocol.)

3.7. Limitations of the sample

Unfortunately, one of the local ENGOs – Change - only provided English language press releases for the first two years of the sample time but not for 2016, and WCS's local Vietnamese website was under construction so it was unclear what if any relevant WCS media releases could not be included in the sample. However, as it was the case with two other IENGOs in the sample with Vietnamese offices, it is likely that any missing Vietnamese press releases from either Change or WCS would have strongly resembled the international press releases archived on the corresponding IENGOs' homepage which for Change was their international partner WildAid. Fortunately, the findings emerging from the qualitative analysis were proving rich enough that it became clear that the qualitative analysis and its numerous coded categories would be sufficient to address the research questions, as advised by O'Reilly & Parker (2012).

A potential limitation of the press release sample is that only press releases in English were analysed. English language press releases are targeted at different audiences than Vietnamese press releases therefore could potentially contain different frames and messages. To gauge the extent of this difference several ENGOs were asked but all said that the English and Vietnamese press releases were similar.

An examination of the press release data over the collection period of the 2014-2016 period showed:

- There were initially 84 press releases included in the sample that were issued by the seven ENGOs in the sample archived on their websites related to rhino horn, this was reduced to 76 press releases after some were rejected, while some were added.

- The most frequent issuers of press releases were Traffic and WildAid, which issued 14 each over the period. ENV issued almost as many as Traffic over the collection period with 13.
- The fewest releases over the collection period were issued by WCS at four.

(A further limitation of the sample collection is that I cannot say with total certainty that more press releases were not issued as I only collected the press releases from those archived on the ENGOs' websites).

3.8. Theoretical positioning of the methodology

By taking a framing analysis qualitative approach, as in the following methodology examples, I aimed for more nuanced findings in my analysis of the press releases than a quantitative study. Julie Andsager (2000) examined how pro-choice and pro-life interest groups framed issues differently using a framing analysis identifying key rhetorical terms in the press releases and direct quotes “terms that were most indicative of the rhetoric employed by each group” (p583). Andsager’s framing analysis method was employed in my research to reveal the different frames that dominated various ENGOs’ press releases. Rhetorical terms and quotes were carefully noted. McLean and Power (2007) examined how the crisis frame was used in Australian media reports of government mismanagement of health, water and energy. Using a framing analysis to identify the frame, they ascertained if the word “crisis” was in the headline or lead paragraph of the news story. This was because in inverted pyramid Australian news style the most significant information is the first few lines, and “the headline itself is designed to draw attention and to identify an aspect of the story that is interesting to the consumer (Andrew, cited in McLean and Power 2007, p. 45). As the style of press release writing by Vietnamese ENGOs in English does not consistently follow inverted pyramid style, the analysis could not

focus as specifically as these studies did, but instead it took a broader approach to the text with extra attention on some aspects. Blood et al's (2002) revealing research on the media framing of mental illness in Australia used a qualitative approach grounded in Entman's framing theory to analyse mental illness news stories. They identified framing devices such as inclusion, exclusion, emphasis, placement of information and "prominence and repetition in association with culturally familiar language and symbols" (Entman 1993, p. 53; Algan 2001, p. 303 in Blood et al 2002, p. 62). Such a qualitative method enables more detailed investigations than purely quantitative analysis of framing, such as deVreese et al's research in 2001 that identified the different patterns in framing between different nations' coverage of an event of international significance, the launch of the Euro.

The framing analysis of the ENGOs' press releases was done through close reading (Degregorio 2009) and re-reading (Blood 2016, pers comm, 17 May) of hard copy printouts of media releases, paying attention to framing devices (Gamson and Modigliani 1989) and the focal points where framing most occurs (Tankard 2001). I used Entman's (1993, p. 52) four framing functions of "problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation" to help identify frames.

Using Entman's four functions, the cultural aspect of framing and the motivational task of framing for social movements (Benford and Snow 2000), an inductive and deductive approach was taken analysing the press releases. Open coding, while taking memos, began a process of reflexivity to refine the categories and their contents. This excerpt from a paper on thematic analysis summarises the process I used:

Analyzing text involves several tasks: (1) discovering themes and sub themes, (2) winnowing themes to a manageable few (i.e., deciding which themes are important in any project), (3) building hierarchies of

themes or code books, and (4) linking themes into theoretical models.
(Ryan and Bernard 2003, p. 85)

This was done using a traditional analogue approach to the analysis using different coloured markers for the analysis of the press releases in hard copy. The number of frame types that emerged was gradually reduced and refined to four main frames – “science”, “responsibility”, “lip service” and “empower”. The first three of these fitted with generic frames (deVreese 2005) I found in the literature. Only two press releases that concerned synthetic horns did not fit these categories so they were labelled “Other”. Only two press releases had a mix of frames, so they were labelled “Mixed”. Wherever press releases displayed a mix of frames where I could not recognise a dominant frame, they were categorised by the strongest frame in the mix by considering selection, exclusion and emphasis. In some cases my decision was debatable, which is a limitation. The persistence (Gitlin 1980) and commonly observed (Capella and Jamieson 1997) nature of the four frames will be discussed in **Chapter 4**. Framing devices for each of the categories were identified using key words, catch phrases, exemplars, depictions, metaphors and images (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). Words in most cases were given more importance than images in the coding of the frames, as words seemed more deliberately chosen to convey meaning whereas the image selection seemed for the purpose of providing an image. This tendency will be discussed further in **Chapter 5**.

By interviewing the claims-makers my aim was to “find out about people’s experiences in context and the meanings these hold” (Holloway and Jefferson 2008, p. 298) thus identifying influencing factors during the ENGOS’ process of creating framing and messaging in their media releases specifically and campaign generally. deVreese (2005, p. 52) listed organisational pressures and routines and elite discourse as influencing factors. Scheufele (1999) delineated between media frames as

dependent variables or independent variables. He posited that when NGO frames are studied as dependent variables we should ask what factors influence the way the issue is framed, how do those processes work and what are the frames and messages that the NGOs use? There are five influencing factors that Scheufele (1999) listed but I adapted the factors for ENGOs: social norms and values, organisational pressures and constraints, pressures of other interest groups, routines of staff responsible for media and campaign outputs and their ideological or political ideologies.

In order to shed some light on some influences that ENGOs potentially should be considering, concerning the sites of frame (Entman 1993), the audience, the communicator and the culture, the interviewees were asked for their own views concerning aspects of the rhino horn trade and for their opinion on the views of their target audiences including journalists. ENGO media relations staff were also asked about their understanding of relevant Vietnamese culture as these individual and cultural frames can affect the way individuals and society interpret and process information (Gamson 1985, Scheufele 1999). In their processing of media frames individuals “integrate pre-existing interpretations forged through personal experience partisanship, ideology, social identity or conversations with others” (Feree et al 2002; Price et al 2005, cited in Nisbet 2009, p. 17). The data required a mix of deductive and inductive coding.

The chosen methodology is supported by 7 years experience as a journalist reporting on the rhino horn trade in Vietnamese media and work as a subeditor for English language newspapers in Ho Chi Minh City for four years, as well as various involvements in a communication role with several NGOs in Vietnam including ENGOs. Importantly, my experience and prior knowledge of the Vietnamese media and civil society landscape and practices were valuable in grounding the analysis of the press releases and interviews.

3.9. Framing analysis

Once the pilot study was found successful at revealing messages, frames and the nuances of the frame building process in the Vietnam IWT context and I had attended the Hanoi IWT Conference, I began to collect the sample of the press releases of the other six ENGOs regarding rhino horn posted in the years 2014, 2015, and 2016 that were available on their respective websites. Searches of the media section of the websites were conducted with the terms “rhino” and “rhino horn” and press releases were included in the sample if rhino horn was a prominent topic in the media release. I chose the three-year time period in order to collect at least 10 press releases from each ENGO. A framing analysis grounded in framing theory was then conducted of the press releases to identify the frames present.

There are several limitations of using media releases in English as the sample for this research into ENGO framing. Firstly, the “old” and “new” rules of press releases” are different due to the advent of Web 2.0 technologies and social media allowing ENGOs to communicate directly with their publics, bypassing the media (Scott 2007, 2008, cited in Wright & Hinson 2008, p. 2). Media relations is now complimented by social media as an important way to reach the public (Wright & Hinson 2008).

However, the literature suggests that media releases provide a good indication of the “logics” of media outputs in general (Lester 2011, p.126). An implication of this limitation would suggest further research into the framing of social media and Web 2.0 outputs. Secondly, English media releases may differ from the Vietnamese language media releases for several reasons, including the fact that they cater for different target publics and because they potentially undergo different processes to create. However, interviewees indicated only minor differences. The pilot study supported this similarity.

As already mentioned, a limitation of the framing analysis of the press releases was the potential for diverse subject matter over the three year sample. Framing researchers tend to select samples that relate to a specific event (W Blood 2016, pers comm, 17 May), but the sample size was not conducive to this. To reduce this limitation, I referred to the most theoretically revealing press releases in the writing up of results, such as Blood et al (2002) did to allow for more nuanced analysis.

3.10. Conference attendance: interviews and event attendance

Following the pilot study, I approached Traffic, a key IENGO working in IWT, by email for an interview. Traffic has a central role in efforts in Vietnam and globally to reduce IWT generally and in rhino horn specifically. After several reply emails and referrals to the appropriate personnel from the ENGO they said they were busy preparing for two major conferences and didn't have time for the interview. I notified my supervisors of the potential difficulties that the conferences posed, including the IWT conference in Hanoi, regarding getting interviews with ENGOs working in Vietnam in the illegal wildlife trade sector (as per the ethical clearance GU Ref No: 2015/719, which specified interviews by phone or online). My supervisors recommended that I attend the conference and conduct the interviews in person because all the people that I needed to talk to would be in one place. It would also give them a chance to know who I was and allow me to develop a presence as a researcher in the Illegal wildlife trade field. An ethics variation was applied for and approved.

Attending the conference was a practical and successful strategy as I was able to network and meet the people who were involved in the message and frame creation for their respective campaigns and interview a selection of ENGO staff and experts, at the conference who are included in Tables 3.3 and 3.4. By meeting in person, the

interviews were richer than had they been done online because I was able to engage better and observe body language, plus I was able to see first-hand the dynamics among ENGOs and stakeholders at the conference and make field notes. The interviews were timed relatively closely, allowing me to get a feel for the material while organically developing the interview process. A disadvantage of doing all the interviews in a short space of time was that the interviews were more general in nature rather than specifically referring to the respective ENGO press releases that were archived on their websites. I had to take opportunities for interviews as they came so there was little time to prepare specific questions.

In addition to conducting interviews, I was able to attend and record a presentation about the behaviour change campaign targeting rhino horn consumers of the ENGO, Traffic. The presentation included three ENGO personnel connected to the campaign, a representative of the World Bank's Global Wildlife Program and a local partner. The presentation was open to the media. This was of great value to my data and another advantage to attending the conference. The recordings from the presentation were added to the recordings of five ENGO staff interviews and two interviews with experts conducted at the conference. The Director of Change, Hoang Thi Minh Hong, was interviewed a few days later at the Change office in Ho Chi Minh City, where I was given a tour of the office and introduced to staff. The Change staff was working on a major event which I also attended on 24 November. Adding to my experience of attending the conference, the experience with Change was invaluable at understanding the workings of a local ENGO in Vietnam and seeing the positive way Vietnamese youth, the public and journalists interacted with the campaign activities at the event.

Once I returned to Australia, I transcribed all the interviews for inclusion in the data collection. Two of the seven ENGO personnel interviewed in the sample did not want

to be identified so I called them Representative A and B. There were some limitations concerning the anonymity. In some cases interview quotes were not attributed to further conceal the interviewee's identity.

In some cases, follow up interviews were conducted online from Australia to clarify some points. The follow up interviews were conducted by email or FB Messenger as per the ethics clearance.

3.11 Interviews with experts

In HCMC I was able to use my Vietnamese contacts from working in media there for four years to gain interviews with experts to explore the efficacy of the ENGOs media work. I interviewed three Vietnamese journalists, a Vietnamese newspaper editor and a PR agency co-owner. The expert interviews provided data that could be triangulated with the ENGO interviews. Following the interviews several respondents were re-contacted by email for clarification on some points and a further interviewee, a media academic, was interviewed online for further clarification about cultural issues. Six of the eight experts did not want to be identified so I called them Journalists A, B and C, Newspaper Editor A, Media Academic A, International Organisation Worker A, ENGO Media Relations Expert A. As with the de-identified ENGO personnel the anonymity caused some limitations.

3.12. Interview analysis

Once the interviews were recorded they were uploaded to NVivo and transcribed. Transcription of some of the Vietnamese respondents was relatively straightforward given that I have lived there for four years and worked in communication settings, however some words or tracts could not be understood and were left out which is a small limitation of the research. The transcriptions were coded deductively and inductively into three main types of categories to answer RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3,

namely frames, influences and efficacy. The categories could be triangulated with the analysis of the press releases. The analysis was grounded in framing theory to identify patterns in the interviews regarding the respondents' subjective interpretation of the messages and frames and frame building processes, culture and ENGO environment in Vietnam. The coding process was done in two stages. Firstly, during the transcription of the interviews in NVivo I kept a notebook of timecoded comments in the transcription that corresponded to existing and emerging coding categories. Coding in NVivo during transcription of the audio slowed NVivo's word processing function down too much to allow simultaneous coding and transcription, which is why written notes were kept. Once the interviews were transcribed, the transcriptions were then copied into Word documents and imported into a folder in NVivo's sources and recoded in an iterative process going between the notes and the transcriptions thus allowing for more data to be coded and for coding choices to be reviewed. It was common to code excerpts of the interview transcripts into several coding categories, helping to find themes among the concepts following analysis procedures recommended by Ryan and Bernard (2003). During analysis and writing the coding was continually reviewed. Once key frames and influencing themes were identified in consultation with my supervisors to ensure the frames were representative (Capella and Jamieson 1997), I wrote memos of how the codes were grouped thematically. As I was the only coder the coding has limitations as it could not be subjected to cross-coder verification procedures. However, by conferring with my supervisors and occasional calls to scholars in framing and media relations I sought to partially remedy this.

In summary, the method followed for this research project included the steps outlined in Table 3.5:

Design of project

Ethical clearances
Preliminary sample selection for pilot study
Pilot study: Framing analysis of ENGO press releases and single preliminary semi-structured interview
Documentation of lessons from pilot study and amendment of interview format
Interviews at IWT conference in Vietnam with ENGO representatives, media and IWT experts
Transcription of interviews followed by qualitative data analysis of transcripts using qualitative software NVivo for interview transcripts and a traditional analogue approach using coloured markers for the analysis of press releases in hard copy

Table 3.5 Outline of research methods

3.13. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined in detail the methods I used to explore the framing of the rhino horn trade in Vietnam by seven ENGOs in their media outputs. By triangulating the three methods used: firstly a framing analysis using framing theory to identify the key frames in the press releases; secondly semi structured interviews of key ENGO personnel to explore the influencing factors of the frame production and then interviews with experts to shed light on the efficacy of the frames and; thirdly a thematic analysis of both sets of interview transcripts to identify the key themes that emerged; I have gained a rich set of data with which to answer the three research questions.

The next chapter outlines the four frames that emerged from the data, discusses their efficacy in the eyes of experts and presents summaries in table form of the cultural and other factors that influenced their production that emerged from the data using the methodologies which I have described.

CHAPTER 4: FOUR KEY FRAMES: CULTURAL AND OTHER INFLUENCES

4.1. Introducing the key frames

In **Chapter 4**, I will introduce the four key frames: “Responsibility”, “Lip Service”, “Empower” and “Voodoo Wildlife Parts”, that emerged from the analysis of the data to address RQ1 and discuss the cultural and other factors that influenced the production of the frames by the ENGOs to answer RQ2 and their efficacy in the eyes of experts to address RQ3. Frames in the seven ENGOs’ campaigns to reduce demand for rhino horn follow one of two tracks. They were either used for the societal control track of demand reduction (Burgess 2016), to influence the government to improve enforcement of laws against the trade and consumption of rhino horn, or for the behaviour change track (Burgess 2016) to influence public opinion to change the behaviour of rhino horn users. I will discuss each frame in its own section, beginning with a definition of the frame as it appeared in the press releases and explain how it was judged to be a frame. Then, to address RQ2, I will use tables to introduce the cultural and other factors, both external and internal (Scheufele 1999) that emerged from the interviews with key personnel that have influenced the ENGO production of all the frames. I will also discuss their efficacy in the eyes of experts to answer RQ3.

Because of the richness of the data and the word limitations for this Masters Thesis, following the introduction to the four frames in **Chapter 4**, **Chapter 5** will be a “Frame in focus’ chapter where I will focus on one key frame – the “Responsibility” frame. Thus **Chapter 5** will answer RQs 1, 2 and 3 in more detail by examining the “Responsibility” frame in depth in terms of the framing analysis that was conducted of the press releases, the semi-structured interviews, and discussions of the relevant theory to clearly identify how the frame appeared in the

press releases (RQ1), what factors influenced it according to key personnel (RQ2) and how effective the frame was in the eyes of experts (RQ3).

There is little in the scholarly literature about the framing of the illegal wildlife trade. Hansen (2011) noted insufficient attention has been given to research in the source strategies area of environmental communication and this applies doubly on the processes and cultural and other influences and the efficacy of frames in the production of frames by ENGOs in Vietnam working in the illegal wildlife trade sector. Hence this research fills an important gap regarding environmental communications and framing with respect to both the international issue of the illegal wildlife trade and the illegal wildlife trade in the selected and highly significant country of Vietnam.

The key frames identified by the research addressing this gap are:

1. Voodoo Wildlife Parts (VWP),
2. Responsibility,
3. Empower, and
4. Lip Service

As the aim of **Chapter 4** is to provide a clear but brief account of the results responding to the research questions about the four frames, I have organised the sections of this chapter firstly to identify the four key frames and address their efficacy to answer RQ1 and RQ3 and then the cultural and other internal and external factors that influenced the production of the frames to answer RQ2. But first I will identify the methods that the ENGOs used to communicate their key messages and frames.

4.2. ENGO methods of communication and key messages

The original research questions aimed to also investigate the methods of communication - both online and traditional - and messages that the ENGOs used. I found, however, that the methods and messages were very diverse and numerous, limiting their usefulness in relation to the main purpose of my research, which was to investigate the frames in the press releases, the influences in their production and their efficacy. In order to focus on the purpose of the research, I removed those references to the ENGO methods and messages from the research questions, but have included these tables here to include a summary of the data I collected in the interviews and press releases to compliment the key purpose of this research. Hence, I created Table 4.1 that lists the Web 2.0 and other methods by which ENGOs in the sample relayed their messages. The two columns are important to consider as Mol (2009, p. 125) found that the difficulty to regulate new media has afforded ENGO's less restrictions in a socialist/communist country than international pressure could have achieved in "10 years". Table 4.2 lists the ENGOs' key messages that emerged from the data and key personnel in their discussion on framing. The tables are meant to be indicative and not necessarily a comprehensive representation.

ENGO	Web 2.0 methods	Other methods
Change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PSAs (Youtube) - Press releases emailed in Vietnamese only - Facebook - Website 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seminars, workshops - TCM ambassadors - Cancer patient speakers
Traffic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International website - Chi microsite - Online Press releases on Website - Toolkit: Changewildlifeconsumers.org - Email - Demand Reduction Newsletter (Behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CSR workshops with VCCI - CSR Corporate Champions/peer leaders - Training of CSR trainers

	<p>Change Community of Practice)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youtube 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - IWT CSR messaging on participant company websites - Airport billboards - Billboard - Posters - Banners - TV - Word of mouth - Transport and logistics training - Outreach to different sectors such as e-commerce, - Traditional medicine workshops, Centre for Women Improvement Group, - TM guidebooks and brochures - Lectures at TM universities - Classes and games at schools - Trainer capacity training
ENV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PSAs – Youtube and Website - Twitter - Facebook - Facebook Wildlife Crime Hotline - Wildlife Crime Bulletin – emailed to subscribers - Wildlife Crime Report Cards – available in the news/resources menu on the website 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Journalist junkets to SA - PSAs on radio and TV - Radio programme - Toll free Wildlife Crime Hotline - Visiting schools - Journalist Café chat Posters - Advertisements in newspapers and public buses - Stalls at shopping malls, supermarkets, parks and universities

WCS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Facebook - Youtube (Video of government destruction of rhino horn and ivory stock) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training workshops for media, - Training workshops for enforcement officers - Lobbying to strengthen law enforcement efforts
Change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social media - 2 Facebook pages - Websites - Games and videos and quiz on Facebook to attract young people to events - Youtube PSAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mainstream media - Out of home media (Videos on screens in cafes such as Highlands Cafes) - Scientific study on similarity to hair - Press conferences - Music events – “Call of the Wild” (with WildAid) with performances, activities, games, dancing, petitions - Campaigns: Stop using rhino horn campaign, Nail Art for Rhino (2015) - Street actions: Funeral procession “Back to Dust and Sand” (2015) - Social gatherings with activities - TV PSAs
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Website and archive of press releases - Social media - Social media influencers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Celebrities
WildAct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Twitter - Facebook - Website in Vietnamese wildaidvietnam.org/cuuttegiac 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hospital talks with modern doctor with brochures (No logo)

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training doctors to carry message in hospital rounds - Charts, graphics, cartoons for young people - Science journal articles translated into Vietnamese and simplified - Work with journalists to edit press releases - Youth delegations to South Africa - Youth ambassadors - Youth presentations at schools and universities
WildAid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social media campaigns - Website - Online archive of press releases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Business outreach - Health outreach - Religion outreach - Shows and programs with media partners - Ambassador actions - Strengthening law enforcement efforts - Press conferences - Meetings with government officials

Table 4.1. ENGO campaign communication methods (Information on methods was sourced from interviews and press releases)

ENGO	Key Messages
Traffic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chi – gain prosperity through inner strength – invite hardship using rhino horn - Strength of will - Fingernail - Character comes from within - Masculinity comes from within
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Success comes from skills not from rhino horn - Same as fingernails, no benefits to it - Decimating rhino populations in Africa - Increased use for status

WCS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Health issues with consuming wildlife products - Wildlife crime is serious - WCS cooperates with police to make arrests and crackdowns - Statistics on the online trade - Statistics on the wildlife trade - Vietnamese government is taking efforts in combatting wildlife crime - Training in workshops - Agreements and crackdowns - IWT affects communities and livelihoods - Students should set up environmental clubs at universities
WildAid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nail Biters Campaign – Using rhino horn is the same as biting your own nails - If the buying stops the killing can too - Smart people don't use rhino horn (Smart campaign with comedian)
Change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rhino horn is like fingernails, - When the buying stops the killing can too - Many rhino horns being sold are fake
WildAct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If you have cancer or any type of serious sickness go to the hospital and get treatment from the hospital and do what the doctor tells you to do. - Getting treated with rhino horn for cancer reduces your chance of survival because it is delaying effective treatment Rhino horn is not a medicine and it can't cure any disease - You can see wildlife now, but if you want to see it in the next ten years you need to convince your parents to not use wildlife products
ENV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “You are a smart consumer because you use BMW and you don't use rhino horn” - “Exercise makes you healthier not the rhino horn” - “Rhino are our friends” (for kids) - “Rhino is neither a status symbol nor medicine”.

Table 4.2. Table of key messages (Messages emerged from interviews and press releases)

4.3 Four Frames in the press releases: Responsibility, Lip Service, Empower and Voodoo Wildlife Parts

This section will discuss the four frames that emerged out of the data to answer RQ1. Using framing analysis based on framing theory (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Tankard 2001; Blood et al 2002; Capella and Jamieson 1997) I identified

four key frames in the sample of press releases. The prevalence of the frames in both dominant and competing forms in the press releases of respective ENGOs is illustrated in Table 4.3, while their prevalence in the sample overall is illustrated in Table 4.4.

ENGO (Total of 7 ENGOs with 76 press releases in total)	Key Frames (number of press releases dominated by frame, followed by the number of press releases with frame as competing)
Traffic (14 press releases)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibility 2, 6 - Empower 0, 2 - Lip Service 6, 3 - VWP 6, 5
WWF (10 press releases)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibility 1, 5 - Empower 0, 6 - Lip Service 9, 1 - VWP 0, 0
WCS (4 press releases)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibility 1, 1 - Empower 0, 2 - Lip Service 3, 0 - VWP 0, 0
WildAid (14 press releases)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibility 5, 6 - Empower 2, 6 - Lip Service 1, 4 - VWP 3, 12 - Other 2 - Mix 1
Change (10 press releases)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibility 3, 5 - Empower 6, 4 - Lip Service 0, 1 - VWP 1, 8
WildAct (11 press releases)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibility 3, 5 - Empower 3, 3 - Lip Service 1, 2 - VWP 3, 2 - Mix 1
ENV (13 press releases)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibility 7, 2 - Empower 3, 7 - Lip Service 2, 4 - VWP 1, 5

Table 4.3. ENGO use of key dominant and competing frames in press releases

Frame	Dominant	Competing	Total
--------------	-----------------	------------------	--------------

Responsibility	22	30	52
Lip Service	22	15	37
Empower	14	30	44
Voodoo Wildlife Parts	14	32	46

Table 4.4 Total of dominant and competing key frames in the press release sample.

I will now discuss each frame starting with the “Responsibility” frame, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 so this description will be briefer than with the other frames.

4.3.1 Responsibility frame

For anyone familiar with media stories about the rhino horn trade, the “Responsibility” frame that emerged from the framing analysis of the press releases was an easily recognisable frame. In the press releases the frame was often enacted by information common in media stories about the crisis facing South Africa’s rhino population and the brutal nature of rhino poaching. I found the frame had seven sub-themes that either described the consequences of demand in Vietnam for rhinos in South Africa or for people in Vietnam. These included “crisis”, “brutality”, “corporate social responsibility”, “national reputation”, “spiritual responsibility”, “family values” and “health”. The ENGOS used the frame for the “behaviour change” track (Burgess 2016) of demand reduction to influence public opinion to change the behaviour of rhino horn buyers or users, however, as I will discuss in **Chapter 5**, it has important ramifications for the “societal control” track (Burgess 2016) as it was sometimes used in conjunction with the “Lip Service” frame. The “Responsibility” frame fits the generic “Attribution of responsibility” frame, in which responsibility for the cause or solution is “placed on political authorities, individuals or groups” (Dirikx and Gelders 2009). This frame also comprises a second generic frame of “Consequence” that is commonly used in unison with “Attribution of

responsibility” that conveys how the issue is affecting people (Dirikx and Gelders 2009) and rhinos. The frame performs a key causality function but also problem definition and moral evaluation (Entman 1993). Earlier in the rhino poaching crisis the media had often compared the high price of rhino horn with the price of gold or cocaine, for example (Braithwaite 2016). This metaphor had also enacted the “Responsibility” frame. References to the high price, however, were excluded by ENGOs in Vietnam from the press releases in the sample, because ENGOs had apparently recognised that communicating the high value of the horn was counter effective to reducing demand prior to 2014 at the start of the sample time frame. This was the case with other aspects of the frame. Like information about the high price, the ENGOs also realised that information that suggested rarity was also counter effective because Vietnamese culture highly values the consumption of wildlife that is rare (Drury 2009) as discussed in Table 4.6 on cultural factors. These and other cultural influences of the “Responsibility” frame were part of the findings of my research (See Table 4.6 and Table 5.1) which with other findings to answer the research questions will be discussed in **Chapter 5**.

4.3.2 Lip Service frame

The second frame that emerged from the data to be discussed here is the “Lip Service” frame. This frame appeared in press releases which tended to call on the Vietnam government to act on its commitments to enforce the laws it has promulgated on the illegal wildlife trade. This excerpt from a WWF press release illustrates the frame’s meaning well:

Vietnam’s decision to host the conference is admirable and it has helped shine a much needed light on the illegal wildlife trade across the Greater Mekong Region – a trade that is emptying the forests of wildlife and impacting species such as rhinos, elephants and pangolins in Africa. But as the host country and a major hub of illegal wildlife trade, Vietnam needed to commit to more concrete action plans that will have an impact on the ground. It did pledge to strictly monitor domestic markets and

eradicate illegal wildlife trade points, strengthen law enforcement, improve cross border cooperation, but much more detail is needed, especially on legislative reform... (WWF 2016, para 3,4,5).

The “Lip Service” frame was coined from an evocative *in vivo* term (Given 2008) as recommended in qualitative data analysis, referring to an ENGO perception of the Vietnamese government not carrying out their commitments on the IWT, spoken by an interview subject. As can be seen by the WWF press release excerpt above, treatment through the societal control track of demand reduction (Burgess 2016) was clearly the key function (Entman 1993) of the “Lip Service” frame. As a frame it performed all the functions of defining the problem, cause, moral evaluation and treatment by communicating that Vietnam has a duty to enforce their laws against IWT because the IWT in Vietnam is causing global conservation issues. The frame accuses governments of not acting on an important issue, putting politics first, outraging opponents of the trade (Nisbet 2009, p. 20). Hence the “Lip Service” frame neatly correlates to the generic “Public Accountability/Governance” frame that Nisbet (2009) identified in climate change public communication (See Table 4.5). The frame is about issues of government policy, control, participation, decision making and responsiveness (Nisbet 2009). It could also be categorised as a “Law and Order” frame (Anderson (1997). (See Table 4.5). It was enacted most dominantly in the sample by WWF and WCS (See Tables 4.3 and 4.4). The use of the frame possibly represents a shift from Tang and Zhan’s (2008) finding that ENGOs in China tend not to be oppositional to government. The frame has common aspects that tend to appear together in the press releases: Vietnam government directives, international pledges or signings of agreements; ENGOs congratulating Vietnam on its commitments, then urging Vietnam to follow through with them and offering their help or partnerships. Through enacting the frame, ENGOs were gently critical of Vietnam for not

making good on its commitments as enforcement and prosecution of rhino horn was “really weak” (Representative A 2016, pers comm, 18 November), while pointing out that Vietnam was in the international spotlight. Regarding the efficacy of the frame to answer RQ3, ENGOs were concerned about the lack of impact of their messaging and wondered if there was “a better way to message it” (Representative A 2016, pers comm, 18 November).

Frame	Generic frame definition
Responsibility	<p>“Attribution of responsibility frame” (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000; Dirikx and Gelders 2009) :</p> <p>“Responsibility for the cause or solution is placed on political authorities, individuals or groups”.</p> <p>This frame also comprises a second generic frame of “Consequence” that is commonly used in unison with “Attribution of responsibility”. It highlights “how the issue is affecting people (Dirikx and Gelders 2009) and rhinos.</p>
Lip Service	<p>“Public accountability and Governance”: accusing governments of not acting on an important issue, putting politics first, outraging opponents of the trade (Nisbet 2009, p. 20).</p> <p>Law and order (Anderson 1997).</p>
Empower	<p>A salient political power is conveyed to youth and the movement as a whole, to exert an influence over traditionally more powerful groups or sectors of society such as older family members, government or business sector</p>
Voodoo Wildlife Parts	<p>“Scientific and technical uncertainty”</p> <p>A matter of expert understanding or consensus; a debate over what is known versus unknown; or peer reviewed confirmed knowledge versus hype or alarmism (Nisbet 2009, p. 18); Science (Anderson 1991;1997)</p>

Table 4.5 Table of key generic frame types used by the ENGOs to reduce demand in Vietnam

4.3.3 Empower frame

The third frame to emerge from the ENGOs' press releases was the "Empower" frame. I first noticed it early in the research in the pilot study of the press releases provided by the local ENGO Change. The Change sample of press releases that I analysed featured calls for joining in with others in the movement and indicated that Change had a close association with powerful groups that were also trying to reduce demand for rhino horn in Vietnam. Empowering is a key task of social marketing campaigns (Paulin 2006) to engage the community in a movement or cause. Following the pilot study, these "identifiable" and "distinguishable" themes were also "commonly observed" (Capella and Jamieson 1997) in the press releases of the other six ENGOs in the final sample. The frame dominated almost as many press releases as the top two frames illustrating that it was persistent (Gitlin 1980).

The ENGOs in Vietnam adopted an original perspective from the traditional power structures in their framing of political and personal power for their campaigns to reduce demand for rhino horn. The "Empower" frame that was enacted in the press release sample conveyed a salient political power to youth and the movement as a whole to exert an influence over traditionally more powerful sectors of society such as the government or business sector. This finding is in line with Princen and Finger's (1994, p. 11) argument that key actors assume "political transformation" and Lowe and Goyder's (1983) argument that ENGOs represent a shift in societal values. The frame aimed to mobilise youth in similar ways to Greenpeace (DeLuca 2009) and Brulle's ideas of mobilisation (2010). Through a united voice, the "Empower" frame tended to make the claims-makers and their claims more legitimate creating the impression of more political power, perhaps to remedy the legitimacy problems that this research has found exists with IWT ENGOs in Vietnam. The "Empower" frame is the embodiment of the exertion of

political power (Entman 1993) which constitutes framing's key function in a competition for meaning. Thus its key function is treatment (Entman 1993). The ENGOS said they aimed to empower youth to convey the ENGO messages to their elders, because wealthy rhino horn users were "quite hard to target" as a "small segment of the population" (D Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 18 November). An ENGO staff member said, "I think it [empowerment of youth] works" because the young people "have more freedom than they have before" and can talk to parents because the culture "is not really traditional Vietnamese" (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November). To further answer RQ3, the efficacy of the frame is unclear however as the ENGOS recognised they lacked legitimacy in the public's eyes with experts agreeing that "the public will soon forget it [the Hanoi IWT Conference]" (Newspaper editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November) and ENGO lacked "scientific evidence enough" and were too bureaucratic (Journalist B 2016, pers comm, 22 November).

The various sub-themes of the frame all exhibited an indirect gentle approach (Lin 2012) through not telling people what to do or that they are wrong. Instead they enlisted an "everyone is doing it differently" strategy (Gunster 2011) in varying degrees that powerfully suggests alternatives to consuming rhino horn that many people and organisations support. Gunster (2011) argued this is a more effective strategy at changing behaviour than telling people they are wrong.

In the sample, the press releases communicated the "Empower" frame in four main sub-themes: "empowering youth", "close association", "celebrities" and "collective actions". These will be discussed further in future publications.

4.3.4 Voodoo Wildlife Parts

“Voodoo wildlife parts” (VWP) is a category of frame used by the ENGOs in the sample. It belongs in the generic “Science” frame category (Anderson 1991, 1997), but is more specifically described in the “Scientific and technical uncertainty” frame category. Nisbet (2009, p. 18) described this generic frame that was occurring in climate change communication as, “A matter of expert understanding or consensus; a debate over what is known versus unknown; or peer reviewed confirmed knowledge versus hype or alarmism”, a description which fits the “VWP” frame as voodoo and superstitious beliefs are regarded as unscientific (See Table 4.5). The *in vivo* term is taken from a particularly evocative phrase spoken by an interview subject, (Given 2008). In this instance it refers to the frame in which ENGO claims-makers refer to apparently superstitious consumers who believe in the myth or magical benefits of rhino horn for medical treatment of certain conditions such as cancer and as a way to achieve success. The media find casting superstition as a convenient frame, possibly because it is non-scientific and plays on the gullibility of people.

The frame performed a causal function (Entman 1993), blaming the demand for rhino horn on the ignorance of users or false beliefs. It is well established in the international media stories of the rhino horn trade. The “VWP” frame continues to be referred to by reputable international media such as *National Geographic* such as in this excerpt using terms like “keratin”, “hair”, “fingernails” and “erroneously”: “The horns are made of keratin—the same stuff in our hair and fingernails—and are made into valuable carvings and erroneously used to cure everything from cancer to rheumatism” (Actman 2016). The frame has been persistent (Gitlin 1980; Capella and Jamieson 1997) in the Vietnamese media since 2007 when Vietnam’s last rhino was poached (Journalist C 2017, pers comm, 26 April). The origin of the science behind the myth claim is vague (Smith

2012) but the ENGOs have used it routinely because it gets strong media traction and has raised awareness about the rhino horn trade issue (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November). However, to further answer RQ3 on the efficacy of the frame, the claim was considered unscientific by some journalists. Ellis's argument suggested the "Voodoo Wildlife Parts" frame was not effective in cultural terms:

That the medicines may not cure or ameliorate the conditions for which they are prescribed in TCM cannot be accurately assessed by a Western-only perspective, say many TCM adherents, so an argument on the grounds of efficacy will likely fall on deaf ears. (Ellis 2005)

It was commonly enacted in press releases about ENGO workshops with cancer patients at hospitals, which were often conducted with an exclusion of ENGO branding (H Hoang 2016, pers comm, 23 November). It was also used in Traffic's "Chi" campaign to dispel beliefs about the horn's magical powers to bestow success. It was the least dominant frame of the four identified (See Tables 4.3 and 4.4) in the ENGO campaign to reduce demand for rhino horn but arguably the most well known. The ENGOs have used the "metaphor" framing devices (Gamson and Modigliani 1989) of fingernails and hair because rhino horn is made of keratin. By saying that consuming rhino horn has the same effect as chewing fingernails the ENGOs communicated that it had little or no medical benefits, a claim that has apparently angered members of the government and the public, prompting ENGOs to exclude it from their media outputs (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November). Since 2014 the frame took a new form in Traffic's "Chi" campaign, evolving into a gentler, more culturally appropriate, version of "VWP" that suggests a spiritual alternative to using rhino horn for success, which will be discussed briefly in **Chapter 5** and further in future publications.

4.4 Cultural factors of influence

Having identified the four frames in the ENGOs’ press releases and discussing their efficacy to answer RQ1 and RQ3, to address the cultural factor aspect of RQ2 I will identify in Table 4.6 seven aspects of Vietnamese culture that emerged in the review of the literature on the wildlife trade in Vietnam (Drury 2009; Sumrall 2009) or in the ENGO interviews as influencing factors on the frames. Framing scholars agree that culture is a significant aspect of framing environmental communication. Anderson (1997, p. 9) emphasises the importance of “local culture in framing public understandings of environmental issues”. Cox and Pezzullo (2016, p. 138) referred to research that shows how culture influences people’s interpretations of information and sensitivity to environmental risks while Entman argued that culture is a key framing site. Scheufele (1999) found “social norms and values” were key influencing factors in the production of frames. As it could be argued that these norms and values could be equated with culture, I have chosen to draw Scheufele’s and Entman’s theories together calling them cultural factors of influence.

Cultural Factor	Explanation
Buddhist Spiritual Value of Chi (Success comes from within)	The Buddhist concept of Chi has influenced the production of the Traffic frame in the “Chi” campaign, which is currently key in reducing demand for rhino horn in Vietnam among businessmen elites by communicating that success comes from within not from a piece of horn.
Utilitarian views of wildlife - Confucian tradition of human dominance over animals (Drury 2009)	ENGOs are aware that Vietnamese people hold utilitarian views of wildlife. As Tung of Change (2016, pers comm, July 2) said Vietnamese people see “death of rhino is just like a death of a chicken”. Thus, some ENGOs said the “brutality” sub-theme discussed in Chapter 5 was counter effective and that more biodiversity education is needed to change utilitarian views of wildlife in Vietnam.

<p>Spiritual connection with living things Buddhist and Taoist tradition of kindness and respect for animals (Li and Davey 2013)</p>	<p>ENGOS have used Buddhist monk messengers to discuss humans’ spiritual responsibility for animals.</p>
<p>Saving face – Saving face is an aspect of Asia culture that refers to preserving one’s dignity or prestige in a social sense. Face saving relates to the matter of maintaining one’s public dignity and standing (Hu, 1944; Earley 1997, cited in Le Monkhouse et al 2012 p. 648). “Face” is given more value in Asian cultures than in Western cultures and is an important cultural aspect to observe when working in communication in Asia. Thus it is an important cultural factor for claims-makers in Asia to consider.</p>	<p>Local and international ENGOS in Vietnam are aware of the importance of “saving face” culture in Vietnam regarding their campaigns. In order to not be seen to make an audience lose face publicly, ENGOS use gentle culturally appropriate messages, private meetings for sensitive topics and possibly humor. This will be discussed further in future publications.</p>
<p>Vietnam’s kinship system. Confucian tradition of respecting elder men (Sumrall 2009)</p>	<p>Vietnam has a strong culture of respecting elders. As rhino horn consumers come from an older demographic, it is difficult for young ENGOS to communicate directly to them to change their behaviour. Therefore, some ENGOS, using the “Empower” frame, aim to empower young people, to subvert the traditional power dynamic by telling the older generation to not use rhino horn. Manfredo et al (2016) argued that changing social values for conservation’s sake is risky for the fabric of society. This will be discussed further in future publications</p>
<p>Traditional medicine (TM) use of rhino horn</p>	<p>Rhino horn has been used in TM for thousands of years (Martin and Martin 1982, cited in Leader-Williams 2003) and it is recognised that it has some medical efficacy. Thus, ENGOS said they should be cautious in criticizing its use. This will be discussed further in future articles.</p>
<p>Rarity is highly valued in Vietnam culture (Sumrall 2009)</p>	<p>ENGOS have become aware that messages about the rhino poaching crisis and the “crisis” sub-theme discussed in Chapter 5 connote rarity, thus ENGOS are currently trying to avoid such references.</p>

Table 4.6. Cultural factors that potentially influence the framing process

4.5 Internal factors of influence

As discussed in the methodology this study took a mixed internal and external approach to the study of the ENGOs framing of the rhino horn trade in Vietnam. The internal approach that I used to investigate the internal factors of influence of the frame production was concerned with the “inner structure and workings of environmental groups” (Anderson 1997, p. 100) which are outlined in Table 4.7. The external approach looks at factors such as government structures and restrictions that influence ENGOs which are outlined in Table 4.8. As organising principles to outline the factors that emerged in the interviews, I drew from Scheufele’s five influencing factors as discussed in **Chapter 2**. Key findings related to RQ2 and RQ3 were effective ENGO routines of employing local staff, building relationships with journalists, removing branding from campaign materials and accessing knowledge from academic research from diverse sectors. ENGO ideologies or perceptions of the persuasive effectiveness of brutality and crisis themes in Vietnam were also key findings that will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Categories of ENGO inner structures and workings that influenced framing	Key factors that emerged from the interviews and research
ENGO “Organisational pressures and constraints” (Scheufele 1999)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local ENGOs had a small volunteer staff (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November). - In IENGOs international staff generally didn’t micromanage the Vietnamese staff or partner organisation staff in Vietnam (J Baker WildAid 2016, pers comm, 17 November; Representative A 2016, pers comm, 18 November). - International staff of IENGOs were sometimes not informed of local office activities

	<p>(Representative A 2016, pers comm, 18 November).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local ENGO frames may have been influenced by international partners (T Tran 2016, pers comm, 2 July).
<p>ENGO routines (Scheufele 1999)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - IENGOS employed Vietnamese staff and it was routine to check messages with the Vietnamese staff and colleagues for cultural reasons before publishing (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November; Representative A 2016, pers comm, 18 November; Lin 2012) - In the case of local ENGOS, management and staff were familiar with Vietnamese values and culture and didn't need to always check with others what works or was acceptable culturally, but it was routine for staff to check with each other and family and friends to be more confident (T Tran Change 2016, pers comm, 2 July; D Nguyen ENV 2016, pers comm, 18 November). - Local staff were important for translations of research articles into Vietnamese which required great care in order to provide an accurate simplification and interpretation of the facts for the Vietnamese audiences (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November; HT Vu 2017, pers comm, 20 April) - Previous campaigns in other countries may have influenced the creation of frames. For example, WildAid's rhino horn campaign in Vietnam was influenced by their shark fin campaign in China, but was adapted for Vietnam after being "ground-truthed" for the Vietnamese context (J Baker 2016, pers comm, 17 November) - Some ENGOS remove their branding from campaign outputs as audiences may not trust the messages of conservation groups (T Nguyen 2016 pers comm, 17 November) possibly because they believe that conservation groups are being paid to deliver those messages (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November)
<p>ENGO routines (Scheufele 1999) with media</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A WCS routine was to provide important information to journalists. This was whether the ENGO believed the journalists would see fit to publish it or not. WCS sent press releases to journalists just to inform them of important

	<p>issues not for publication (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ENGOs often compromised stories and messages in press releases to make them more attractive for journalists to use, by employing “catchy” or arguably newsworthy storylines, words, photographs. (D Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 18 November). The newsworthiness of the “crisis” sub-theme, for example, may be why the ENGO continued to use it despite its problematic nature (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November). - ENGOs worked closely with journalists by organising coffee chats with selected journalists (D Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 18 November; H Hoang Change 2016, pers comm, 23 November) - ENGOs and journalists reworked press releases together to prepare for publication (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November) - As cutting and pasting background information is a routine in Vietnamese news organisations (Journalist C 2017, pers comm, 26 April), ENGOs also possibly cut and pasted newsworthy background information from previous press releases, resulting in persistence of unwanted counter-effective messages and frames. - ENGOs invited Vietnamese journalists on tours of South Africa to witness the impacts of rhino poaching (Journalist A 2016, pers comm, 22 November), possibly providing their research with more legitimacy. - ENGOs worked with journalists on undercover investigations which are sometimes dangerous (Journalist A 2016, pers comm, 22 November), possibly providing their investigations with more legitimacy.
<p>ENGO routines (Scheufele 1999): Feedback, partnering, collaboration and elite discourse (deVreese 2005, p 52)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ENGOs used feedback from Vietnamese friends, colleagues (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November) and campaign ambassadors (T Tran 2016, pers comm, 2 July). - ENGOs workshopped with partners (TTT Le 2016, pers comm, 17 November) such as health, religious and business groups.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ENGOs gave celebrities the freedom to express the ENGO message in their own way to a certain extent - (J Baker 2016, pers comm, 17 November) - ENGOs contracted third party creative agencies to design campaigns (T Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 17 November; J Baker 2016, pers comm, 17 November) - ENGOs partnered with other ENGOs, especially between international and local ENGOs which created a synergy between their media outputs - Traffic created an online community of practice for ENGOs to share and discuss strategies
<p>ENGO routines (Scheufele 1999): research</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ENGOs conducted baseline research and informal research (G Burgess 2016, pers comm, 17 November) - ENGOs contracted market research organisations to do baseline surveys and monitor and evaluate campaign outcomes (J Baker 2016, pers comm, 17 November) - ENGOs accessed social marketing expertise through National Social Marketing Centre and other academic and expert sources of expertise (G Burgess Traffic 2016, pers comm, 17 November) - ENGOs study academic papers from diverse sectors to inform demand reduction campaign (Zain 2016, cited in Burgess 2016)
<p>ENGO political and ideological orientations (Scheufele 1999); Communicator Frames (Entman 1993); ENGO perceptions of their audience (adapted from Blood et al 2002)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International staff were less familiar with cultural considerations in Vietnam than local staff and may have expected their own orientations to apply in the Vietnam context - Local ENGOs and IENGOs had ideologies about the persuasive effect of biodiversity issues such as the conservation crisis and animal protection issues such as brutality; and made assumptions of the public's global awareness and long-term considerations. This will be discussed further in Chapter 5. - ENGOs had views on what the public and the journalists were interested in (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November; Blood et al 2002)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ENGOs saw medicinal use of rhino horn as “dumb” (J Baker 2016, pers comm, 18 November) or in a negative way - ENGOs saw emotional users of rhino horn as educated businessmen and naughty or devious (Z Sabie 2016, pers comm, 17 November) - ENGOs saw traffickers in rhino horn as business men (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November) or as evil (D Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 18 November)
--	---

Table 4.7 Internal factors that potentially influenced the framing process (Data from what ENGOs said during the interviews cited unless otherwise stated.)

4.6 External factors of influence

Through interviews with key ENGO personnel and experts I explored the external factors that influenced the process of framing and its efficacy (see Table 4.8). In the context of Vietnam’s socialist/communist government, the Soviet model of media (Siebert et al 1956) and the emerging environmental movement in that country (Yang and Calhoun 2013, Wells-Dang 2010), organisational constraints (Scheufele 1999) external to ENGOs such as government restrictions played important roles influencing the production of ENGO frames to reduce demand for rhino horn. My findings also suggested that ideologies (Scheufele 1999) and audience frames (Entman 1993) including the pre-existing frames of journalists that are external to ENGOs were also important factors that potentially influenced framing.

Categories of external influence	Key factors that emerged from the interviews and research
Organisational pressures and constraints (Scheufele 1999); Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In Vietnam’s emerging ENGO sector (Yang and Calhoun 2013) ENGOs were tolerated if they supported government policy (Wells-Dang 2010). - ENGOs couldn’t say the government was not doing enough; can’t talk about corruption or name

<p>restrictions and issues and the government policy making process (Anderson 1997, p. 100)</p>	<p>and shame (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ENGOs didn't report wildlife crimes sometimes because offenders were sometimes allegedly tipped off by enforcement agencies (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November) - ENGOs were compelled by the Vietnamese government to convey in their public communications that they were helping the government in efforts rather than instigating activities. ENGOs must be seen to be partnering with government in their efforts to reduce demand. (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November; Representative A 2016, pers comm, 18 November) - The Vietnamese government granted local ENGOs limited access and input to the Hanoi IWT conference (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November) - Relationships with IENGOs were an advantage for local ENGOs in order to gain access to international events. The local ENGO Change may not have been allowed to attend the 2016 Hanoi IWT Conference by the government if not for the support of the WildAid IENGO. (J Baker 2016, pers comm, 17 November). - Apparently, the government political line was that Vietnam was a transit nation for rhino horn, not a key consumer nation. The Vietnamese government's stance apparently was that China was the key consumer country (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November) - Street demonstrations or public protests were not always tolerated by the government (Human Rights Watch Vietnam 2016) - The Vietnamese government benefited from being a signatory to a range of IWT conservation commitments, treaties and conventions through funding from international donors (World Bank 2016), but didn't need to strongly comply because the agreements contained ample wiggle room (Adams 2014) to not comply meaningfully. The international funding that
---	---

	<p>ENGOS brought was part of the reason why ENGOS were tolerated. (Wells-Dang 2010)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New stricter IWT laws in Vietnam were flagged in 2017 (TTT Le 2016, pers comm, 17 November)
<p>Journalist ideologies and political orientations (Scheufele 1999); Journalists' audience frames (Entman 1993); ENGO perceptions of journalists (adapted from Blood et al 2002)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Journalists were "not entrepreneurial" or motivated to be "active" enough in their approach to investigating stories. They took a "passive" role in reporting (Representative A 2016, pers comm, 18 November). - Some ENGOS considered many Vietnamese journalists "stupid and lazy". - Vietnamese journalists were sympathetic to conservation causes, including IWT issues (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm 22 November; Curtin and Rodenbaugh (2001)). - Journalists often had friends who used rhino horn (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November), which plausibly had an effect on their audience frame (Entman 1993). - Journalists preferred certain types of stories over others (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November) - Journalists would not publish stories from ENGOS about corruption or lack of government action (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November). - News media in Vietnam was state owned (Wells-Dang 2010) This may explain why there was the same view among Vietnamese media personnel and the government that Vietnam was primarily a transit country for rhino horn, not a consumer country (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November).
<p>External pressures and constraints on ENGOS (Scheufele 1999)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Funding bodies set up the criteria necessary for ENGOS to receive funding, thereby influencing campaigns and frames. For instance, the societal control track of demand reduction received more funding than the behaviour change track (J Eppel 2016, pers comm, 17 November). This affected budgets, which would assumedly affect campaign choices and framing. - It is plausible that in some sense the international funding bodies were an important target audience.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Of international donor funding 16 percent in Vietnam went to IENGOS, while only 4 percent went to local ENGOS (World Bank 2016) - In the CITES framework for behaviour change efforts announced at CITES Conference of Parties in Johannesburg there was an emphasis on evidence-based campaigns as a criterion for funding (G Burgess 2016, pers comm, 17 November). - Traffic assumedly had more funding to spend on research than some other ENGOS, so in terms of the funding criterion of being evidence-based, Traffic used research more extensively to base its campaigns, while ENGOS with less funding tended to do less research, tried out new strategies based on a combination of informal and formal research, did simple gauges of the campaign's efficacy and saw where those efforts led them, sometimes with positive effects (J Baker 2016, pers comm, 17 November)
<p>Routines and political and ideological orientations of market research and creative agencies contracted by ENGOS (Scheufele 1999)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Market research and creative agency organisations may not have methods and orientations that align with ENGOS' strategies or Vietnamese culture for campaigns to reduce demand for rhino horn. - Some ENGOS said creative agencies weren't easy to deal with. It could be argued that attention-grabbing campaigns created by agencies were possibly more effective at raising awareness than changing behaviour and may not have resonated well with cultural or audience frames. A Vietnam-based PR expert said there was a lack of cultural awareness in campaigns (Geaney 2016, pers comm, 22 November) that he had seen. Whether engaging creative agencies in culturally sensitive IWT campaigns in Vietnam is recommended is a potential question for further research.
<p>External factors (Anderson 1997, p.100)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There was growing evidence that China's consumption and trade of rhino horn was increasing (Crosta et al 2017) - South Africa legalised trade in rhino horn within its borders. Princen (1994b) argued ENGOS' role in promoting bans was critical because other actors were reluctant. According to my field notes from the conference, the legalisation of the horn sales in South Africa was considered by some ENGOS as undermining their campaign work to reduce demand in Vietnam. This arguably was

	<p>because it bolstered the “wrong” rather than right frames (Lakoff 2010) in the audience.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There was international debate on changing the rhino horn status in CITES - Operators in rhino horn crime may be dangerous people making ENGO investigations dangerous (Journalist A 2016, pers comm, 22 November)
<p>Audience frames (Entman 1993)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vietnamese were not concerned with biodiversity issues in far-away countries like South Africa (Representative A 2016, pers comm, 18 November; Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November) - Vietnamese people were not as concerned with the crisis facing rhinos as they were generally concerned more with what directly affects them because of economic issues (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November). - Vietnamese issues with animal rights in the wildlife trade and utilitarian views of wild animals may be more economically based than cultural (Li and Davey 2013) - There was a sense in Vietnam that it was not Vietnamese that were mutilating rhinos but Africans, so they were not responsible for the animal rights and brutality issues (Field notes)

Table 4.8 External factors that potentially influence the framing process

Having in **Chapter 4** identified the frames to answer RQ1, the influencing factors in their production to answer RQ2 in relation to their efficacy to answer RQ3, in the next “Frame in Focus” Chapter, I will explore a key frame “Responsibility” in detail.

CHAPTER 5: FRAME IN FOCUS: THE RESPONSIBILITY FRAME

5.1 Introducing the “Responsibility” frame

In **Chapter 4** I identified the four frames, “Responsibility”, “Lip Service”, “Empower” and “Voodoo Wildlife Parts”. that appeared in the ENGO press release sample and described methods and theory used to categorise them. In Tables 4.6 to 4.8, I identified the key cultural and other internal and external influences that potentially affected their production. I identified key cultural, communicator and audience frames and ideologies and routines of ENGOs in Vietnam. Because of the richness of the data and the constraints of this Master’s thesis, I have chosen only one of the four frames identified in the data to analyse in depth. In **Chapter 5** in order to provide a more detailed answer to RQ2 and RQ3 I will analyse the “Responsibility” frame.

The “Responsibility” frame, as discussed in **Chapter 4**, can be classified as a generic “attribution of responsibility” frame (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000; Dirikx and Gelders 2009), which is a frame commonly found in the framing literature and the media, but evident here in the form of press releases and interview data. I argue that the frame is used by the ENGOs to convey Vietnam’s responsibility for the poaching crisis in South Africa through communicating the consequences of rhino IWT. The alarmist representations of the consequences of IWT in the press releases correspond with Dirikx and Gelders’ (2009) findings that responsibility and consequence frames defined in Table 4.5 often worked together in European newspaper coverage of climate change. This tendency for combination supports my decision to group the consequence and responsibility themes in the press releases into the one “Responsibility” frame. Thus the “Responsibility” frame performs important

problem, causality and morality functions of framing (Entman 1993). A key finding in this chapter is that the “Responsibility” frame conveyed causality and blame on Vietnam and Vietnamese consumers but did not provide evidence. I aim to show in this chapter that ENGOs viewed the communication of Vietnam’s responsibility as important, hence used the “Responsibility” frame, but in the absence of clear evidence seemed to have focused on the consequences as a form of evidence. Some explanations may be that Pan and Kosicki (1993) identified a tendency of journalists to apply causal themes to their stories, while Princen (1994b) argued ENGOs linked conditions in range states to global economic conditions.

There is little in the scholarly literature about the framing of the illegal wildlife trade, and no analysis that I could find of the “Responsibility” frame in the IWT, nor rhino horn context. Hansen (2011) identified that insufficient attention had been given to research in the source strategies area of environmental communication and this applies doubly on the processes and cultural and other influences and the efficacy of frames in the production of frames by ENGOs in Vietnam working in the illegal wildlife trade sector. **Chapter 5** aims to address the gaps in the knowledge through a framing analysis of the press releases and interviews with key ENGO personnel and experts. In order to more completely answer RQ1, requiring identification of the framing, I will start by identifying the frame in terms of the various key sub-themes in which it appears. I have used the sub-themes as the organising principle to structure the chapter.

5.2 Responsibility frame sub-themes

The “Responsibility” frame conveys the meaning that Vietnam and/or elements within it are somehow responsible for the rhino poaching crisis in Africa and hence have a responsibility to reduce demand. The frame was expressed by the sample ENGOs through a range of words and phrases often used in association including

‘Vietnam’, ‘Vietnamese public’, ‘consumers’, ‘buyers’, ‘users’ ‘responsibility’, ‘crisis’, ‘extinction’ and ‘brutality’ and newsworthy factors or themes that logically sit together. Firstly, Vietnam was portrayed in the press release sample as responsible for the current rhino poaching crisis by an exemplar framing device (Gamson and Modigliani 1989) communicating that Vietnam’s own Javan Rhino species was recently made extinct as a result of poaching for rhino horn in 2010. One of the many examples of such a construction was ENV’s July 22, 2015 press release ‘Vietnamese public take ‘action for wildlife’ through national artwork competition’ which states ‘The countries (sic) last Javan rhino was killed for its horn in 2010’ (ENV 2015 para 4). Furthermore, there is a strong argument that the ‘Responsibility’ frame was enacted when the press releases referred to other consequences to rhino of the trade, such as the potential crisis for rhino species in Africa and the brutality of rhino poaching in Africa in association with depictions of demand in Vietnam. I argue that references in the press releases to the rarity of the rhino horn product and its consequential high price and precious qualities were also linked to the potential crisis for the rhino species and therefore can be categorised with the ‘crisis’ sub-theme of the ‘Responsibility’ frame.

Chapter 5 will also discuss how the ‘Responsibility’ frame is expressed through an important third sub-theme that emerged from the data that referred to consequences or issues pertinent to Vietnamese - Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR).

McWilliams (2000) defined CSR as ‘Abstract actions of firms that contribute to social welfare, beyond what is required for profit maximization.’ CSR represents corporations’ duty to protect society (Holme and Watts 1999). To address RQ1, requiring the identification of frames, I will discuss how the press releases of the ENGO Traffic enacted the ‘Responsibility’ frame by introducing demand reduction

for rhino horn as a CSR policy for Vietnamese corporations. To address the cultural and other influencing factors of RQ2 regarding this sub-theme I will analyse Traffic's presentation at the 2016 Hanoi IWT Conference to explore the factors that influenced Traffic to link their Chi Campaign to the emerging area of CSR policies for Vietnamese companies. This is a leveraging strategy that Cox (2010) argued went beyond framing environmental communication as a bridge between raising awareness and changing behaviour, which will be discussed in the theoretical discussion on this frame.

To further address RQ1 I will briefly identify here other "Responsibility" frame sub-themes, outlined in Table 5.1 that described consequences of rhino horn use that were "pertinent" to the audience (Maibach 2010). Although they were less common in the sample, they are significant to mention. The rhino horn user's responsibility for national reputation was one such sub-theme that appeared in the WildAct press releases (WildAct, 2014, October 16) as exemplified by this quote from a student source: "Vietnam is the largest rhino consumer nation! I feel really embarrassing, extremely embarrassing (sic)." Another sub-theme was revealed in the Change director's interview and a WildAid press release (2016, September 22) which discussed that it is a person's spiritual responsibility not to use rhino horn, emphasising that rhino horn use was bad for a person spiritually. The frame was enacted through references to "karma stories" (H Hoang 2016 pers comm., 20 November) in which "you will pay the price" (H Hoang 2016 pers. comm., 20 November) and calls for users to stop using rhino horn for "harmony between humans and nature" and "blessings to us and future generations" (WildAid 2016 September 22).

Another sub-theme that was expressed in the press release sample concerned family values using photographs of mother and baby rhinos together (WildAid 2016 November 16; WWF 2014 January 17, 2016 September 22). This sub-theme (See Table 5.1) was unique in the sample as it was only expressed through photograph framing devices (Gamson and Modigliani 1989), not in the text (See Image 5.1).

Image of adult rhino grazing with calf removed for copyright reasons.

Image 5.1. (Benson 2016). This image was used in a 2016 WildAid press release. Images of rhinos that appear in press releases in the sample often include a baby rhino, potentially as a framing device to enact the “Family Values” sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame. Image by Shannon Benson.

ENV’s Miss Dung (D Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 18 November) said that an African ENGO had checked with her about such a message for its potential effectiveness in the Vietnamese context. She said she had supported the message that “Rhinos need mum”. Poaching disrupts rhino family groups, while Vietnam’s kinship system is based on the family unit, so this sub-theme has potential cultural significance in the Vietnamese context, because “Family life [of animal] is most related to them” (TT Le 2016 pers comm 17 November). Health was the final sub-theme that was pertinent to audiences by communicating the risk to health of depending on rhino horn to cure cancer when modern treatment was needed (See Table 5.1).

Responsibility frame sub-themes	Meaning of sub-theme	Examples of text or photos from press releases
Crisis: Personal responsibility for crisis	By buying rhino horn individuals could contribute to the extinction of the species, causing rarity which in turn causes the horn to become precious, accompanied by high demand and high price.	“If the killing of rhinos is not urgently stopped, rhino populations all over the world will be pushed to extinction within the next couple of years, following in the path of Vietnam’s own rhinos, lost forever in 2010” (ENV 2014, para 2).
Brutality: Personal responsibility for brutality	By buying rhino horn buyers are contributing to great animal suffering.	“... where they might encounter poachers or come upon the grisly scene of a recently killed rhino” (ENV 2014, para 4).
CSR: Corporate responsibility	International reputation of corporations is important in Vietnam’s World Trade Organisation membership context.	“VCCI and Traffic... today signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) supporting the roll out of best practices in corporate ethics and consumer behaviour change, as well as a zero-tolerance approach

		toward wildlife consumption, through CSR” (Traffic 2015, para 1).
National responsibility	By being the world’s biggest consumer nation, Vietnam’s reputation internationally will suffer.	“Vietnam is the largest rhino consumption nation! I feel really embarrassing, extremely embarrassing (sic). Vietnamese seems to be too ignorance (sic)” (WildAct 2014, para 8).
Spiritual responsibility	Karmic impact of using rhino horn might be negative.	“WildAid Vietnam organises a recent event at a Buddhist pagoda in Vietnam where dharma talks encouraged Buddhist followers to protect the rhino” (WildAid 2016, photo caption).
Family values: Responsibility for families	By buying rhino horn buyers are orphaning baby rhinos.	Photos of family groups or rhinos with baby rhinos. See Image 5.2

Health: Responsibility for health	By buying rhino horn buyers risk health problems from zoonotic diseases or poisoned horns.	“The doctor said they [zoonotic diseases] are diseases that can be transmitted from wild animals to humans (WildAct 2016).
---	---	---

Table 5.1 Responsibility frame and sub-themes

Having described the “Responsibility” frame and its sub-themes, in the following section 5.3, I will discuss my findings from the framing analysis of the press releases in terms of RQ1. Following this, Section 5.4 will discuss my findings of the influences of the frames that emerged from the interviews to address RQ2, followed by Section 5.5 which discusses my findings of the efficacy of the framing in the eyes of experts.

5.3 Press releases and the Responsibility Frame

I first identified the “Responsibility” frame in a discussion with my supervisor about a commonly used background paragraph in the press releases. We agreed, which suggests the frame is representational (Capella and Jamieson 1997), that references to Vietnam’s last rhino being killed for its horn was a framing device that conveyed Vietnam’s responsibility for the poaching crisis in South Africa. Then we agreed that other sub-themes also enacted the “Responsibility” frame.

The following quote from Vietnamese pop star Thanh Bui in a press release conveys that Vietnam was responsible. The quote enacts the brutality and national reputation sub-themes of the “Responsibility” frame. The blame and causal functions (Entman

1993) of the frame is clearly discernible in the association between Vietnam and the “horrible massacre”:

When I arrived in South Africa, being a Vietnamese I was held for interviews for four hours at the airport. I felt like I was treated like a criminal. Later when I learned and witnessed with my own eyes the horrible massacre of the rhino in South Africa, I got to understand why. (WildAid 2015 August 17 para 5)

Framing devices for the “Responsibility” frame included a range of words and phrases that enacted the sub-themes. The press releases also featured visual images as framing devices (Gamson and Modigliani 1989) including photos, graphics and charts about poaching figures (WildAid 2015, 22 September), photos with poaching statistics (WildAid 2015, 22 January), photos of mother and baby rhinos together (WildAid 2015 February 5), graphic photos of brutal rhino injuries (WildAct 2015, 9 June), dead rhinos (ENV 2014, 13, 18, September; 5 November), monks and images of Buddha alongside images of rhinos (WildAid 2016, 22 September), families (WildAct 2015, 20 January), and groups of Vietnamese “to transmit the cruel and shocking facts of the situation to the Vietnamese public and spur them to take action...” (ENV 2014, 8 September).

“Responsibility” was the equally most dominant frame in the sample with “Lip Service” (See Table 4.4). ENV used the frame dominantly the most in the sample, in seven of its 13 press releases throughout the sample time and it appeared as a competing frame in two of the other six. WWF and WCS used the “Responsibility” frame dominantly the least out of the sample with one each. WWF used it once in 2014. It appeared, however, as a competing frame in five of the remaining nine press releases competing with or complementing the dominant “Lip Service” frame. WWF and WCS both focused on the societal control track of demand reduction in their press releases so it is plausible that the “Responsibility” frame was used to bolster

their claims for better enforcement as was discussed briefly in **Chapter 4's** Lips service frame section. The “Responsibility” frame was dominant in five out of 14 WildAid press releases mostly in 2014 and 2015. Through appearing as either dominant or competing in 51 of the 76 press releases, it can be seen the “Responsibility” frame was used to communicate strongly that Vietnam is somehow to blame for the crisis of rhino poaching in South Africa. Furthermore, in line the definition of the generic “Attribution of responsibility frame”, responsibility for the cause or solution was “placed on political authorities, individuals or groups” (Dirikx and Gelders 2009). The press releases communicated that Vietnam has a duty to reduce demand grounded in a variety of sub-themes that conveyed the consequences highlighting how the issue was affecting people (Dirikx and Gelders 2009) and rhinos.

A significant finding of the framing analysis was that apart from only two press releases (WCS 2014, 3 November; WildAct 2016, 17 November) of the 52 that enacted the “Responsibility” frame, there was an exclusion of research-based evidence of consumption of rhino horn in Vietnam present the press releases.

Responsibility was conveyed instead by association, illustrated by this excerpt from a Traffic press release: “Demand for rhino horn in Asia including Vietnam is the main driver of the rhino poaching crisis in South Africa” (Traffic 2015, 15 June, para 7), or as illustrated in this WWF press release, “Last month because of its role as the main destination country for trafficked rhino horn...” (WWF 2016, 18 November, para 5). As such, the overwhelming number of claims in the press releases were not backed by evidence. The sub-themes that appeared as part of this frame listed in Table 5.1 discussed consequences but without evidence of responsibility. Instead, the ENGOS framed Vietnam as responsible by connected the consequences of poaching to demand and consumption in Vietnam through placing and associating the two

concepts together symbolically (Entman 1993; Phalen and Algan 2001, p.303; Blood et al 2002, p. 78). Furthermore, I argue the exclusion of evidence is a shortcoming of this frame. As ENGOs make themselves useful to government actors by doing valuable research and supplying it, offering to other actors “what those actors can’t do for themselves” (Princen 1994a, p. 37) the finding is puzzling. The almost complete exclusion of evidence from the sample will be discussed further in the interview and efficacy sections of this chapter and in the concluding chapter of the thesis. The excerpt below is a rare example of evidence being presented in a press release:

WildAct conducted their survey focusing on Facebook during a 6 month period from October 2015 to April 2016. Almost 2000 adverts and 3000 comments were analysed... 38% of all advertisements found were elephant ivory products, whereas one out of every four accounts created primarily to sell elephant ivory were also selling rhino horn. (WildAct 2016 paras. 3, 4)

Although Humane Society International (HSI) was not included in the sample, I will refer to a HSI 2014 press release with important relevance to the “Responsibility” frame in the sample. In 2013 HSI and CITES initiated a three-year campaign to reduce demand after Vietnam was identified as the “primary consumer market for rhino horns” at the 2013 CITES conference (Vietnam CITES, HSI 2014). In 2014 they engaged market research consultant Nielsen Vietnam to conduct a survey and found a 38 percent decrease in people who buy or use the horn. WCS questioned the survey method and result in a press release (WCS 2014), which was categorised as the only WCS press release out of four with the dominant “Responsibility” frame. WCS, in the press release, also noted other consumer studies that had occurred and also questioned their survey validity. WCS provided no evidence in the press release to support Vietnam’s consumption role. WCS policy director Miss Hong said because it is illegal the extent of rhino horn consumption in Vietnam is very hard to prove (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November). Interestingly, from an “exclusion” aspect of

the frame (Gitlin 1980), the HSI research finding did not appear in any other press releases in the sample. The exclusion was plausible because of the ambiguity it created (Gitlin 1980; Nisbet 2009; Blood et al 2002). The question of whether Vietnam is a primary consumer is an important issue, as journalist and government audience frames appeared in the data to tend towards Vietnam being primarily a transit country (Newspaper editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November). The significance of this for the framing of responsibility will be further discussed in this chapter's section on interviews. As the WCS press release was the only one in the sample that was critical of other ENGO communications, this may suggest the importance that WCS attached to avoiding ambiguity, in line with Nisbet's (2009) argument that claims makers should exclude ambiguous information.

The "crisis" sub-theme was enacted by a range of framing devices such as "rare", "endangered" and "extinction" and info graphics that depicted rising poaching numbers year by year. It is important to note that none of the press releases contained information about the high price. This detail that earlier had featured prominently in media stories about the rhino horn trade and still persists to a lesser extent, can be argued to connote crisis through communicating the horn's rarity and preciousness. Future research could examine whether, in line with Princen's discussions on ENGO "organisational learning" (1994b, p. 150), ENGOs had earlier included the high price in their communications but learned to exclude it to avoid stimulating demand in a country where consumption of rare wildlife is valued. ENGOs in the sample (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November) said they avoided anything that communicated rarity in their communications as it could motivate demand.

The brutality sub-theme was enacted in the press releases by a variety of words such as “massacre”, “suffering” and “horrific” and images showing rhino corpses and mutilated rhino faces.

The “CSR” sub-theme, in which ENGOs encouraged businesses to make a commitment in their corporate social responsibility policy to adopt a zero tolerance for illegal wildlife consumption, can be illustrated in the Traffic press release photograph and caption (Image 5.2). Business leaders were encouraged to adopt Traffic’s “Chi Campaign” into their businesses, because Vietnamese businessmen and elites were portrayed as holding some responsibility for the rhino poaching crisis in South Africa. The “CSR” sub-theme has some similarities to the “Lip Service” frame in the pledging aspect of the commitment that Traffic is encouraging businesses to make. I decided to categorise this within the “Responsibility” frame however because the “Lip Service” frame is about the government not making good on its commitments, whereas Traffic suggested that there was real commitment to stop IWT on the part of the businesses involved in CSR. Another complexity is that Traffic leverages its “Chi” campaign on CSR, so it is important to distinguish between the “Chi” campaign and CSR in terms of framing. The Chi Campaign aims to debunk a belief among wealthy users that a man’s success can come from rhino horn, hence I have categorised references to the “Chi” campaign in the press releases in the “VWP” frame, as it is arguably about presenting an alternative to the belief in rhino horn’s magical powers. This means that in the press releases that combine the two, CSR was coded as “Responsibility” and the Chi messages were coded as “VWP”. Image 5.2 below is an example of a photo and caption that enacted the “CSR” sub-theme:

Image of people at seminar removed for copyright reasons.

Image 5.2 (Traffic 2015). “30 of VCCI’s senior trainers received guidance on promoting wildlife protection through corporate social responsibility” (Traffic, 2015 15 June, caption).

The caption and photo enacted the “Responsibility” frame, but in the same press release the “VWP” frame was also enacted in a later paragraph as this quote demonstrates: “The Chi campaign promotes the idea that success, masculinity and good luck flow from an individual’s internal strength of character, not from a piece of horn” (Traffic, 2015 para 10).

ENGO (Total Press Releases)	Dominating	Competing	Total
Traffic 14	2	6	8
WWF 10	1	5	6
WCS 4	1	1	2
WildAid 14	5	6	11
Change 10	3	5	8
WildAct 11	3	5	7
ENV 13	7	2	9
Total 76	22	30	52

Table 5.2 Appearance of “Responsibility” frame in ENGOs’ press releases

The next section expands on the qualitative analysis of the frames in the press releases, by exploring key ENGO personnels’ views about the cultural and other influences in the frame’s production.

5.4 Uncovering influencing factors in the interviews and presentation

My intention in this section is to explore the cultural and other influences in the production of the “Responsibility” frame and its sub-themes through analysing interviews with key ENGO personnel and highlighting illuminating comments. I have drawn on Scheufele’s (1999) five factors of influence, deVreese’s internal and external factors (2005) and Entman’s four sites of framing: communicator, audience, text and culture; as the theoretical basis of analysing the interviews.

As this research covers new important territory in the conservation movement of Vietnam, I have decided to let the data speak for itself by firstly providing the quotes in English by Vietnamese personnel as they were recorded to avoid misrepresenting them with paraphrases. Secondly, I have used long quotes more than infrequently. In academic writing long quotes are used sparingly for effect, because scholarly inquiry requires analysis of what is being said and why and the relationship between concepts to be discussed. However, I have used long quotes extensively because they provide nuanced understandings of concepts and themes.

There are many factors to consider when producing frames or meaning for a campaign. Lakoff (2010) argued the frames in the text need to relate to the frames that pre-exist in the audience and culture to be effective. Blood et al (2002) argued that journalists’, but in this case ENGOs’, perception of audience attitudes influences frames. Gans (1979) and Tuchman (1978) argued that frames are influenced by the “continuous interaction between journalists and elites” (cited in deVreese 2005, p.52). Whereas deVreese (2005), Blood et al (2002) and Scheufele (1999) referred to influences on journalists, I will be also applying the influencing factors to ENGOs. Scheufele (1999, p.109) argued that there are at least five factors that influence news frames which are important to understand for the influencing factors aspect of RQ2.

These are “social norms and values, organisational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines and ideological or political orientations of journalists (e.g., Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Tuchman, 1978)” (Scheufele 1999, p.109). Some of these factors of influence on the Responsibility frame and sub-themes were revealed in the interviews.

In this section, to answer RQ2 I will discuss the cultural and other influencing factors of the frame’s sub-themes that emerged from the interviews. Firstly, I will discuss the “crisis” sub-theme of the frame and cultural and other factors that influence its production.

Evidence suggests the “crisis” sub-theme that appeared in the sample press releases was problematic. Scholars (Drury 2009, Broad et al 2003, Sumrall 2009) widely agreed that rarity is a motivation in Vietnam for consumption of wild animal parts. Courchamp et al (2006) argued that the value humans in general place on it contributes to species extinction. The interview data shows that ENGOs in the sample are aware of this cultural belief or cultural and audience frame (Entman 1993), thus aim to exclude information about rarity and crisis from their media outputs. However, data showed that while some ENGOs believed that “crisis” connotes rarity in the eyes of the audience, some ENGOs used the crisis sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame assumedly because using newsworthy statistics is an ENGO routine (Scheufele 1999). The data also shows that it is probable that some ENGOs used the crisis sub-theme because the ENGOs have an ideological or cultural orientation (Scheufele 1999) or a communicator frame (Entman 1993) that supposes that awareness of a crisis will motivate users not to use it. The data also show that some ENGOs believe that audience frames (Entman 1993) regarding global biodiversity issues vary

according to their education or worldliness (T Tran 2016, pers comm, 2 July) and so, as with Lakoff's (2010) argument about background frames, educated audiences such as young students are more likely to respond positively to the "crisis" sub-theme argument. First of all, I will demonstrate that the ENGOs were aware that rarity is a motivation to use wild animal parts in Vietnam.

Le Thi Trang of Green Viet confirmed ENGOs knew that rarity is a strong cultural motivation for Vietnamese to buy rhino horn:

Because what I and other people here in Vietnam understand that the rhino horns were used mostly by people who want to try one time and they have the feelings that if they keep one piece of rhino horn very proud of because it's rare, not easy to find. I don't think people believe strongly in using rhino horn to cure cancer, but now they want to keep it because they are thinking they are keeping something very rare. (T Le 2016, pers comm, November 17).

ENGOs showed they were aware that communicating "crisis" or "extinction" connotes the cultural value of rarity illustrating a cultural factor that influences the production of frames, as Miss Hong from WCS illustrated:

I tend not to use crisis [in press releases] a lot because it might have a counter effect. Because if it's going to be extinct, someone said it's going to be extinct need to catch it now, need to invest in it right now and when it's extinct I'll have some profit from it so we try not to say crisis or extinction. (VH Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November).

A way around this cultural issue with rarity was for ENGOs to associate in their press releases the trade or consumption of a threatened species with penalties. As Miss Hong explained WCS trained journalists to follow this practice in training workshops. This association was also apparent in some photographs in the press releases:

When you write about a wildlife trader or case and you say the product has very very high value, it's very precious, it shows status, it can give the misunderstanding to the audience that this is a popular way to show status. So if you want to mention the price so it should come with all other information like the jail time, how illegal it is, the legal status, how the criminals are caught and jailed. So those people associate those products with bad thing in society, it's not a thing you look forward to or look up to. (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November)

ENGOs, both international and local, employed local staff, who could check with colleagues, family and friends the cultural suitability of communications before they

published. This important ENGO routine (Scheufele 1999), was demonstrated in this quote:

...you always need to have the local people to check to see it fits with the cultures...Of course the first is the office. We are the local people. We understand the messages and then our friends and families and if they are all opposed to it, other audience who do not understand the problem they will be opposed to it as well. (VH Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November)

However, Representative A identified that reporting newsworthy statistics of the rhino poaching in South Africa was an ENGO media relations routine (Scheufele 1999) that factored in the production of the “crisis” sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame. Arguably the newsworthiness of the statistics along with the influence of what was arguably the ENGO’s ideology - that information of a crisis would logically influence buyers and consumers to mitigate demand - is a probable factor in the production of the “crisis” sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame. As well as suggesting Representative A’s aim of including these statistics, the quote below also illustrates how ENGOs juxtapose rhino poaching and Vietnam to promote a “causal interpretation” (Entman 1993) in the “Responsibility” frame:

Pretty much every year now the South African government announces the number of rhino that were poached and it’s increasing... So the numbers are jumping every year and it’s a real crisis so I think we’ve been trying to highlight that internationally as an organisation and obviously every time we talk about it we have to talk about Vietnam because this is where it [demand] is coming from. (Representative A, 2016, pers comm, 18 November)

Here it is important to note how strongly ENGOs are convinced of Vietnam’s major role in the international rhino horn trade and IWT. The certainty behind this communicator frame (Entman 1993) may be one factor in why ENGOs assume Vietnam’s responsibility in their press releases:

In Vietnam, our focus is on wildlife law enforcement because Vietnam is a transition country and consumption country so if you want to protect wildlife worldwide or anywhere, in Vietnam we have to stop the wildlife trade or else all the effects of other activities will be lost. (VH Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November)

In addition to ENGO ideologies influencing their framing, presumably the journalist and ENGO routine (Scheufele 1999) of copying and pasting newsworthy background

information, (Journalist C 2017, pers comm, 26 April) could be an influencing factor in the “crisis” sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame appearing as a competing frame in ENGO press releases. While John Baker of WildAid (2016, pers comm, 17 November) backed the use of the crisis sub-theme, arguably because of his ideological orientation (Scheufele 1999), or communicator frame (Entman 1993), he recognised an attitude of indifference to a crisis in a foreign country among the Vietnamese public. He believed this audience frame (Entman 1993) was not receptive to the “Responsibility” frame. It could be argued that understanding this audience frame could, or should, be an influence in the production of future frames:

Our main message is don't buy and we try to explain to people that by buying or using these products you are contributing to killing off a very endangered species that unfortunately is happening in another country which not many people care about. (J Baker 2016, pers comm, 17 November)

Some ENGOs may have also avoided using the “crisis” sub-theme or themes relating to biodiversity because of a perception that Vietnamese people don't care about biodiversity because they do not consider the future because their financial insecurity causes “short sightedness”. This links with Li and Davey's (2013) argument that the lack of concern about animal rights in China is economically not culturally based, which may be significant, as it could be argued that it is easier to alter an audience frame about economics than a culture:

Messages talking about the future, messages talking about the environment, you are damaging the environment, you are breaking the ecosystem, blah blah blah, People don't really care about it - because it not really affecting them and the Vietnamese people are very much short sighted, they care about what they get today... There's a saying in Vietnam if you give a person one dollar today and say they can take it today or they can wait for tomorrow and get 50 dollars they will take it today because they don't know what will happen tomorrow. (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November)

Feedback about the attitudes of key audiences or audience frames (Entman 1993) was spoken about as an influence in the production of communications. Tung, from Change, said feedback from Change's ambassador programs influenced their frames

and messages (T Tran 2016, pers comm, 2 July). Miss Trinh, of Traffic, identified an ENGO routine (Scheufele 1999) of holding workshops and using them as a means of gauging audience's perceptions, such as lack of concern for biodiversity in a faraway country. This routine arguably influenced Traffic's decision to produce educational messages about biodiversity as Miss Trinh demonstrated:

And in a lot of workshops we did in country a lot of people asked us why do we have to protect rhino horn if it is so far away? Why do we have to protect the biodiversity? (T Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 17 November)

The comments by Hong Hoang of Change showed that Change and possibly other ENGOs were aware that segments of the Vietnamese public have different audience frames (Entman 1993). She suggested that when students of international schools, elites, celebrities and intellectuals are presented with the "crisis" sub-theme they are more likely to be positively affected rather than see it as rare and desire it. This may be because education has helped develop their audience frame (Entman 1993), thus building background frames in preparation to receive a new frame (Lakoff 2010).

ENGOs in general talked about a need for more biodiversity education:

[At] international school we talk about biodiversity because they are intellectual... We do some crisis with elites and intellectual classes of grownups like ones who are more civilised, like the ones coming back from overseas, celebrities all those. (H Hoang 2016, pers comm, November 20)

When considering Hong Hoang's view, it is also important to consider a potential external influencing factor that arguably could be categorised as both organisational constraints and social norms (Scheufele 1999). Tang and Zhan (2008) argued that while a growing middle class in the West generally strengthened and supported the work of NGOs due to education and an interest in a better world, this was not the case in China. Chinese NGOs lacked solid societal support because the middle class do not wish to be seen to be oppositional to the policies of the government which has supported and allowed middle class wealth.

Having looked at the “crisis” sub-theme, I will now explore the responses relevant to the “brutality” sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame in order to answer RQ2 related to cultural and other factors. I will explore whether utilitarian views of wildlife are cultural or economic as an important factor to consider when framing and whether ENGOS’ experience with foreign campaigns influenced the framing in Vietnam. Scholars on the illegal wildlife trade in Vietnam widely agree that there is a utilitarian aspect of Asian culture towards wildlife (Drury 2009; Lin 2012). Li and Davey (2013) noted that “Animal welfare is an enormous problem in wildlife trade. The methods used to trap wild animals cause injury and mortality”. They also argued that in China animal protection or advocates of it are not supported by the legal system, a situation that appears to be improving in Vietnam, judging by media coverage of seizures of neglected illegal wildlife pets, possibly building a background frame (Lakoff 2010) that would bolster the efficacy of the “brutality” sub-theme discussed here. Interestingly Li and Davey (2013) argued that China’s utilitarian views of wildlife come from the pressure for economic development not as Drury (2009) or Lin (2012) argue from culture. A comment from Miss Hong from WCS suggests this is also the case in Vietnam:

...people think Vietnam is just a developing country, so issues with humans is more important than wildlife. (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November)

In previous WildAid campaigns in China to reduce demand for ivory and shark fin, WildAid’s John Baker said that consumers were unaware that animals were dying to supply the products, a view based on baseline research. Thus, he argued that WildAid made that information public through a WildAid campaign with WildAid’s key conservation message, “When the buying stops, the killing can too”. In Vietnam WildAid did baseline research that supported the existence of a similar mindset to China, then applied the same logic aiming to reduce demand for rhino horn in

Vietnam. Along with the influencing factor of the baseline research, it could be argued that Baker had an ideological perspective (Scheufele 1999) of compassion towards animals that he believed was shared by Vietnamese. Thus, he believed this message would work, however the literature and data suggested that the Vietnamese have a utilitarian ideology or culture/audience frame (Entman 1993) of wildlife:

Most of the people think you can cut a fin and it can grow back, same with ivory, you know. Maybe 30 percent knew it came from poached elephants, but most thought it came from a farm, it came from natural mortality, it came from, you could cut it the tusk, and it would grow back. No one knew the elephant was dying to get that. You explain, you inform them of that stuff and their attitude would instantly change to ‘oh I would never buy that if I knew it’s killing an animal... Most people already have that innate conservation attitude. (J Baker 2016, pers comm, 17 November)

Change, WildAid’s Vietnamese partner, appeared to have followed WildAid’s lead with the sub-theme focusing on emotion, but Change’s media relations officer Tung had suspected it wasn’t culturally suited. Lakoff (2010) argued that emotions are the guide to peoples’ desires. This supports other evidence in the interviews that suggests that international ENGOS can be influencing factors in the framing by local ENGOS, even in cases when local ENGOS question the meaning:

The second [message] is rhino would be killed for his horn... We want to focus on the emotion. We want the public to see that when the rhino is poached it makes them feel bad about this. When they buy rhino horn, when they buy just a piece of rhino horn, and just ask them - it will link to a death of a rhino... I think it not have a good response from the public about this message, yeah, because the death of rhino is just like a death of a chicken.” (T Tran 2016, pers comm, July 2)

The comment from Miss Dung, from ENV, below suggests that her perception of the young audience’s frame (Blood et al 2002; Entman 1993) influenced the use of the graphic image framing devices of the brutality sub-theme. She said it was controversial but effective, so feedback was also a key influence. Note the moral evaluation (Entman 1993) and the inferred responsibility of Vietnam:

It’s [graphic photographs] more about the young people. It’s more about the welfare issue. Because it is so graphic, people think it is horrible. As a human being, you stop doing that to the rhino...” (D Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 18 November).

John Baker explained that WildAid worked with celebrities to create messages that by using rhino horn consumers are responsible for killing rhinos. Jeffreys (2016) described this communication model as “moral persuasion by role models”. It is plausible that celebrities in Vietnam share the same progressive ideologies about biodiversity that their young fans and the supporters of progressive youthful ENGOs such as WildAid, ENV and Change have, as the data widely attests, for example (Hoang 2016, pers comm, 23 November). Jeffreys (2016) also referred to celebrities’ appeal to the younger generation in WildAid’s shark fin campaign in China. The literature on WildAid’s use of celebrities in China is interesting. Goodman et al (2016) suggested that the elite wildlife product users relate to celebrities because of their legitimacy (Solesbury 1976) and socio-economic proximity (G Burgess 2016, pers comm, 17 November). The literature suggested that such proximity potentially can overcome the elites’ resistance inherent in their audience frame (Entman 1993) to the campaign’s aim. Jeffreys (2016) however argued that it was an “impressive array of business networks” not celebrities that garnered the government’s ear to enact austerity measures to reduce consumption of shark fin. Hence it was an indirect, possibly unintended, effect of the campaign in China on the government. Jeffreys’ (2016) analysis of WildAid’s shark fin campaign in China found the framing missed some key cultural cues. Baker’s comment below bears out that the rhino horn campaign was designed with celebrities, not strong cultural frameworks in mind and could be closely based on the shark fin campaign in China that Jeffreys (2016) analysed:

The scripts were all done with the celebrities. They had a chance to put it in their own words. I don't think any of it was really specifically culturally based in any particular cultural concept but the idea that it's blood rhino horn. You think this thing is curing your disease but an animal died for this. (J Baker WildAid 2016, pers comm, 17 November)

Having looked at the “crisis” and “brutality” sub-themes which assumedly were intended to convey responsibility through the consequences of rhino horn IWT in

South Africa, I will now examine how ENGOs framed the consequences of rhino horn IWT in Vietnam, focusing on the “CSR” sub-theme, which is described in Table 5.1 as “corporate ethics” (Traffic 2015) to address RQ2: “What cultural and other factors were relevant in the frame’s production?” I will highlight illuminating excerpts of interviews and Traffic’s Hanoi IWT Conference presentation “Behaviour change to combat wildlife crime” (2016). The Traffic presenters at the conference described how and why they promoted CSR to businessmen to not just do it to “contribute to social welfare, beyond what is required for profit maximization” (McWilliams 2000) or “protect society” (Holme and Watts 1999) but also to avoid reputational risk in a globalising business world.

As Traffic focused on the CSR aspect of the “Responsibility” frame in its “Chi” campaign more than other ENGOs, I will focus on Traffic’s conference presentation to explore the factors influencing its production to answer RQ2. The depth and complexity of Traffic’s “Chi” campaign assumedly required funds. Vietnam received \$24 million of the \$1.3 billion globally from donors to combat IWT between 2010 and 2016 of which 16 percent went to International ENGOs, while 4 percent went to local ENGOs (World Bank 2016). I argue that International funding of ENGO campaigns, such as the World Bank’s global support program for demand reduction, is an “organisational pressure or constraint” that influenced (Scheufele 1999) the “Chi” campaign. This is important to note with possible implications for future research. Jeremy Eppel from World Bank discusses the funding here:

That is a huge amount of money but a very small proportion of that only devoted to awareness raising and demand reduction and behaviour change aspects of demand reduction. (J Eppel 2016, pers comm, 17 November)

Secondly, Eppel noted that Traffic’s campaigns have been influenced by knowledge drawn from other sectors and academic disciplines, arguably as a matter of ENGO routine (Scheufele 1999):

It's very important that we use the best knowledge available. So apply lessons among other sectors. Don't just rely on start and construct. There's a great deal of knowledge out there both in other sectors and other academic disciplines that need to be applied to this. (J Eppel 2016, pers comm, 17 November)

Gayle Burgess, the consumer behaviour change coordinator for Traffic International, discussed the influence of a combination of social marketing expertise with brainstorming activities with stakeholders in workshops and in an online community of practice group to develop messaging that spoke to the values of consumers rather than imposed Traffic's values or communicator frames (Entman 1993). She discussed being influenced by research into the motivations driving use and by research that suggested moving away from the use of celebrities as "key opinion leaders" to messengers with less socio-economic distance such as "those who are around day to day - those who you are exposed to face to face - thinking about peers, colleagues, families and friends" (G Burgess 2016, pers comm, 17 November). I argue that Traffic's reliance on research at a range of levels can be categorised as organisational pressures, such as mentioned by Eppel (2016, pers comm, 17 November) because of the criteria for funding, as well as both ideologies and routines (Scheufele 1999). One of the research projects into what was driving consumer behaviour that had influenced Burgess was a baseline research study (Truong et al 2016) that Traffic commissioned that showed an increasingly major cause for demand was the use of rhino horn for status by wealthy businessmen. As a response to the research results Traffic partnered with Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry (VCCI), looking to reach wealthy businessmen with Traffic's "Chi" campaign. Senior Traffic staff addressing the conference referred to this businessman as "Mr L" describing him in a joking way in the Hanoi presentation as the "naughty naughty Mr L" and the "devious Mr L" (Z Sabie 2016, pers comm, 17 November), giving an indication of the "elite discourse" (deVreese 2005, p52) that the Traffic communicator's frame was

coming from. Trinh Nguyen's presentation spelled out the communicator frame about

"Mr L" in objective terms that painted him as an elite:

Mr L is a very wealthy and successful man. He likes to be seen as a leader in his business and his circles and he doesn't care much about the extinction of rhino horn but would like to use rhino horn to maintain his wellbeing to enjoy the luxury of life. He is very well educated who has his own mind and doesn't like to be told what to do but would like to tell others what to do. (T Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 17 November)

Related to these frames was the influencing factor of ENGO perceptions of audience attitudes (Blood et al 2002; Entman 1993). As a member of a local ENGO, Miss

Dung from ENV revealed some tensions in her communicator frame (Entman 1993)

of the wealthy businessman that Traffic called "Mr L":

I still think they are educated. It's not like they are ignorant. I still think about character. I don't know how to describe them. They can be businessmen, officer, government officer, anyone who has the money. I can't say they are all ignorant. (Dung ENV 2016, pers comm, 18 November)

It is interesting here to compare Traffic's perception of "Mr L" to how ENGOS perceived people who believed in the horn's medical efficacy to cure cancer and other diseases. John Baker of WildAid, for example, said the medicinal belief was "dumb" (2016, pers comm, 17 November), while another personnel said he hated people who used rhino horn.

Miss Hong, a Vietnamese media academic, explained that Sabie's use of "naughty" seemed friendly:

Naughty sounds to me more as "cheeky" or with sex implication and used more in jokes than in a serious way. (H Vu 2017, pers comm, 20 April).

From my findings in terms of RQ2, regarding the influencing factors of frames, it seems Traffic's view of businessmen consumers was different to the general ENGO view of consumers who used the horn medically. Traffic's impression that emotional use consumers were educated elites rather than "stupid" may have helped influence a gentler frame (Lin 2012) in the "Chi" campaign than the VWP frame in their previous

fingernail campaign. The change is in line with a change in communicator frames (Entman 1993) concerning medical users and emotional users following Traffic's interaction with elites which can be very influential with frames (Gans 1979; Tuchman 1978; deVreese 2005). The contrast between the fingernail campaign aimed at medical users (Image 5.3) and the Chi Campaign advertisement (Image 5.4) is clear. The first made a joke of users while the second portrayed users as intelligent elites. As will be discussed further in future publications, both Miss Dung from ENV and Miss Hong from WCS said they had received negative feedback about the fingernail messaging for the "VWP" frame (D Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 18 November; H Duong 2016, pers comm, 17 November). Thus it was plausible that Traffic was also aware of that backlash from their CSR workshops with business leaders, with whom they were testing the efficacy of a range of workshopped messages (T Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 17 November). Hence the findings suggest the influence of feedback and interaction with elites (deVreese 2005). Through feedback, Traffic softened the tone of communication in a way that Lin (2012) found was successful in her study of the elephant ENGO in Thailand. In relation to RQ2 two other influences that I found were:

1. The study of academic research which recommended using messengers with reduced socio-economic distance, hence Traffic used businessmen as messengers rather than celebrities (Burgess 2016).
2. Feedback from the workshops influenced Traffic to remove branding from their outputs as evidenced by Miss Trinh's statement below:

We don't use any Traffic logo that we know or any logo from any conservation NGO because we know that if MR L sees this picture he would dismiss it right away because he thinks it's going to be coming from a conservation voice. (T Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 17 November)

This important exclusion of branding information, which I observed with other ENGOs, can be seen by comparing Images 5.3 and 5.4. As Miss Trinh's comment

suggests, the decision to include or exclude the Traffic brand may have changed the meaning of the text frame in the audience's frame. It also suggests that the Vietnamese public have an issue with the legitimacy of environmental groups. Thus, the Chi campaign's softer message that success, status and power come from within, not from a piece of rhino horn, seemed to the audience to come from a businessman.

Image of rhino with fingers photoshopped in place of horn removed for copyright reasons.

Image 5.3. Traffic and WWF joint campaign to reduce demand for rhino horn (Traffic, WWF 2013).

Image of a businessman in suit whispering in a businessman's ear removed for copyright reasons

Image 5.4. Traffic's Chi Campaign (Traffic2014).

Following Gayle Burgess in Traffic’s presentation at the conference, Trinh Nguyen from Traffic’s Vietnam office mentioned the influence of teaming with creative agencies to develop “a holistic marketing communication strategy” (T Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 17 November) for the Chi Campaign. In addition to Traffic’s use of creative agencies, she referred to contracting the research by Truong et al (2016). This suggests important ENGO routines (Scheufele 1999) that influence frames.

Traffic partnered with VCCI before they decided on using CSR as the site to leverage the Chi Campaign. In terms of the ‘other influences’ aspect of RQ2, this comment from the VCCI’s Miss Thuy’s talk during the Traffic presentation (TTT Le 2016, pers comm, 17 November) suggested brainstorming with partner organisations was an ENGO routine (Scheufele 1999) that influences the production of frames. It is also significant that both people who took part in the brainstorming, Miss Thuy and Miss Trinh were Vietnamese, as Lin (2012) found that using local staff helped an elephant ENGO in Thailand provide communication strategies to tackle sensitive issues. Miss Thuy explained how Traffic increased the leverage at the CSR site of the “Responsibility” frame by bringing legal risks of IWT into the frame:

The key motivation for business to tackle wildlife crime is to avoid risk. Adopting zero tolerance against wildlife can help a business mitigate legal and reputational risk. Employees are learning about the more stringent law and harsher punishment of wildlife crime that will come into effect in 2017 under the penal code, under this code it is illegal to consume, keep, buy, sell or trade protected wildlife. So the best way to avoid becoming a wildlife criminal is to adopt zero tolerance of illegal wildlife consumption in your public and private life. (TTT Le 2016, pers comm, 17 November)

Hence the “CSR” sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame appears to have been created to leverage on issues such as legal and reputational risk that are pertinent to the audience (Cox 2010; Maibach 2010; Nisbet 2009).

5.5 Efficacy of the “Responsibility” frame

This section aims to answer RQ3: “How effective are the selected ENGOs’

communication strategies in relaying those messages and frames in the eyes of experts in the field?” To do this I interviewed experts in the field. I will first discuss experts’ views of the legitimacy of the “Responsibility” frame, then the efficacy of the “crisis”, “brutality” and “CSR” sub-themes, then discuss a potential problem with the frame, which the interview data revealed. According to one interviewee, Newspaper Editor A, members of the Vietnamese media rejected the view that Vietnam is a key consumer nation of rhino horn. Rather, they see it as a transit country, thus creating legitimacy problems for campaigns and reducing the potential efficacy of the “Responsibility” frame. I found four potential reasons for this in the analysis of the press releases and the interviews:

1. There is little proven statistical evidence of widespread use of rhino horn in Vietnam present in the press release sample, which I demonstrated in section 5.2. In fact, contradictory evidence presented in a 2014 HSI press release created some ambiguity.
2. Apparently the Vietnamese government view is that Vietnam is a transit nation and not a consumer nation (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm 22 November) thus influencing members of the media. The common view of government and media is arguably partly because of the Soviet model of media (Siebert et al 1956) in Vietnam and the special interaction that journalists and state-owned media have with government elites (Gans 1979; Tuchman 1978; deVreese 2005, p.52).
3. The government and media view expressed by Newspaper Editor A is plausibly also supported in the minds of Vietnamese, by Vietnam’s long history of an extensive wildlife trade across the border to China (Van Song 2008) that arguably is a part of an existing audience or cultural frame, which I will discuss later in the theory section of the chapter.

4. A culture of rigorous investigative reporting is lacking in journalism in Vietnam, hence journalists don't provide proven evidence of the extent of rhino horn use that ENGOs can use in their media releases. However, in cases where journalists embedded with ENGOs on visits to South Africa to report on the consequences of the rhino poaching and linked it with demand in Vietnam, the journalists (Journalist A 2016, pers comm, 22 November) and ENGOs considered the resultant media reports as having legitimacy, hence having an impact on rhino horn consumers. The investigation aspect is complicated further by a view that I found that investigations are dangerous both for journalists and ENGOs.

Before exploring the legitimacy issue regarding evidence, I will discuss expert views on the efficacy of the "crisis" and "brutality" sub-themes. A newspaper editor and a journalist who were interviewed gave different perspectives. Neither was concerned with the cultural issues of rarity or utilitarian views of wildlife that I found concerned the ENGO personnel. The editor was sympathetic to the ENGOs' cause but pragmatic about the realities of news, whereas the journalist was passionate about conservation, about reporting on conservation issues and spoke about how his newspaper gave his investigations into rhino horn complete support.

The ENGO view that conservation concerns of Vietnamese were unlikely to extend beyond their own shores that I discussed in section 5.3 was shared by Newspaper Editor A, who didn't see how the crisis in South Africa could resonate with Vietnamese because "...a majority of Vietnamese people... have never seen the rhino with their bare eyes" (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November). The editor said that the Vietnamese media and Vietnamese journalists in general were

sympathetic with the conservation movement and rhino horn issues, but most journalists were more concerned with local environmental issues that have direct impact on their Vietnamese readers:

That [rhino horn trade] is not [a] priority. A lot on environment issue almost everyday. Because Vietnam is on the juncture of development and environmental costs so if we want high growth we have to pay the price for environmental issue...The environmental issue is now real, because we can see it everywhere - the canals and the air. We have to breathe polluted air. We have to drink polluted water. I think environment issue is one of the biggest concern of the Vietnamese population, I think it's running very high. (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November)

Concerning the efficacy of the “brutality” sub-theme, Newspaper Editor A believed that most Vietnamese had not yet seen the brutality of rhino poaching, suggesting that graphic images of rhino poaching haven't been tried much in Vietnam: “We Vietnamese have never seen, eyewitnessed that scene, so cruelty is still taking a back seat at the moment” (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November).

Journalist A's views provided a contrast to the editor. Journalist A said he was passionate about conservation because he wanted a better world for young Vietnamese. He said he admired the brave work of ENGOs and his newspaper gave him complete freedom and support for his investigation into the rhino horn trade in Vietnam. His comments below suggest that when a trusted Vietnamese journalist works closely with an ENGO, witnesses for himself the brutality of poaching and associates it with Vietnam's responsibility in the news, it can be effective:

We [Journalist A and ENGO] drive from Johannesburg to Kruger... We fly in helicopter... We take photo of dead body of rhino horn... I take photo and write article and publish in my newspaper. I make documentary film and everything. People in Vietnam very shocked when they watching TV and reading my newspaper. They don't believe why people can shoot and cut the horn of rhino. Not very good we must stop. After I write article in my newspaper many many people read my article and say not good... stop using rhino horn. (Journalist A 2016, pers comm, 22 November)

Miss Dung said ENV's decision to air graphic images of brutality were successful but controversial:

Yeah positive feedback. We have public service announcements. It describes about how the rhino was killed to make the horn. It's all the graphic image. So when people first see that, they feel like it's shocking. It's too much. But, surprisingly, when we air it on TV - a lot of national and provincial TV - it is impactful. (D Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 18 November)

Thus, the findings suggest that ENGOs working directly with selected dedicated journalists and providing investigative opportunities for them may have had positive effects. This builds on the recommendations that Sumrall (2009) made for wild-trade ENGOs to build relationships with newspaper journalists. Through a Vietnamese journalist embedding with a local Vietnamese ENGO on a tour of rhino poaching in South Africa, the "Responsibility" frame's sub-themes were possibly made more legitimate and effective at both raising awareness and changing behaviour. Some ENGO personnel, however, commented on the lack of good investigative journalism in Vietnam saying there was less of "entrepreneurial journalism and journalists really digging into a story" (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 18 November) or even saying a lot of journalists in Vietnam were "stupid and lazy".

These comments shed some light on a variety of perceptions of audience frames (Blood et al 2002) that journalists can have. Certain ENGO routines (Scheufele 1999) revealed here, such as training and working with journalists may improve the efficacy of the "crisis" and "brutality" sub-themes. Now I will briefly discuss the efficacy of the "CSR" sub-theme. A limitation of my study was that I did not question experts on the "CSR" sub-theme, however a recent important study into the emotional use of rhino horn by Vietnamese business men (Truong et al 2016) that informed Traffic's Chi campaign and CSR workshops is perhaps the best expert view that I can present here.

The researchers (Truong et al 2016) found two key points regarding the efficacy of campaigns like the “Chi” campaign: firstly to recognise the importance Vietnamese businessmen connect to being part of a social network that uses rhino horn and secondly that it is essential for a campaign to garner the support and actions, “public and private” of businessmen in those groups.

It would appear from the comments of two speakers at the Traffic presentation that by engaging businessmen in CSR that Traffic achieved the latter and the campaign was effective. Miss Thuy, of VCCI, said:

And now we have some champions of CSR and they are very successful businessman [sic] and businesswoman [sic] and they are very effective... We have selected key corporate champions who are sharing their commitment to abstaining from illegally traded wildlife through their company's website, through informational posters in the office, and through company policy of zero tolerance of illegal wildlife consumption. (TTT Le 2016, pers comm 17 November)

Thus, the “CSR” sub-theme seems effective. Having looked at the efficacy of the three main sub-themes identified in the “Responsibility” frame, I will now analyse the legitimacy issue of the lack of evidence in the “Responsibility” frame.

A fundamental problem for the efficacy of the “Responsibility” frame is an apparent sense in the Vietnamese government and media that Vietnam is not responsible.

Newspaper Editor A said he did not believe Vietnam was responsible. Rather, he said he believed it was a transit nation, not a consumer nation. He said China was the biggest consumer:

We don't know exactly how much Vietnamese is [sic] consuming rhino horns because most of the time when illegal shipment of rhino horns were caught in the country they come from South Africa, maybe because Vietnam is a trans-shipment point in Asia and you know China is the biggest consumer of rhino horns because traditional medicine is a very strong sector in China but in Vietnam is not a strong one. (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November)

This audience frame (Entman 1993) or ideology (Scheufele 1999) of Newspaper Editor A may have come from the Vietnamese government, as he suggested:

We get some information from official sources from the government. But sometimes we also get information from [an] international news agency. We don't have any official data about that. The world is looking at us as the biggest consumer of rhino horns. And we know that, but we don't have any data to prove it is true or not. (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November)

The government source of this information is plausible as the government has said this for several years. The views are backed by a long history of IWT across the Vietnam/China border (Van Song 2008), thus creating a well-entrenched background frame (Lakoff 2010) that may be difficult to change, especially considering recent reports of the trade in China (Crosta et al 2017; Esterman 2016). The editor's comments suggest that the ENGOs are losing the framing competition, as the "Responsibility" frame is negated by competing government and international news agencies' frames. The editor further developed this audience frame, arguing that traditional medicine (TM) is stronger in China than Vietnam, so reasoned horn is used more there. He argued only the rich can afford it, so few in Vietnam could afford it compared to China:

Only the rich can afford to buy rhino horn and the rich only make a small fraction of the population so just a few people just the people who have a lot of money to spend who can afford to buy rhino horn... But I think Vietnam is just a trans-shipment point for rhino horn. I think the people here, not too many people here consume rhino horn. (Newspaper Editor A 2016, pers comm, 22 November)

Miss Hong of WCS tended to support Newspaper Editor A's claim that journalists in Vietnam believed Vietnam was a transit, not a consumer, country. She explained that if ENGOs communicated the challenges of investigating rhino horn use in Vietnam, and the facts regarding China's involvement it may be a substitute for providing evidence. It is plausible that both of these points were excluded from the press releases because audiences might find the information ambiguous:

...they [Vietnamese journalists] often ask do you know if Vietnam... how much of rhino horn in Vietnam goes to China and how much stays in Vietnam? And we often say that number, because it's an illicit product, the exact number cannot be determined. And it changes. So what the media should focus on is the fact that it is consumed in Vietnam and it is

transported to China as well. That's a fact and the exact number is not important. (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November)

Adding to the clandestine nature of criminal activity, to justify why there is little evidence that Vietnam is a key rhino horn consumer country, Journalist A revealed that investigating the rhino horn trade in Vietnam was dangerous. This may also explain why good investigative reporting was possibly lacking:

Some people not very many one, two, three, four... a little people, I think four and five people journalist always think about rhino horn, because very difficult to investigate about rhino horn. When I go to South Africa I have a lot of information about one man, dangerous so to now, even now, I never write article about him. I never, because so dangerous. He very, very rich and he very dangerous. I never write article about him you know... because I know him dangerous man. (Journalist A 2016, pers comm, 22 November)

Thus, my findings suggest there are several obstacles to overcome before ENGOs can address the problem of evidence and the legitimacy issues it has possibly caused. However, I will show in the conclusion to this chapter that evidence already exists, which has been possibly overlooked for use in media releases.

5.6 Discussion and chapter conclusion

The media have long been carrying stories of the brutality of the poaching crisis, the rarity of rhino horn, the threat to an endangered species, the extinction of the Javan rhino species in Vietnam and the high price of the horn. But what was not known prior to this research was the extent to which these factors were presented in the media outputs of ENGOs and that they were aspects of a “Responsibility frame”. I found that the “Responsibility” frame communicates Vietnam’s responsibility through a loose association between the demand for rhino horn in Vietnam and the consequences for both rhinos in South Africa and people in Vietnam. The data showed these consequences made up seven sub-themes: “crisis”, “brutality”, “CSR”, “national reputation”, “spiritual responsibility”, “family values” and “health”.

My findings show that the high price, preciousness and rarity aspects of the “crisis” sub-theme were considered to be problematic by ENGOs to demand reduction efforts because of cultural reasons linked to the value Vietnamese place on an animal’s rarity. This cultural influence is supported by Burgess’ (2016) argument that public communications of high demand and high prices were responsible for the poaching escalation. In the framing analysis of the press releases I found that the high price of rhino horn has been excluded from the press releases in the sample time frame and that there was strong consensus among ENGOs that any portrayal of the horns as expensive or precious was problematic. Problematic devices linked to this that ENGOs noted also included the threat to rhinos of extinction.

Despite the awareness of ENGOs of the counter-effect potential of such framing devices, they were widely present throughout the press releases in the sample. This may be because, as Burgess (2016) stated, they were useful devices for raising awareness. It could possibly be that they were considered by ENGO personnel as newsworthy background information as ENGOs make compromises for media coverage (D Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 18 November) or they were copied and pasted from previous releases as a standard ENGO routine (Scheufele 1999). A recommendation would be to make media relations officers ‘frame aware’ and develop routines to remove or adjust such problematic framing devices. I found ENGOs were conducting journalism training and regular informal meetings with selected journalists to help journalists avoid printing information that could be counter-effective to ENGO efforts (H Duong 2016, pers comm, 18 November). The interview with one ENGO revealed an unconventional ENGO/journalist working relationship that ENGOs could exploit to avoid the publication of counter-effective messages. The personnel described a routine where journalists worked with the

ENGO to edit press releases for publication (Representative B 2016, pers comm, 17 November). These findings suggest that ENGOs appear to have followed Sumrall's (2009) recommendations to build relationships with journalists.

I also found that generally ENGOs considered that education about global biodiversity issues was essential for prime audiences to care more about rhino poaching in far off countries like South Africa. Most ENGOs said that young people were more likely to respond to their campaigns because they were more educated about biodiversity than older audiences.

I found that as a frame with a strong causality function (Entman 1993) the "Responsibility" frame was quite ambiguous about who was too blame, with the broad meaning that Vietnam was to blame. Representative A (2016 pers comm, 18 November) placed causality and blame with Vietnam's "cancer cure claim...status being a big cause...rising incomes". I found that counter claims and evidence that China is to blame were problematic for ENGOs who plausibly excluded the information from their media outputs because audiences might find it "ambiguous" (Gitlin 1980, p. 45) and too culturally familiar. I would recommend ENGOs conduct or access more research to be accurate, while still being culturally and politically appropriate.

Another finding was that at least one ENGO, ENV, had positive feedback about the efficacy of graphic images of brutality on behaviour change even though their use was controversial. This is in line with Benford and Snow's argument that motivational appeal can be achieved by presenting the "severity" of the situation, perhaps to overcome utilitarian beliefs of wildlife (Sumrall 2009). Where photographs of rhinos were used in the press releases nearly all were photos of rhinos

with horns while some were photos of mother rhinos with horns with baby rhinos. Using photos of rhinos with horns is potentially problematic as it can portray the power and majesty of the rhino to audiences, causing a potential counter effect to demand reduction efforts (Burgess 2016). A recommendation for photos that enact the “Responsibility” frame would be to only use photos of rhinos without horns, graphic shots of mutilated rhinos, poached rhinos with law enforcement personnel or photos of rhinos with babies to enact the “family values” sub-theme that has strong potential to resonate with Vietnamese audiences.

My findings illustrate that the “Responsibility” frame aimed to communicate Vietnam’s role in the rhino poaching in South Africa through placement and association of these concepts in the press releases (Entman 1993, p. 53; Phalen and Algan 2001, p. 302; Blood et al 2002, p. 78) rather than evidence of Vietnam as a key consumer nation. The results also align with Beck, Anderson and Hansen’s views on legitimacy. Beck (1992, p. 63) argued, “Anyone who insists on strict causality denies the reality of connections that exist”. Hence it is reasonable to assume the frame lacked the evidence and the legitimacy to make Vietnam a “socially recognised cause” needed to create the pressure for government action (Beck 1992). Anderson (1991) and Hansen (1993, p. 175) argued that ENGOS were tied to using scientific evidence to gain legitimacy.

The data showed how the “Responsibility” frame inhabited all of the four framing locations in the various communicators and audiences, texts and culture (Entman 1993) and how considerations of the frames in these locations were potentially influencing-factors in the ENGOS’ production of frames. As Lakoff (2010) conceived, an audience must have the right system of frames in place to make sense

of certain complex facts. In some cases, such as with the “crisis” and “brutality” sub-themes, the data showed the persuasive logic behind the communications made sense to the communicators, but conceivably less sense to the audience or the culture. My recommendation is for ENGO personnel to be made more ‘frame aware’ of their communicator frames and culture and audience frames (Entman 1993) through internal training and education programs.

The findings illustrated the significance of Scheufele’s five influencing factors of frames (1999) for the seven ENGOs that produced the “Responsibility” frame in the sample. External and internal factors (deVreese 2005) played significant roles in the frames’ production as illustrated in Table 4.5. An important external factor apparently concerned the Vietnam government’s stance that Vietnam is primarily a transit country not a consumer country. The same view held by Vietnamese Newspaper Editor A (2016, pers comm, 22 November) could be explained by the journalist’s ideological or political orientation or by an organisational pressure and constraint (Scheufele 1999) in relation to state-owned newspapers’ function under the Soviet media model (Siebert et al 1956). My findings also suggest that it is difficult for ENGOs and journalists to collect evidence of Vietnam as a key consumer country because firstly of the clandestine nature of criminal activity (H Duong 2016, pers comm 18 November) and secondly because of the danger of investigating criminals (Journalist A 2016, pers comm 22 November). The findings suggest that despite these difficulties and an apparently passive journalism culture, some ENGOs, journalists and social marketing researchers are investigating the extent and nature of rhino horn use, but not always presenting evidence to the public. My recommendation is for ENGOs to incorporate existing evidence into their media outputs as a routine and explore opportunities to for more research and to cultivate a more “entrepreneurial”

investigative journalism culture around IWT within the restrictions under the Soviet model (Siebert et al 1956) of the existing media system.

ENGO routines (Scheufele 1999) were key influencing factors in the production of the “Responsibility” frame. ENGO routines included consulting academic research in a variety of areas, conducting baseline surveys, employing and consulting local staff about cultural messages.

By leveraging on specific sites of contention (Cox 2010) the “Responsibility” frame performed the motivational function of framing for social movements (Benford and Snow 2000) by linking to issues “pertinent” to Vietnamese (Maibach 2010). It can be assumed that the ENGOs also aimed to motivate demand reduction through depictions of the severity and urgency of the situation through the “crisis” and “brutality” sub-themes, which Benford and Snow (2000) identified as key aspects of the frames motivational tasks.

A significant result of this research regarding the lack of proof in the “Responsibility” frame is data from recent research conducted for Traffic into consumer behaviour (Truong et al 2016), which indicated widespread use of rhino horn among high income Vietnamese men. In their sample of 608 men in high earning household areas of HCMC and Hanoi “287 (47.2%) reported having consumed rhino horn prior to the survey” (Truong et al 2016). Though this seems to be strong evidence of considerable consumption and thereby responsibility in Vietnam, it does not appear in any ENGO press releases in the sample. A WildAct press release (2016) which outlined research based evidence of widespread online trading in rhino horn was the only press release in the sample that provided evidence of Vietnam’s role, thus fulfilling Anderson (1991) and Hansen’s (1993, p. 175) argument that ENGOs need scientific evidence to

gain legitimacy. Princen (1994a) argued that research is a key bargaining asset of ENGOs to make themselves useful to government and other actors, but whether Princen's argument is relevant now in the Vietnamese Communist context may have implications for further research. The statistics that half of the wealthy men in the sample have used rhino horn seems to be overlooked by the ENGOs and could be useful in addressing this doubt in the minds of the media and government, thus preparing the "background frames" of the audience to be more receptive to the "Responsibility" frame (Lakoff 2010).

Distance from South Africa, Vietnamese short-sightedness regarding the future and the Vietnamese utilitarian attitudes towards wildlife were mentioned by interviewees as limiting factors to effectiveness of the "Responsibility" frame. ENGOs seemed to all agree that education about the importance of biodiversity was essential for preparing audiences to care more about rhinos in South Africa. This echoes Princen and Finger's (1994) statement that education is a key function of ENGOs, contributing to social learning to "learn our way out" (Finger 1994, p. 65), which was most effective when linking the local to the global. Lakoff's (2010) essay posited that for frames to be effective they must "make sense in terms of the existing system of frames" so frames take time and effort to change. Therefore, biodiversity education may be a useful background frame (Lakoff 2010) to build interest in global biodiversity issues.

I found that Traffic was using corporate reputational risk as a contentious site (Cox 2010) that could impact Vietnamese businessmen who use rhino horn directly. Traffic's "CSR" sub-theme built on necessary background frames (Lakoff 2010) brought about by corporate ethics and transparency imposed on Vietnam by WTO

membership. My finding was that a potentially effective synergy between Traffic's CSR program and the use of celebrities by other ENGOs in the sample could occur, as Jeffreys (2016) argued that trans-local celebrity activism, such as WildAid's celebrity campaigns, can prepare the ground or provide the background frames needed for elite group activism such as Traffic's CSR champions program. Traffic's CSR strategy was conceived in brainstorming sessions with the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry (VCCI), a partnership that linked Traffic with wealthy businessmen. Speakers at the Traffic presentation demonstrated how such interaction with elites influenced the frame (Gans 1979; Tuchman 1978; deVreese 2005) while also explaining that frame also used a gentle approach in line with Lin (2012) without vilifying users (Collins 2013). Wells-Dang's (2012) findings supported Traffic's approach that ENGO advocacy should not be seen to threaten elites or their constituencies in Vietnam. Rather, subtlety and a slow gentle hand were needed. This concludes **Chapter 5** in which I have outlined a range of cultural and other internal and external factors that potentially influenced the "Responsibility" frame and the potential efficacy of the frame. In Chapter 6 I will summarise and discuss the implications of these findings.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1. Four frames

The objectives of my research were firstly in RQ1 to identify the key frames that ENGOs used in their media outputs to reduce demand for rhino horn in Vietnam; secondly in RQ2 to explore the cultural and other factors that influenced the production of those frames; and, thirdly in RQ3 to investigate how effective they were in the eyes of experts.

The research was related to previous environmental communications research projects that explored the intersection between how claims-makers framed environmental issues (Nisbet 2009) and the workings and influencing factors of ENGOs regarding their media outputs such as Anderson's research into environmental claims-makers (1997). My research looked not only at how the rhino horn trade was being framed by ENGOs in Vietnam but explored internal, external and cultural factors that influenced the process including relevant audience frames.

A key limitation of the research was that it was not possible to review ENGOs' press releases in Vietnamese. Interview respondents, however, said while there were some differences, they were slight. Interviewing key Vietnamese personnel and experts in English, their second language, may have also been a limitation regarding specific information, their feelings and views. It was also beyond the capacity of this research to review the news stories in the Vietnamese media that stemmed from the press releases as a way to gauge ENGOs' effectiveness at getting their messages and frames into the Vietnamese media to aid in answering RQ3. However, media personnel interviewed for the research as experts to answer RQ3 shed some light on this issue. With the strong take-up of social media in Vietnam, it would have been conducive to understanding ENGOs' framing, to investigate their communications directly with the public using social media to bypass the media, to analyse these outputs. However, this was beyond the scope of this research.

Despite Vietnam's distance culturally, linguistically and geographically from the researcher, these factors caused few problems for the research as I was fortunate to attend a key conference on IWT, the 2016 Hanoi Conference on Illegal Wildlife Trade, and meet, interview and observe key personnel in person. Had this not been the case I suspect I may have had problems connecting remotely with the people who could best help answer my research questions.

In answer to the first research question related to the identification of frames, in **Chapter 4** I identified four key frames in the ENGO media outputs over the three-year sample period. These were “Responsibility”, “Lip Service”, “Empower” and “Voodoo Wildlife Parts”. Three of the frames were in line with generic frames widely used in environmental communications identified by Anderson (1997); Nisbet (2009); and Dirikx and Gelders (2009). I found the frames performed a mix of framing functions: problem definition, causality, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation reflecting Entman’s (1993) theory, and motivation (Benford and Snow 2000) and aimed to perform ENGO tasks of commanding attention, claiming legitimacy and invoking action (Solesbury 1976). My findings illustrated a homogeneity of framing across the seven ENGOs in the study. Only two in the sample total of 76 press releases did not enact one or more of the four frames identified. Hence, nearly all the press releases of seven ENGOs over a three-year period could be interpreted in terms of these four frames, reflecting Capella and Jamieson’s (1997) criteria of frames that they must be commonly observed but perhaps more significantly this tidy set of four frames echoes Hazelton’s (1997, cited in Blood et al 2002, p. 63) argument that the media (in this case ENGOs) tend to draw on a common “set” of frames. Major differences in the selection of which of the four frames were used by the ENGOs could be explained by two main different typologies of ENGO in the sample; firstly, whether the ENGO was local or international and, secondly, whether the ENGO aimed to reduce demand through societal control or behaviour change. The two typologies appeared to be related. The “Lip Service” frame, discussed in **Chapter 4**, which tends to be critical of the Vietnamese government for not carrying out its IWT commitments, appeared as the dominant frame in almost all of the press releases of WWF and WCS, both of which focused on the societal control track of demand reduction. Both of these ENGOs were

international organisations, assumedly well funded and working closely with the Vietnamese government. The mix of frames present in the other five ENGOs' press releases in the sample, which included all the local ENGOs, suggested they employed a mix of societal control and the behaviour change strategies to reduce demand..

In terms of the second research question, related to cultural and other influences, in **Chapter 4** I outlined in table form an extensive array of cultural, internal and external influences of the production of the ENGO frames that I found in the analysis of the interviews with ENGO key personnel. The findings seemed to echo the influences posited by Scheufele (1999) and deVreese (2005) to a large extent, but I found particular nuances among them in the context of Vietnam. The interplay that was revealed of ENGOs' pressures and constraints, social norms and values, routines and ideologies with the Vietnamese audiences, journalists and elites were in line with Scheufele (1999) and deVreese's (2005) theories. Entman's (1993) finding of the four sites of frames (communicator, text, audience and culture) and Lakoff's arguments (2010) about the tensions and opportunities that these sites presented to claims-makers seemed to ring true, when conceptualising the factors that influenced the framing.

In terms of how frames were influenced in the IWT context in Vietnam, certain nuances were in line with other research into environmental communication. My finding of the use of local staff to consult on the cultural appropriateness of communications related to Lin's (2012) observation of an elephant ENGO in Thailand as discussed in Table 4.7 and **Chapter 5**. Building on Lin's findings was my observation of the tendency for IENGOS to partner with local ENGOs, which may help with cultural matters and connections, but could also be a reality for meeting certain international donor funding criteria. The results showed seven aspects of culture that influenced the framing: concepts of "chi" energy, utilitarian views of

wildlife, Buddhist and Taoist teachings of animal rights, saving face, respect for elders, Traditional Medicine and valuing rare animal products.

The practice of using professional creative agencies and market researchers to create campaigns that I found among the IWT ENGOs in Vietnam, builds on the research of Greenberg et al (2011) who found an increasing tendency of environmental groups in the US contracting professional public relations agencies for their campaigns. The IWT ENGOs in Vietnam, however, were employing staff instead of using professional agencies to produce media releases or “information subsidies” for the media, a finding of my research that agrees with Curtin and Rhodenbaugh’s (2001) research also in the US. A possible implication for environmental groups in Vietnam is an international influence on campaign styles.

External factors that influenced framing included Vietnam’s economy, international funding of ENGOs and government restrictions.

In terms of the third research question regarding the efficacy of the media outputs in the eyes of experts, I found the ENGOs struggled to claim legitimacy with audiences and in the case of the medicinal use aspect of the “Voodoo Wildlife Parts” frame ENGOs had potentially angered audiences. A key finding was that the ENGOs recognised a need to improve their messaging in the “Lip service” frame to advocate for better enforcement of existing Vietnamese laws. This finding builds on the work of researchers on ENGOs in China and Vietnam in **Chapter 2**, about the gradual emergence and roles of the local environmental movement (Yang and Calhoun 2013; Wells-Dang 2010) and the effectiveness of ENGOs in the communist/socialist political context of these two countries.

In **Chapter 5**, where I examined the “Responsibility” frame in detail, my findings on the efficacy of the frame were slightly at odds with previous framing research (Blood

et al 2002; Entman 1993; Phalen and Algan 2001) that salience of framing can be achieved through placement and association. I found that in the press releases the ENGO tended to attribute responsibility by providing evidence of problems of rhino poaching in South Africa alongside unsubstantiated claims of Vietnam's demand, which appeared to be ineffective with the media and government in the face of conflicting information. My findings agreed with Nisbet's argument (2009) that ambiguous environmental framing was ineffective; Anderson (1991) and Hansen's (1993, p. 175) findings that scientific evidence was needed for the legitimacy of claims making (Solesbury 1976); and Lakoff's (2010) argument that claims-makers needed to be aware of the frames in key audiences. My findings also found that the widely agreed-on importance of culture in the framing of environmental issues (for example Anderson 1997, Nisbet 2009, Lin 2012) was an important factor considered to influence the efficacy of frames. For the rest of the concluding chapter I will review my findings of the "frame in focus" - the "Responsibility" frame.

6.2. Frame in focus: The "Responsibility" frame

One of the four key frames that emerged from my analysis, and the frame I have chosen to examine in focus, was the "Responsibility" frame. There was a tendency of the ENGOs to communicate this frame more than the other three key frames that emerged. The frame linked the concepts of rhino poaching in South Africa with demand in Vietnam. The fact that the frame fitted with Dirikx and Gelders' (2009) definition of the generic "Responsibility" frame gave the frame some generalisability. Analysis of the press releases in the sample showed it was enacted by a group of six sub-themes which communicated responsibility in two key ways: firstly the negative

consequences for rhinos in South Africa, which the consumption of rhino horn in Vietnam is responsible for (“crisis”, “brutality” and “family values” sub-themes); and, secondly, the negative consequences or risks of demand in Vietnam (“National reputation”, “Spiritual Responsibility” and “CSR” sub-themes). The sub-themes all also implied a duty of Vietnam to provide a solution in line with the generic definition of the frame (Dirikx and Gelders 2009). In each sub-theme, the frame placed the blame on rhino horn consumers in Vietnam and Vietnam in general, the latter of which was somewhat ambiguous and problematic (Nisbet 2009). The ENGO use of the “crisis”, “brutality” and “family values” sub-themes of this frame was in keeping with Benford and Snow’s (2000) motivational task of framing using severity and urgency to motivate action. The “Lip Service” frame in the press releases discussed in **Chapter 4**, also performed functions of blame and causality, blaming rhino poaching on the Vietnamese government for not acting on their IWT commitments.

A range of cultural and other factors potentially influenced the ENGO production of the “Responsibility” frame. My findings included cultural, external and internal factors (deVreese 2005) of influence. Within the latter two broad sets, social norms and values, organisational pressures and constraints, routines and ideological and political orientations (Scheufele 1999), interaction with elites (Gans 1979; Tuchman 1979; deVreese 2005) and the sites where frames exist (Entman 1993; Lakoff 2010) were also potential influencing factors that the analysis uncovered. These findings were broadly in harmony with the theorising of these important framing scholars, however with some interesting nuances added. Arguably the most significant of the findings regarded the efficacy of the frame due to the persistent exclusion (Gitlin 1980) of evidence of responsibility from the “Responsibility” frame media outputs in favour of connecting the rhino poaching crisis in South Africa with rhino horn

consumption in Vietnam by placement and association with culturally familiar language and symbols (Entman 1993, p. 53; Phalen and Algan 2001, p. 303; Blood et al 2002, p. 78).

6.3. The efficacy of connection and association versus evidence

In answer to RQ3 about the efficacy of ENGOS' media outputs in the eyes of experts I found that the "Responsibility" frame displayed a tendency to equate poaching statistics in South Africa to demand in Vietnam without providing direct evidence of the link. I will focus on this aspect of the frame's efficacy for this efficacy section of the conclusion, leaving the concluding discussion of the efficacy of the three key sub-themes to other sections of this chapter.

In **Chapter 5** I discussed that most of the claims of demand in the press releases lacked evidence, illustrated in this quote from celebrity Maggie Q in a press release by Change: "It saddens me to see the news of the record number of rhinos killed so that their horns can be sold in Vietnam" (Change 2016 para. 4). A key finding of the framing analysis, in line with Entman (1993), Phalen and Algan (2001) and Blood et al (2002, p.78), was that Vietnam's responsibility was emphasised not through evidence but through placement and close association of information about poaching in South Africa with allegations of demand in Vietnam, instead of evidence, even though some evidence existed, as was discussed in **Chapter 5**. This finding tends to agree with Princen's (1994b, p. 121) view concerning the ivory trade that "NGOs attempt to link local resource conditions in range states to global economic conditions because high demand and fluid trade patterns make resource exploitation unsustainable". The unscientific and arguably routine nature of the link that the ENGOS claim between demand in Vietnam and poaching in South Africa and resultant ambiguity were viewed as problematic by the media personnel I

interviewed. This is in line with Gitlin (1980, p. 45) that “news must be...unambiguous”.

My findings in **Chapter 5** suggested one of the reasons that the ENGOs were ambiguous in their communication of responsibility was that there was some perceived difficulty of ENGOs proving the extent of rhino horn use in Vietnam. This finding may also be an issue in other campaigns that involve transnational wildlife crimes for several reasons. What I found was that, firstly, ENGOs found it hard to investigate because of the clandestine nature of illegal activity and, secondly, that ENGOs and journalists believed it was dangerous to conduct investigations of such crimes. In addition, it appeared that only a few journalists in Vietnam were working in earnest on the rhino horn trade story and some ENGOs felt that investigative journalism was generally lacking in Vietnam. This situation reduced the likelihood of clear evidence being reported in the media for the ENGOs to use.

Interviews outlined in **Chapter 5** however showed that at least one of the ENGOs and Vietnamese journalists had partnered in dangerous investigations of rhino horn trade in both Vietnam and South Africa and the journalists wrote the stories for trusted national newspapers. Some stories resulting from a collaboration between ENGO and journalist on a tour of rhino poaching in South Africa centred on the consequence of rhino poaching. The journalist said in the interview the stories influenced people to reduce demand, suggesting the ENGO tactic of partnering with investigative journalists had increased the legitimacy of the ENGO’s claims of Vietnam’s responsibility.

Also related to RQ3, I discussed in **Chapter 5** findings that a newspaper editor did not consider Vietnam responsible. He believed China was mainly to blame and thought he might have heard this from the government. He said that ENGOs’ outputs

lacked scientific evidence and thought this was also the case with the conference, saying it would soon be forgotten.

As a remedy to the exclusion of evidence from the media releases, I discovered evidence in recent research commissioned by Traffic (Truong et al 2016). WildAct also provided evidence that widespread online trade of rhino horn on Facebook was occurring in Vietnam in a 2016 press release (WildAct 2016, paras 3, 4). These findings were broadly in line with the conclusions of previous researchers such as Princen (1994a, p. 37) who argued ENGOs made themselves useful to government actors by doing valuable research and supplying it, offering to other actors “what those actors can’t do for themselves”. Puzzlingly, my findings show that despite the existence of such evidence, the ENGOs tended to not use the statistics as proof to some extent of Vietnam’s responsibility. In the case of Truong et al’s (2016) research, this was possibly because the research was designed to investigate consumer behaviour and attitudes, so the potential significance of the metadata was overlooked.

The finding is compatible with Ibara and Kituse’s research that showed that every claim tended to generate a counter claim (1993, cited in Hansen 2011, p. 12). This finding of a shared view rejecting Vietnam’s role, which is a counter claim of sorts by government and media to the ENGOs’ claims, suggests a revealing tendency. The view is plausible firstly because of Vietnam’s long history of being a transit nation of wildlife products into China (Van Song 2008) discussed in **Chapter 2**. It appears this historical fact set up a background audience frame (Entman 1993) that supported the possible media and government frame that China, not Vietnam, was to blame. A second explanation of the shared views was Vietnam, as a socialist/communist nation, has a Soviet model of media (Siebert et al 1956) in which media tends to support government policy.

For the ENGO “Responsibility” frame to have traction with audiences, it could be argued that the ENGOs must lay a background frame that provides evidence that Vietnam is responsible. Such evidence could include Truong et al’s (2016) research finding that half of the interview sample of men living in wealthy areas of Hanoi and HCMC, have used rhino horn. Other evidence could include the data of online trade from the WildAct press release (WildAct 2016). This appears to be solid scientific evidence. Once this evidence and other evidence of responsibility, was included in the press releases it would take time to affect the existing audience frames (Lakoff 2010). My findings suggested a consistency with Lakoff’s theory, as Journalist A (2016, pers comm, 22 November) claimed that the ENGOs’ campaign would not be immediately effective. He argued, by referring to a previous successful campaign to reduce demand for bear bile, that the results of the campaign to reduce demand for rhino horn would be seen in five years.

6.4 ENGO routines

My finding that ENGOs employed local staff who understand what works and what does not work culturally and socially in Vietnam is consistent with previous framing research about an elephant ENGO in Thailand (Lin 2012) that relied on local staff to help shape messages about sensitive topics. I found the routine of checking all communications appeared to be standard among the ENGO personnel interviewed. Local ENGOs’ staff seemed to routinely get feedback on media outputs from family and friends before publishing. Local and international ENGOs working or partnering together was also a common routine that may have facilitated sharing of local knowledge to tap into local audience frames.

Closely related to the reliance on the cultural know-how of local staff, was a common routine I found which influenced frames: ENGOs tended to partner, hold workshops

and brainstorm ideas with certain groups related to rhino horn buying or consumption. Then they recruited messengers, champions or ambassadors from these groups to influence their peers. The “CSR” sub-theme of Traffic’s Chi Campaign was an example of a frame influenced by this routine. Following baseline research and an investigation of academic papers from a range of sectors, Traffic had partnered with Vietnam Chamber of Commerce to brainstorm ideas, and then held workshops with wealthy businessmen, some of whom became CSR champions. By working with, and recruiting, messengers with socio economic proximity (Burgess 2016), Traffic’s routine was in line with Nisbet’s (2009) ideas of using “interpersonal sources of information and influential peers” for transmitting environmental frames and Jeffreys’ (2016) findings in China of ENGOs successfully engaging with elites.

Theoretically there are positive ramifications of Traffic working with local businessmen. By promoting the benefits of linking demand reduction to their CSR policies, the Traffic initiative may not only change behaviour but also could influence Vietnam’s government to toughen up on IWT. The potential effect of a synergy of elite voices including celebrity campaigns such as WildAid’s are in harmony with Jeffreys’ (2016) ideas of elites appealing to government.

Similar to DeLuca’s (2009) findings that Greenpeace engaged with academic studies from a wide range of sectors to inform their campaigns, I found that some ENGOs in Vietnam made this a routine, spurred by the urgency of the situation.

My findings followed on from Sumrall’s (2009) recommendations that ENGOs should build on the relationship with journalists. I found ENGOs had apparently followed Sumrall’s recommendations in novel ways. Some ENGOs held casual café chats with selected journalists. Others conducted training activities to encourage journalists to refrain from using counter effective newsworthy information in their

stories. Other ENGOs said they worked closely with journalists to edit their press releases. In contrast to Lin's (2012) findings in the elephant ENGO in Thailand of contrasting outputs of culturally sensitive messaging for local media versus outputs highlighting the negatives for international media, my findings suggest ENGOs should be consistently culturally appropriate as local journalists in Vietnam read the international media.

I found that conveying risks of using rhino horn to the users was an ENGO routine. ENGOs also used it with the "Voodoo Wildlife Frame" by letting users know of potential health risks of rhino horn. This routine was in line with Maibach's (2010) ideas of the persuasive effect of framing issues that are "pertinent" to audiences.

Corporate Social Responsibility was a site that went further than the other sub-themes at being pertinent. Traffic leveraged on CSR in line with Cox's theory (2010) for the need for environmental groups to "leverage on contentious sites" to move beyond raising awareness to enacting behavioural change. Thus, ENGOs circumvented "moral" arguments common to ENGO campaigns (Princen 1994b), which an expert (HT Vu 2017, pers comm, 20 April) said were ineffective in Vietnam, by emphasising the "risk" to their business (TTT Le 2016, pers comm, 17 November) that being caught using rhino horn posed.

My findings regarding RQ3 and efficacy were that the "CSR" sub-theme of the "Responsibility" frame appeared to be effective. Through a partnership with Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry (VCCI), Traffic gained access to a key target public. Traffic named the target, "Mr L". This group of 30 to 55-year-old middle class or wealthy urban males in the two capital cities of Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi numbered 2 million (T Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 17 November). Through the campaign Traffic managed to engage 7000 small to medium sized enterprises to enact CSR measures against IWT (TTT Le 2016, pers comm, 17 November).

Traffic leveraged on the CSR site, to motivate businessmen to join the global trend of corporate social responsibility, publicly rejecting rhino horn on the CSR page of their websites and emphasising the financial benefits and financial risks they can avoid by not using rhino horn. This possibly was a significant move forward, as Jeffreys (2016) noted in WildAid's China campaign against shark fin, the recruitment of businessmen for campaigns was influential in gaining the government support needed for the societal control track of demand reduction. Feder and Savastano (cited in Hogg, 2011, p. 39) argued, "The flow of information and influence is likely to be horizontal [rather than vertical]" meaning perhaps that business leaders would have influence with government officials because of their status. This may add a new dimension to the influence of interaction with elites on framing that Gans (1979), Tuchman (1978) Scheufele (1999) and deVreese (2005) posited.

A final routine that I discovered was the tendency of certain ENGOs to remove branding from media outputs and workshops with partner organisations. This finding ran counter to DeLuca's (2016) findings with Greenpeace and Lin's (2012) findings with an elephant ENGO in Thailand, where both ENGOs promoted their solution as their own. Interestingly Hansen (1993) noted that Greenpeace focused on the issues, not on themselves, as a way to solve legitimacy problems. IWT ENGOs in Vietnam may be returning to this routine. The tendency of ENGOs in Vietnam to remove branding seemed to result from a perceived legitimacy issue of the conservation movement with the Vietnamese public. This is suggestive of "organisational learning" (Princen 1994b, p. 150).

6.5 ENGO ideologies and cultural considerations

I found that in a cross-cultural communication environment, ideologies and cultural considerations are very important for ENGOs to consider. The "Crisis" and

“Brutality” were both sub-themes of the “Responsibility” frame that have caused a clash of cultural beliefs and ideologies between the ENGOs and the public in Vietnam. Table 6.1 outlines the key differences in thinking.

Frame or sub-theme	ENGO ideology or communicator frame and student audience frame (Scheufele 1999; Entman 1993)	Audience frame or ideology in Vietnam (Entman 1993; Scheufele 1999)
Responsibility	Connection between rhino poaching in South Africa and demand in Vietnam is enough evidence of responsibility	Strong connection between rhino poaching in South Africa and demand in China
Crisis	Crisis connotes the need for conservation	Crisis connotes rarity and motivates desire for consumption
Brutality	Brutality connotes the need for animal rights and conservation	Brutality is accepted with utilitarian views of wildlife

Table 6.1. Clash of ideologies between ENGOs and Vietnamese audiences

I found that ENGOs in Vietnam conveyed that Vietnam is responsible for the rhino poaching crisis in South Africa for persuasive effect. The idea that learning about a crisis for rhino would reduce consumers’ desire in Vietnam for the horn seemed a common misconception of ENGOs caused by a clash of ideologies and cultures. The “Crisis” sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame was regarded as counter-effective by some ENGO personnel because it connoted rarity, which is a Vietnamese cultural value that motivates consumption of rare wild animal products such as rhino horn (Drury 2009; Sumrall 2009). I found, however, that information about a crisis, extinction or rarity was included in the press releases because the ENGOs’ aim was, because of a mistaken ideology, that letting the public know there was a crisis would slow demand. This aim seemed true with the young Vietnamese, who apparently are more educated about biodiversity (H Hoang 2016, pers comm, 23 November), but not with the primary target public who were the older buyers and consumers who reacted in a way ENGOs possibly did not anticipate. The severity, urgency and propriety of

the rhino poaching crisis which Benford and Snow (2000) argued would motivate users not to use the horn, apparently didn't work with Vietnamese consumers. The efficacy of the frame on a more biodiversity-aware youth is in line with Lakoff's (2010) ideas of the need to build new frames on background frames.

Several ENGOs flagged the need for more biodiversity education in their outputs to build the background frames (Lakoff 2010) about the importance of biodiversity. This echoes Princen and Fingers' (1994) views that ENGOs are most effective when they foster social learning. Biodiversity education may also be important in helping to inhibit other existing audience frames identified in the interviews, that compete with the crisis sub-theme such as "Why should we care about an animal so far away?" (T Nguyen 2016, pers comm, 17 November) and a lack of forward thinking that apparently exists in Vietnam (Representative A 2016, pers comm, 17 November). The data suggested that the crisis sub-theme was not very useful for raising awareness (T Tran 2016, pers comm, 2 July) anyway. It also suggested that the ENGOs were keen to remove it completely from their press releases, but the sample showed personnel were still routinely (Scheufele 1999) including it, potentially because of the same routine that a journalist spoke of in the interviews of cutting and pasting newsworthy background information (Journalist C 2017, pers comm, 26 April). This cutting and pasting routine could be amended.

The findings reflected Lakoff's (2010, p. 72) concerns as some ENGO frames did not seem to "make sense in terms of the existing system of frames" in Vietnam. The press releases of ENGOs conveyed that Vietnam was responsible for the brutal hunting and horn removal methods used by poachers in South Africa. This responsibility was conveyed through the text and to a lesser extent graphic images by some ENGOs. Interview data showed that some ENGOs logically had conceived that by making the Vietnamese aware of this issue, consumers would stop the buying to stop the killing.

John Baker, of WildAid, said baseline surveys in Vietnam and a shark fin campaign in China were the basis of this ideology. Arguably, this was also because of an ENGO ideology (Scheufele 1999) and communicator frame (Entman 1993) regarding animal rights and protection that possibly was Western based. Thus it appeared to clash with local ideologies. There was more than one school of thought in the literature concerning the efficacy of the brutality sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame used in the press releases. Lin (2012), Drury (2009), and Sumrall (2009) identified a utilitarian cultural frame in Asian cultures towards wild animals, which suggested little concern for animal rights regarding the brutal methods employed by rhino poachers in South Africa. Li and Davey (2013) however noted strong animal protection values in religions that Vietnamese follow such as Buddhism and Taoism. But the data tends to show that graphic images of mutilated rhinos would be effective.

In conclusion, my findings show a rich tapestry of cultural factors, ENGO routines, internal and external organisational constraints combined with local ideologies and audience frames influenced the production of four key frames of “Responsibility”, “Lip Service”, “Empower” and “Voodoo Wildlife Parts” to reduce demand for rhino horn. A key aspect of the current campaign in Vietnam, the “CSR” sub-theme of the “Responsibility” frame, emerged under the influence of a complicated conflation of factors to display promising potential. These included academic research, feedback and partnering and interactions with elites.

My findings suggest a reasonable level of frame awareness exists among the key ENGO personnel interviewed and further recommends ENGOs build on the existing “frame-awareness” in line with Anderson’s (1991, p. 496) view that ENGOs “need to be more selective about the material they send to the media” to counter Goffman’s (1974, p. 8) theorising that frame producers rarely understand the frames they create.

In addition, ENGOs should introduce routines that systematically ensure the inclusion, emphasis and exclusion of appropriate framing material that are compatible with cultural and audience frames. These routines should also be echoed in their interactions and training with media. I also recommend ENGOs should include existing evidence of rhino horn consumption as a routine in the production of press releases as well as seeking further evidence in their research.

The results suggest implications for further research such as a further analysis into the efficacy of the “Lip service” frame that advocates for better IWT enforcement and prosecution in Vietnam and a content analysis and framing analysis of the ENGO’s social media outputs. In a developing country which has a phenomenal uptake of social media and smart phone use such a study would be timely. Other studies that the results suggest include a study of the frames that ENGOs incorporate in television public service announcements (PSAs), an exploration of the investigative journalism practice into the illegal wildlife trade in Vietnam, and a study into the generalisability of key messages and frames used by ENGOs in Vietnam to reduce demand in a selection of key illegal wildlife products.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Actman, Y., 2016. 'The World Votes to Keep Rhino Horn Sales Illegal', *National Geographic*, 3 October, viewed 17 June 2017
<<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2016/10/wildlife-watch-vote-rhino-horn-sales-illegal/>>.
- Adam, R., 2014. *Elephant treaties: the colonial legacy of the biodiversity crisis*, UPNE.
- Anderson, A. 1997. *Media, culture and the environment*, UCL Press, London.
- Anderson, A., 1991. 'Source strategies and the communication of environmental affairs', *Media, Culture and Society*, 13(4), pp. 459-476.
- Andsager, J.L., 2000. 'How interest groups attempt to shape public opinion with competing news frames', *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(3), pp.577-592.
- Beck, U., 1992. *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*, (Vol. 17). Sage.
- Benford, R.D. and Snow, D.A. 2000. 'Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26(1), pp. 611-639.
- Braithwaite, A., 2016. 'The animal part worth more than gold, cocaine and ivory', *SBS*, 30 November, viewed 19 September 2016,
<<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2016/11/29/animal-part-worth-more-gold-cocaine-and-ivory>>.
- Broad, S., Mulliken, T., Roe, D., 2003. 'The nature and extent of legal and illegal trade in wildlife', in Oldfield, S. (ed) *The trade in wildlife: Regulation for conservation*, Earthscan London pp. 89-99.
- Cappella, J.N., and Jamieson, K.H., 1997. *Spiral of cynicism: The press and the public good*. Oxford University Press.
- Change. 2015, *Hollywood star Maggie Q urges the Vietnamese to save the rhino from extinction in "Stop using rhino horn" campaign*, 10 April
- Collins, C., 2013. 'Clear Cuts on Clearcutting: Youtube, Activist Videos and Narrative Strategies', *Environmental Conflict and the Media*. Lester, L. and Hutchins, B., (eds) Peter Lang, New York
- Cooper, C., 2006. "'This is Our Way In': The Civil Society of Environmental NGOs', *South-West China Government and Opposition*, 41(1) pp. 109-136.
- Courchamp, F., Angulo, E., Rivalan, P., Hall, R., Signoret, L., Bull, L. and Meinard, Y., 2006. 'Rarity value and species extinction: The anthropogenic Ilee effect', *PLoS Biology* 4(12): 2405-2410.
- Cox, R., 2007. 'Nature's "Crisis Disciplines": Does Environmental Communication Have an Ethical Duty?', *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture*, 1(1), pp. 5-20,

- Cox, R. 2010. 'Beyond Frames: Recovering the Strategic in Climate Communication', *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture*, 4(1), pp. 122-133.
- Cox, R. and Pezzullo, C., 2016. *Environmental communication and the public sphere*. Sage, USA.
- Crosta, A., Sutherland, K. and Talerico, C., 2017. *Grinding rhino: an undercover investigation of rhino horn trafficking in China and Vietnam*, 18 July, viewed 27 September 2017 <<https://elephantleague.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Grinding-Rhino-July2017-Elephant-Action-League.pdf>>
- Curtin, P.A. and Rhodenbaugh, E., 2001. 'Building the news media agenda on the environment: a comparison of public relations and journalistic sources', *Public Relations Review*, 27(2), pp. 179-195.
- Cutter, S.L., 1993. *Living with risk: the geography of technological hazards*, E. Arnold, New York; London..
- DeCuir-Gunby, J.T., Marshall, P.L. and McCulloch, A.W., 2011. 'Developing and using a codebook for the analysis of interview data: An example from a professional development research project', *Field methods*, 23(2), pp. 136-155.
- Delmas, V., Courchamp, F., Angulo, E., Hall, R.J., Rivalan, P., Bull, L.S., Rosser, A.M. and Leader-Williams, N., 2007. 'Can bans stimulate wildlife trade?', *Nature*, 447(7144), pp. 529-530.
- DeLuca, K.M., 2009. 'Greenpeace international media analyst reflects on communicating climate change', *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture*, 3(2), pp. 263-269.
- deVreese, C.H., 2005. 'News framing: Theory and typology', *Information design journal+ document design*, 13(1), pp. 51-62.
- deVreese, C.H., Jochen, P., Holli A. and Semetko, C., 2001. 'Framing politics at the launch of the Euro: A cross-national comparative study of frames in the news', *Political communication*, 18(2), pp. 107-122.
- Dirikx, A. and Gelders, D., 2009 'Global warming through the same lens: An exploratory framing study in Dutch and French newspapers' in Boyce T and Lewis J (eds) *Media and Climate Change*. Oxford: Peter Lang, pp. 200-210.
- Drury, R., 2009. 'Hungry for success: Urban consumer demand for wild animal products in Vietnam', *Conservation and Society*, 9(3), pp. 247.
- Duthie, E., Veríssimo, D., Keane, A. and Knight, A.T., 2017. 'The effectiveness of celebrities in conservation marketing', *PLoS one*, 12(7), p.e0180027.
- Ellis, R., 2005. *Tiger bone & rhino horn: the destruction of wildlife for traditional Chinese medicine*, Island Press, Washington, DC.
- Entman, R.M., 1993. 'Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm', *Journal of communication*, 43(4), pp. 51-58.

- ENV, 2014, *Vietnamese delegation arrives in South Africa on mission to help protect rhinos*, media release, 13 September.
- ENV, 2014, *Vietnamese delegates visit a rhino crime scene*, media release, 13 September.
- ENV, 2014, *Vietnamese delegates returning from South Africa call on the public to take action to save rhinos*, media release, 13 September.
- ENV, 2014, *Diva Hong Nhung urges the Vietnamese public not to consume rhino horn, to help stop the killing of rhinos in South Africa*, media release, 13 September.
- ENV Wildlife Crime Bulletin: Suspected leader of rhino horn network arrested in Hanoi 2017*, viewed 28 September 2017, <<http://thienhien.org/images/Tailieu/BantinbuonbanDVHD/wildlife-crime-buletin-aug-2017.pdf>>
- Esterman, I., 2016. 'Its own rhinos hunted to extinction, Vietnam is a hub for the rhino horn trade', *Mongabay*, 10 November, viewed 28 June 2017, <<https://news.mongabay.com/2016/11/its-own-rhinos-hunted-to-extinction-vietnam-is-a-hub-for-the-rhino-horn-trade/>>
- Ferreira, S.M., Pfab, M. and Knight, M., 2014. 'Management strategies to curb rhino poaching: Alternative options using a cost-benefit approach', *South African Journal of Science*, 110(5-6), pp. 1-8.
- Finger, M. 1994. 'NGOs and transformation: beyond social movement theory' in Princen, T. and Finger, M., (eds) *Environmental NGOs in World Politics: linking the local and the global*, Routledge, London, pp. 48-66.
- Gamson, W.A. and Modigliani, A., 1989. 'Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach', *American journal of sociology*, 95(1), pp. 1-37.
- Gamson, W.A., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W. and Sasson, T., 1992. 'Media images and the social construction of reality', *Annual review of sociology*, 18(1), pp. 373-393.
- Gitlin, T., 1980. *The whole world is watching: mass media in the making and unmaking of the New Left*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Given, L.M., 2008. *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*, SAGE Publications, CA.
- Goffman, E., 1974. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Goodman, M.K., Littler, J., Brockington, D. and Boykoff, M., 2016. 'Spectacular environmentalisms: media, knowledge and the framing of ecological politics', *Environmental Communication*, 10(6), pp. 677-688.
- Gore, M.L., Muter, B.A., Lapinski, M.K., Neuberger, L. and Van der Heide, B., 2011. 'Risk frames on shark diving websites: implications for global shark conservation', *Aquatic Conservation: Marine and Freshwater Ecosystems*, 21(2), pp. 165-172.

- Greenberg, J., Knight, G. and Westersund, E. 2011. 'Spinning climate change: Corporate and NGO public relations strategies in Canada and the United States', *International Communication Gazette*, 73(1-2), pp. 65-82.
- Griffin, R.J. and Dunwoody, S., 1995. 'Impacts of information subsidies and community structure on local press coverage of environmental contamination', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 72(2), pp. 271-284.
- Gunster, S., 2011. 'Covering Copenhagen: Climate change in BC media', *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 36(3), p. 477.
- Haas, T.C. and Ferreira, S.M., 2015. 'Federated databases and actionable intelligence: using social network analysis to disrupt transnational wildlife trafficking criminal networks', *Security Informatics*, 4(1), pp. 1-14.
- Hansen, A. (ed.), 1993. *The mass media and environmental issues*. Leicester, Leicester University Press.
- Hansen, A., 2011. 'Communication, media and environment: Towards reconnecting research on the production, content and social implications of environmental communication', *International Communication Gazette*, 73(1-2), pp. 7-25.
- Hogg, M., 2011. 'Do we need a deeper, more complex conversation with the public about global issues? A review of literature'. *Think Global*, pp. 1-62, viewed 16 January, 2017, <<http://clients.squareeye.net/uploads/dea/documents/Added%20value%20of%20deliberative%20engagement%20final.pdf>>
- Holme, R. and Watts, P., 1999. *Corporate social responsibility*. Geneva: World Business Council for Sustainable Development.
- Human Rights Watch, Vietnam: Crackdown on Peaceful Environmental Protesters* 2016. 18 May, viewed 26 July 2017, <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/05/18/vietnam-crackdown-peaceful-environmental-protesters>>
- Hutchins, B. and Lester, L., 2015. 'Theorizing the enactment of mediatized environmental conflict', *International Communication Gazette*, 77(4), pp. 337-358.
- Jeffreys, E., 2016. 'Translocal celebrity activism: shark-protection campaigns in mainland China', *Environmental Communication*, 10(6), pp. 763-776.
- Lakoff, G., 2010. 'Why it matters how we frame the environment', *Environmental Communication*, 4(1), 70-81
- Le Monkhouse, L., Barnes, B.R. and Stephan, U., 2012. 'The influence of face and group orientation on the perception of luxury goods: A four market study of East Asian consumers', *International Marketing Review*, 29(6), pp. 647-672.
- Leader Williams, N., 2003. 'Regulation and protection: Success and failures for rhinoceros conservation', in Oldfield, S., (ed) *The trade in wildlife: Regulation for conservation*, Earthscan, London, pp. 89-99.

- Lester, L., 2007. *Giving ground: media and environmental conflict in Tasmania*, Quintus Publishing, Hobart.
- Lester, L., 2011. 'Species of the month: Anti-whaling, mediated visibility, and the news', *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture*, 5(1), pp. 124-139.
- Lester, L., 2014. 'Transnational publics and environmental conflict in the Asian century', *Media International Australia*, 150(1), pp. 167-178.
- Lester, L., 2016. Containing spectacle in the transnational public sphere. *Environmental Communication*, 10(6), pp. 791-802.
- Li, P.J. and Davey, G., 2013. 'Culture, Reform Politics, and Future Directions: A Review of China's Animal Protection Challenge', *Society & Animals*, 21(1), pp. 34-53.
- Lin, T.T., 2012. 'Cross-platform framing and cross-cultural adaptation: Examining elephant conservation in Thailand', *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture*, 6(2), pp. 193-211.
- Lippmann, W., (1922) *Public Opinion*. Macmillan, New York.
- Lowe, P. and Goyder, J., 1983. *Environmental groups in politics*. George Allen and Unwin. London.
- Macnamara, J.R., 2006. 'PR Metrics: Research for planning and evaluation of PR and Corporate Communication', viewed 25 September 2017, <http://hdl.handle.net/123456789/231>
- McWilliams, A., 2000. 'Corporate social responsibility', *Wiley Encyclopedia of Management*.
- Manfredo, M.J., Bruskotter, J.T., Teel, T.L., Fulton, D., Schwartz, S.H., Arlinghaus, R., Oishi, S., Uskul, A.K., Redford, K., Kitayama, S. and Sullivan, L., 2017. 'Why social values cannot be changed for the sake of conservation', *Conservation Biology*, viewed 28 September, < <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/cobi.12855/full>>
- McCombs, M., 2013. *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion*. John Wiley & Sons.
- McCombs, M.E. and Shaw, D.L., 1972. The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public opinion quarterly*, 36(2), pp. 176-187.
- McLean, H. and Power, M., 2007. 'The 'crisis' frame in Australian newspaper reports in 2005', *Australian journal of Communication*, 34(2), p. 39-57.
- Milliken, T., Emslie, R.H. and Talukdar, B., 2009. 'African and Asian rhinoceroses—status, conservation and trade. In *A report from the IUCN Species Survival Commission (IUCN/SSC) African and Asian Rhino Specialist Groups and TRAFFIC to the CITES Secretariat pursuant to Resolution Conf (Vol. 9)*.

- 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*.
- Mol, A.P., 2009. 'Environmental governance through information: China and Vietnam', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 30(1), 114-129.
- Ngoc, A.C. and Wyatt, T., 2013. 'A green criminological exploration of illegal wildlife trade in Vietnam', *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 8(2), pp. 129-142.
- Nisbet, M.C., 2009. 'Communicating climate change: Why frames matter for public engagement', *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development*, 51(2), pp.12-23.
- Nisbet, M.C. and Newman, T.P., 'Framing, the Media, and Environmental Communication', in Hansen, A. and Cox, R. (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Environment and Communication*, Routledge, Abingdon.
- O'Reilly, M., and Parker, N., 2012, "'Unsatisfactory Saturation': a critical exploration of the notion of saturated sample sizes in qualitative research", *Qualitative Research*, 13(2), pp. 190-197.
- Paulin, S., (ed) 2006. *Community voices creating sustainable spaces*, UWA Publishing, Perth.
- Pan, Z. and Kosicki, G.M., 1993. 'Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse', *Political communication*, 10(1), pp. 55-75.
- Phalen, P., and Algan, E., 2001, '(Ms) taking context for content: Framing the fourth world conference on women', *Political Communication*, 18(3), pp. 301-319.
- Princen, T. and Finger M. 1994. 'Introduction' in *Environmental NGOs in World Politics: linking the local and the global*, Routledge London pp. 1-25
- Princen, T. 1994a. 'NGOs: Creating a niche in environmental diplomacy' in Princen, T. and Finger, M., (eds) *Environmental NGOs in World Politics: linking the local and the global*, Routledge, London, pp. 29-47.
- Princen, T., 1994b. 'The ivory trade ban: NGOs and international conservation', in Princen, T. and Finger, M. (eds) *Environmental NGOs in World Politics: linking the local and the global*, Routledge, London, pp. 121-159.
- Ryan, G.W. and Bernard, H.R., 2003. 'Techniques to identify themes', *Field methods*, 15(1), pp. 85-109.
- Save the rhino: poaching statistics* 2017, viewed 16 August 2017, <https://www.savetherhino.org/rhino_info/poaching_statistics>
- Scheufele, D.A., 1999. 'Framing as a theory of media effects', *Journal of communication*, 49(1), pp. 103-122.
- Schneider, J.L., 2008. 'Reducing the illicit trade in endangered wildlife the market reduction approach', *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 24(3), pp. 274-295.

- Scheufele, D.A., 1999. 'Framing as a theory of media effects', *Journal of communication*, 49(1), pp. 103-122.
- Semetko, H.A. and Valkenburg, P.M., 2000. 'Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news', *Journal of communication*, 50(2), pp. 93-109.
- Siebert, F.S., Peterson, T. & Schramm, W.L., 1956, *Four theories of the press: the authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and Soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Smith, M., 2008. 'The growing NGO lobby' *Vietnam Breaking News*, viewed 11 October 2015, <<http://www.vietnambreakingnews.com/2008/11/the-growing-ngo-lobby/>>
- Smith, M. 2012, *The Saigon Horn: part 2*, viewed 13 June 2015, <<http://groundreport.com/the-saigon-horn-part-2/>>
- Solesbury, W., 1976. 'The environmental agenda', *Public Administration*, 54(4), pp. 379-397.
- Stebbins, R.A., 2008. 'Serendipity', in Given, L.M., (Ed.) *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*, SAGE, CA, p. 815. doi: 10.4135/9781412963909,
- Sumrall, K.A., 2009. *Confronting illegal wildlife trade in Vietnam: the experience of Education for Nature-Vietnam* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan).
- Tang, S. and Zhan, X., 2008. 'Civic Environmental NGOs, Civil Society, and Democratisation', in *China Journal of Development Studies*, 44(3), pp. 425-448.
- Tankard, J.W., 2001. 'The empirical approach to the study of media framing', in Reese, S., Gandy, O. and Grant A (eds) *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*, Routledge, pp. 95-106.
- Traffic, 2015. *Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry encourages social and environmentally responsible business practices*, media release, 15 June.
- Truong, V.D., Dang, N.V.H., Hall, C.M., 2016. 'The marketplace management of illegal elixirs: illicit consumption of rhino horn', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 19(4), pp. 353-369.
- Trzyna, T., 2001., *World directory of environmental organisations: A handbook of National and International Organisations and Programs – governmental and non-governmental – concerned with protecting the earth's resources*, Earthscan, London
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2014. *Wildlife crime worth USD 8-10 billion annually, ranking it alongside human trafficking, arms and drug dealing in terms of profits*, UNODC, viewed 28 October 2015 <<https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2014/May/wildlife-crime-worth-8-10-billion-annually.html>>
- Van Song, N., 2008. 'Wildlife trading in Vietnam: situation, causes, and solutions', *The Journal of Environment & Development*, 17(2), pp. 145-165.

- Vietnam CITES Authority and HSI (2014) *Demand for rhino horn reduced: says poll*. viewed 5 August 2017, <<http://www.hsi.org/assets/pdfs/vietnam-rhino-horn-demand-poll.pdf>>
- WCS, 2014. *Has demand for rhino horn truly dropped in Vietnam*, media release, 3 November.
- Wells-Dang, A., 2010. 'Political space in Vietnam: a view from the 'rice-roots'', *The Pacific Review*, 23(1), pp. 93-112.
- WildAct, 2015, *Cycling for rhinos*, media release, 9 June.
- WildAct, 2015, *Hope – white rhino survivor made it through the third vital procedure*, media release, 9 June.
- WildAct, 2016. *Critically endangered species for sale online on Facebook in Vietnam*, media release, 17 November.
- WildAct, 2016. *Conservation community calls on Vietnam to urgently act on its commitment to end illegal wildlife trade*, media release, 16 November.
- WildAid, 2015. *Record number of rhinos killed in South Africa last year*, media release, 22 January.
- WildAid, 2015. *2015: A critical year for saving the world's rhinos*, media release, 5 February
- WildAid, 2015. *A critical year for saving the world's rhinos*, media release, 22 September
- WildAid, 2015. *Vietnam's biggest pop stars come together for rhinos*, media release, 17 August.
- World Bank, 2016. *New analysis shows scale of international commitment to tackle illegal wildlife trade: over \$1.3 billion since 2010*, media release, 17 November.
- Wright, D.K. and Hinson, M.D., 2008. 'How blogs and social media are changing public relations and the way it is practiced', *Public Relations Journal*, 2(2), pp. 1-21.
- WWF, (n.d.). *For more than 50 years, WWF has been protecting the future of nature*, viewed 1 November 2015, <<http://www.worldwildlife.org/about>>
- WWF (n.d.). *White Rhino*, viewed 28 October 2015, <http://wwf.panda.org/what_we_do/endangered_species/rhinoceros/african_rhinos/white_rhinoceros/>
- WWF, 2013. *Ad campaign aims to reduce Vietnamese demand for rhino horn*, viewed 17 May 2017, <<http://wwf.panda.org/?208289/Ad-campaign-aims-to-reduce-Vietnamese-demand-for-rhino-horn>>
- WWF-US, 2014. *WWF-US Annual Report 2014*, viewed 1 November 2015 <http://assets.worldwildlife.org/financial_reports/21/reports/original/2014_Annual_Report.pdf?1418325091&_ga=1.208380699.806936083.1446009201>

WWF, 2014. *Rhino poaching statistics highlight need for action against crime*, media release, 17 January.

WWF, 2016. *WWF Reaction to the Hanoi Statement on Wildlife Crime*, media release, 18 November.

Yang, G. and Calhoun, C., 2013. 'Media, civil society and the rise of the green public sphere in China', in Lester, L. and Hutchins, B., (eds) *Environmental conflict and the media*, Peter Lang Publishing. New York.