

ELEPHANT *VS* MOUSE

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE
IVORY TRADE ON CRAIGSLIST



IFAW
International Fund
for Animal Welfare



96ELEPHANTS.ORG

A WCS CAMPAIGN



IVORY TRADE
ANYWHERE IS
A THREAT TO
ELEPHANTS
EVERYWHERE

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01 INTRODUCTION

Over the last decade, poaching of elephants has increased to near-record levels. From uncountable highs at the turn of the 20th century, the savannahs and jungles of Africa and Asia are now home to as few as a half-million elephants. Between 2010 and 2012 alone, experts estimate that more than 100,000 of these animals were slaughtered – an average of one elephant killed every 15 minutes, every day, for three full years – and the horror shows no signs of abating. Just as troubling, the actors behind this war are, increasingly, militant groups and criminal syndicates with the resources to industrialize the process and the ruthlessness to overwhelm wildlife rangers and local communities. To these organizations, an elephant is an easy target for an AK-47, and a lucrative payday.

This carnage is driven by a seemingly bottomless demand for ivory. Despite a ban on most international trade in tusks and other items, the new millennium has seen a rekindled market for elephant

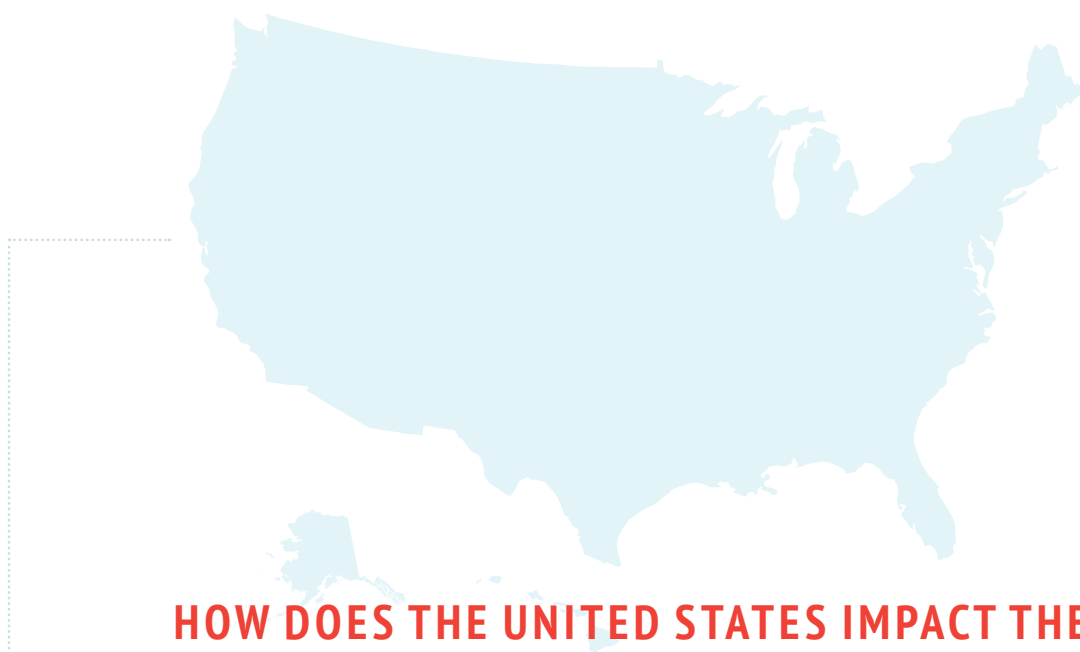
products, due in part to the surging growth of the middle class in China and other Asian countries with long-held cultural associations with the material. But the catastrophic open season on elephants is also sustained by demand in other nations, including the United States, where (until very recently) the ivory trade was essentially unregulated, a situation that enabled traffickers to smuggle shipments past our borders and into the marketplace, often disguised as antiques.

As a keystone species in their ecosystems, and as intelligent, compassionate animals in their own right, elephants are a truly tragic victim of humans' self-indulgence – but there is hope, due to the attention that this critical issue has garnered in the last few years. Governments, NGOs, and others are in the process of mounting an all-out defensive stand, focusing on all three elements of the problem: halting the killing on the ground; disrupting the shipping and logistics of transport;

and, perhaps most importantly, reducing demand for these products by educating consumers about the consequences of their purchases and trying to effect behavioral change.

Without these efforts, African elephants may soon be eliminated across large areas of the continent. Moreover, even the strongest responses to the ivory crisis need to be complemented with expanded habitat protection, reduction of human–elephant conflict, and other conservation measures. But the mission is clear: We must do all we can to keep ivory where it belongs – on living, breathing elephants – and protect these animals from the horrors of poaching.

IMAGE: JULIE LARSEN MAHER © WCS



HOW DOES THE UNITED STATES IMPACT THE MARKET FOR ELEPHANT PRODUCTS?

Ivory has a long and tangled story in the United States, which has historically been one of the world's largest markets for this and other wildlife products. For hundreds of years, ivory has been used for everything from billiard balls and jewelry, to carvings and adornments for musical instruments. No comprehensive catalogue exists of all of the ivory in the US (an impossible task), but several studies have attempted to gauge the size of the American inventory and the scope of trade. In the most well-known of these, the NGOs Save the Elephants and Care for the Wild International surveyed 16 cities and metro regions across the country in 2008 and found an enormous amount of ivory for sale—undocumented, and largely unregulated.ⁱ Subsequent surveys, such as a 2014 IFAW report on ivory sales by U.S. auction houses, and a 2015 report by the Natural Resources Defense Council on ivory sales in California, returned similar conclusions.ⁱⁱ

The United States is a Party to CITES, the international agreement that regulates trade in listed species that are

threatened or may become threatened. The US complies with the 1989 CITES prohibition on most ivory imports that was intended to help elephants recover from an earlier population crash, also triggered by poachers in the 1970s and 1980s. Unfortunately, loopholes in US law, coupled with enforcement challenges, have allowed our domestic ivory markets to continue despite this ban.

Every piece of ivory for sale in the US should be “pre-ban” or “antique,” but in practice, a great deal of it is neither of these. Instead, surveys show that new ivory from recently poached elephants makes its way out of Africa to US buyers.ⁱⁱⁱ Additionally, American hunters import hundreds of legal trophies each year, taken from sport-hunted elephants, and some of these find their way into the commercial trade despite legal prohibitions.^{iv}

In response to the resurgent poaching crisis, the federal government and some US states are helping to lead the way by reducing the opportunities for illegally

sourced ivory to be sold under the cover of the legal trade as well as helping educate people about the elephant crisis. The US Fish & Wildlife Service (USFWS) crushed six tons of confiscated ivory in November of 2013, in order to publicize the issue and encourage other countries to follow suit. The USFWS followed up by revising its policies and regulations governing the trade of elephant products (as of this writing, still incomplete) and working with other federal agencies and their counterparts overseas to initiate an “all-of-government approach” to the problem, though a U.S. Government Wildlife Trafficking Strategy (which implements the President’s Executive Order on Combating Wildlife Trafficking). For their part, states including New York and New Jersey have already passed laws to close their own loopholes, with California, Massachusetts, and other states following close behind. With sustained pressure and strong enforcement at all levels, these actions should result in a dramatic decrease in illegal trade in ivory both in and into the US, and could show a path forward for other countries.



02 WHY INVESTIGATE CRAIGSLIST?

As perhaps *the* major online platform for classified advertisements, **Craigslist.org** has made a name for itself as a site where buyers can find **just about anything** – whether that’s a used bicycle, rare book, or, as this report will show, an expensive ivory carving or elephant hide boots. We wanted to better understand the scope and scale of the ivory trade on Craigslist; if the site was currently a venue for trade in ivory and elephant parts, it could also be a potential partner in the fight to reverse the tide of poaching.



CURRENT CRAIGSLIST POLICY



Craigslist.org has a straightforward policy on wildlife trade: Users must comply with all applicable laws, and sales of animal parts are expressly prohibited.¹ Strange as it may seem, many consumers are unaware that ivory comes from dead elephants, and so we reached out to the company and urged them to explicitly include ivory on this list – a change they agreed to while we were concluding the production of this report. **As of late April, 2015, Craigslist has added “Ivory; endangered, imperiled**

and/or protected species and any parts thereof” to their index of banned items.

This is a good step in the right direction, but more still needs to be done. In practice, the platform is a sprawling venue (80 million postings added and 50 billion page-views monthly). As this report will show, among those postings are hundreds of advertisements for endangered animal parts.

And, unfortunately, the existing policy is stated on a sub-page that is difficult to find from the home page. *Having a policy and broadcasting a policy are two different things, and in our view Craigslist appears to fall within the former category.*

¹ [HTTPS://WWW.CRAIGSLIST.ORG/ABOUT/PROHIBITED](https://www.craigslist.org/about/prohibited)

HISTORY OF IFAW AND WCS INVESTIGATIONS

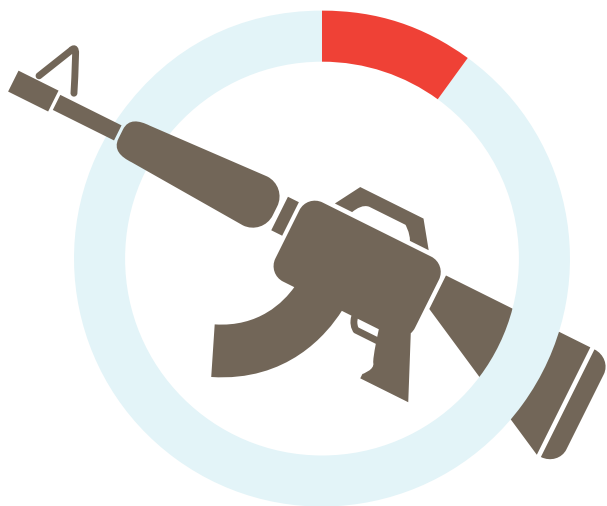
The International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) and the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) both have a long history in elephant conservation, working on the ground in Asia and Africa to safeguard habitat, entire populations, and individual animals, and also in consumer nations like the United States and China where trade policy and public education are paramount.

IFAW has conducted numerous investigations of the wildlife trade online and at brick-and-mortar retail shops and auction houses. In recent years IFAW has delved into China's government-sanctioned ivory registration system (*Making a Killing*, 2012); ivory auctions in the United States (*Bidding Against Survival*, 2014); global wildlife trafficking online (*Wanted: Dead or Alive*, 2014 and *Killing With Keystrokes*, 2008); and related issues.

In 2014, an analysis resulting from WCS's and others' very extensive fieldwork across Central Africa showed that 65% of Central Africa's forest elephant population was killed by poachers between 2002 and 2013. Another analysis published in 2013 showed that some 100,000 elephants were killed across Africa in the three-year period 2010–2012. It is clear then that unless effective actions are taken, elephants face extinction in large parts of their range. To help stop this alarming trend, WCS launched the 96 Elephants campaign (www.96elephants.org) – named for the number of African elephants killed by poachers every day. The campaign brings together citizens, partners, thought leaders, and change makers to leverage collective influence to stop the killing, stop the trafficking, and stop the demand. WCS and 96 Elephants were a driving force behind the New York and New Jersey legislation and also launched

a successful public engagement initiative to change the ivory appraisal policies of the popular PBS program *Antiques Roadshow* in 2014.

As a result of this growing awareness (and public pressure), numerous other businesses have already taken steps to minimize their impact on elephants and other imperiled species. Notably, in 2008 eBay.com announced that it would no longer allow sales of ivory on its platform (effective Jan. 2009), and has worked with IFAW in the years since to update its search filters and maintain strong controls on wildlife trade. In 2013 Etsy.com, a popular platform for art and handcrafted items, instituted its own ban on endangered species products. Around the world, sites like Alibaba/Taobao.com, Markt.de, and others have also collaborated with IFAW and joined the shift toward precautionary policymaking.



10%
OF THE WORLD'S FOREST ELEPHANT
POPULATION WAS KILLED BY
POACHERS IN 2012 AND AGAIN IN 2013

OUR AIMS

Because Craigslist is a classified advertising site rather than a commerce or auction site, very little information is publically available about actual transactions, buyers and sellers, final prices, shipping terms and agreements, and other issues of relevance to the casual observer or investigator. However, if even a small percentage of the ivory items advertised are sold, Craigslist is facilitating trade in elephant parts, and can therefore implement policy changes to benefit the species.

As we noted above, Craigslist has already agreed to explicitly prohibit ivory items and other endangered species parts. A positive second step would be for Craigslist.org to make its list of prohibited items more visible; we ask that the company move this link (<http://craigslist.org/about/prohibited>) to the sidebar of its homepage.

Craigslist does provide users the opportunity to “flag” prohibited items, resulting in potential removal of the offending listing from the website.

This is a valuable option but it has obviously not been sufficient to prevent wildlife traders from maintaining a foothold on Craigslist; we believe that stronger enforcement of the policy is necessary, and our experience with eBay.com provides a useful template. Craigslist should implement “search filtering” software that prevents users from easily searching key terms like “ivory” and “tusk” (as well as related terms like “rhino horn”) and that automatically alerts Craigslist staff to the presence of such posted items for easy removal.



MAKE ITS LIST OF PROHIBITED ITEMS MORE VISIBLE



IMPLEMENT SEARCH FILTERING SOFTWARE



AUTOMATIC ALERTS TO CRAIGSLIST STAFF.

03 THE INVESTIGATION

The primary objective of this “snapshot investigation” was to quantify the amount of ivory or suspected ivory² and other elephant products available on selected Craigslist.org sites.

Data were collected between March 16–20th, 2015; because Craigslist postings remain visible until removed (or timed out after 30 days), investigators collected data for 34 consecutive days’ worth of classified advertisements. Efforts were

made to avoid double-counting items posted multiple times, however, given that multiple investigators were involved in the process, this may have occurred in some instances.

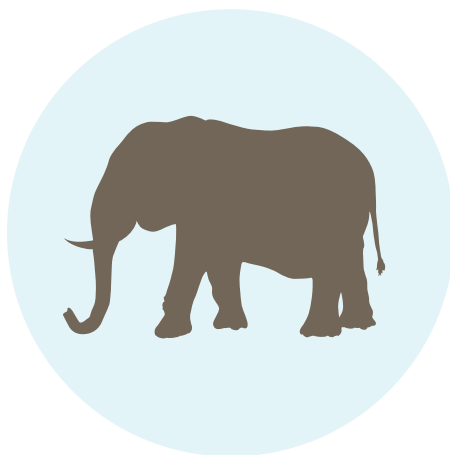
IMAGE: JULIE LARSEN MAHER © WCS

² WHERE IT WAS BELIEVED IVORY WAS BEING MISLABELED (OR POSSIBLY DISGUISED) AS ANOTHER PRODUCT, INVESTIGATORS ANALYZED CODE WORDS, PRICE INDICATORS, AND THE PICTURES PROVIDED TO DETERMINE WHETHER AN ITEM WOULD BE COUNTED AS ‘SUSPECTED IVORY.’

OVERVIEW OF THE INVESTIGATION PROCESS



IVORY



ELEPHANT



TUSK

Investigators entered three primary search terms for each site: “ivory,” “elephant,” and “tusk” and recorded a number of data points for later synthesis in this report.

Where time allowed, investigators also input the secondary search terms “netsuke,” “scrimshaw,” “mammoth,” and “mastodon,” words that are closely associated with the ivory trade.

The focus of this investigation was on elephant ivory. During the study, however, postings offering other types of ivory or products from other species found using the search terms were recorded opportunistically. An assessment of the legality of each item posted was beyond the scope of the study, so we employed a simple binary categorization: If the seller offered *any* documentation attesting to the age and/

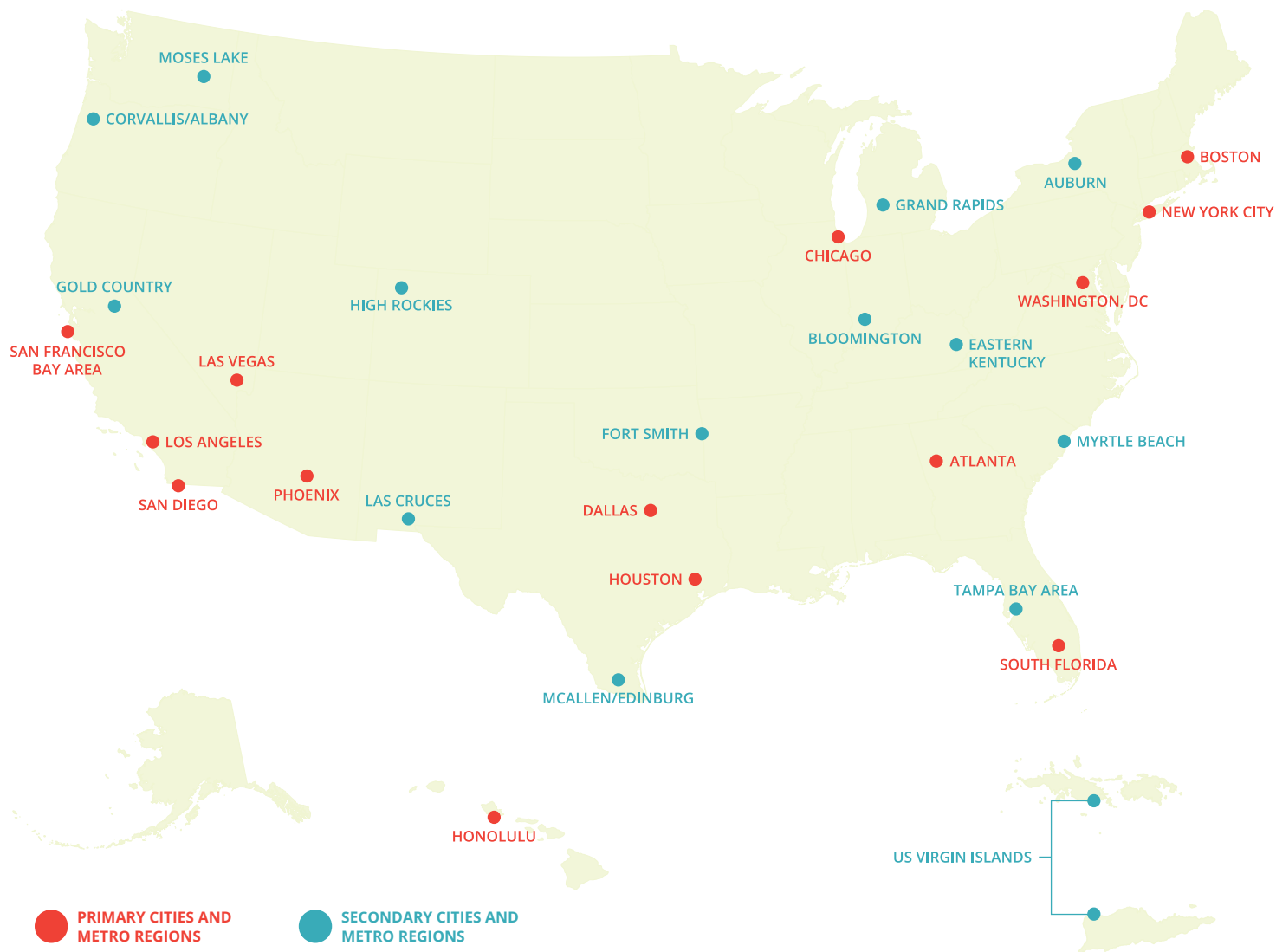
or provenance of the item, the listing was logged as “Possible documentation.” Otherwise it was logged as “No documentation.” In many cases sellers described their items as “pre-ban” or “antique” without mentioning paperwork or other substantiation; these were logged in the latter category.

For an in-depth description of the methodology, see the Appendix.

3 INCLUDING MATERIAL, DESCRIPTION, LIST PRICE, DOCUMENTATION STATUS, AND OTHERS.

4 NETSUKES ARE SMALL CARVED OBJECTS OF JAPANESE ORIGIN, OFTEN MADE OF IVORY.

5 SCRIMSHAW IS A CRAFT FORM WHEREIN IVORY OR SIMILAR MATERIALS ARE INCISED WITH A SHARP TOOL AND THEN STAINED WITH INK TO CREATE A PERMANENT DESIGN OR PICTURE.



CITIES AND METRO REGIONS ANALYZED

Craigslist is organized geographically, with 420 sub-sites (comprising metro regions and individual cities) within the United States and US territories. Many of these sites, in turn, allow users the option to narrow down their location even further—for example, visitors to the Dallas/Fort Worth site (<http://dallas.craigslist.org/>) may choose to view ads from any of “Dallas,” “Fort Worth,” “Mid Cities,” “North Dallas/Fort

Worth,” or “South Dallas/Fort Worth.” We chose a selection of fourteen sites with a high likelihood of being large ivory markets, along with a sample of fourteen additional sites selected at random, for a total of 28 targets.⁶

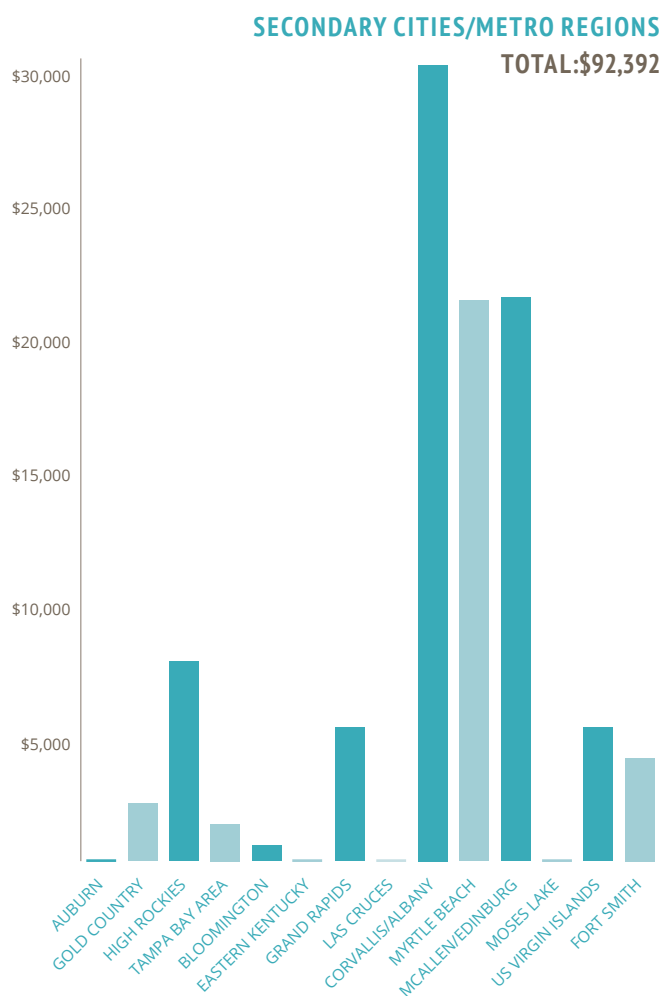
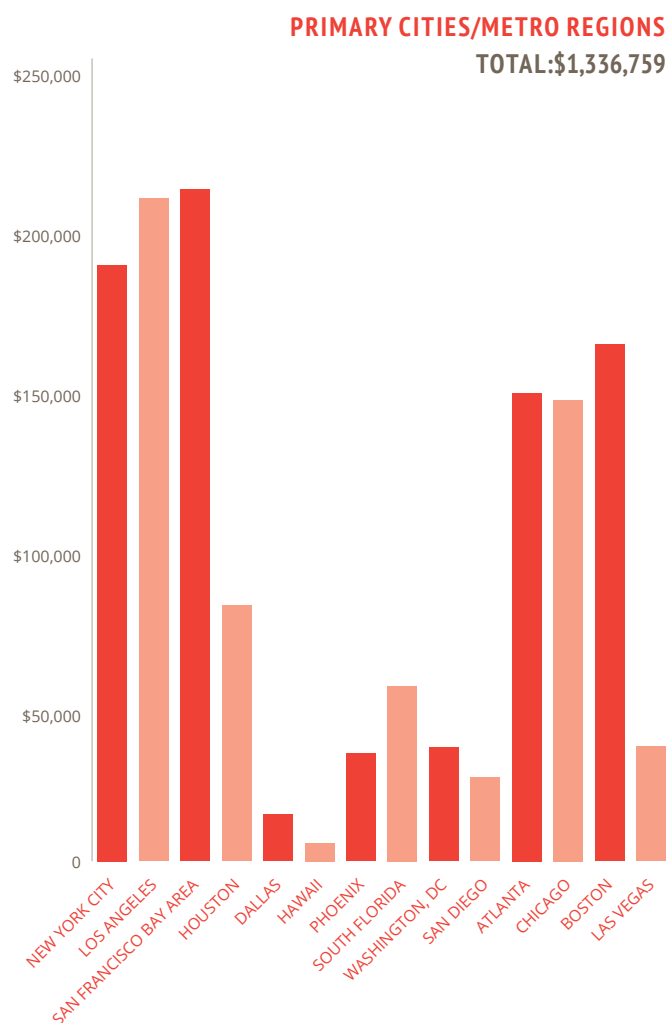
⁶ SEE METHODOLOGY IN APPENDIX FOR A DESCRIPTION OF HOW THE TARGET CITIES WERE SELECTED.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Our results showed a large volume of ivory, suspected ivory and related wildlife products available for sale on Craigslist.org over the five-day duration of our investigation— hundreds of specimens posted, valued at more than a million dollars, on the 28 target sites alone. In particular,

during the snapshot period (March 16-20th, 2015), investigators counted 522 postings offering more than **615** individual ivory, suspected ivory, and related wildlife product items.^{7,8} Of those individual items, 456 were ivory, 84 were suspected ivory, and 75 were related wildlife products. The combined list price

for these items was at least **\$1,429,151.**⁹ Extrapolated to a full year, this would be more than 6,600 items with a list price exceeding \$15.3 million. Our survey covered only **28** of the 420+ Craigslist United States sub-sites—site-wide counts would obviously be much higher.



7 MANY POSTS CONTAINED MORE THAN ONE ITEM. SETS (SUCH AS MATCHED EARRINGS OR BILLIARD BALLS) WERE COUNTED AS A SINGLE ITEM; ITEMS THAT COULD BE SOLD SEPARATELY (SUCH AS MATCHED STATUES) WERE COUNTED SEPARATELY. SOME SELLERS DID NOT SPECIFY HOW MANY ITEMS THEY WERE OFFERING, IN WHICH CASE THOSE WERE COUNTED AS A SINGLE ITEM.

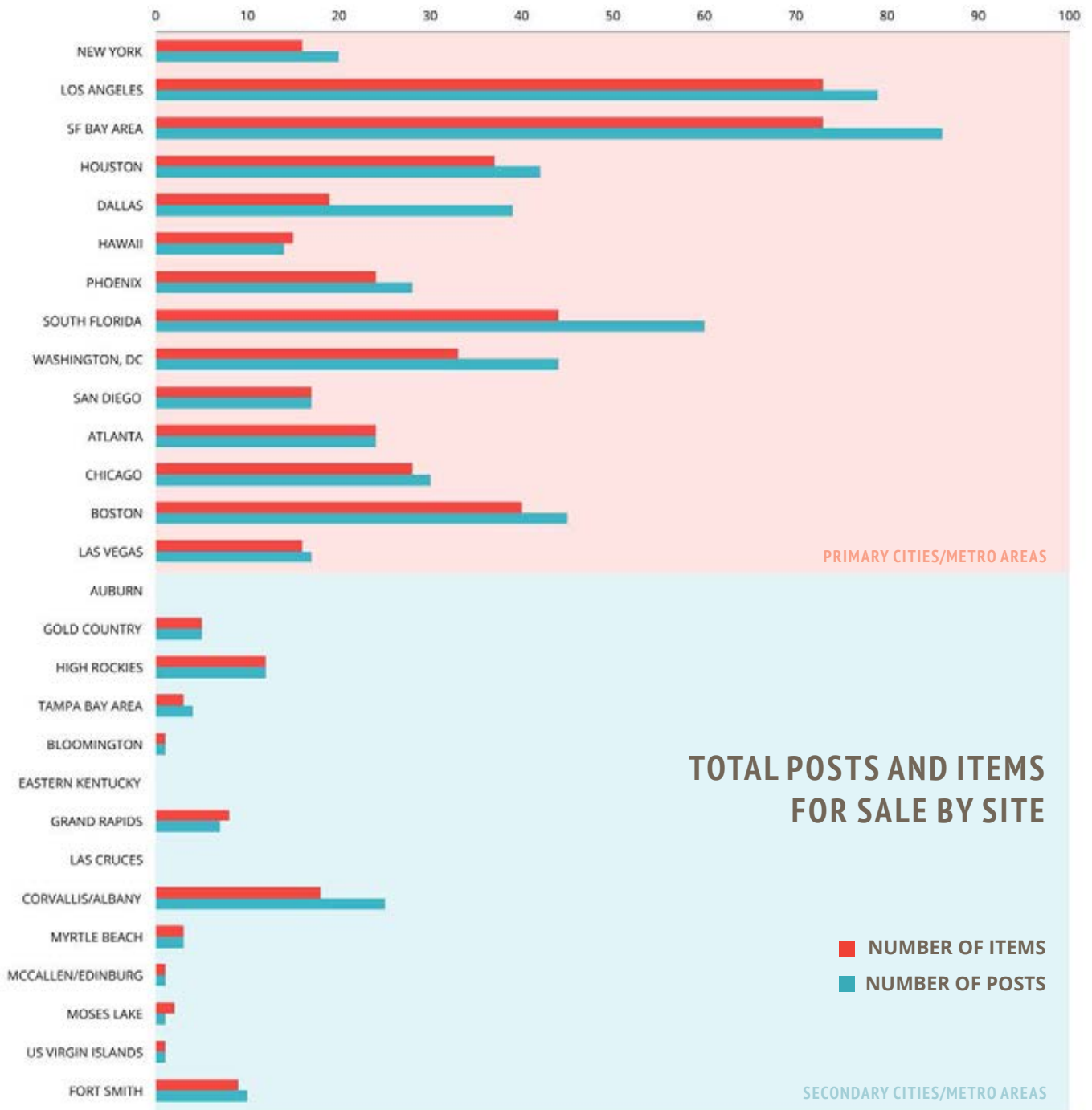
8 THE ITEMS WE COUNTED IN THESE TOTAL NUMBERS WERE: ITEMS IDENTIFIED AS IVORY; ITEMS THAT WE DETERMINED TO BE "SUSPECTED IVORY" BASED ON ANALYSIS OF CODE WORDS, PRICE INDICATORS AND THE PICTURES PROVIDED; AND "RELATED WILDLIFE PRODUCTS," I.E. ITEMS THAT WERE NOT IVORY OR SUSPECTED IVORY BUT THAT WERE RETRIEVED BY OUR SEARCH TERMS (SEE APPENDIX) AND WHICH THE SELLER EXPLICITLY REFERRED TO AS ANIMAL BODY PARTS OR DERIVATIVES.

9 THIS IS A CONSERVATIVE FIGURE: SELLERS OFTEN LISTED THEIR ITEMS FOR \$1 IN THE HEADLINE, BUT INDICATED IN THE POST ITSELF THAT PROSPECTIVE BUYERS SHOULD MAKE AN OFFER. THOSE POSTS WERE NOT INCLUDED IN THIS VALUE TALLY.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS (CONT.)

The San Francisco Bay Area ranked first in terms of number of items offered for sale (86), followed by Los Angeles (79), South Florida (60), Boston (45), and Washington, DC (44)

rounding out the top five. As expected, trade was generally less robust in the secondary targets, though some outliers were found in Corvallis/Albany, High Rockies, and Fort Smith.



SUMMARY OF FINDINGS (CONT.)

Many of the items found on the site were notable only for their kitsch value, from a hastily-carved “Japanese ivory erotica figurine” listed for \$600 in San Diego to an ivory-handled 12-inch Bowie knife listed for \$2,500 in Dallas. But amongst the rather innocuous-seeming advertisements for ivory jewelry or small carvings, investigators discovered posts that most Americans would likely

consider tasteless at best. One person in Chicago offered a footstool made from an elephant leg, covered in zebra or antelope hide, for the low price of \$700. Carved tusks from elephants, mammoth, wild boar and walrus were available, as were whale teeth, bangles made of rhino horn, and numerous other animal parts. As with other goods and services, Craigslist’s reputation for catering to just

about everyone appears to be justified on the wildlife front. And it is important to understand that, despite the subjective appraisal of any item’s artistic merit—whether a beautifully-carved tusk or a garish ornament—every piece of ivory comes from a dead animal.

SEVERAL OTHER KEY POINTS EMERGED FROM THE DATA:



The 14 **primary metro regions and cities** accounted for much of the overall value and volume of trade, but several of our secondary targets also emerged as potential trouble spots with total value exceeding \$20,000 in each. (See page 16)



Most of the items we discovered were **“ivory or suspected ivory”** (540 items), with “related wildlife products” (75 items) rounding out the total. (See page 24)

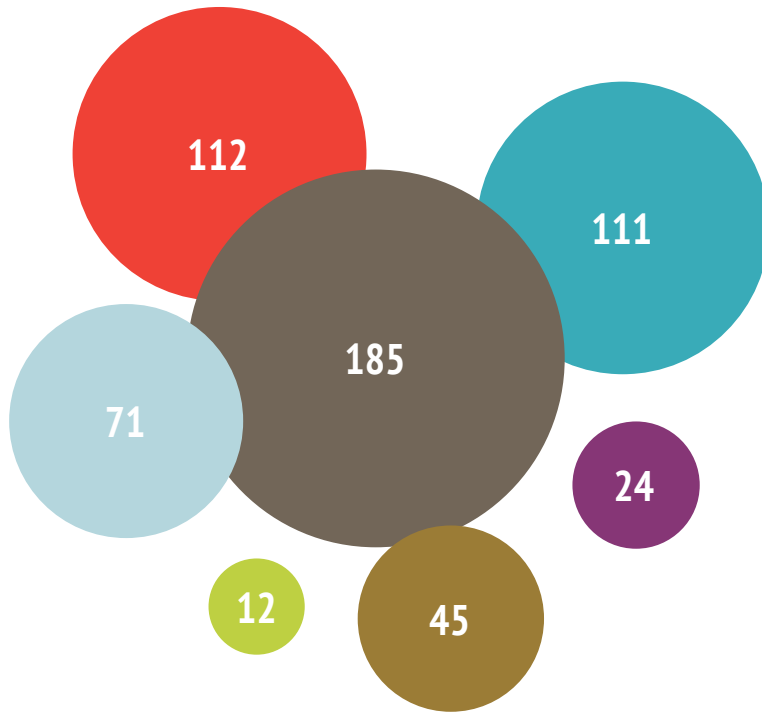


Few sellers offered any documentation on age or provenance of their items. Only **21 out of 615** total posts offered any documentation. (See page 25)

ITEMS FOUND BY TYPE

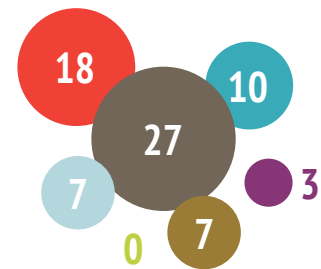
PRIMARY CITIES/METRO REGIONS

TOTAL: 557



SECONDARY CITIES/METRO REGIONS

TOTAL: 72



ITEMS LISTED



MISCELLANEOUS



SCRIMSHAW, STATUES,
AND NETSUKES



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS



FURNITURE



JEWELRY

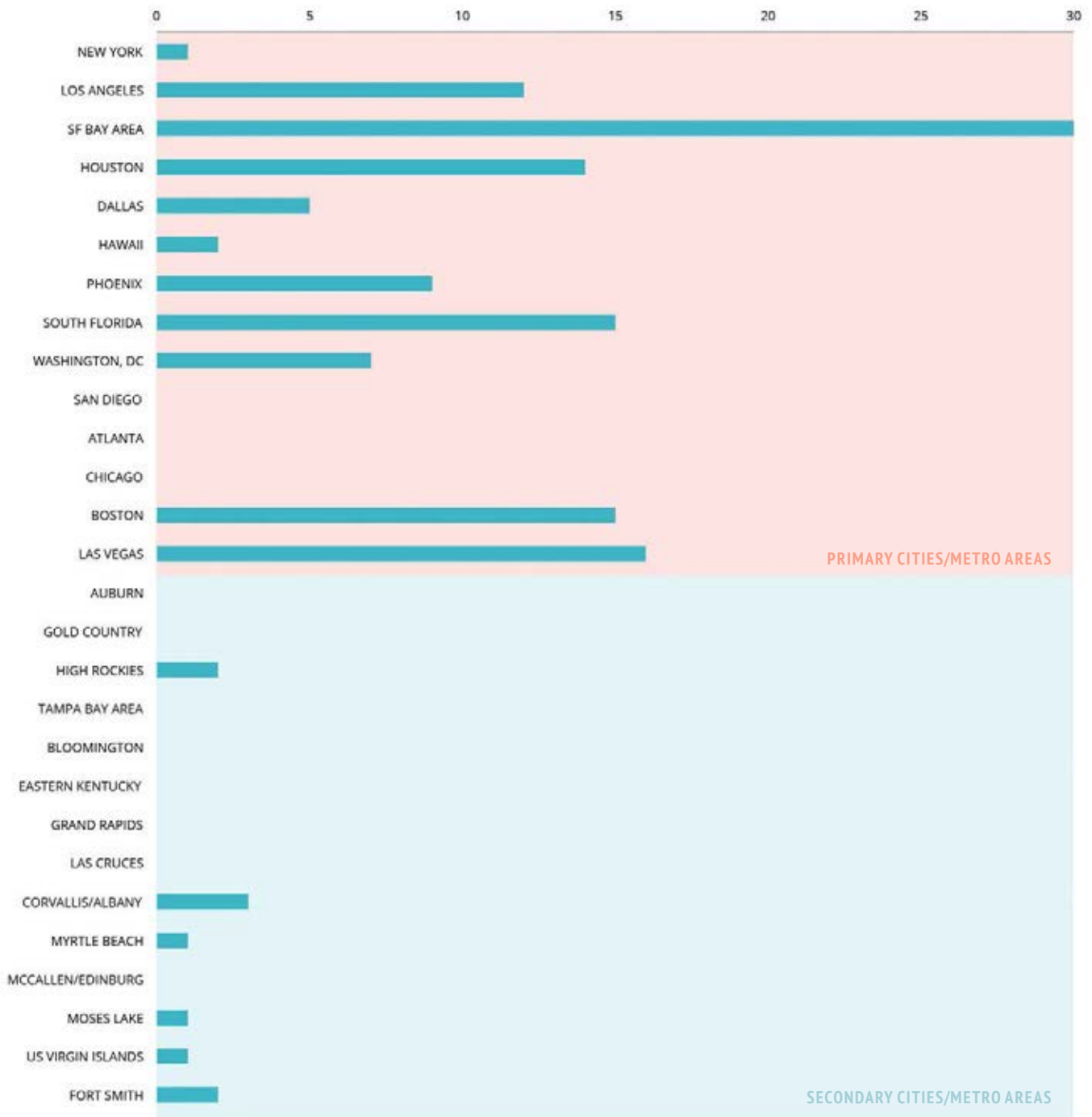


TUSKS
(CARVED AND UNCARVED)



HOUSEHOLD GOODS

ITEMS FOUND BY TYPE: MISCELLANEOUS



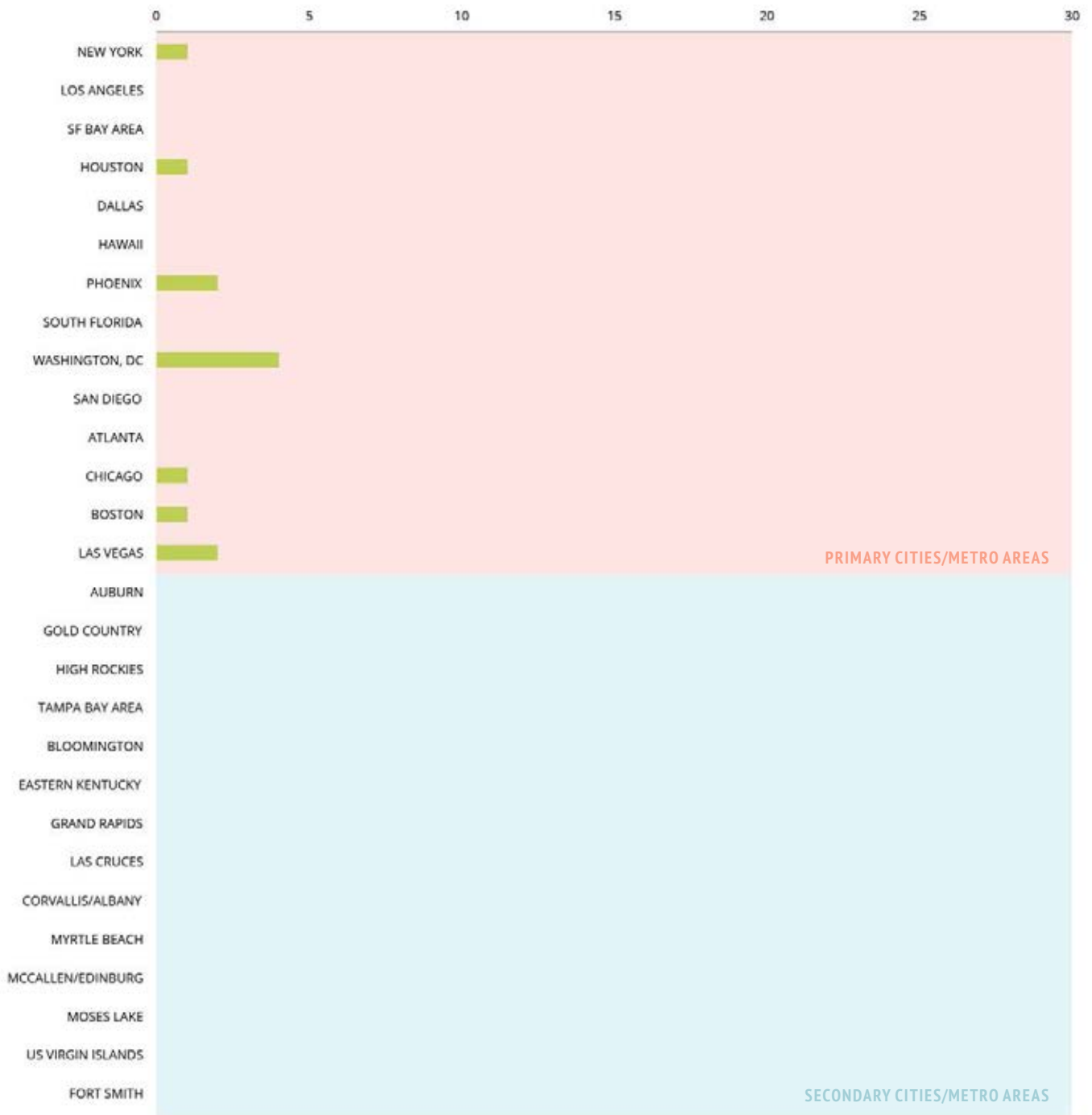
ITEMS FOUND BY TYPE: SCRIMSHAW, STATUES, AND NETSUKES



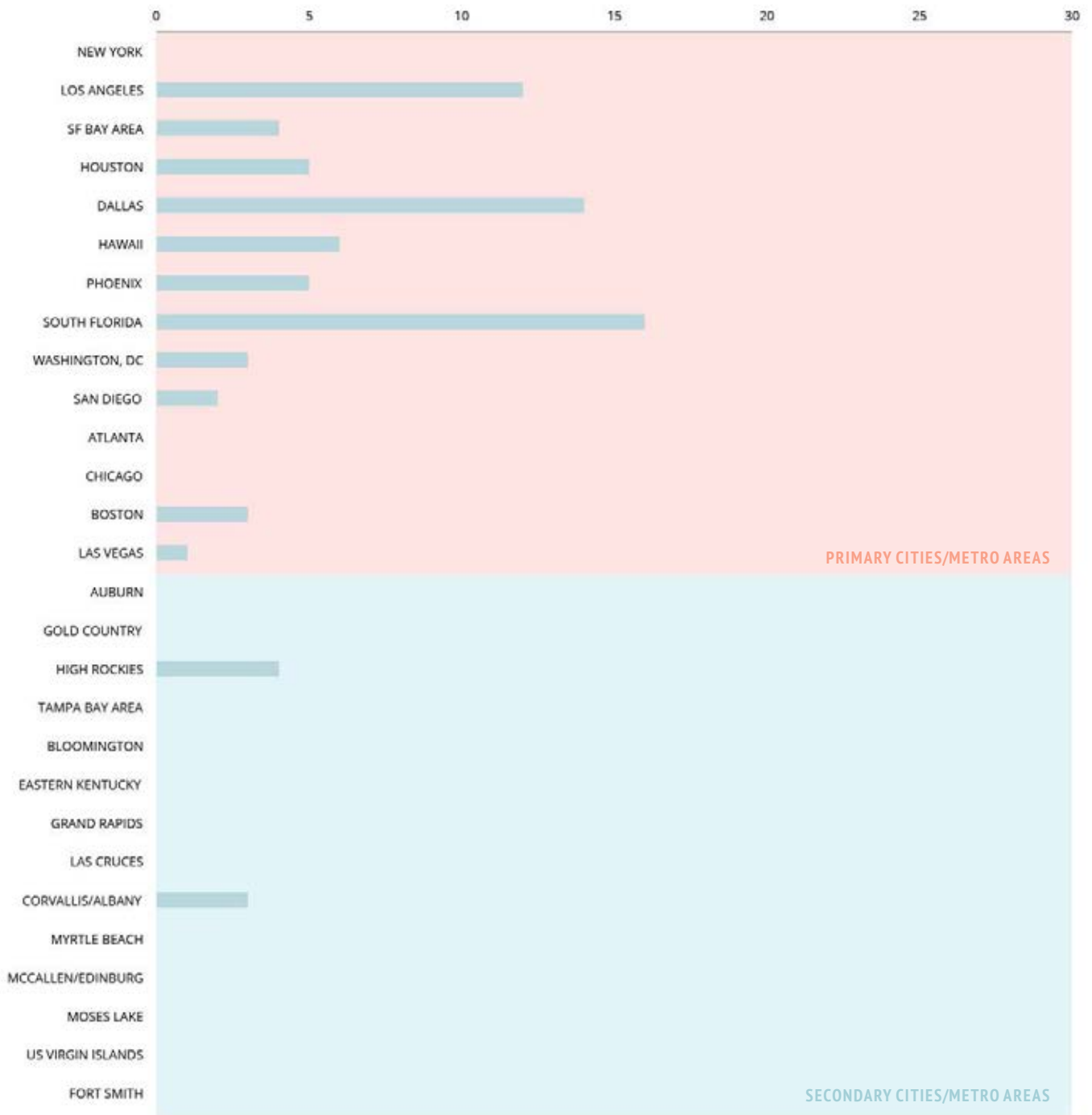
ITEMS FOUND BY TYPE: MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS



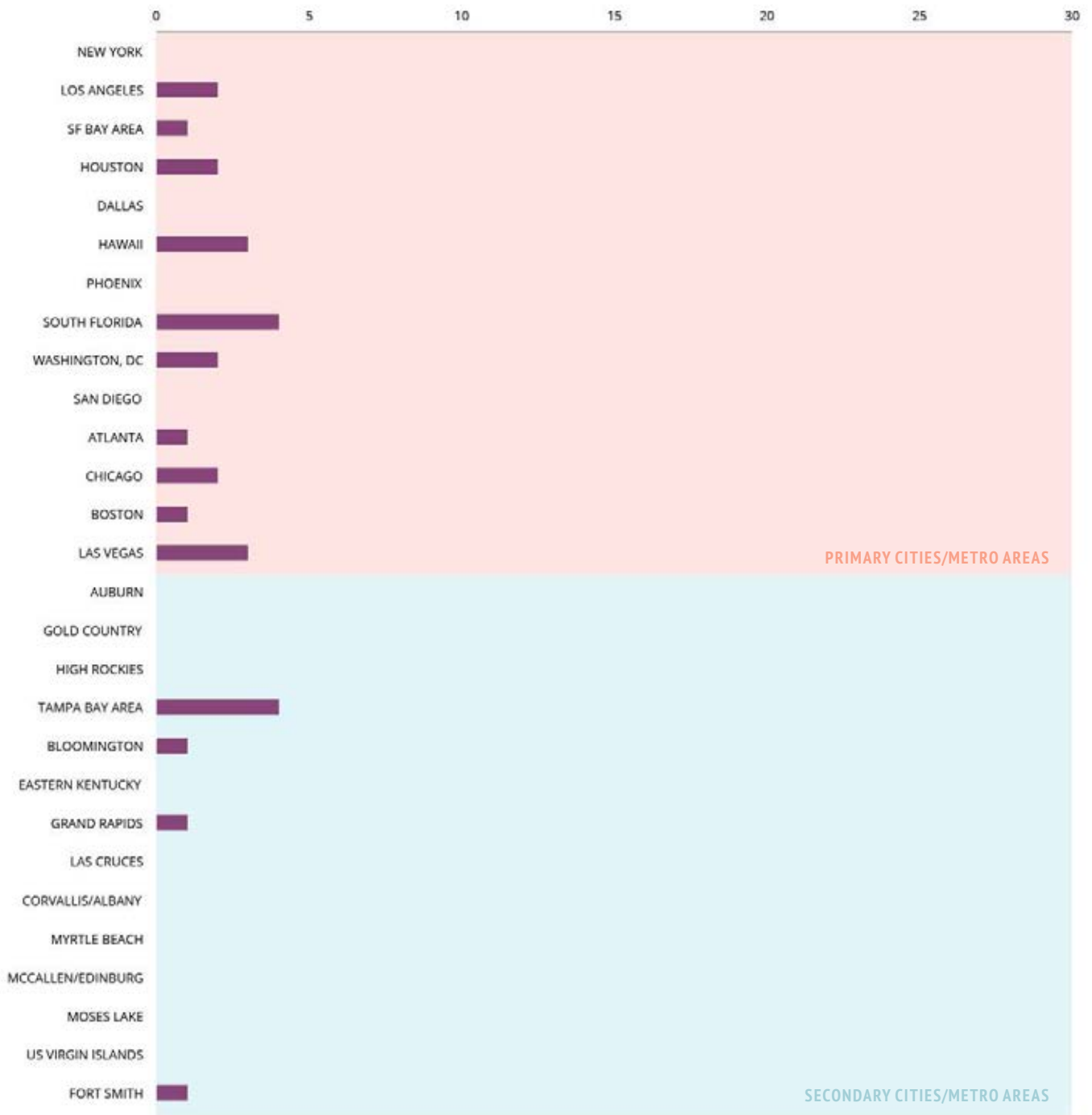
ITEMS FOUND BY TYPE: FURNITURE



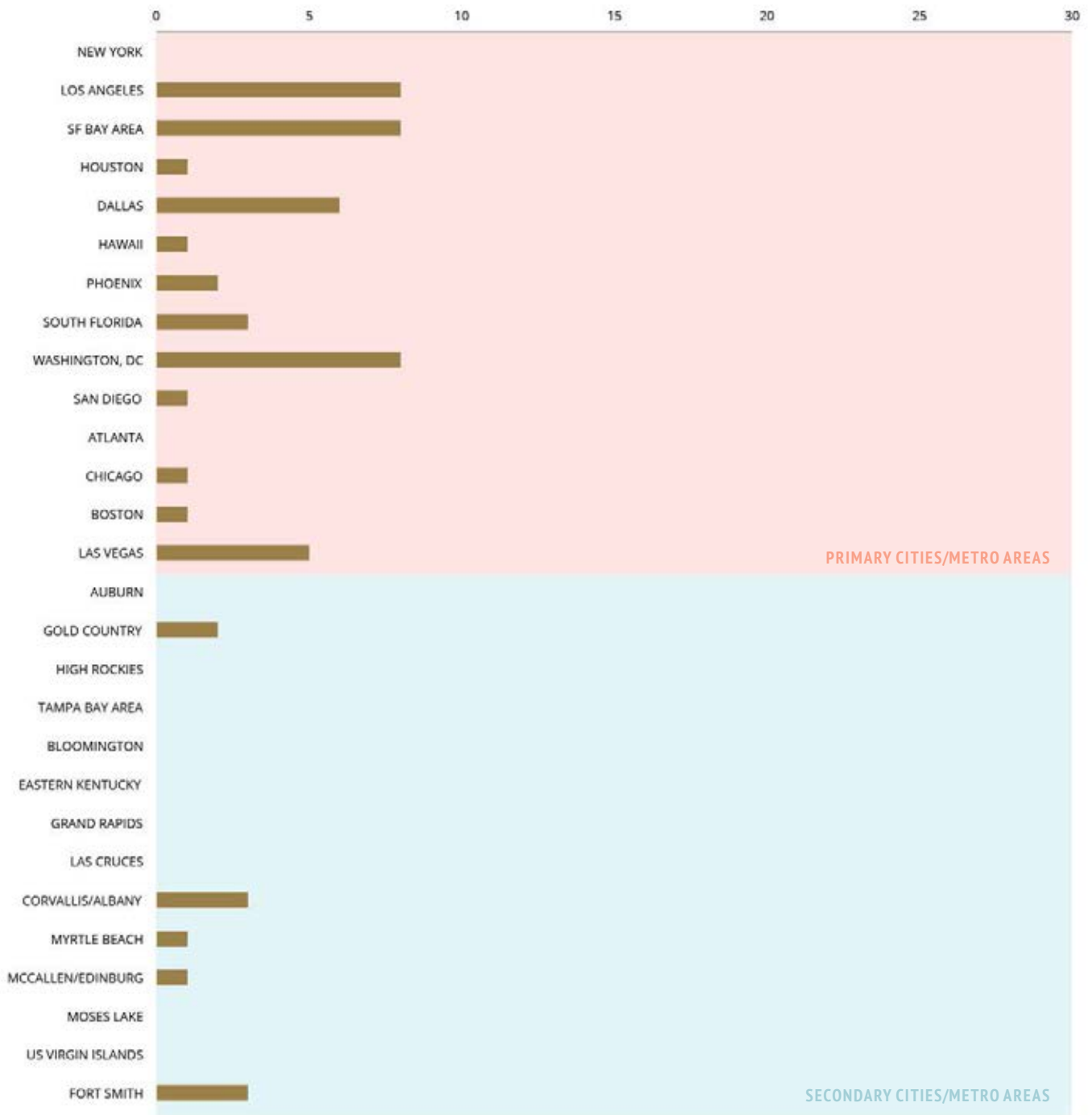
ITEMS FOUND BY TYPE: JEWELRY



ITEMS FOUND BY TYPE: TUSKS (CARVED AND UNCARVED)



ITEMS FOUND BY TYPE: HOUSEHOLD GOODS

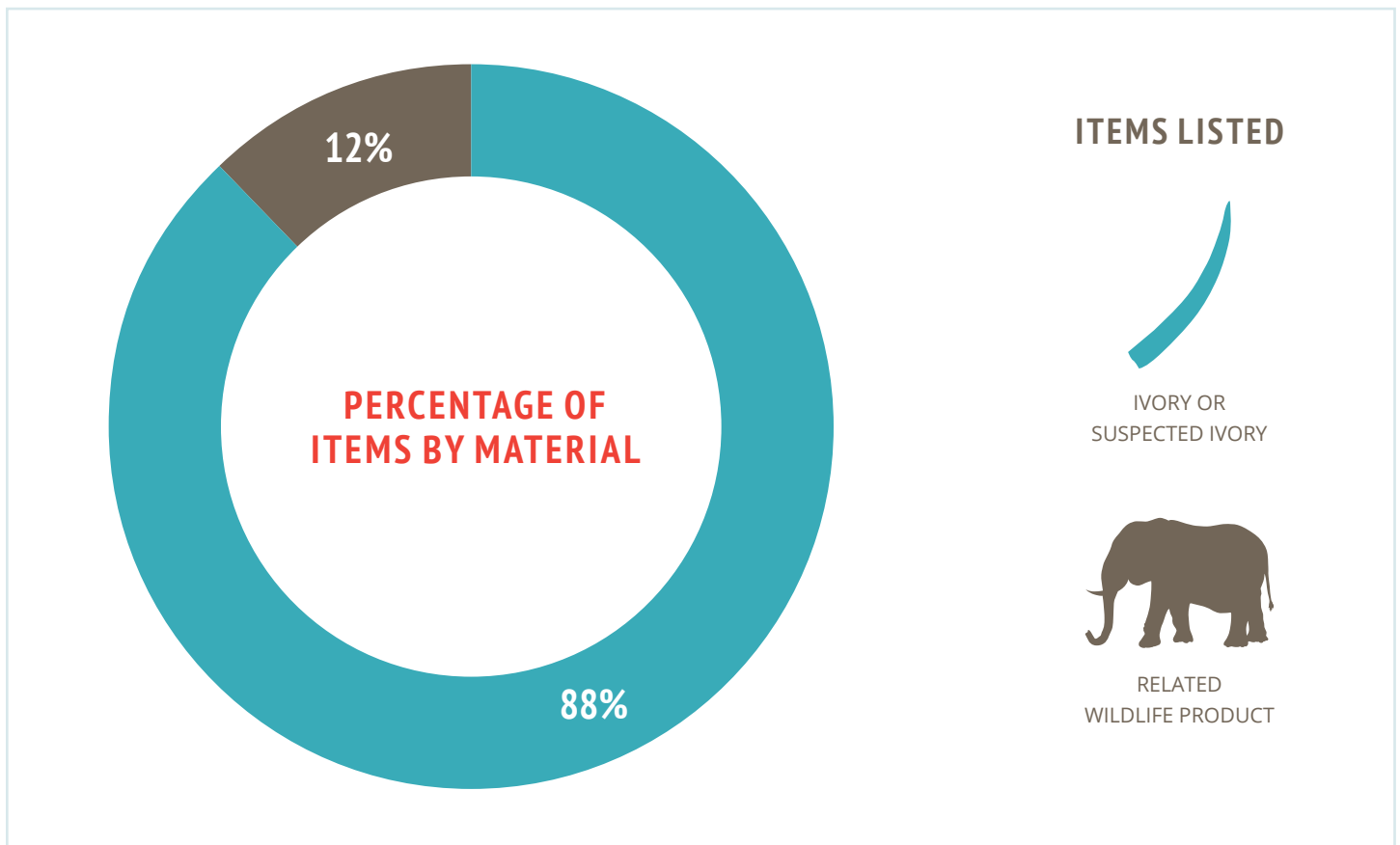


VIOLATIONS OF CRAIGSLIST POLICY

As noted above, Craigslist explicitly prohibits sales of animal parts. Therefore, each of the tracked listings is a likely violation of Craigslist policy.

Moreover, Craigslist's policy requires that users comply with applicable laws. But the legality of the ivory and suspected ivory offered for sale on the site is difficult to determine. In dozens

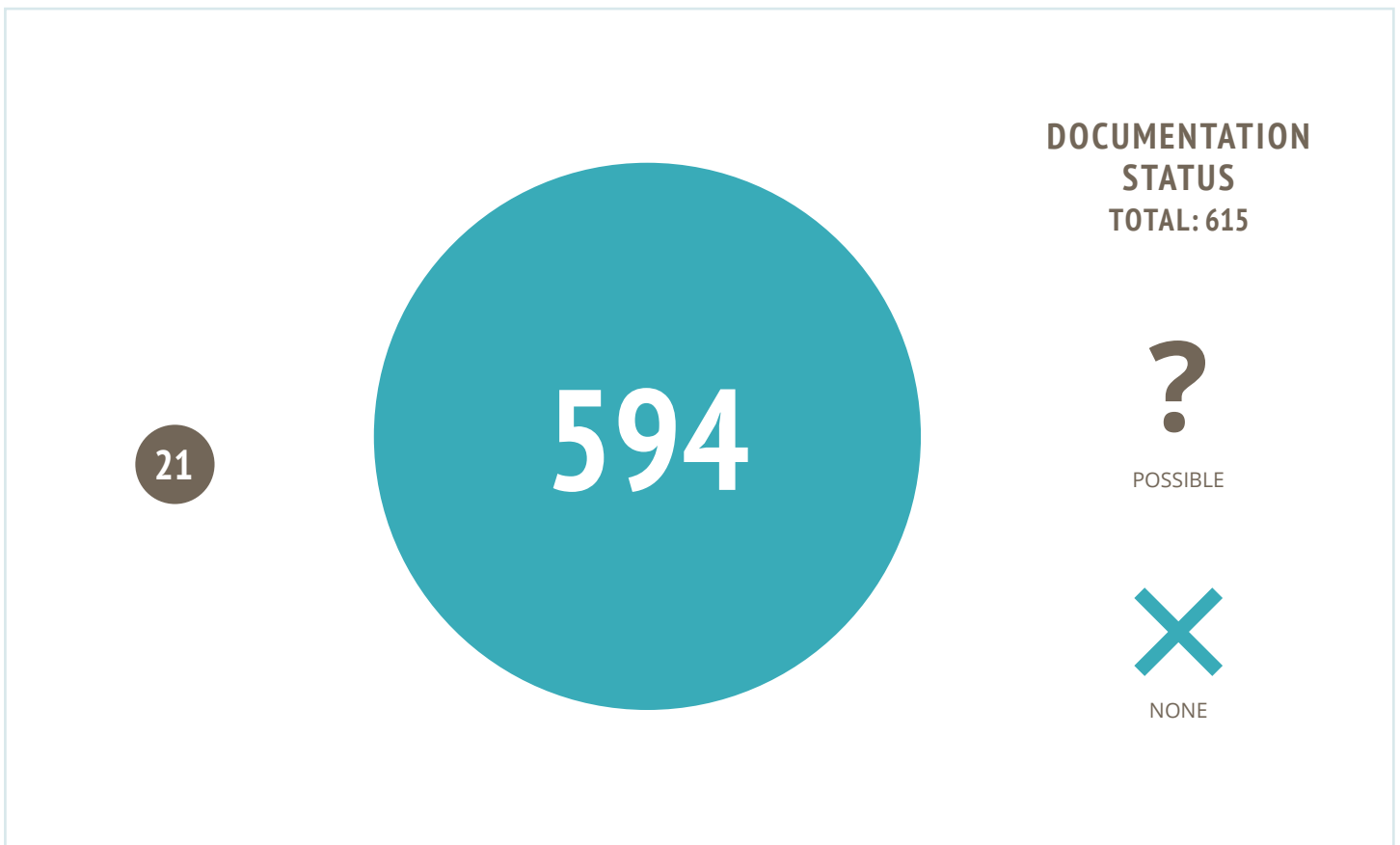
of posts, sellers displayed some apparent awareness of US or state laws on ivory by claiming that their items were "pre-ban" (that is, imported to the US prior to the 1990 CITES restrictions on international trade) or "antique" (which could simply be a general description, but could also be read as an effort to comply with the US Fish & Wildlife Service's revised regulations).



VIOLATIONS OF CRAIGSLIST POLICY (CONT.)

Moreover, the fact that most sellers said nothing to alert potential purchasers that ivory is a regulated product indicates that some sellers may not understand the rules, and are engaging in ivory trade anyway, likely with impunity. It also highlights

one of the problems with the regulation of the ivory trade in the U.S, in particular when it is conducted online – those who do not understand the law or, worse yet, seek to evade the law, can easily conduct their trade online and profit without much fear of discovery and prosecution.



04 CONCLUSION

Our investigation uncovered advertisements for hundreds of wildlife products including ivory and suspected ivory items, worth over a million dollars, available for purchase on Craigslist.org despite the company's express prohibition on the sale of animal products.

Most of these advertisements included little or no information on the legal status of these products.

It is impossible to know whether the offering of elephant ivory for sale on Craigslist.org is resulting in actual ivory trade. Being a classified advertising site rather than a commerce or auction site, very little information can be obtained about actual transactions, buyers and sellers, final prices, shipping terms and agreements, and other issues of relevance to the casual observer or

investigator. However, if even a small percentage of the ivory items advertised are sold, Craigslist is facilitating the sale of elephant parts, and can therefore implement policy changes to benefit the species.

In many ways, Craigslist is the perfect example of what makes enforcing the law in the Internet age so difficult, especially when it comes to third-party websites that never possess the items and that play no role in those transactions other than providing a forum for buyers and sellers to meet. This of course is not intended to imply that Internet crime is a lost cause – quite the contrary: eBay, Etsy and other web marketplaces have shown a willingness to work hand in hand with law enforcement and conservation NGOs to help reduce crime on their platforms, and we believe that Craigslist is in an

excellent position to do likewise. Instead, it illustrates the difficulty of enforcing laws and regulations that contain myriad exceptions and loopholes, especially when it comes to online commerce. IFAW and WCS believe that ivory trade anywhere is a threat to elephants everywhere. With poaching numbers soaring, and wildlife traffickers profiting not just from the deaths of African elephants but also from those of rhinoceros, tigers, pangolins – indeed, the ark of our planet's most iconic species – the need for stronger policies and changes in consumer behavior is urgent. We would like to assist Craigslist in taking the necessary steps to become a part of the solution, and believe that the company will reap the benefits of leading on an issue of burgeoning social value.



APPENDIX: METHODOLOGY

DATES: March 16-20, 2015 (data collection) March 23-27, 2015 (analysis/report)

TIME FRAME FOR POSTED ITEMS: Craigslist.org appears to post items going back 30 days. For the purposes of this investigation, any listed items older than 30 days were ignored.

CITIES/METRO REGIONS: The 14 primary targets were chosen based on inclusion in the 2008 STE/CFTWI study referenced on page 5. The 14 secondary targets were chosen by organizing the 420 Craigslist city sites by state (and alphabetically within each state), then selecting every 30th site. Fort Smith (23rd city listed) was chosen at random as a substitute for Jacksonville (270th city listed) in order to avoid an over-sample for Florida.

SEARCH TERMS:

- Primary: Ivory, Elephant, Tusk
- Secondary: Netsuke, Scrimshaw, Mammoth, Mastodon

DUPLICATE ITEMS: Given the nature of the CL posting system, numerous duplicate advertisements were posted. While collecting data, investigators counted duplicate postings that were repeated in a single day as a single posting. Postings repeated on successive days during the week were counted as individual postings. However, if the investigator clearly remembered seeing an item previously in the week – and could confirm that by comparing the two posts – he/she did not double-count it.

DATA POINTS: For every item retrieved by the above search terms and which fell into one of the three categories to be counted (ivory, suspected ivory, or related wildlife products – see definitions below at para. 4), investigators logged the following data –

- 1 Posting ID number
- 2 Item description (choose one)
 - Household goods (ex. silverware or teapot with ivory handle, chess sets)
 - Tusk – carved
 - Tusk – trophy
 - Jewelry
 - Furniture
 - Musical instrument
 - Scrimshaw
 - Statue

- Netsuke
- Miscellaneous (including brief descriptor: cane, plaque)

3 Number of items - Some listings included multiple items for sale. Items that were part of a set (chess pieces, earrings, etc. but NOT things like matched statues that could be sold separately) were counted as one item.

4 Material: "Ivory," "suspected ivory" (i.e. items that appeared to be ivory but that were mislabeled (or possibly disguised) as another product, based on investigators' analysis of code words, price indicators, and the pictures provided), or "related wildlife product" (i.e. items that were not ivory or suspected ivory but that were retrieved by our search terms and which the seller explicitly referred to as animal body parts or derivatives. For all such "related wildlife products," investigators noted the species – walrus, warthog, etc.).

5 Craigslist category (ex. "arts+crafts" or "antiques" etc.)

6 Location of seller if different from CL city

7 List price

8 Documentation status - If the seller claims to have any documentation (proof of legal possession) on their item's provenance, investigator categorized the listing as "Possible documentation"; if no such claim was made the listing was categorized as "No documentation." Investigator also noted if the seller claims it is an antique or pre-ban item, even if they did not offer documentation to support that claim.

9 International shipping offered?

SAVING LISTINGS: Investigators maintained a record of all listings that were logged, in *.htm format.

APPENDIX: INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURE

DAY 1 – MONDAY, MARCH 16: Gathering postings from previous 30 days

Investigators opened the assigned Craigslist.org sub-sites and followed the procedure below:

- Entered primary search term “Ivory”
- Sorted by “newest” and scrolled to the earliest-posted advertisements
- Upon encountering a possible ivory (or related wildlife) product, opened each listing in a new tab. Read listings and assessed whether the products were ivory, suspected ivory, or related wildlife products; if it was (or may have been), investigator notated all fields in spreadsheet.
- Saved listings in city folder
- When search for “Ivory” was complete, repeated procedure for primary search terms “Elephant” and then “Tusk.” If time allowed, repeated procedures for secondary search terms.

DAYS 2-5 – MARCH 17-20: Gathering postings from previous 24 hours

Investigators opened assigned Craigslist.org sub-sites and entered primary search term “Ivory”

- Sorted by “newest” and scrolled to the oldest unexamined listing – this would have been posted after the previous day’s data collection was complete.
- Repeated procedures from Day 1 (including other primary and secondary terms)

After data collection ended on Day 5, investigators sent their completed spreadsheets and saved *.htm listings to the project manager for analysis.

I CARE FOR THE WILD INTERNATIONAL AND SAVE THE ELEPHANTS, IVORY MARKETS IN THE USA. 2008. AVAILABLE AT [HTTP://SAVETHEELEPHANTS.ORG/WP-CONTENT/UPLOADS/2014/03/2008IVORYMARKETSUSA.PDF](http://SAVETHEELEPHANTS.ORG/WP-CONTENT/UPLOADS/2014/03/2008IVORYMARKETSUSA.PDF)

II NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL, IVORY TRAFFICKING IN CALIFORNIA, USA. 2015. AVAILABLE AT [HTTP://DOCS.NRDC.ORG/WILDLIFE/FILES/WIL_15010601A.PDF](http://DOCS.NRDC.ORG/WILDLIFE/FILES/WIL_15010601A.PDF)

III ALLGOOD, RATCHFORD, LAFONTAINE, U.S. IVORY TRADE: CAN A CRACKDOWN IN TRAFFICKING SAVE THE LAST TITAN? 2013. AVAILABLE AT [HTTP://WWW.IFAW.ORG/SITES/DEFAULT/FILES/IFAW-UNITED-STATES-IVORY-TRADE-CAN-CRACKDOWN-ON-TRAFFICKING-SAVE-THE-LAST-TITAN.PDF](http://WWW.IFAW.ORG/SITES/DEFAULT/FILES/IFAW-UNITED-STATES-IVORY-TRADE-CAN-CRACKDOWN-ON-TRAFFICKING-SAVE-THE-LAST-TITAN.PDF)

IV IFAW, BIDDING AGAINST SURVIVAL: THE ELEPHANT POACHING CRISIS AND THE ROLE OF AUCTIONS IN THE U.S. IVORY MARKET. 2014. AVAILABLE AT [HTTP://WWW.IFAW.ORG/SITES/DEFAULT/FILES/IFAW-IVORY-AUCTIONS-BIDDING-AGAINST-SURVIVAL-AUG-2014_0.PDF](http://WWW.IFAW.ORG/SITES/DEFAULT/FILES/IFAW-IVORY-AUCTIONS-BIDDING-AGAINST-SURVIVAL-AUG-2014_0.PDF)

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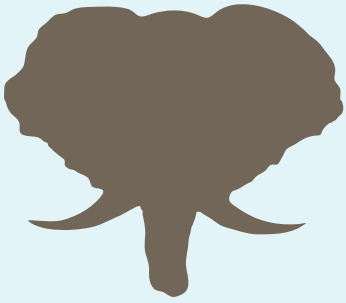
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**BETWEEN 2010 AND 2012
ALONE, EXPERTS ESTIMATE
THAT MORE THAN 100,000
OF THESE ANIMALS WERE
SLAUGHTERED – AN AVERAGE
OF ONE ELEPHANT KILLED
EVERY 15 MINUTES, EVERY DAY,
FOR THREE FULL YEARS –
AND THE HORROR SHOWS
NO SIGNS OF ABATING.**



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