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Attitudes toward Marijuana Legalization: Temporal and Thematic Trends

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ATTITUDES TOWARD MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION:

TEMPORAL AND THEMATIC TRENDS

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Abstract

This dissertation examines historical changes in marijuana legalization attitudes between 1974 – 2018, using a qualitative study of pro-legalization social movements in marijuana culture and quantitative analyses of measures from the General Social Survey (GSS). The main research question asks what themes have been prevalent in pro-legalization social movements (e.g., libertarianism, anti-establishment and anti-drug-war, medical/cancer patient advocacy, market incentives), how these themes have changed over the past several decades, and whether they connect to trends in legalization attitudes in the (GSS).

The first part of this study is qualitative, employing thematic content analysis of the most prominent national pro-marijuana publication. The subsequent quantitative component of the study is similar to Neilsen (2010), who conducted the only extant research in the past two decades examining temporal trends in attitudes toward marijuana legalization, focusing on favorable/unfavorable attitudes in relation to age (period and cohort effects). The present study expands on this work by considering other demographics, political orientation, and political and social attitudes related to the themes revealed in the content analysis.

The qualitative analysis revealed numerous themes corresponding to the historical evolution of marijuana attitudes and policies, and confirmed several expectations about these themes' relative timing in prominence between the marijuana popular culture periodical and legal-historical events. Quantitative results show variations in attitudes toward marijuana legalization over time and by cohort that support previous research, as well as several hypotheses developed from themes in the qualitative study, including gun ownership and confidence in the president.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

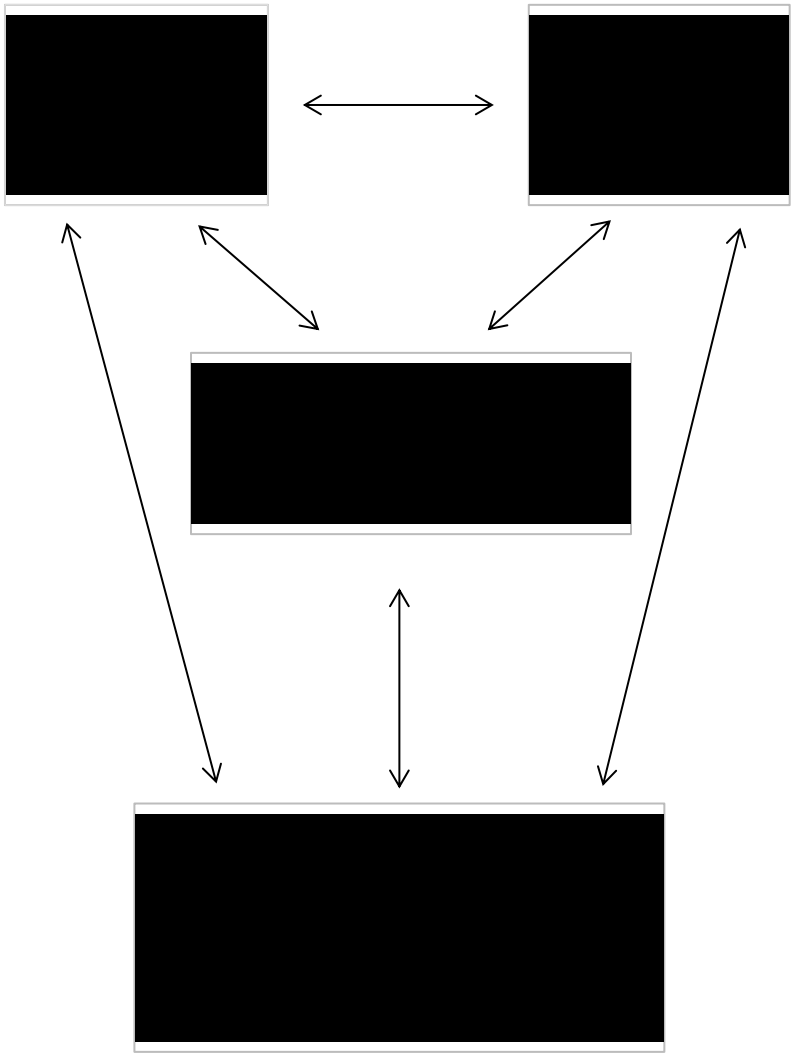
Marijuana has been a part of American history since early colonization. Today, marijuana is the most routinely used drug in the United States, yet it remains illegal at the federal level and has been since 1937 (Cerda at al. 2012; Kim and Kim 2018; Wilkinson et al. 2016). Since the 1970s, attitudes about marijuana legalization have widely fluctuated along a spectrum that on one end supports prohibitionist polices and on the other end consists of a growing social movement to remove marijuana from the Schedule I list of controlled substances under U.S. federal law. Concurrently, The United States issued the "war on drugs" campaign, seeking to discourage the production, distribution and consumption of marijuana and other psychoactive drugs. While at the state level over half have approved marijuana for medicinal use, decriminalized it for recreational use, or completely legalized adult consumption and approved it for retail sale (Kim and Kim 2018).

Purpose of Study

The legality of marijuana has been an important issue for American society over the past four decades. However, little scholarly research has focused on the pro-marijuana literature, media depictions and Americans' attitudes toward the legalization of marijuana (Nielsen 2010). Some researchers have focused on short-term shifts in aggregate public concern (Beckett 1994; Gonzenbach 1996; Hawdon 2001), and others have studied individual-level attributes related toward drug policies without accounting for changes over time (Cintron and Johnson 1996; Rasinski, Timberlake and Lock 2001). This dissertation examines various themes that are present in contemporary pro-marijuana literature and media (e.g., libertarianism, anti-

establishment and anti-drug-war, medical/cancer patient advocacy, market incentives), how these themes have changed over the past several decades, and whether these themes can be connected to trends in attitudes supporting legalization in the General Social Survey (GSS) between 1974-2014; while controlling for correlates that reflect individualism, traditionalism, and deviance (e.g., gay rights, sexual behaviors, religiosity, atheist rights, abortion, and pornography).

Figure 2: My Madness in Diagram Form



Brief History of Marijuana Laws in the United States

The social movement to legalize marijuana can be traced to the early 1970s. However, laws referring to marijuana or cannabis date much further back in U.S. history. The very first marijuana law to exist in the United States was passed by the Virginia assembly in 1619, which required farmers to grow hemp (a non-psychoactive industrial variety of the Cannabis sativa plant species) due to its uses in fabric, lighting oil, paper and fiber (Gerber 2004; Schlosser 2003; Solomon 1966; Sloman 1979). Marijuana was, until 1883 and thousands of years before, one of the largest agricultural crops in the world and the United States. In the second half of the nineteenth century marijuana had become a popular ingredient in medicines (e.g. Dr. Brown's Sedative Tablets, Eli Lilly's One Day Cough Cure) as treatment for gastrointestinal illnesses, fever, migraines, rheumatism, and insomnia (Ferraiolo 2007; Schlosser 2003; Sloman 1979). The changes in attitudes toward marijuana can be attributed to cultural changes (Cao and Zhao 2012; Ferraiolo 2007; Stack, Adamczyk and Cao 2010).

Around the turn of the century an increase in negative views of drugs, drug users and addiction, as well as, international treaty obligations motivated the United States to ratify drug control legislation such as The Pure Food and Drug act of 1906 and The Harrison Act of 1914 (Ferraiolo 2007). These laws required narcotic ingredients to be listed on the label of patented medicines and mandated that physicians and druggists register with the Internal Revenue Service (Ferraiolo 2007). While opium, heroin and morphine were included, marijuana was not considered a narcotic substance until several years later (Weinberg et al. 2019). The smoking of

marijuana for recreational and therapeutic reasons was not defined as a social problem until the late 1910s and beyond, thus the beginning of the marijuana moral panic.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 increased the number of Mexican migrants who brought with them the practice of smoking marijuana as a way to alter one's consciousness (Becker 1963; Schlosser 2003; Sloman 1979). The fears and prejudices that Southern U.S residents held toward Mexican immigrants was extended to marijuana and its users despite being a traditional form of intoxication (Becker 1963; Schlosser 2003; Sloman 1979; Solomon 1966). The Great Depression and Jim Crow laws fueled anti-immigrant sentiment and yellow journalism in the South causing states to ask the U.S. Treasury Department to ban marijuana (Becker 1963; Schlosser 2003; Sloman 1979; Solomon 1966). By 1930 only sixteen states had laws prohibiting marijuana use (Becker 1963). In 1937, however, the United States Congress passed the Marijuana Tax Act which effectively made marijuana illegal. The political movement to make marijuana illegal in the first place was framed using cultural prejudices (Becker 1963; Schlosser 2003; Sloman 1979; Solomon 1966). As Gamson and Meyer (1996) stated, the framing process contains potential struggle not only among members of the movement but among authorities, individuals in countermovements and political conditions. The early history of marijuana in the United States gives some insight into the various struggles the movement to legalize marijuana has encountered.

The social movement to legalize marijuana began with Oregon becoming the first state to decriminalize (the elimination of criminal prosecution) cannabis possession in 1973 (Hardaway 2003). By 1978, seven other states (California, Colorado, New York, Nebraska, North Carolina, and Ohio) had decriminalized marijuana to some degree. Many local jurisdictions across the country (e.g. Mendocino, Denver, Washington D.C., Ann Arbor, Detroit, Oakland and

Philadelphia) also decriminalized marijuana possession during this period of time (Ferraiolo 2007; Gerber 2004; Schlosser 2003).

In the 1980s and 1990s America saw another moral panic relating to marijuana with the "war on drugs." The "war on drugs" created political support for enacting mandatory minimum sentencing laws for drug offenses and increased federal law enforcement budgets and enforcement (Felson, Adamczyk and Thoms 2019; Nielsen 2010). During the "war on drugs," minorities, the working-class and other stigmatized groups were disproportionately arrested and convicted for marijuana related offenses (Ferraiolo 2007; Glasser 2000; Gerber 2004; Nguyen and Reuter 2012; Reinarman and Levine 1997; Schlosser 2003; Tonry 1994; Tonry 1995; Wacquant 2001; Western 2006). Contradicting the moral panic perspective, Cao and Maguire (2013) researched the tolerance of prostitution during this period and found American society had become more tolerant regardless of one's social class, but religiosity was a significant "counterbalance" to the acceptance of prostitution. Remarkably during the "war on drugs," the movement to legalize marijuana for medicinal purposes gained momentum.

In 1996, California passed Proposition 215 making it the first state to legislate comprehensive medical marijuana laws (D'Amico et al. 2018; Felson et al. 2019; Gerber 2004; Ncsl.org 2019). The number of states that have legalized medicinal marijuana has continued to increase. At the start of 2019, as many as thirty-two states, the District of Columbia, Guam and Puerto Rico have all approved some form of medical marijuana (Ncsl.org 2019). Currently, marijuana remains a Schedule I drug on the list of controlled substances under U.S. federal law (Ncsl.org 2019).

In addition to legalizing marijuana for medical purposes, the economic downturn of the early 21st century made states begin to consider different options for increasing revenue. In 2012,

Colorado and Washington became the first states to legalize the sale, possession and cultivation of marijuana for recreational use. Colorado Amendment 64 and Washington Initiative 502 legalized marijuana similar to legislation governing alcohol; allowing for possession of up to an ounce of marijuana for anyone aged 21 and over. As of 2019, a total of 11 states and the District of Columbia have legalized marijuana for recreational use and instituted high rates of taxes on it. The sales tax on marijuana in Colorado and Washington is 25 percent. In Washington, the 25 percent tax is applied at both sale points, wholesale and retail (Hanson 2014). According to Miron (2005), if marijuana was legalized and taxed at the federal level, similar to alcohol, it would be a multi-billion dollar industry. The trend of states legalizing marijuana for both medical and recreation purposes only continues with an increasing number of states creating ballot measures, petitions, Governors' bills, Health Department recommendations and many other strong proposals to legalize marijuana on the state level. These shifts in attitudes, changes in laws, and increased public awareness of the legality of marijuana require researchers to question what forces are behind these changes and what frameworks are successfully being presented to change public opinion and laws about marijuana?

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Since the 1930s marijuana use has been constructed as a social problem in the media and by politicians (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009). However, more recently others have advocated for the decriminalization, medicalization or the outright legalization of recreational marijuana. Those against marijuana legalization use moral arguments to support their stance while those advocating for marijuana decriminalization, medicalization or legalization attempt to counter those arguments and frame marijuana in a different light and more favorable light.

This dissertation is theoretically guided by the collective action framing perspective and notions of frame change over time with consideration given to the social construction of deviance and moral panic perspectives. While the main theoretical framework is collective action framing, the social construction of deviance and moral panics also need to be considered. The collective action to legalize marijuana is a countermovement to the federal government's moral panic platform called the "war on drugs." With collective action to legalize marijuana coinciding with the government's "war on drugs" (moral panic movement), these theoretical frameworks guide this research in a way that allows me to identify both the reaction and influence of the social movement to legalize marijuana..

Social Construction of Deviance

In the 1970s many researchers responded to a call by Herbert Blumer (1971), Malcolm Spector and John I. Kitsuse (1977; 1962) to focus on how and why social problems emerged as well as how they evolved (Anderson 2017). The response was led by investigations pertaining to the social construction of social problems (Anderson 2017; Best 2001).

The constructionist approach focuses on the how social categories are created, how these categories become incriminated and questions related to the existence of certain rules, their workings, and consequences (Goode 2005; 2001). According to Goode (2005; 2001), the constructionist initiative consists of four steps: conceptualization (a classification scheme), condemnation (a categorical moral valuation), assigning particulars to categories and the stigmatization of the individual.

The first step of the constructionist process is conceptualization (Goode 2005; 2001). The question asked is – how do members of a society construct a classification scheme out of all the possible human behavior, beliefs, and conditions? "Thus, the very first step in the construction process is how certain actions, beliefs or characteristics come to be focused on as a category" (Goode 2005:38). Categories are not formed by themselves out of the blue. Characteristics must be noticed and defined to be placed in various classifications (Goode 2005; 2001). As Pfohl (1977) argues, child abuse was not "discovered" until the 1960s. The argument is not that children were not abused prior to the 1960s, but that the conceptual category of behavior known as "child abuse" was not in the public vernacular until the 1960s (Goode 2005; 2001). "The relevant issue is not why some people 'do it' but why and under why conditions 'it' whatever it is, tends to be conceptualized and condemned" (Goode 2005:38).

According to Goode (2005; 2001), the second step of the constructionist process is condemnation or a categorical moral valuation. The next question is how does one of the defined categories become viewed by society as wrong, as violating social norms, as worthy of societal damnation (Goode 2005; 2001)? Researchers have pointed out numerous examples of human behavior, beliefs, and conditions where acceptable in one society is not in another (Ford and Beach 1951; Goode 2005; 2001; Herdt 1981; 1987). How does homosexuality become

classified as taboo in one culture while being imperative in another (Herdt 1981; 1987; Goode 2001)? Why are first cousins expected to marry in one culture yet prohibited in another society (Ford and Beach 1951; Goode 2005; 2001)? Constructionists question why the condemners react as they do and see the category as wrong (Goode 2005).

Goode's (2005; 2001) third step of the constructionist enterprise is assigning particulars to categories. "Given the creation of general categories and their moral valuation, how do certain specific concrete acts, beliefs, or conditions come to be regarded as instances of a given general category" (Goode 2005:38)? After the categories are defined and a moral valuation has been given to them, how do some specific things become placed into these categories? For instance, within the same culture, killing a person can be considered an act of heroism in one particular situation but an act of cowardice in a different situation (Goode 2005; 2001). The categories are not concretely defined and change from culture to culture, by subcultures, over time and social context (Goode 2005; 2001). The way a single incident comes to be regarded as an example or part of a more general category must be investigated (Goode 2005; 2001).

The final line of inquiry constructionists investigate is the stigmatization of the individual (Goode 2005; 2001). Social constructionists grapple with the process of how the individual actor, holder of a certain belief, possessor of a certain trait or occupier comes to be defined as a socially deviant (Goode 2005; 2001). In a society that stigmatizes homosexuality, what conditions are present when a rejected inducement by a gay person toward a heterosexual counterpart does not lead to stigmatization (Goode 2005; 2001; Kitsuse 1962)? Another example is with juvenile law breakers. Those who are fortunate avoid labels associated with delinquency while others are branded deviant. This can result in being suspended, expelled from school, or possibly even arrested and put into the juvenile corrections system (Chambliss 1973;

Goode 2005; 2001). Transitioning from deviance to deviant is not straightforward and depends on other factors and processes which need to be examined (Goode 2005; 2001).

Similarly, John Kitsuse suggested for realignment "in the focus of theory and research from the forms of deviant behavior to the processes by which persons come to be defined as deviant" (1962: 248). The social construction of deviance has three major components: (1) the definition of specific concrete acts, beliefs, or conditions as deviant, (2) classifying certain people as examples of the defined forms of deviance, and (3) the reactions to these individuals labeled as deviant both formal and informal by the general society (Anderson 2017).

Kitsuse and Spector (1973) argued that the assumption of objective conditions cannot be empirically verified and therefore should not be the basis for sociological research. Instead, they propose a constructionist approach that understands social problems as a process of claims-making. Loseke (1999) and Best (2001; 2002; 2012) outlined how social problems are socially constructed through complex claims-making processes. At the root, the social construction of social problems is a collaborative effort by claims-makers and audiences to define something or someone as wrong, evil or harmful to society's culture, way of life and central values (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009). Kitsuse and Spector (1973) define social problems as, "the activities of groups making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some putative conditions" (415). Loseke (1999) has gone on to define a claim as "any verbal, visual or behavioral statement that tries to convince audiences to take a condition seriously and seek change" (26). Claims-makers must define a social phenomenon as a problem to bring attention to the public.

Kitsuse and Spector (1973) suggest researchers use an objective approach toward studying socially constructed claims. However, Best (2002) found that since the 1970s most researchers using the social constructionist of societal problems approach have not been objective. On the

contrary, social constructionists have acknowledged the importance of the social, cultural and historical contexts of claims-making. As Grattet (2011, p. 186) defined it, deviance is "a product of the social interaction between individuals and various types of audiences, such as peer groups, anonymous onlookers, and representatives of formal social control organizations." Weinberg (2009) argues that while researching claims-making is important, it is critical to situate claims-making activities within broader structural context. Claims-making evolves and is a cyclical process which requires vigilance from claims-makers (Spector and Kitsuse 1973; Best 2013). This cyclical process can help explain fluctuations in the moral panic against marijuana use.

Moral Panics

Moral panic research can be traced back to the early 1970s with Jock Young's (1971) study on the social meaning of taking drugs and Stanley Cohen's (1972) seminal research on the media coverage of the conflicting British youth subcultures known as the mods and the rockers (Hier 2011). Issues such as gay rights, abortion, gun control, alcohol and drugs, gambling, and capital punishment are frequently incorporated into the category of morality policy (Ferraiolo 2014). These moral issues, as well as some non-moral issues (e.g. the minimum wage, school vouchers, and immigration), can be used in political campaigns as "wedge" issues due to how contentious they may be (Becker 1963; Ferraiolo 2014). Becker (1963) defined people who attempt to persuade others to adhere to a set of moral beliefs or particular symbolic-moral universe as "moral entrepreneurs." To persuade others to adhere, moral entrepreneurs draw the public's attention to moral boundaries that mark differences between symbolic-moral universes, stigmatizing the behaviors and creating deviants of the actors thus creating new moral boundaries (Ben-Yehuda 1990; Ferraiolo 2014).

Moral entrepreneurs often create what Cohen (1972) defined as "moral panics":

> A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests: Its natures is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians, and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved, or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible (p. 9)

According to Bromely, Shumpe and Ventimiglia (1979), moral panics typically involve atrocity tales which is an event that is viewed as a flagrant violation of a fundamental cultural value. The atrocity tale is told in such a way that it (a) evokes moral outrage, (b) authorizes, implicitly or explicitly, punitive action and (c) mobilizes control efforts against the alleged perpetrators (Bromely, Shumpe and Ventimiglia 1979). The ability of moral entrepreneurs to succeed in creating a moral panic depends on five factors:

1) The ability to mobilize power
2) The perceived threat potential in the moral issue for which they crusade
3) Their ability to create public awareness to the specific issue
4) The type, quality and amount of resistance they encounter
5) Their ability to suggest a clear, persuasive and acceptable solution for the issue or the problem (Becker 1963; Ben-Yehuda 1990).

"Moral panics are studied in a dynamic, historical and political perspective and typically involve complex relationships between the center and the periphery as moral and political challenges are being raised and exchanged during the panic" (Ben-Yehuda 1990: 99). The term moral panic in this context is a deliberate, intentional and planned action by people with power, possibly to create policy, not a spontaneous collective action. A collective action can be found in the movement to decriminalize (the lessening of criminal penalties and criminal prosecution, usually

still carries a monetary penalty), medicalize (the recognition and legalization of marijuana for treating medical conditions) and legalize marijuana for recreational purposes (the legalization of marijuana where regulated and taxed similar to alcohol).

Mooney and Schuldt (2008) assert a consensus exists among moral policy researchers that morality polices have four common characteristics: (1) debates over principles or core moral values, (2) are not amenable to compromise, (3) generation of high public salience and technical simplicity, and (4) are often symbolic not instead of instrumental (Ferraiolo 2014). The most predominate principle among morality policies is framing the debate around basic moral values instead of other issues such as economic matters (Mooney and Schuldt 2008). The second principle of morality policies, not amenable to compromise, may be the product of the debate over basic values (Mooney and Schuldt 2008). "For example, compromise may be especially difficult on morality policy because it is harder to split the difference between core moral values than, say, permissible levels of benzene emissions" (Mooney and Schuldt 2008: 201). Morality policies are also able to engage a larger percentage of the population by not being very complex, framing the issues around what's right and wrong (Mooney and Schuldt 2008). The final principle of morality policies is the concept that public policy is strongly driven by elected officials' perceptions of public opinion; people do not make policies, elected public officials do in response to their impression of the public response to an issue (Camobreco and Barnello 2008; Mooney and Lee 2000; Mooney and Schuldt 2008).

Three Theories of Moral Panics

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) underline three moral panic theories: elite engineered, middle level interest groups, and grassroots. The foundations of these theories are cemented in the

people who comprise these groups and mirror society's major social institutions (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). The major social institutions in society are typically comprised hierarchical with people arranged according to their power and control of resources (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). The ruling elite are at the top of the hierarchy, the grassroots are at the bottom and interest groups fall somewhere in-between (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009).

Among the many examples Goode and Ben-Yenhuda (2009) use to explain the affiliation within these groups is the media. The institution of media has a hierarchy much like the military, government, education and religion. The upper echelon of media comprises of the presidents of major networks, companies, corporations, and other media outlets and formats (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). At the bottom rung of the institutional pyramid is the media's audience and consumer (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). The middle level of the media hierarchy is constructed of journalists, reporters, researchers, assistants, and so on (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009).

In addition to the ruling elite being at and remaining at the top of the hierarchy within any of the institutional (e.g. economy, politics, the military, education, the media, religion) "pyramids," they also have the ability to move from the pinnacle of one pyramid to the pinnacle of another (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). For instance, someone with a prominent real estate business has the ability to move to another institution, like the media, and become a popular cultural icon; for example, Donald Trump. He was even able to change again and become President of the United States of America.

The elite-engineered moral panic theory argues that the ruling elite, the richest, most powerful society members, intentionally engineer, coordinate, or orchestrate crusades to create and maintain fear about issues society generally does not find harmful (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda

2009). This model argues the ruling elite dominate media platforms, determine the legislature, control broadcasts, and influence public perceptions (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). For instance, in the mid-1950s the targeting of homosexuals in Boise, Idaho was initiated by conservative elites to discredit a moderate, reformist municipal administration (Gerassi 1966; Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). Some researchers have argued that Ronald Reagan's "war on drugs" was the ruling elite manipulating public interests and fears; therefore, taking attention away from economic and political inequality by allowing elites to continue profiting from the status quo (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009; Reinarman and Levine 1997; Reeves and Campbell 1994). The elite-engineered moral panic model gives the ruling elite tremendous power, almost seeing them as controlling society with the general public having very little control.

The moral panic theory which focuses on the power of the general public is the grassroots model (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). The argument behind this model is that the general public creates panic by reacting to the feeling a valuable part of society is under attack (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). Unlike the elite-engineered model, which would theorize that the powerful in control of the media start the panic, the grassroots model argues the media is reacting to, and increasing, the already widespread concern of the general public (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). An early example from the 1690s of the grassroots model is the Salem witch trials which were generated by widespread fear that community standards were being violated (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). Another form of the grassroots model is conspiracy theories. "On many issues, the rank-and-file members of Western society mistrust the rich and powerful, and harbor suspicions that they threaten the rest of us in their greedy efforts to line their own pockets" (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009: 57). Goode and Ben-Yenhuda (2009) suggest the conspiracy theory that the Central Intelligence Agency was trafficking heroin,

cocaine, and crack throughout African American communities in order to destroy them so this created a grassroots model of moral panics. Their argument is that since many of these race-based conspiracy theories mirror other historical events, the stories related to these occurrences seem plausible (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). Grassroots advocates argue that if the ruling elite have so much power over moral panics then they would have stopped panics which disrupted society and its interests (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009).

The middle level interest group perspective is the most common approach to moral panics (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009). "Advocates of the interest-group theory hold that occupants of the middle level of power in a society act independent of the elite to either express or maximize their own morality or ideology and/or seek material or status advantage" (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009: 54). Howard Becker (1963) started this perspective by illustrating how rule creators and moral entrepreneurs create causes to maintain order and these causes can form into a moral panic. The fundamental question from the middle level interest group perspective is who benefits the most if an issue is found to be detrimental to society (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009)? During the 1986 election a number of politicians hastened the public about drug abuse in an attempt to gain reelection (Goode and Ben-Yenhuda 2009; Jensen, Gerber, and Babcock 1991).

Scholars such as Mooney and Schuldt (2008) and Knill (2013) have discussed how morality policies do not exist but are mere strategies to frame policy issues (Ferraiolo 2014). In an assessment of scholars' and the general public's appraisals and classifications of so-called morality policies (e.g., abortion regulation, same-sex marriage policy, and capital punishment) Mooney and Schuldt (2008) found morality policies do, in fact, exist. Mooney and Schuldt (2008) suggest that issues such as abortion regulation, same-sex marriage policy, and capital

punishment are framed, rather than having intrinsic content. This leads to their classification as morality policies (Ferraiolo 2014). Knill (2013), however, suggests morality policies do not even exist, but alternatively compose a strategic approach to framing policy issues (Ferraiolo 2014).

Mucciaroni (2011: 211) argues "the morality politics literature not only exaggerates the importance of private morality frames, but it offers an overly simplified view of framing strategies by reducing most politics on these issues to the morality of private conduct. People who staunchly oppose a policy often have more than one reason for doing so." In his research on opponents of gay rights political strategies, Mucciaroni (2011) found that opponents deemphasize framing the issues about morality and focus on framing the issue as having negative social consequences and procedural arguments (Ferraiolo 2014). Mucciaroni (2011: 212) suggests researchers "should move beyond examining the frames employed by legislative advocates and instead look at how other opponents, including interest group leaders, activists, and citizens, frame typical morality policy issues." This dissertation addresses this limitation by looking at pro-marijuana literature and the frames presented over time.

Collective Action Framing Perspective

Benford (1997) made several suggestions to enhance and expand the theoretical perspective of social movement framing; one of which was temporal focus. Benford (1997:417) asserts there needs to be more "studies which examine continuities and changes in framing strategies, their forms, and the content of frames over the life of a movement, throughout a cycle of protest, or across an historical epoch." By applying the concept of collective action framing and notions of

frame change over time to the movement favoring marijuana legalization, this study attempts to address the temporal limitation presented by Benford (1997).

Master frame alignment offers the ability to build a conceptual bridge linking social psychological and structural/organizational considerations of the movement to legalize marijuana (Snow et al. 1986). The master frame alignment idea stems from Goffman's (1974) concept of the term "frame" which is used to denote "schemata of interpretation" that allows people "to locate, perceive, identify and label" experiences and interactions as meaningful (Goffman 1974:21). The interpretation of interactions as meaningful cause frames to function as a way to organize experiences and guide action (Benford 1993; 1997; Benford and Snow 2000; Goffman 1974; Snow and Benford 1992; Snow et al. 1986).

These meaningful interactions, organized experiences and guided actions create clustering and sequencing of collective action (Benford and Snow 2000; Snow and Benford 1992; Swart 1995; Tarrow 1983, 1989, 1994). Tarrow's (1983, 1989, 1994) concept of cycles of protest provides a conceptual basis for the temporal and spatial clustering of social movements. Tarrow (1983, 1989, 1994) proposes that the state sometimes encounters a political situation which creates vulnerability to collective action. These moments of vulnerability provide social movements the political opportunities to present their goals and which in turn creates the potential for clustering (Benford 2000; Swart 1995; Tarrow 1994). Social movement clustering occurs due to ideological frames which construct the opportunities in the state for social movements to advance their goals (Snow and Benford 1992; Snow et al. 1986; Swart 1995). Frame alignment is then necessary for social movement participation (Snow et al. 1986). Frame alignment is the linking of individuals to the interpretive framework of the social movement (Benford and Snow 2000; Snow et al. 1986; Tarrow 1992). These frames are defined as

collective action frames (Benford 1997; Benford and Snow 2000; Snow and Benford 1992; Tarrow 1983, 1989, 1994).

Master Frames

Collective action frames can vary in how broad their scope is; therefore, some social movements will be more rigid and inelastic while other social movements will be relatively inclusive, open and elastic. The broader the scope the collective action frame has the more likely it is to function or to become a master frame (Benford and Snow 2000; Stanbridge 2002). The concept of master frame came about when Snow and Benford (1992) moved the analysis of social movements from micromobilization to the clustering of activity within the cycles of protest (Swart 1995). Snow and Benford (1992:151) identified master frames as ideational frames that serve as "master algorithms that color and constrain the orientations and activities associated with it ecologically and temporally." Swart (1995) argued that this conceptualization of master frames is tautological (Stanbridge 2002). The argument that master frames are tautological goes as follows: clustering of social movements generates a master frame while a master frame is needed for the clustering phenomenon to begin (Stanbridge 2002; Swart 1995). To overcome this limitation, Swart (1995) identifies a master frame in terms of its resembling the cultural, political or historical surroundings in which i emerged and not in terms of the number of social movements that it provides resources for (Stanbridge 2002). Master frames provide various movements with resources which can be modified for their particular goals (Swart 1995).

Master Frame Alignment

Swart (1995) argues that the previously mentioned reshaping process is a form of master frame alignment. Snow et al. (1986) stated that the frame alignment process links the activities, goals and ideology of a social movement to potential supporters. Swart (1995:466) extends this concept to master frames alignment, claiming master frames alignment link the activities, goals and ideology of a social movement "to those within the broader cultural and political context of the movement." Through master frame alignment processes, participants in movements shift the culturally or politically resonant master frames based on their specific historical situation and the goals of the social movement (Swart 1995).

Collective Action to Legalize Marijuana and Frame Change Over Time

This study asserts the social movement to legalize marijuana uses a single broad "rights based" master frame. Within the broad "rights-based" master framework the social movement to legalize marijuana has had shifts over time in overall collective action framing. Over the course of more than forty years American society has changed, and along with it, the frame within the movement to legalize marijuana has responded with shifts to focus on arguments and themes society currently deems to be more important. In addition to the collective action to legalize marijuana having gone through three major eras: reform of the 1970s, medicalization and the legalization for recreational purposes; the overall social movement had to battle the federal government's war on drugs.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

The social movement to legalize marijuana can be traced to the 1970s and continues to make extraordinary strides toward its goal. The duration of the social movement to legalize marijuana allows me to apply notions of collective action framing and frame change over time to the overall movement. I theorize the lifespan of the movement has seen three collective action frames associated with it. I have identified these collective action frames as: the reform collective action frame of the 1970s, the medical marijuana collective action frame of the 1990s and 2000s and the current collective action frame of legalization for recreational use. During this period, mainly in the 1980s and 1990s, the social movement to legalize marijuana also had to respond to the "war on drugs" and the morality panic rhetoric and policies it brought.

Drug Moral Panics

In the United States starting during the mid-nineteenth century, marijuana, cocaine, and opium had become a popular ingredient in medicines to treat pain, gastrointestinal illnesses, fever, migraines, rheumatism, and insomnia (Ferraiolo 2007; Schlosser 2003; Sloman 1979). "Around the turn of the twentieth century, groups including the medical community, commercial and political elites, Progressive reformers, and racist and nativistic interests lobbied for drug control legislation" (Ferraiolo 2007: 150). The moral panic framework considering drug use as deviant began with public opinion even before the emergence of legal controls (Ferraiolo 2007). Historically, the antidrug advocates in the United States have framed "drugs or drug use with unpopular or politically marginal groups: the stereotypical addict has been the cocaine-called African American, the opium-smoking Chinese, or the Mexican or youthful marijuana user"

(Ferraiolo 2014: 353). Americans' moral panics over drug use and abuse are clearly nothing new. The pattern of the media depicting the worst case scenario as if it were common or even typical "prevailed for over a century, beginning with alcohol, opium, and cocaine in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, carrying through to marijuana in the 1930s, LSD in the 1960s, PCP in the 1970s, crack cocaine in the 1980s, Ecstasy beginning in the late 1980s, and methamphetamine in the twenty-first century" (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009: 198).

Opium

The first moral panic over drug use in the United States occurred during the 19th century when the opium scare targeted Chinese immigrants (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009; Reinarman 1994; Weinberg et. al. 2019). The long complicated American history with opium began even before Great Britain defeated China in the First Opium War in 1839 (Ryan 2001; Weinberg et. al. 2019). For decades, leading American families made fortunes selling opium to China resulting in an estimated 27% of the adult male population being addicted by 1906 (Hays 2015; Ryan 2001; Weinberg et. al. 2019).

During the California Gold Rush many Chinese immigrants, already addicted, brought the practice of smoking opium to America (Weinberg et. al. 2019). This fueled xenophobia and the "yellow peril" by people of European descent who feared immigrants from East Asia were a danger to the Western world (Weinberg et. al. 2019). On April 26, 1858 the California Legislature approved an act (CHAP. CCCXIII.) prohibiting "the further immigration of Chinese or Mongolians" into California (Ryan 2001; Statutes of California 1858: 295; Weinberg et. al. 2019). The Chinese who had immigrated prior to the new law were seen as cheap labor and able to find work constructing portion of the transcontinental railroad (Weinberg et. al. 2019).

However, after the Central Pacific Railroad was completed, Americans from European descent began to see Chinese immigrants as competition for jobs in the industry (Weinberg et. al. 2019). Soon the Chinese were depicted as criminals, gamblers, savages, and prostitutes (Smith 1966; Weinberg et. al. 2019). This popular opinion confined them to "Chinese ghettos" or "Chinatowns" (Ryan 2001; Weinberg et. al. 2019). These areas were seen by the government as detrimental to the social order (Weinberg et. al. 2019). San Francisco passed the first Opium Den Ordinance due to a general context of recession, class conflict, and racism, as well as the political control of a vice and the prevention of miscegenation and prostitution (Reinarman 1994; 2008; Ryan 2001; Weinberg et. al. 2019). By 1882, Yellow Peril had reached such intensity that the United States passed the Chinese Exclusion Act banning the immigration of all immigration of Chinese laborers (Forty-Seventh Congress 1882; Weinberg et. al. 2019).

While Chinese immigrants were targeted for their use and illegal importation of opium into the United States, opium was legally sold throughout the country in the 19th century (Weinberg et. al. 2019). When Congress passed the Opium Exclusion Act of 1909 it banned the importation and smoking of opium, thus focusing on Chinese immigrants (Reinarman 2008; Ryan 2001; Weinberg et. al. 2019). The anguish and physical pain the Civil War caused increased the popularity of opium and pain relieving drugs like morphine and heroin, both derivatives of opium (Courtwright 1982; Weinberg et. al. 2019). These pain relieving drugs were readily available through physician, over the counter at drug stores, grocery stores, and even through the mail (Weinberg et. al. 2019). The nationwide opium and cocaine scare began in the early 20th century when usage of these drugs shifted from predominantly white, middle-class, middle-aged women to young, working-class, African-American, males (Ferraiolo 2007; Reinarman 1994). In addition to the Opium Exclusion Act of 1909, this moral panic created a

number of laws: the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 requiring drugs such as alcohol, cocaine, heroin and morphine to be accurately labeled, and the Harrison Narcotics Act of 1914 requiring physicians, pharmacists, drug dealers and others who distributed drugs to keep accurate records, register with the Internal Revenue Service and the scheduling the legality of drugs into twelve sections (Ryan 2001; Weinberg et. al. 2019). The passage of the Harrison Narcotics Act of 1914 allowed prohibitionists and the antidrug lobby to focus on other menaces (e.g. alcohol and later marijuana) besides opium and cocaine.

Alcohol

Another moral panic began with the outbreak of the First World War (The Great War) in 1914. Prohibitionists and the Anti-Saloon League had already targeted alcohol prior to the Great War; the war simply gave them the ammunition to propel prohibition from a state issue to a national moral panic (Lantzer 2009; Peck 2009). German immigrants and decedents were the first targets, but later Irish and Catholics would feel the brunt of the newfound "American patriotism" (Weinberg et. al. 2019).

Alcohol has long been a major target of moral regulation (Critcher 2011; Hunt 1999). Throughout American history reformers have tried to use "moral suasion" to reduce the high rates of alcohol consumption (Peck 2009). Prior to 1917 and the United States entrance into the Great War, the moral panic over alcohol was contained to the state level. The Anti-Saloon League a powerful advocacy group, dominated by rural, middleclass ideals, focused extensively on the complete elimination of breweries, wineries, distilleries and of course saloons (Peck 2009). Mostly located in cities, saloons "were" urban culture (Peck 2009). Saloons were places for the working-class, mainly immigrants, to socialize, have fun and build community (Peck

2009). Unions, mutual aid societies, and politicians all met at saloons to accomplish local, city objectives (Peck 2009). At this time most of America was rural and saw cities as a form of wickedness not understanding the need for a working-class social outlet (Peck 2009). "Cities were full of immigrants, Catholics, and Jews. They were sinful places, given over to drunkenness, prostitution, and vice" (Peck 2009: 10).

The focus of the alcohol moral panic turned specifically to German immigrants and decedents when the United States entered the Great War in 1917 (Gusfield 1986; Peck 2009; Reinarman 1994; Weinberg et. al. 2019). Even though beer was the most popular beverage, with about twenty gallons consumed per person each year, it was perceived as a German beverage (Peck 2009). The anti-German sentiment in America brought hostility toward already established breweries which were founded by German immigrants. "Some of the Prohibition activists claimed that Pabst, Schlitz, Miller, and Blatz were 'the worst of all our German enemies'" (Weinberg et. al. 2019: 58). Drinking and opposition of Prohibition was even considered identifying with the enemy (Gusfield 1986; Peck 2009; Reinarman 1994; Weinberg et. al. 2019). "And it wasn't just beer that fell into disrepute in those jingoistic days: all things German became unpopular. Sauerkraut was renamed liberty cabbage, and Kaiser Rolls became liberty buns. German toast became French toast, while frankfurters were magically transformed into hot dogs" (Peck 2009: 11). Many people with German names even changed their names to sound more English-sounding (Weinberg et. al. 2019).

Countless Americans viewed other immigrants who were of non-German decent but who consumed alcohol as dangerous and incapable of becoming true Americans (Weinberg et. al. 2019). These beliefs, which affected the Irish immigrants the most, were an effort to simultaneously prohibit alcohol and to keep foreigners from immigrating (Okrent 2010;

Weinberg et. al. 2019). The stereotypes about Irish drinking were rooted in reality; Irish Americans had a higher rate of admission to psychiatric hospitals for alcohol; had a higher rejection rate in the military due to alcoholism; had the highest incidence of heavy drinking and other related problems; spent more money on alcohol; and had a higher conviction rate for drunkenness than any other ethnic group (Walsh and Walsh 1973; Weinberg et. al. 2019). "This allowed the 'know nothings' and other bigots to claim that Irish alcoholism was a vast danger to the American way of life and that, therefore, they and other Catholics such as Italians who drank too much should be excluded from further migrating to the United States" (Weinberg et. al. 2019: 60). During the Great War a belief arouse that the Catholic clergy, consisting of mostly of Irish immigrants and decedents were sympathetic to the German cause and were colluding with the enemy (Esslinger 1967; Weinberg et. al. 2019).

The moral panic over alcohol would lead to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution which prohibited the manufacture, transportation, and sale of intoxicating liquors (Lantzer 2009; Peck 2009; Weinberg et. al. 2019). By the mid-1920s, most Americans realized that Prohibition was failing and became cynical; the law was being disobeyed, alcohol poisoning killed thousands and major cities were being controlled by organized crime (Peck 2009). The need for a more intense defense of prohibition created a unique unacknowledged alliance between prohibitionists and the Ku Klux Klan (Lantzer 2009). The Ku Klux Klan was a representation of the hopes and fears of white Protestants; "it offered the majority of citizens an opportunity to visibly demonstrate against the forces of wet immigrant culture (Lantzer 2009: 114). The prohibition of alcohol was in effect for fourteen years until it was repealed by the Twenty-First Amendment. However, the moral panic over the use of drugs, immigrants and minorities was far from over.

Marijuana (Reefer Madness)

After the enactment of the Twenty-First Amendment alcohol prohibitionists and the antidrug lobby set their sights on marijuana. This era of moral panics against drug use is commonly referred to as the "Reefer Madness" era named after the now comical propaganda film (originally entitled Tell Your Children) from 1936 (Stringer and Maggard 2016). Much like the opium and alcohol moral panics preceding it, the marijuana moral panic started at the state level, gained enough momentum to reach the national level and targeted immigrants and other marginalized groups (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009; Schlosser 2003).

Entering the 1930s, concern over marijuana was mainly concentrated to a few Southern cities such as El Paso, Texas and New Orleans, Louisiana (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009; Schlosser 2003; Stringer and Maggard 2016). The moral panic over marijuana in America began around 1910 coinciding with the Mexican Revolution (Schlosser 2003). This political upheaval increased the influx of Mexican immigrants to Southwestern United States (Schlosser 2003). These immigrants were welcomed with many prejudices and fears (Schlosser 2003). Since, marijuana was primarily an intoxicant for working-class Mexicans, particularly migrant farm workers, it too became a target of these fears and prejudices (Ferraiolo 2007; Ferraiolo 2014; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009; Schlosser 2003). "Police officers in Texas claimed that marijuana incited violent crimes, aroused a 'lust for blood,' and gave its users 'super-human strength.' Rumors spread that Mexicans were distributing this 'killer weed' to unsuspecting American schoolchildren" (Schlosser 2003: 19).

The moral panic only spread from there as marijuana was introduced to more communities (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009). Marijuana was brought into many port cities along the Gulf of

Mexico by sailors and West Indian immigrants (Schlosser 2003). In cities like New Orleans, marijuana found acceptance "among some members of the African-American working-class community to the jazz world and from there to black and white jazz circles and then to bohemians, intellectuals, gamblers, prostitutes, and criminals" (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009: 199). Newspapers and the media began describe marijuana as an alien intrusion in American life, with the ability to change your average American teenager into a sex-crazed maniac (Schlosser 2003). "During the 1920s and 1930s, when this diffusion was taking place, the image of marijuana use that was depicted in the media and accepted among law enforcement and in the general public was so unrealistic as to be amusing today" (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009: 199). Despite our hindsight, by 1931 twenty-nine states had outlawed marijuana (Schlosser 2003). The Great Depression brought rising anti-immigration sentiment and the push by public officials in Louisiana and Southwestern states for the federal government to make marijuana illegal (Schlosser 2003; Weinberg et. al. 2019).

As the Great Depression got worse the federal government started to focus more heavily on marijuana because less people were using (could afford) more expensive drugs, marijuana was imported from Mexico, had a Spanish name, and for those reasons more likely to be viewed as dangerous (Anslinger and Oursler 1961; Weinberg et. al. 2019). Harry J. Anslinger, the commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN), was tasked to lobby every state to adopt the Uniform Narcotic Drugs Act (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009). To achieve this, Anslinger created or exploited many public appearances, radio shows, education films and articles about marijuana such as Assassin of Youth, Marihuana, the Weed with Roots in Hell, and Tell Your Children all of which depicted marijuana users as dangerous, disruptors of traditional American society (Anslinger and Cooper 1937; Ferraiolo 2007; Ferraiolo 2014;

Schlosser 2003; Stringer and Maggard 2016). Anslinger, the notorious moral entrepreneur and one of the staunchest opponents of marijuana, would often present congressional audiences with atrocity tales of insanity, murder, and addiction (Carroll 2004; Ferraiolo 2007; Ferraiolo 2014; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009; McWilliams 2001; Sharp 1994; Stringer and Maggard 2016).

Anslinger's approach to using the media to progress his agenda had tremendously successful results. Congress passed the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937 effectively criminalizing marijuana throughout the United States (Ferraiolo 2007; Ferraiolo 2014; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009; Schlosser 2003; Stringer and Maggard 2016 Weinberg et. al. 2019). Gelder et al (2009) argues that because most Americans do not have an abundance of direct knowledge about drugs, they rely heavily on mass media to gain information about them. Musto (1999) found the generation from the 1920s had little knowledge about drugs and a great amount of hostility towards illicit substances. Researchers have also found that pre-baby boom cohorts grew up with significant animosity toward the use of drugs (Kandel et al 2001; Stringer and Maggard 2016). Himmelstein's (1983) analysis of marijuana articles published in popular magazines between 1935 and 1940 found that 95 percent depicted marijuana as "dangerous," with 85 percent specifically mentioning violence as a side effect and 73 percent of the articles regarding moderate use as impossible.

In the 1940s and 1950s, the general controversy over marijuana had started to die down only to intensify again during the 1960s when the popularity of marijuana began to grow (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009). However, by the 1960s the image of the marijuana user had changed. Marijuana users were no longer seen as the violent, deranged criminal psychopath (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009; Himmelstein 1983). The new image of the marijuana user was that of a hippie, drop-out, good-for-nothing, ineffectual person (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009;

Himmelstein 1983). Noticing how drugs alter the mind, Anslinger worked closely with other governmental agencies trying to produce "truth drugs," and mind control drugs (Schlosser 2003). One of those drugs was Lysergic Acid Diethylamide (Schlosser 2003).

Lysergic Acid Diethylamide (LSD)

Many researchers claim the moral panic over lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD) began in the 1960s with the media's overblown representation of something called the, "LSD party" (Cornwell and Linders 2002). These parties were gatherings where "unstable therapists" allowed LSD to escape the lab and make it into the general public (Cornwell and Linders 2002). The sensationalism by newspapers and magazines continued to grow. For instance a 1966 cover story from Life magazine entitled, "The Exploding Threat of the Mind Drug That Got Out of Control." Other claims by the media are similar to the previous moral panics and include but are not limited to: "psychic terror, uncontrollable impulse, unconcern for one's own safety, psychotic episodes, delusions, illusions, hallucinations and impulses leading to self-destruction" (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009: 202). "In the case of LSD use in the 1960s, media representations that members of the public found credible, as well as legislation proposed and passed, brought to bear all of Cohen's (1972) original criteria for moral panic: stereotyping, exaggeration, distortion, and sensitization" (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2011: 25). The moral panic brought about mostly by media coverage triggered criminal legislation focused on LSD (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009).

Crack Cocaine and Marijuana (War on Drugs)

No drug moral panic influenced criminal legislation more than the 1980s war on drugs. Reports in 1982 from the National Institute of Drug Abuse's National Household Survey, estimated between 20 and 24 million Americans had experimented with cocaine in their lifetime; with between 11 and 13 million Americans doing so in the past year and 3 to 5 million having done so in the past month (Forman and Latcher 1989). "Cocaine was generally viewed, even by some members of the drug abuse treatment and research communities, as a nonaddictive, relatively safe 'recreational drug.' It was reputed to be the glamour drug of the 1980s. Its use was glamorized and promoted in films, television and popular music as the 'thing to do'" (Forman and Latcher 1989: 14). Cocaine use quadrupled in the late 1970s but did not become a drug scare until around 1986 when freebase cocaine was renamed crack and sold in inexpensive units predominately in black working-class neighborhoods (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009; Inciardi 2002; Reinarman 1994).

The war on drugs is usually associated most with President Ronald Reagan and the George H.W. Bush administration (King and Mauer 2006; Nielsen 2010). President Reagan (February 6, 1911 – June 5, 2004) grew up during alcohol prohibition and the subsequent reefer madness moral panics and his political views on alcohol, marijuana and other drugs reflected this (Musto 1999; Nielsen 2010; Stringer and Maggard 2016). President Reagan first declared his, "war on drugs" in 1982 placing priority on drug enforcement by increasing federal funding to address them, including greater spending on law enforcement and other "supply reduction" efforts (Beckett 1997; Carnevale and Murphy 1999; Ferraiolo 2014; Inciardi 2002; Nielsen 2010; Pallone and Hennessy 2003). Even the First Lady Nancy Reagan pandered to the media with her

high-profile “Just Say No” campaign directed towards young teenagers and their parents (Ferraiolo 2014; Forman and Latcher 1989).

One of the main focal points of these drug practices was the emergence of the new form of cocaine called crack cocaine (Nielsen 2010). The media, politicians and the public were infatuated with the sensationalism of crack cocaine (Inciardi 2002; Nielsen 2010). Crack cocaine was first mentioned in a major media outlet on November 17, 1985 with an article in *The New York Times* about a local drug abuse program, within “eleven months the *New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times,* the wire services, *Time, Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* had among them served the nation with more than one thousand stories in which crack had figured prominently” (Inciardi 2002: 145). Quickly the media linked crack cocaine to crime and the spread of AIDS and HIV (Inciardi 1999; Inciardi 2002; Musto 1999; Reinarman and Levine 1989). Another example of the way crack use was demonized by the media was the “crack baby” phenomenon (Goode 2005; Inciardi 2002). The term “crack baby” was used to describe children exposed to crack cocaine as a fetus. William Bennett, the federal drug czar, claimed 10% percent of all birth was to crack babies; totaling 375,000 births in the United States were to babies already addicted to crack cocaine (Goode 2005; Inciardi 2002).

During the 1980s, drug moral panic resulted in numerous major federal anti-drug bills (e.g., 1984 Sentencing Reform Act, Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, and Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988) being enacted and increasing the criminal penalties for drug possession, use and distribution; also, offering more funding for fighting the war on drugs (Bertram 1996; Carnevale and Murphy 1999; Musto 1999; Nielsen 2010; Pallone and Hennessy 2003). In many states marijuana was included in the “Three Strikes” sentencing laws, requiring life in prison after a third felony conviction (Caulkins and Chandler 2011; Felson et al. 2017; McCoy and Krone 2002)

In the later years of "the war on drugs," marijuana offenses were consistently the most punished drug offense. King and Mauer (2006: 2) go as far to make the claim, "that the 'war on drugs' in the 1990s was, essentially, a 'war on marijuana.'" From 1990 to 2002, the total number of marijuana arrests doubled from 327,000 to 697,000 or 113% while arrests for all non-marijuana drug offenses increased by only 10% (King and Mauer 2006). This trend continued and by 2010 more than half of all drug offenses were for marijuana with an estimated total of 750,000 arrests per year (Caulkins et al. 2021).

"Just as Anslinger solidified the nascent link between marijuana and unpopular groups and behaviors in order to discourage its use and stigmatize its users, drug czar William J. Bennett and other antidrug activists in the 1980s were similarly preoccupied with the moral and cultural implications of drug use by minors (also a prominent concern for decriminalization opponents in the 2010s)" (Ferraiolo 2014: 354). The moral panic over marijuana is the most enduring, starting in the 1930s, resurging in the 1960s and 1980s and still around today.

Social Movement to Legalize Marijuana

In spite of the moral panic to ban marijuana, a portion of society sought to reform the laws and public opinion about it. The overall social movement to legalize marijuana has been through three major collective action frames. I identify these collective action frames as: the decriminalization collective action frame of the 1970s, the medical marijuana collective action frame of the 1990s and 2000s and the current collective action frame of legalization for recreational use.

Collective Action to Decriminalize Marijuana of the 1970s

The socio-historical context of the late 1960s and early 1970s was like no other time in American history; it was a time when conventional attitudes and behavior was the subject of increasing criticism (Auld 1981; DiChiara and Galliher 1994). The challenging of stereotypes and discriminatory treatment was also applied to the laws prohibiting marijuana (DiChiara and Galliher 1994). The civil rights movement was the master frame which a variety of movements sought resources from. "Movements championing women, the disabled, the aged, and American Indians, among others, were empowered in part by the civil rights master frame" (Snow and Benford 1992:148). The collective action to decriminalize marijuana in the 1970s was no different; the civil rights movement was the overall master frame used to catapult marijuana reform. Over the lifespan of the movement to legalize marijuana the three collective action frames used are part of an overarching "right-based" framework.

Between 1973 and 1978 the social movement to legalize marijuana was achieving some goals through collective action; eleven states reduced penalties/decriminalized small amounts of marijuana (DiChiara and Galliher 1994). DiChiara and Galliher (1994) applied Lempert's (1974) theory of moral dissonance to the marijuana law reform movement. DiChiara and Galliher's (1994:43) argument was limited because it used circular reasoning; the authors argued "that while decriminalization laws resolved certain conflicts, the legislation produced additional conflicts or moral dissonance all its own when behavior considered by some to be immoral was no longer severely punished, thereby setting the stage for the stalling of the movement toward decriminalization." The argument is that moral dissonance set in motion the collective action to

reform marijuana laws only for decriminalization to create more moral dissonance, which in turn led to the stalling of the overall social movement to legalize marijuana.

"No States decriminalized marijuana possession after 1980 and in fact, in popular referenda held in 1989 and 1990, two –Oregon and Alaska- *re*criminalized the possession of marijuana (Goode 2001: 189). One key point DiChiara and Galliher (1994) made was a "policy window," founded off ideological, social, and political basis, briefly opened allowing for the decriminalization of marijuana. According to DiChiara and Galliher (1994) one reason the social movement to legalize marijuana failed was that it was framed incorrectly. I am making the argument that DiChiara and Galliher's (1994) concept of a policy window was actually the collective action to decriminalize marijuana and was being set in the master frame (no pun intended) of the civil rights movement. Therefore, the overall social movement to legalize marijuana laws stalled due to a change in the ideological, social and political basis of society. The collective action to decriminalize marijuana had run its course; the overall social movement to legalize marijuana was still around and another collective action would be framed in another way in accordance with trends in society.

The social movement to legalize marijuana may have stalled due to another point brought up by DiChiara and Galliher (1994) since the 1980s brought about a conservative Republican administration and the "Just Say No to Drugs" campaign. The collective action to decriminalize marijuana was not framed incorrectly, but did not go through the master frame alignment process fast enough to keep up with cultural changes in the American society. DiChiara and Galliher (1994) claimed that even with a more conservative political atmosphere, marijuana would remain a low priority for law enforcement, resulting in lower arrests and incarcerations for marijuana offenses than for other drugs through the 1990s.

Medicinal Marijuana Collective Action

The collective action to decriminalize marijuana framework was no longer working through the 1980s and needed to be shifted. "The medical marijuana movement represents an effort to reform on important aspect of marijuana laws, yet scant attention has been paid to the reasons for its success" (Ferraiolo 2007: 148). The challenge was to change the perception of the marijuana user from the sick drug addict in need of treatment to the image of the marijuana user as a patient in need of the plant for relief from suffering (Ferraiolo 2007). The National Organization for Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML) battled with the federal government to change marijuana to a schedule II substance for 22 years when in 1994 the United States Court of Appeals upheld the current Schedule I status of marijuana (Crites-Leoni 2009). The prediction made by DiChiara and Galliher (1994) that marijuana arrests would go down was incorrect. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2008) marijuana arrests have been increasing since the late 1980s and by the late 1990s surpassed the number arrests for heroin and cocaine combined.

In the early 1990s there was a rising concern about healthcare in the United States. In 1992 during the election campaign Bill Clinton relied heavily on rhetoric about healthcare reform. By 1993, the new First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton, was making headline news for being appointed the chair of the task force in charge of the Health Security Act, otherwise known as the Clinton health care plan. Although the Health Security Act did not pass, it was a catalyst for the healthcare movement. In 1996 the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act was enacted by the United States Congress. The social movement to legalize marijuana saw the emergence of the collective action to legalize it for medical purposes. "They

crafted an alternative frame of marijuana that emphasized not crime, deviance, and violence, but health, patient rights, and compassion" (Ferraiolo 2007: 166).

Nineteen ninety-six was also a big year for the social movement to legalize marijuana. The collective action to medicalize marijuana was aligning with healthcare reform; the overall social movement to legalize marijuana began making strides again. In 1996 California Proposition 215 passed; also known as The Compassionate Use Act of 1996 it was approved in every single one of the California's fifty-eight counties (Chapkis and Webb 2005, 2008). Patients could then cultivate and possess marijuana with a physician's recommendation (Chapkis and Webb 2008). The social movement to legalize marijuana was gaining ground as it did in the 1970s thanks to this new collective action frame to finally medicalize marijuana. The number of states with medicinal marijuana continued to grow and continues until today.

The medical marijuana advocates most important goal was encouraging the public to distinguish between recreational and medicinal marijuana. During the 1970s, decriminalization activists "supported the legalization of marijuana for recreational purposes and framed their position in the language of pleasure, freedom, and choice, medical marijuana advocates' narrower, more sympathetic way of framing the debate was more difficult for opponents to challenge" (Ferraiolo 2007: 166). However, the medical marijuana collective action frame experienced backlash from the federal government and others over health concerns (e.g. inhaling smoke) which helped to push the emergence and distinction of another collective action within the overall social movement to legalize marijuana (Chapkis and Webb 2005).

Legalization for Recreational Use Collective Action

Some have expressed the opinion that the presentation of marijuana as a medicine is just an effort by the proponents of outright legalization to desensitize the American public to any negative effects the drug might have (Crites-Leoni 1998). This sentiment combines everyone within the overall social movement to legalize marijuana into one single group. I assert that there are three groups within the social movement and some members belong to one group, some all three, and any possible combination. Some people only want to decriminalize marijuana because they feel it is wrong, but you should not go to prison for it. Some people believe all drugs including marijuana should be completely legal. Others have the opinion that marijuana has medical benefits and should be prescribed by a doctor, but not be legalized and sold recreationally. The argument that medical marijuana was just a stepping stone to outright legalization for recreational purposes just made the lines between the two collective actions more clear (Ferraiolo 2007). Advocates in support of medical marijuana stood firm while the collective action to legalize marijuana for recreational purposes grew steam and identified them as different from the collective action to medicalize marijuana.

Between the early 2000s and 2010, the American economy was going through a nosedive. The financial crisis the United States was experiencing increased libertarian ideology within society. The libertarian ideology emphasizes individual liberty, political freedom and voluntary association; this also extends to corporations. The strengthening of the collective action to legalize marijuana for recreational purposes was still under the umbrella of the "rights-based" social movement to legalize marijuana because it was the individual's right to do as they please. The libertarian aspect of it was that private industry and government have their own individual

liberties including making money. In 2012, Colorado and Washington were the first two states to legalize marijuana for recreational purposes. The rhetoric from the collective action was about increasing revenue by legalizing and taxing marijuana much like alcohol. The idea was to let the people do what they want and to tax those that choose to use marijuana.

According to the National Conference of State Legislatures, as of December 14, 2018, ten states (Alaska, California, Colorado, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nevada, Oregon, Vermont, and Washington) and the District of Colombia have legalized small amounts of marijuana for recreational use by adults. These shifts in policy mirror the changes in public opinion (McGinty et al. 2017). According to the Colorado Department of Revenue the state collects around $250 million a year from marijuana taxes, licenses and fees. The Liquor and Cannabis Control Board of the state of Washington reported in the 2017 fiscal year their state collected nearly $315 million from taxes solely from legal marijuana sales. This generation of tax revenue is enticing more and more states to consider legalizing marijuana for recreational purposes. "As more states consider legalizing marijuana for recreational use by adults, Americans are increasingly exposed to a wide range of arguments in favor of and opposition to legalization through the news media and other sources" (McGinty et al. 2017: 81).

Framing Marijuana in the Media

The media has consistently been used as a tool for framing both sides of the marijuana debate. The concept of framing is dynamic and involves mutually influential relationships between media, elite groups and social movements (Gans 1979; Gitlin 1980; Lewis et al. 2015). Using the media to frame marijuana issues began with the moral entrepreneur, Harry Aslinger

(Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009). Anslinger's (Anslinger and Cooper 1937) first attempt at prohibition failed to gain widespread support (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009). However, using the media to gain attention, Anslinger was able to convince legislatures to pass laws against the sale and possession of marijuana (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009).

According to the media in the 1930s, the Reefer Madness era, marijuana was the most dangerous, soul crushing drug. Arguments were made that it was even more destructive than heroin, morphine or opium (Stringer and Maggard 2016). The portrayal of marijuana in the media has changed greatly since the Reefer Madness era (Stringer and Maggard 2016). Some of these differences are in the way the major mainstream media and news outlets cover marijuana. For example, the depiction of various medicinal uses, state-level support for legalization, admittance of prior and current use by public figures, the exorbitant costs to enforce prohibition, medical professionals' attitudes, and the perceived harms and benefits of associated with marijuana (Stringer and Maggard 2016).

The power the media maintains over the attitudes and perceptions of the general public is tremendous, especially for drugs and drug use. For example, Shoemaker et al. (1989) found that half of the variance in the general public's concern over drugs can be attributed to the frequency of drug related articles published in the *Los Angeles Times and New York Times*. Numerous studies have shown that the general public's attitude about drugs is closely related to the individual's exposure to anti-drug television media (Gonzenbach 1992; 1996; Nielsen and Bonn 2008; Stringer and Maggard 2016; Terry-McElrath et al. 2011). However, no prior research has examined the relationship between pro-marijuana mass media and the general public's attitudes about marijuana legalization.

"Prior research has established a link between the media and public opinion about drugs. However, few studies have examined this phenomenon longitudinally" (Stringer and Maggard 2016: 429). Most research on marijuana in the media also only focuses on the way the major mass media outlets frame and present marijuana. While social movements have been influential, framing theory researchers have tended to focus on the power of the elites to leverage the media coverage rather than the nonelites and grassroots media influence (Lewis et al. 2015). This study focuses on the way pro-marijuana mass media specifically frame marijuana issues and how those frames have changed over time.

General Shifts in Attitudes

Over the decades media coverage of drugs and Americans' attitudes toward drug legalization has fluctuated (Stringer and Maggard). For instance, Bachman et al. (1998) found the disapproval and perceived harm of marijuana among twelfth graders increased between 1978 and 1993 followed by declines until the end of their study. Johnston et al. (2002) found the percentage of high school seniors who thought marijuana should be illegal was only 25% in 1978 then increases to 56% in 1990 and then falls again to 39% in 2001. The same trend continued for adults in the United States as well.

Using repeated cross-sectional data from the General Social Survey (GSS) and Gallup polls, Felson et al. (2017) illustrate that support for marijuana legalization started to rise in the mid-1970s, fell through the 1980s and increased again starting in the 1990s and by the 2010s over half of all Americans supported legalization. "In short, the deviant status of marijuana use reached an all-time low in the late 1970s, grew throughout the 1980s, then retreated in the 1990s

and into the first few years of the twenty-first century. One indication: The decriminalization movement is back on track, energized by the issue of medical marijuana" (Goode 2005: 211).

A number of other variables (e.g. cohort succession, demographic differences, the framing of medical marijuana, changing views of the criminal justice system) have also been found to factor into an individual's attitude towards marijuana legalization (Felsen et al. 2017). In an examination of all of these variables, Felsen et al. (2017) found people from all sociodemographic subgroups largely changed their attitudes to a similar extent; the only two exceptions were whites changed more than Hispanics and Democrats became more liberal sooner than Republicans. Over the past few decades most of America became more liberal regardless of race and ethnicity, gender, education religious affiliation, political ideology, or religious engagement (Felson et al. 2017).

McGinty et al. (2017) examined American's perceptions of the competing arguments about legalizing marijuana for recreational use. They found the frames used by the marijuana legalization advocates in the media (e.g. potential tax revenue 63.9%, reduce prison overcrowding 62.8%) were more persuasive than the frames used by the anti-legalization (e.g. motor vehicle crashes 51.8%, youth health 49.6%) in media (McGinty et al. 2017). The general public was more focused on the potential economic benefits and reduction of the criminal justice system than they were concerned about the potential harmful consequences the media has been pushing for decades.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This analysis seeks to address the following questions (1) what themes (collective action frames) are present in current pro-legalization social movements (e.g., libertarianism, anti-establishment and anti-drug-war, medical/cancer patient advocacy, market incentives), (2) how have these themes (collective action frames) have changed over the past several decades, and (3) are these themes (collective action frames) connected to trends in legalization attitudes in the General Social Survey (GSS)?

Scholarly Contribution

Previous research on American's opinion of marijuana legalization has not addressed the social movement to legalize marijuana specifically and few have discussed changes over time. Content analysis and studies about attitudes toward marijuana legalization tend to focus on: major mass media outlets like the New York Times or a national television news broadcast, advertisements, negative themes in the media, a short period of time, or a specific location (Abraham et al. 2018; Nielsen 2010; Shoemaker et al. 1989). "Despite reasons to expect both long-term period and cohort effects for drug attitudes, the extant literature leave these issues largely unaddressed. Several studies did consider views over shorter periods or in an indirect fashion" (Nielsen 2010: 466). In an effort to fill these gaps, this analysis will utilize sociological theory, a content analysis of a popular pro-marijuana magazine (High Times Magazine) and the General Social Survey (GSS).

Hypotheses

This dissertation examines the social movement to legalize marijuana alongside changes in Americans' attitudes about marijuana legalization over time. In addition to using qualitative research to identify themes, this study uses previous research on moral panics and historical changes in marijuana laws to identify variables in the GSS that reflect changes in attitudes about marijuana legalization over time. Framing theories suggest that some variables will become more influential on Americans' attitudes toward marijuana at certain points in time as the proponents of marijuana legalization shift the arguments to fit with socio-historical context. Based on the historical changes in the legalization of marijuana and previous literature, I am able to draw a number of hypotheses prior to conducting the content analysis.

H_{1A} (Content Analysis): Due to the progressive nature of High Times Magazine, the themes identified will have changed sooner than in the General Social Survey or in the historical context of marijuana laws.

H_{1B} (Content Analysis): Many of the changes in the themes found in High Times Magazine will be in response to the social/historical context of the "war on drugs" and coinciding rhetoric.

H_{1C} (Content Analysis): Themes found within High Times magazine that correspond with measures in the GSS will be significantly related to attitudes toward marijuana legalization.

H_{2A} (GSS): The history of marijuana laws and drug moral panics will correlate significantly with attitudes toward marijuana legalization such that support for legalization will begin relatively high in the 1970s, dip in the 1980s and early 1990s during the "war on drugs," and then gradually increase (Neilsen 2010).

H_{2B} (GSS): Conversely with hypothesis H_{2A}, support for marijuana legalization will be lowest during Ronald Reagan's Presidency and George H.W. Bush's Presidency due to their Presidencies being the most closely related to the "war on drugs" (Neilsen 2010).

H_{2C} (GSS): Given America's long and changing history of moral panics and different prohibitions of drugs, providing generational cohorts with different life experiences and knowledge, support for marijuana legalization will reflect cohort differences such that the baby boomer cohort will be the most supportive of the marijuana legalization, while the cohorts before and after will differ little in their due to the moral panics which occurred during their childhood (Neilsen 2010).

H_{3A} (New Themes): Additional hypotheses about attitudes towards marijuana legalization are given after content analysis finds themes to analyze in the General Social Survey (see Chapter 6).

Limitations

While High Times magazine provides a glimpse into the pro-marijuana culture, the major limitation of this dissertation is finding the appropriate data. High Times is only one, albeit

extensive, collection of ideas and themes that represent a much larger social movement. A number of resources (e.g. other national and regional publications, local NORML groups, music, movies) used by the social movement to legalize marijuana remain untouched by researchers. The social movement to legalize marijuana has been successful on many fronts, even during strong political pushback, and yet the social movement has little research concentrated on it specifically. This dissertation is limited by its broad focus while benefiting by focusing specifically on the pro-marijuana culture and not only on the drug policy reformers.

Analytical Strategy

This study will use a dual methods approach using quantitative data on changes in marijuana legalization attitudes with historical examinations of pro-legalization social movement through a pro-marijuana publication. The main research question asks what themes are present in current pro-legalization social movement (e.g., libertarianism, anti-establishment and anti-drug-war, medical/cancer patient advocacy, market incentives), how these themes have changed over the past several decades, and whether they connect to trends in legalization attitudes in the General Social Survey (GSS) from 1974-2018.

The first component of this study is qualitative, employing thematic content analysis of a national pro-marijuana publication (High Times magazine). The subsequent quantitative component of the study is similar to Neilsen (2010), who conducted the only extant research in the past two decades examining temporal trends in attitudes toward marijuana legalization, focusing on favorable/unfavorable attitudes in relation to age (period and cohort effects). The present study will expand on this work by considering other demographics, political orientation, and political and social attitudes related to the themes revealed in the content analysis.

Qualitative

The qualitative component of this study is important because it fills a gap in the theoretical framework regarding frame change due to the lack of research on the notion of collective action frames and frame change over time. A content analysis is a "technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti 1969: 14). This dissertation uses an interpretive content analysis for an exploratory study of changes in themes in relationship to marijuana legalization in a pro-marijuana culture magazine. Content analysis can support or make a meaningful contribution to the development of social theory (Ford; 1998; Kolbe and Burnett 1991; Merriam 2015).

This dissertation contributes to theoretical development by data collection where "theoretical underpinnings are lacking" (Ford 1998; Merriam 2015). The purpose of the qualitative component is to provide a theoretical benchmark through examination and description of collective action framing and frame change over time. Most marijuana research will focus on attitudes about legalization, major mass media publications or political activists "drug reformers" working specifically to change the laws. The aim is to collect a condensed and broad description of the social movement to legalize marijuana and then identify reoccurring themes (Elo and Kyngas 2007)

As a symbol of marijuana culture, High Times magazine is more than drug reformers; while including people who identify as drug reformers, High Times tries to include examples of everyone who is a participant of the marijuana culture (e.g. entertainers, politicians, entrepreneurs, criminals, medical professional). The magazine claims to be the leading source for daily cannabis news, weed information and marijuana culture (Hightimes.com 2018). "High

Times is the definitive resource for all things cannabis. From cultivation and legalization, to entertainment and culture, to hard-hitting news exposing the War on Drugs, High Times has been the preeminent source for cannabis information since 1974" (Hightimes.com/about 2018). High Times began as a cultural destination and has evolved into a respectable news outlet featuring work by predominant writer such as Truman Capote, Charles Bukowski and William Burroughs (Hightimes.com 2018). In addition to great writers High Times provides a glimpse into all things that is marijuana culture. The magazine's "unyielding coverage of the cannabis lifestyle has helped define one of the most prolific and enduring subcultures in modern American society. Music arts, entertainment, live events and food now all have a seat at the table in the cannabis movement" (Hightimes.com/about 2018). This coverage makes High Times a very unique, comprehensive resource for data on the overall social movement to legalize marijuana.

High Times magazine was chosen for this study due to its wide circulation and because every issue, from the inaugural issue to the most current release, is available online through covertocover.hightimes.com. This study uses every issue for 45 years, from the magazine's inception through December 2018. High Times magazine is published monthly with the exception of the first two years which were quarterly with the addition of some special edition issues leaves this study with a total of 521 issues. Examining every issue provides the details needed to identify changes being made in the collective action frame and the emergence of new collective action frames within the social movement to legalize marijuana.

Grounded theory will be applied to conduct the content analysis. Grounded theory is the inductive approach to studying social life in an attempt to generate a theory from the constant comparing and reexamining of unfolding observations (Charmaz 2005; Lofland et al. 2006). This inductive theory building is based upon the analysis of the patterns, themes and common

categories evident in the actors and audience members' behavior or texts. Grounded theory is a constant comparative method. Using grounded theory allows for creativity in science; allowing for comparatively viewpoints (using numerous instances to avoid initial biases), obtain multiple viewpoints (different sources), reformulate interpretations by allowing the researcher to step back as the data accumulates, and to use new data and observations to look for emerging categories and theory (Charmaz 2005). Grounded theory provides a systematic analysis of the language and images to find reoccurring themes about the collective actions within the social movement to legalize marijuana (e.g., libertarianism, anti-establishment and anti-drug-war, medical/cancer patient advocacy, market incentives).

The aim was to examine the framing of marijuana, how it pertains to marijuana legalization, how the frames change over time and connections to greater themes and trends in American society and culture. By using publications printed chronologically it enables for an analysis of how these themes have changed over the past several decades and approximately when shifts occurred.

Each issue of High Times magazine was scanned for content by "turning" through the digital copy of the entire magazine, page-by-page, taking extensive notes and identifying themes/frames presented as part of the social movement to legalize marijuana. This detailed systematic, exhaustive coding of all articles provided the researcher with a number of themes to then use in the search tool on the High Times website. The search results were gone through looking for change over time and frequency of the themes/frames. Every article was subject to multiple coding, providing a summary of the primary focus in addition to nuances. Every issue was gone through again coding for additional changes, the framing of other drugs and going beyond the written text looking for changes in imagery, and writing style/voice of the overall article or the

whole magazine. The themes presented were consistently compared and analyzed by the researcher going back and forth checking for themes and identifying commonalities and differences. Taking advantage of the search tool provided on the website, in additional searchers, the researcher was able to narrow the results by a variety of categories (e.g. Features, "Highwitness News," Interviews, Letters from readers). Additional searches on the High Times website were performed using themes/frames which previous research has shown to be significant predictors of attitudes towards marijuana legalizations as well as other libertarian ideas (e.g. gun rights, prostitutionHowever,). Even after using the search function, some coding bias may exist due to using only one coder. The search function does help provide support for the themes the researcher discovered. The researcher was able to easily identify the articles containing particular coded themes by typing the theme into the search bar. If the magazine search engine also has categorized the article along the same themes and frames as the researcher then they are in agreement that the article contains those themes.

Quantitative

The quantitative component of the study is important because it fills a gap in previous research. Many scholars have examined opinions about marijuana legalization (Cerda et. al 2012; Freisthler and Gruenewald 2014; Friese and Grube 2013; Palamar 2014; Schuermeyer et. al 2014). However, little scholarly research has focused on attitudes toward legalization in relation to age (period and cohort effects), considering changes in connections between legalization attitude and age, political orientation, and other demographics and attitudes (Nielsen 2010). Previous research focused on teenagers (Friese and Grube 2013; Palamar 2014), medical marijuana (Cerda et. al 2012; Freisthler and Gruenewald 2014; Friese and Grube 2013) usage

(Cerda et. al 2012; Freisthler and Gruenewald 2014; Friese and Grube 2013; Schuermeyer et. al 2014), ambivalence (Galston and Dionne 2013) or focused on a small region of the United States (Freisthler and Gruenewald 2014; Schuermeyer et. al 2014)

The quantitative component of this project will expand on the findings of Nielsen (2010), who examined only period and cohort effects, by considering changes in connections between legalization attitude and age, political orientation, and other demographics and attitudes, which appear to be related to the themes discovered in my content analysis. Data from the General Social Survey (GSS) from 1976 to 2018 (1976, 1980, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018) will be used.

The GSS is a well-known, cross-sectional survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) providing publically accessible annually (most years from 1972 to 1994) or biannually (from 1996 to 2018) data from a probability sample of non-institutionalized adults residing in the United States. The variables collected on the surveys include demographics, religious affiliation and social and political attitudes (Hoffmann and Miller 1997; Nielsen 2010).

Variables

The dependent variable, attitudes about marijuana legalization is measured by responses to the question, “Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal or not?” The variable is dummy coded 0=” Should not” and 1=”Should.”

A number of other independent variables were examined. To asses period effects the year the GSS was given was dummy coded into twelve variables (yes=1) representing the presidential

administration in office during that year (Nielsen 2010). Items were included for the Ford (1975-1976), Carter (1977-1980), first Reagan (1981-1984), second Reagan (1985-1988), Bush H.W. (1989-1992), first Clinton (1993-1996), second Clinton (1997-2000), first Bush W (2001-2004), second Bush W (2005-2008), first Obama (2009-2013), second Obama (2013-2016) terms (Nielsen 2010). Presidential administrations were coded following the work done by previous researchers (Nielsen 2010). Trump's (2017-2018) term was selected because it was the most recent term.

To asses Cohort effects eleven dummy variables (yes=1) based on respondents' birth years were coded (Nielsen 2010). All cohort groups were based on 10 year intervals with the exception of the earliest and most recent cohort categories (1884-1904 and 1985-2000) due to small sample sizes. The other cohorts are: 1905-1914, 1915-1924, 1925-1934, 1935-1944, 1945-1954, 1955-1964, 1965-1974, and 1975-1984 (Nielsen 2010). The cohort comparison category was the 1985-2000 group because it was the most recent cohort.

Sociodemographic variables used in other research about attitudes towards marijuana were examined (Amoateng and Bahr 1986; Bahr et al. 1998; Chu 2007; Cochran and Akers 1989; Desmond et al. 2008; Felsen et al. 2017; Hastings and Hoge 1986; Klein, Elifson and Sterk 2006; Marsiglia et al. 2005; McGinty et al. 2017; Neilsen 2010; Pullen et al. 1999; Steinman et al. 2006). Race was represented by two dummy variables (yes=1) for other race (e.g. Asians) and Whites; Blacks were the comparison group. Gender was coded as Male 1 and females 0. Education was represented as high school graduate with those with 12 or more years of education coded as 1 and those with less coded as 0. Marital status was coded into married 1 all other statuses (e.g. divorced) as 0. Children was coded into has children (under 18) 1 and no children 0. Employment status was coded as working full-time 1 and not working 0.

Several other variables were also examined (Krystosek 2016; Neilsen 2010). Political party was represented by two dummy variables (yes=1) for republicans and independents. Political ideology was recoded into Liberal (reference group), Moderate and Conservative. Religious affiliation is coded (yes=1) as Protestant (as the reference group), Catholic, Other, and Not Religious. The recoded "Other" category includes Jewish, Other (specify), Buddhism, Hinduism, Other Eastern Religion, Moslem/Islam, Orthodox Christian, Christian, Native American and Inter-Nondenominational (Krystosek 2016).

Analytical Plan

Binary logistic regression is used because the dependent variable is binary. The dependent variable, attitudes about marijuana legalization is measured by responses to the question, "Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal or not?" The variable is dummy coded 0=" Should not" and 1="Should." Also, with every independent variable being dummy coded into binary variables I was able to conduct a bivariate analysis with a phi-coefficient to measure the degree of association between attitudes toward marijuana legalization and independent variables.

Chapter 6: Results

The purpose of this analysis was to: find the themes (collective action frames) present in current pro-legalization social movements, find changes which occurred in these themes (collective action frames) over the past several decades, and to see if these themes (collective action frames) connected to trends in legalization attitudes in the General Social Survey (GSS). The results of the first component of this study are qualitative, employing thematic content analysis of a national pro-marijuana publication (High Times magazine) and also provide frequency (Table 1) of being mentioned. The results of the subsequent quantitative component examining temporal trends in attitudes toward marijuana legalization as well as considering other demographics, political orientation, and political and social attitudes related to the themes revealed in the content analysis.

Qualitative

The premiere issue of High Times (Summer 1974) was meant as spoof of Playboy magazine; wanting to be what Playboy is to sex but to marijuana. While only meant for fun, the magazine quickly gained a following and found itself as the voice of a culture. The cover of the premiere issue set the stage and presented the frames used by the social movement to legalize marijuana, which would ebb and flow over decades. The cover is simple containing a female, in a sun hat, holding ever so delicate a mushroom up to her seductive lips. Along with the large bold print of "High Times" across the top of the cover there are six topics listed which are covered in the magazine: "Hemp Paper Reconsidered," "Florida Justice & 9 Tons," "Leary's Ultimate Trip," "Marijuana: Wonder Drug," "A Lady Dealer Talks," and "Market Quotations" (High Times Summer 1974: 1). These themes (e.g. busting marijuana myths, stories about people's rights

being broken, personal and celebrity stories, comparisons between locations) repeat themselves throughout virtually every issue of the magazine. The goal was to inform the reader, even the image of sexuality was done tastefully, as an educational tool about "tantric yoga: the art of sexual union" (High Times Sumer 1974:26). The inaugural issue was a collection of everything in the marijuana culture: music, art, literature, sex, food, travel, drugs, innovation and the overarching goal of making marijuana legal.

1970s Decriminalization Frame (Proactive)

During the 1970s most discussion about changing marijuana laws was focused on decriminalization with some references to the medicalization of marijuana. In the early days of the magazine there was reason for hope and positivity as numerous stories were published in 1976 discussing President's Carter's promises for marijuana decriminalization. Even so High Times was trying to figure out where it fit into the media landscape and how much to focus on marijuana.

No marijuana even appears on the cover until the tenth issue; nudity was more accepted at that point in time. Implied use of marijuana was used instead one picture of a bare breast with chocolate syrup being drizzled on it was less risqué than the flower from a marijuana plant. During the 1970s the magazine also focused on other forms of euphoria such as sex, LSD, and magical mushrooms, and even featured coke spoons in the advertisements.

Image 4: Cocaine Paraphernalia

VACUUM WHACKED

Alert! All you human vacuum cleaners better call up your nasal reserves for this one: The Hooter is here to facilitate in the recreational scarfing of imported white snuffables. Yes, the pewter Hooter tooter is a giggle-a-minute replica of the real thing; it stands upright, and the only attachment you need is that which the good Lord gave you to scarf with. Price: $7.95 plus $2.75 postage and handling, from Eldorado, 1840 Commerce St., Boulder, Colo. 80301.

Another area of focus for High Times was on celebrity users (e.g. Bob Marley, Mick Jagger and Peter Tosh), featuring interviews and coverage of any legal battles they may have been going through. All this attracted many writers known for their counterculture journalism, including luminary scribes like William S. Burroughs, Charles Bukowski, and Terry Southern. The overall writing style within the magazine was educational and relaxed.

Focusing only on the way High Times framed the argument to legalize marijuana in the 1970s the atmosphere was positive. Stories discussed changes occurring in marijuana laws in a few municipalities. Hope lingered around President Carter's claim to want to decriminalize marijuana. High Times was also a promoter for the National Organization to Reform Marijuana Laws (NORML), including information on how to get involved. A column focused specifically on social movements entitled, "Activist News," addressing not only marijuana legalization but other movements such as unions and prostitution. "Activist News" gave out an award for the freedom fighter/activist of the month and kept a calendar of planned protests for all human rights demonstrations. To help rile up current and potential members of the marijuana movement, stories of individual rights being violate were also featured.

The primary focus of High Times in the 1970s appears to be on breaking the stereotypical myths of marijuana use and the marijuana user. To dispel these myths, articles addressing the medical uses of marijuana, the history of cultures that have benefited from marijuana, the benefits of marijuana other than as a drug (e.g. the uses of hemp) and even recommendations from doctors. Other civil rights and privacy violations (e.g. drug testing) by the government and private companies were also highlighted by High Times.

Many of these stories questioned those in power and how they enforced that power. This may be why early on High Times was engaging with its audience to vote and just fight the

system but use it to their advantage. Presidential politics were a big topic for the magazine as successive Presidential administrations focused on marijuana related issues. In 1978 President Carter's home state of Georgia even passed laws making drug paraphernalia, as well as drug magazines like High Times, illegal.

Surprisingly, it might not have necessarily been the politics of the "war on drugs" which was responsible for High Times struggling in the early 1980s, but rather the suicide of its founder, This tragic event seems to have had two distinct effects on the publication; one was that the tone of the magazine shifted from being lighthearted and educational to darker imagery and the second was an increased focus on the gun culture in America. While a sense of fun and intoxication was still part of the magazine there also seemed to be a feeling of, "what are we trying so hard for?" The focus on the gun culture in America is also an example of the darker side of the magazine; pointing to the negative aspects of guns and gun culture was similar to what anti-marijuana movement did to the drug. In the beginning the magazine tried to fight negativity with happiness and positivity and that had changed.

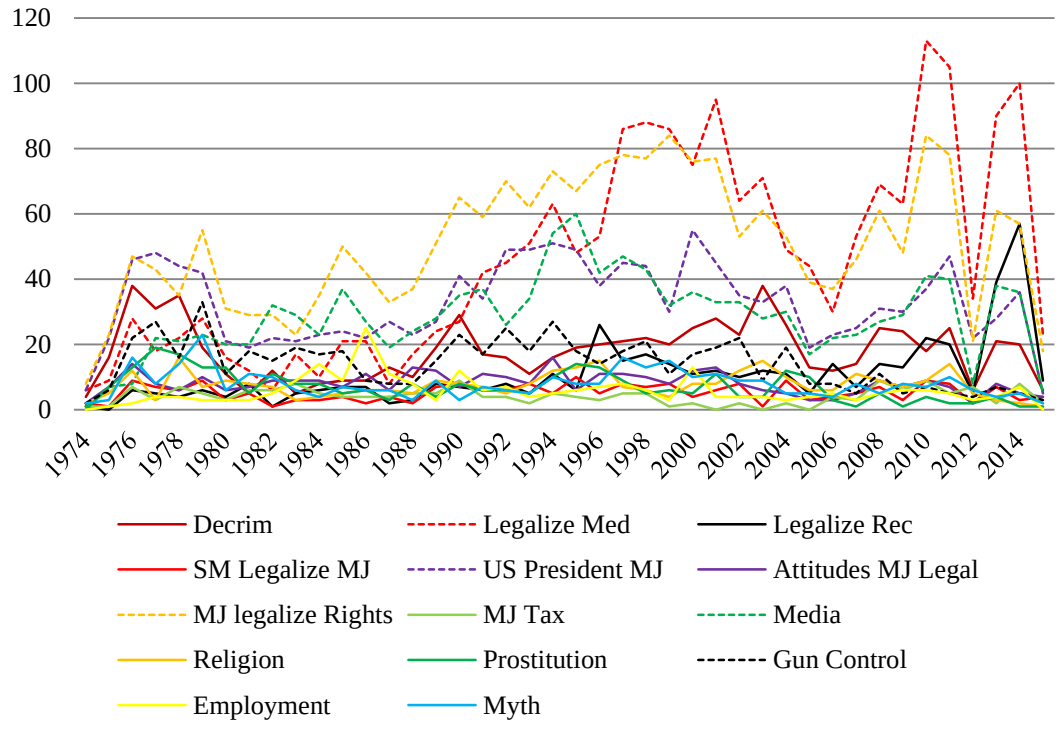
1980s "War on Drugs" Defensive Frame (Reactive)

The negativity only increased with the escalation of the "war on drugs" in the 1980s; featuring articles like "Pot-Smoking Genius Beaten and Framed" and "Antidrug Cult Linked to Mob Cronies." By 1981 decriminalization was only mentioned in reference to places like Netherlands and contained within articles about something else; one example is a tiny sentence under a picture of a home grow operation. Even discussion about the movement to legalize marijuana became more negative, such as a discussion about the "Grassroots" failure in Oregon

in 1984. Advertisements and the photographs also became more conservative no longer showing nudity and no advertisements for coke spoons.

In trying to stay true to its roots, the magazine still discussed some positive aspects of marijuana culture. For instance, during the "war on drugs" medical marijuana was still a hot point of interest for the magazine and readership. One comparison made was between the history of cocaine used as medicine and how marijuana was different. The focus clearly shifted to the definition and understanding of all drugs, trying to distinguish marijuana as different among them.

Figure 2a:Frequency of Themes in Articles by Year



The defensive frame of the 1980s was certainly a reaction to the "war on drugs." High Times went from having a proactive, progressive mentality to fighting to survive, literally. As shown in Figures 2a, 2b and 2c the only themes to have increased during the 1980s were gun control,

media, rights and employment. Trying to define for readers what the "war on drugs" actually was, High Times tried to document the actions the FBI and other government agencies took against marijuana users, growers, transporters and even legalization supporters. Some articles include, "Cocaine is not the answer" (June 1988) and "Assessing the Opposition" (September 1985). This editorial refocusing also coincided with the indoor-grow revolution. With the "war on drugs" targeting growers, sellers and transporters, people started growing their own marijuana. High Times provided a valuable resource for those people and their newfound green thumb with grow tips and seed bank advertisements. By the mid-1980s indoor-grow was taking off and it exploded in the 1990s. High Times led the way in teaching tokers all over the world how to grow their own high-quality pot at home. The magazine focused on two things to try to convince readers to grow their own marijuana. One was the emphasis on guns; including those used by law enforcement and those used by people breaking the laws trying to protect themselves from the government and other law breakers. The other theme used to argue for home growing was medicinal usage. High Times was attracting readers to the marijuana culture and possibly to the marijuana legalization movement. While the prevailing idea was that acres were needed to grow marijuana, High Times covers argued that this was not the case, featuring articles such as "The Million-Dollar Grow Room," "Giant Yields in Small Spaces" and "The Guide to Indoor Grow Lights." The late 1990s and early 2000s also saw the debut of some of High Time's longest-running grow features, including the Annual Hydro Report, the STASH Awards and the World's Greatest Seed Banks (which eventually became the Seed Bank Hall of Fame). There was also a noticeable increase in the quality of the pot photography featured in the magazine during this period, thanks to the contributions of expert photographers like Andre Grossmann, Brian Jahn, MG Imaging and Dan Skye. These tactics were achieving the goal of

"Attracting a more diverse group to the movement" which the magazine in January of 1986, argued needed to be done.

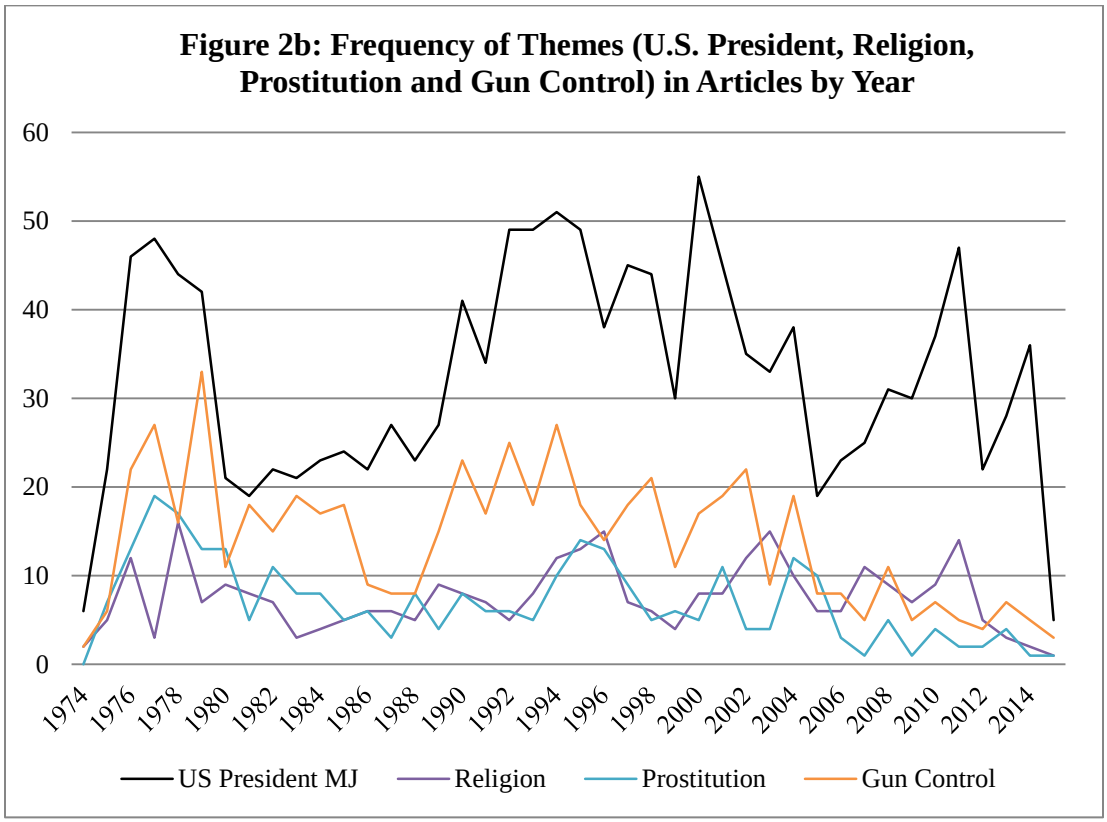
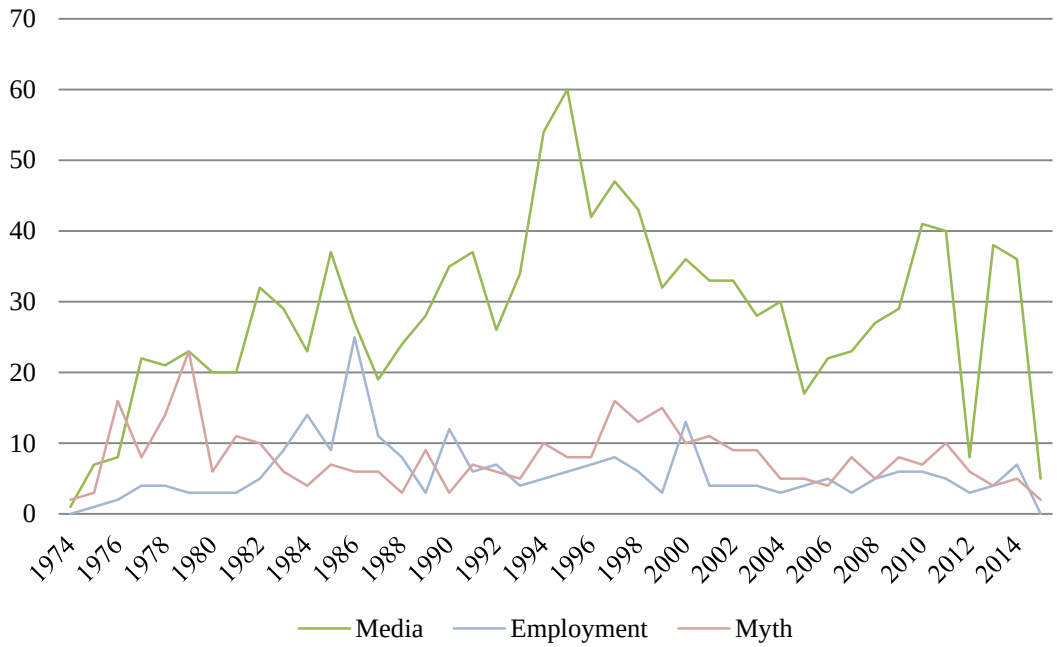


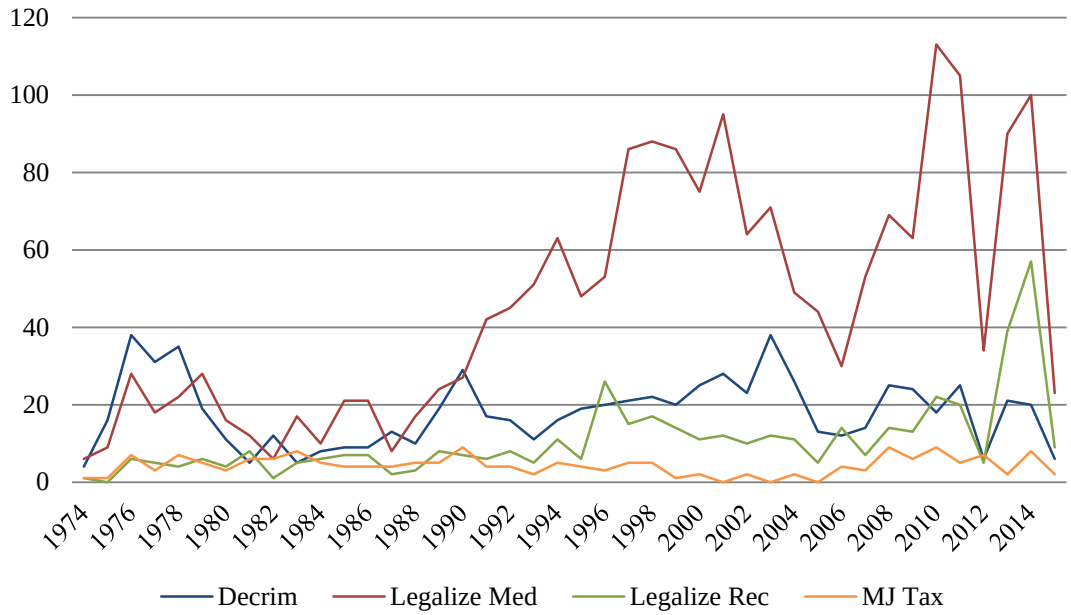
Figure 2c: Frequency of Themes (Marijuana in the Media, Marijuana Employment and Marijuana Myth) in Articles by Year



1990s Medical Marijuana Frame (Proactive)

While High Times has always been dedicated to the uses of medical marijuana the frame to legalize marijuana for medicinal purposes really took hold when the government strongly enforced the "war on drugs." In figure 2d the medical marijuana theme begins an extreme upward trajectory in 1987 and it lasts until the early 2000s. In the 1980s medical marijuana was presented in a reactive form to the "war on drugs." In the 1990s it was more about how it could help the individual reader. Using celebrities to discuss their reasons for using beyond enjoyment was also a useful tactic, but it took the popularity of a genre of music to really begin the snowball.

Figure 2d: Frequency of Themes (Decriminalization, Legalization for Medical, Legalization for Recreational and Tax Profit) in Articles by Year



The emergence of Hip Hop popularity helped bring marijuana culture back into pop culture and High Times took full advantage of it. In the late 1970s it was Rock and Roll icons like Mick Jagger and The Beatles; in the 1980s fewer icons or even big stars were associated with marijuana culture, it was reserved for the fringe groups (e.g., the Grateful Dead). However, in the 1990s the popularity of Hip Hop and the pro-marijuana narrative it brought gave the marijuana movement and High Times faces from popular culture to showcase. Suddenly, appearing in High Times or even on the cover of it was no longer taboo and in the 1990s the likes of Redman, Method Man, Ice Cube, Kurt Cobain, Keith Richards, Bob Dylan, Ozzy

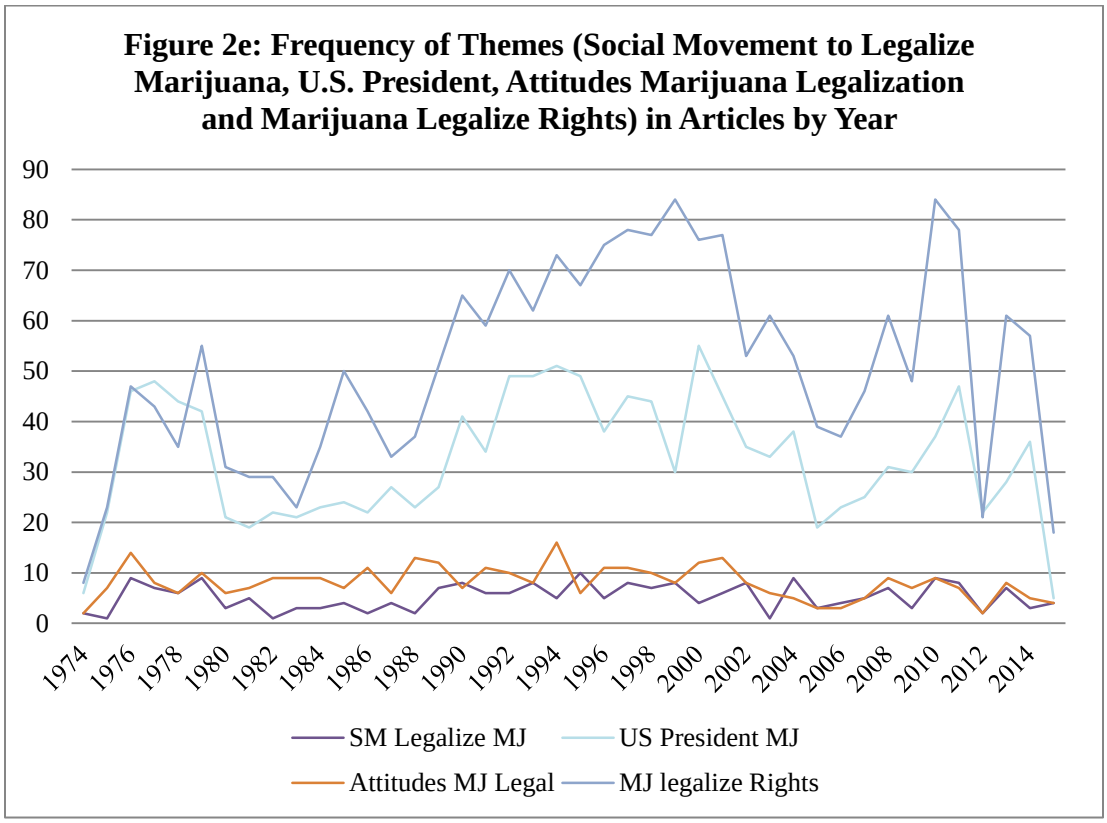
Osbourne and George Carlin all graced the cover of High Times. Many of these artists were advocating and using marijuana medicinally in places like California.

High Times continued to advocate for medicinal marijuana and was ahead of the rest of the country. During the 1990s medical marijuana revolution in America many anti-marijuana proponents expressed the opinion that the collective action to allow medical marijuana was just a way to advocate for the use of the drug, even citing some of the celebrities as examples. These arguments led many advocates who supported the legalization of marijuana for recreational purposes to become louder and High Times was a good platform for their voices.

Image 5: Guns versus Bongs

2000s Both Medical and Recreational Marijuana Frames (Proactive)

In the 2000s High Times recognized that the moment there were two distinct camps in the movement to legalize marijuana: the collective action frame to allow medical marijuana and the frame to legalize marijuana for recreational purposes. In 2004 the magazine seemed to adopt two separate identities. One was that of a literary/political journal, High Times, with little discussion of marijuana. Instead cannabis content was regulated to a quarterly magazine called Grow America. High Times was always political but at this point the editors saw a need to focus even more on politics. This trend only lasted for a year and then High Times returned to form combining both magazines back into one; marijuana needed the politics.



2010s Recreational Marijuana Frame (Proactive)

By the 2010s the discussion was leaning heavily towards legalizing marijuana for recreational use. High Times became more a celebration of the marijuana culture than a news outlet. While the magazine still maintained a certain degree of journalist integrity, the media landscape and view of marijuana had changed and the magazine could focus once again on the enjoyment properties of the plant. On the political side, High Times continued its discussion of guns and of encouraging readers to be active in politics. It appears as though the magazine has come full circle, right back to where it began, just with brighter color, readers and, of course, more marijuana.

Image 6: President Obama Cover April 2012

Additional Hypotheses

The qualitative analysis brought about a variety of themes pertaining to the attitudes about marijuana legalization. Some of these themes (gun control, confidence in the President and confidence in the government) will be used examined in the General Social Survey.

H_{4A} (New Themes): Respondents who own a gun will be less likely to support marijuana legalization. This analysis will also see if a difference exists between the type of gun owned (e.g. pistol, shotgun, and rifle) and attitudes toward marijuana legalization. To examine the theme of guns, gun ownership (yes=1) was used as well as types of guns: (yes=1) pistol, (yes=1) shotgun, and (yes=1) rifle.

H_{4B} (New Themes): Throughout the lifespan of High Times the magazine has been fighting myths presented by the federal government and in particular the President. I hypothesize that respondents with great confidence in the executive branch of the government will be less likely to support the legalization of marijuana. Three variables were created to address confidence in the President: (yes=1) Great deal of confidence in the executive branch, (yes=1) some confidence in the executive branch and (yes=1) little confidence in the executive branch. The variable little confidence in the executive branch was used as the category group.

H_{4C} (New Themes): High Times also recognized that the "war on drugs" was taking attention and funding away from other needs of the Nation. Therefore, I hypothesize that respondents who feel the government is spending too much money on the Nation's health will be more likely to support marijuana legalization. Three variables were created to address confidence in the government: (yes=1) too much is money spent on our Nation's health, (yes=1) the right amount of money is spent on our Nation's health, and (yes=1) too little is spent on our Nation's health. The variable too much on our Nation's health is used as the category group.

Table 1. Frequency of Articles Containing Themes in High Times Magazine by Year

Year	Decriminalize MJ	Legal Medical MJ	Legal Recreational	Social Movement	US President MJ	Attitudes MJ Legal	MJ legalize Rights	MJ Tax Profit	MJ in Media	Religion	Prostitution	Gun Control	MJ Employment	MJ Myth
1974	4	6	1	2	6	2	8	1	1	2	0	2	0	2
1975	16	9	0	1	22	7	23	1	7	5	7	6	1	3
1976	38	28	6	9	46	14	47	7	8	12	13	22	2	16
1977	31	18	5	7	48	8	43	3	22	3	19	27	4	8
1978	35	22	4	6	44	6	35	7	21	16	17	16	4	14
1979	19	28	6	9	42	10	55	5	23	7	13	33	3	23
1980	11	16	4	3	21	6	31	3	20	9	13	11	3	6
1981	5	12	8	5	19	7	29	6	20	8	5	18	3	11
1982	12	6	1	1	22	9	29	6	32	7	11	15	5	10
1983	5	17	5	3	21	9	23	8	29	3	8	19	9	6
1984	8	10	6	3	23	9	35	5	23	4	8	17	14	4
1985	9	21	7	4	24	7	50	4	37	5	5	18	9	7
1986	9	21	7	2	22	11	42	4	27	6	6	9	25	6
1987	13	8	2	4	27	6	33	4	19	6	3	8	11	6
1988	10	17	3	2	23	13	37	5	24	5	8	8	8	3
1989	19	24	8	7	27	12	51	5	28	9	4	15	3	9
1990	29	27	7	8	41	7	65	9	35	8	8	23	12	3
1991	17	42	6	6	34	11	59	4	37	7	6	17	6	7
1992	16	45	8	6	49	10	70	4	26	5	6	25	7	6
1993	11	51	5	8	49	8	62	2	34	8	5	18	4	5
1994	16	63	11	5	51	16	73	5	54	12	10	27	5	10
1995	19	48	6	10	49	6	67	4	60	13	14	18	6	8
1996	20	53	26	5	38	11	75	3	42	15	13	14	7	8
1997	21	86	15	8	45	11	78	5	47	7	9	18	8	16
1998	22	88	17	7	44	10	77	5	43	6	5	21	6	13
1999	20	86	14	8	30	8	84	1	32	4	6	11	3	15
2000	25	75	11	4	55	12	76	2	36	8	5	17	13	10
2001	28	95	12	6	45	13	77	0	33	8	11	19	4	11
2002	23	64	10	8	35	8	53	2	33	12	4	22	4	9
2003	38	71	12	1	33	6	61	0	28	15	4	9	4	9
2004	26	49	11	9	38	5	53	2	30	10	12	19	3	5
2005	13	44	5	3	19	3	39	0	17	6	10	8	4	5
2006	12	30	14	4	23	3	37	4	22	6	3	8	5	4
2007	14	53	7	5	25	5	46	3	23	11	1	5	3	8
2008	25	69	14	7	31	9	61	9	27	9	5	11	5	5
2009	24	63	13	3	30	7	48	6	29	7	1	5	6	8
2010	18	113	22	9	37	9	84	9	41	9	4	7	6	7
2011	25	105	20	8	47	7	78	5	40	14	2	5	5	10
2012	6	34	5	2	22	2	21	7	8	5	2	4	3	6
2013	21	90	39	7	28	8	61	2	38	3	4	7	4	4
2014	20	100	57	3	36	5	57	8	36	2	1	5	7	5
2015	6	23	9	4	5	4	18	2	5	1	1	3	0	2
Total	759	1,930	449	222	1,376	340	2,151	177	1,197	318	292	590	244	333

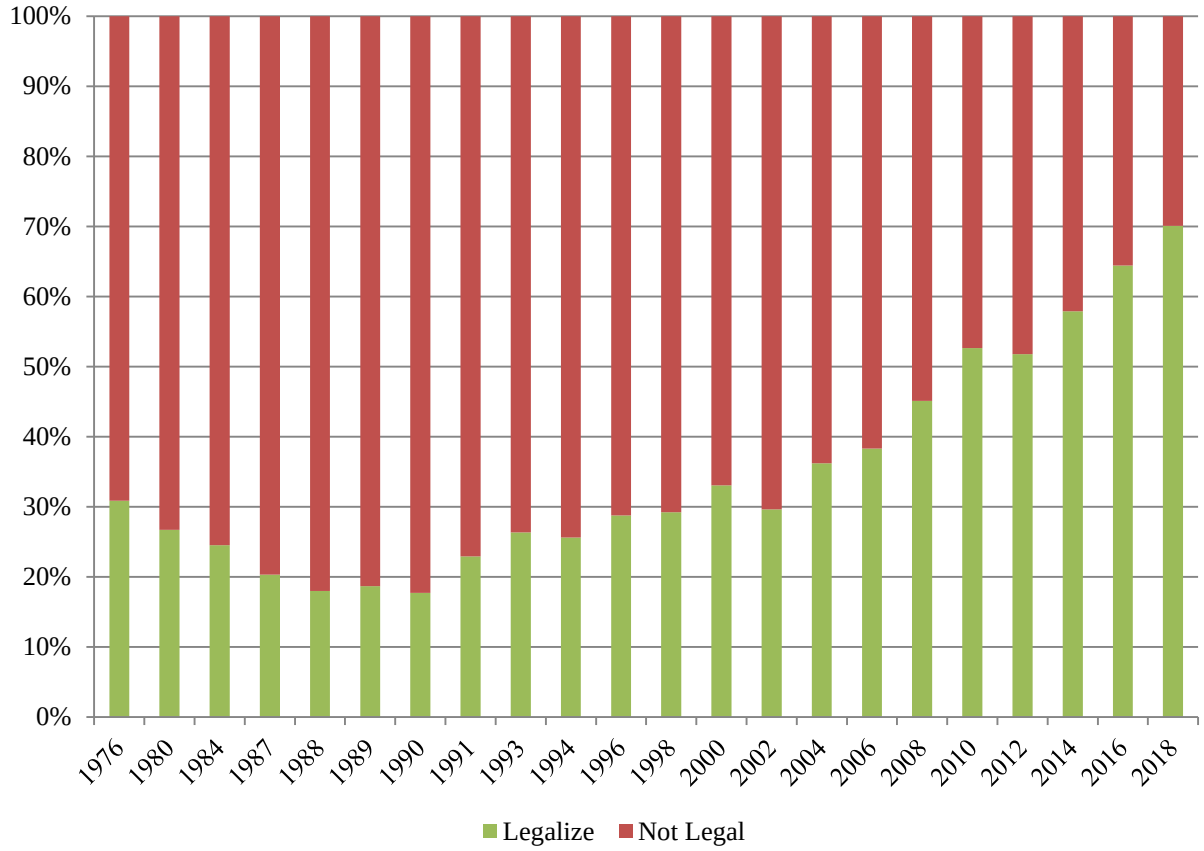
Source: Covertocover.Hightimes.com 1974-2015

Quantitative

Table 2 and figure 3 show the percentages of support for marijuana, and those who do not support legalization by year from 1976 to 2018. Clearly, over the 42 year period, there was fluctuation in the percentages of respondents who supported marijuana legalization. In 1976 when the marijuana question was first asked the GSS almost 31% of respondents thought "yes" marijuana should be legalized. Throughout the 1980s support steadily decreased from 26.72% to 17.71%. The 1990s started with the lowest support for marijuana legalization (17.71%). Then in 1991 the percentage of respondents who thought marijuana should be legalized began to increase. The Lowest percentage (29.9%) to answer "no" to the marijuana legalization question was in the most recent GGS survey.

Table 2. Attitudes About Marijuana Legalization by GSS Year (N=8,811).						
Year	Legalized		Not Legal		Total	
1976	387	30.84%	868	69.16%	1,255	14.24%
1980	342	26.72%	938	73.28%	1,280	14.53%
1984	101	24.51%	311	75.49%	412	4.68%
1987	103	20.32%	404	79.68%	507	5.75%
1988	36	18.00%	164	82.00%	200	2.27%
1989	45	18.67%	196	81.33%	241	2.74%
1990	34	17.71%	158	82.29%	192	2.18%
1991	47	22.93%	158	77.07%	205	2.33%
1993	59	26.34%	165	73.66%	224	2.54%
1994	116	25.61%	337	74.39%	453	5.14%
1996	113	28.75%	280	71.25%	393	4.46%
1998	114	29.23%	276	70.77%	390	4.43%
2000	125	33.07%	253	66.93%	378	4.29%
2002	70	36.65%	121	63.35%	191	2.17%
2004	71	36.22%	125	63.78%	196	2.22%
2006	159	38.31%	256	61.69%	415	4.71%
2008	129	45.10%	157	54.90%	286	3.25%
2010	119	52.65%	107	47.35%	226	2.56%
2012	146	51.77%	136	48.23%	282	3.20%
2014	209	57.89%	152	42.11%	361	4.10%
2016	266	64.41%	147	35.59%	413	4.69%
2018	218	70.10%	93	29.90%	311	3.53%
Total	3,009	34.15%	5,802	65.85%	8,811	100.00%
Source: General Social Survey 1976-2018						

Figure 3: Attitudes About Marijuana Legalization by Year.



Tables 3a and 3b present the descriptive statistics for both the dependent and the independent variables included in the GGS (N=8811) analysis. Overall 34.2% of the respondents support marijuana legalization and 65.8% do not support marijuana legalization.

Table 3a: Description of Sample (N=8,811).		
Marijuana Legalization	Frequency	Percentage
Support the Legalization of Marijuana	3,009	34.2
Marijuana Should Not Be Legalized	5,802	65.8
Total	8,811	100.0
Presidential Administration	Frequency	Percentage
Ford (1975-1976; yes=1)	1,255	14.2
Carter (1977-1980; yes=1)	1,280	14.5
Reagan (1981-1984; yes=1)	412	4.7
Reagan (1985-1988; yes=1)	707	8.0
Bush HW (1989-1992; yes=1)	638	7.2
Clinton (1993-1996; yes=1)	1,070	12.1
Clinton (1997-2000; yes=1)	768	8.7
Bush W (2001-2004; yes=1)	387	4.4
Bush W (2005-2008; yes=1)	701	8.0
Obama (2009-2013; yes=1)	508	5.8
Obama (2013-2016; yes=1)	774	8.8
Trump (2017-2018; yes=1)	311	3.5
Total	8,811	100.00
Cohorts	Frequency	Percentage
1884-1904 (yes-1)	213	2.4
1905-1914 (yes-1)	435	4.9
1915-1924 (yes-1)	754	8.6
1925-1934 (yes-1)	839	9.5
1935-1944 (yes-1)	1,128	12.8
1945-1954 (yes-1)	1,857	21.1
1955-1964 (yes-1)	1,673	19.0
1965-1974 (yes-1)	945	10.7
1975-1984 (yes-1)	603	6.8
1985-2000 (yes-1)	364	4.1
Total	8,811	100.0
Source: General Social Survey 1976-2018		

Table 3b: Description of Sample (N=8,811).		
Gun Ownership	Frequency	Percentage
Gun (yes-1)	3607	40.9%
Pistol (yes-1)	1977	22.4%
Shotgun (yes-1)	2214	25.1%
Rifle (yes-1)	2205	25.0%
Trust in Government	Frequency	Percentage
Great Confidence in President (yes-1)	1353	15.4%
Some Confidence in President (yes-1)	4576	51.9%
Little Confidence in President (yes-1)	2882	32.7%
Total	8811	100.0%
Spending on the Nation's Health	Frequency	Percentage
Too Little Spent On Nation (yes=1)	5873	66.7%
Right Amount Spent On Nation (yes=1)	2361	26.8%
Too Much Spent On Nation (yes=1)	577	6.5%
Total	8811	100.0%
Sociodemographic Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Whites (yes=1)	7254	82.3%
Blacks (yes=1)	1132	12.8%
Other Races (yes=1)	425	4.8%
Males (yes=1)	4009	45.5%
Democrat (yes=1)	3276	37.2%
Independent (yes=1)	3324	37.7%
Republican (yes=1)	2211	25.1%
Liberal (yes=1)	2467	28.0%
Moderate (yes=1)	3357	38.1%
Conservative (yes=1)	2987	33.9%
Protestant (yes=1)	5110	58.0%
Catholic (yes=1)	2150	24.4%
Other Religions (yes=1)	520	5.9%
Not Religious (yes=1)	1031	11.7%
Married (yes=1)	4677	53.1%
Children under 18 (yes=1)	6258	71.0%
Working Full-time (yes=1)	4418	50.1%
High School Graduate (yes=1)	6906	78.4%
Source: General Social Survey 1976-2018		

Tables 4a and 4b show the bivariate relationships between support for marijuana legalization and each independent variable. Attitudes about marijuana legalization differed across ten of the twelve Presidential terms; only respondents interviewed during President Clinton's second term (1997-2000) and George W. Bush's first term not differ from respondents interviewed during all the other Presidential administrations. In addition, every cohort variable was related to attitudes toward marijuana legalization, indicating that attitudes of the members of each cohort differed from respondents who were not members of that cohort.

Figure 4: Attitudes Toward Marijuana Legalization by Presidential Administration.

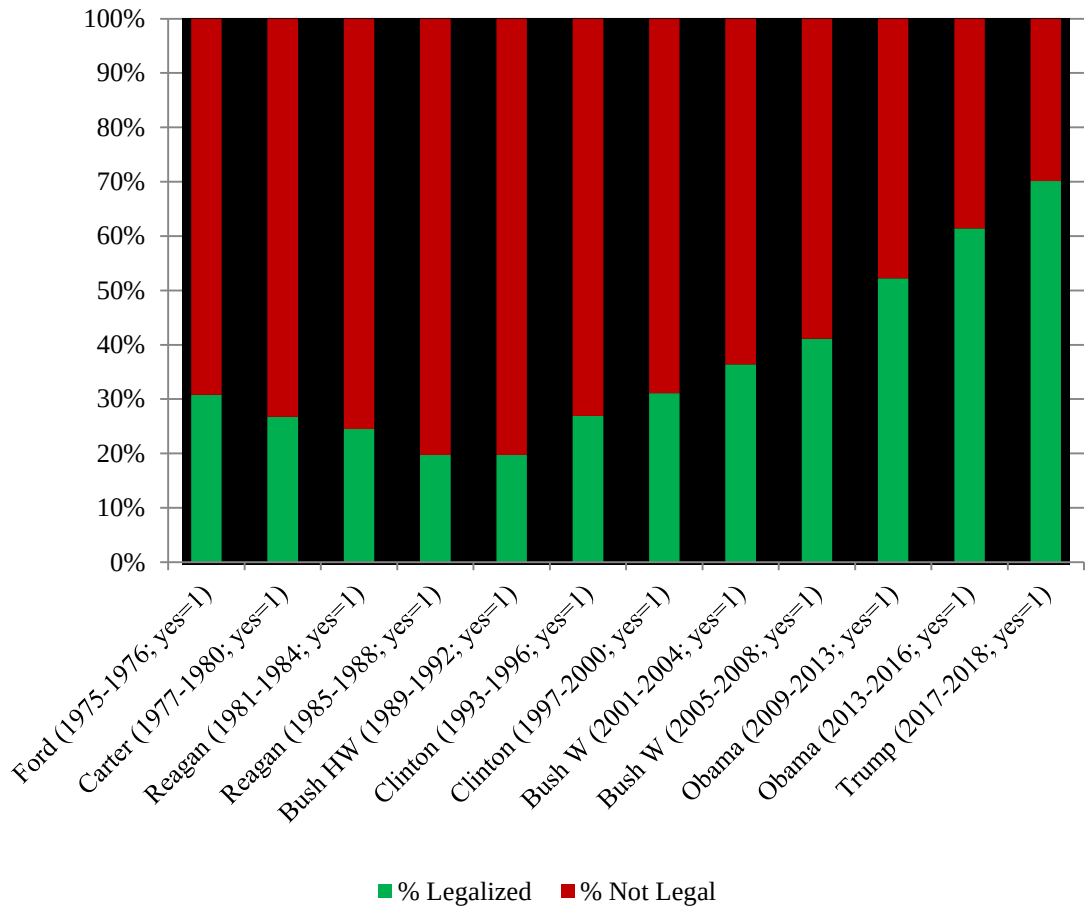
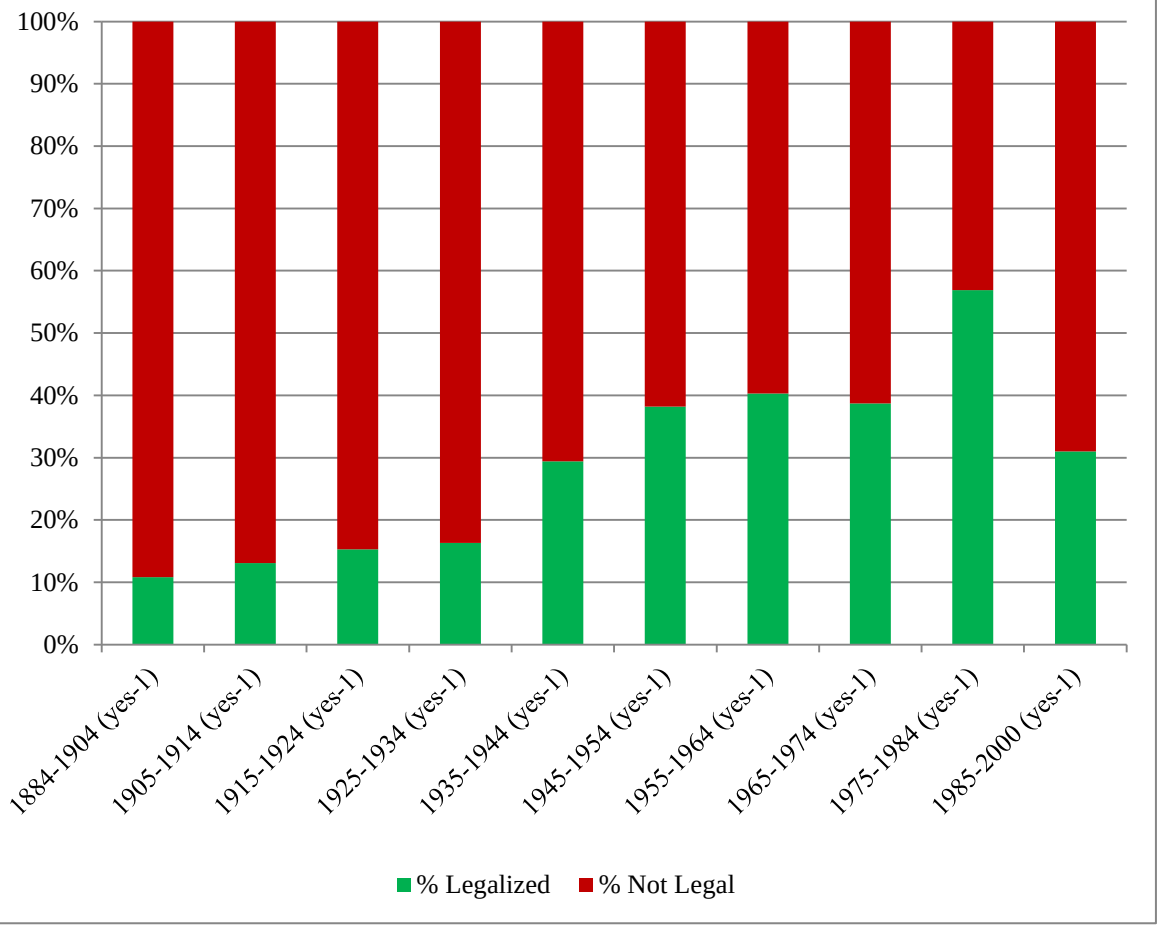


Figure 5: Attitudes Toward Marijuana Legalization by Cohort (Respondent's Birth Year).



The variables found through the qualitative analysis are listed in Table 4b. When examining gun ownership results indicate: respondents who answered yes to; own a gun (yes=1), own a shotgun (yes=1) or own a rifle (yes=1) differ in attitudes towards marijuana legalization than respondents who do not own any of these. No difference was found between respondents who own a pistol and respondents who do not own a pistol. Attitudes about marijuana legalization differed by confidence in the executive branch of the government across all three levels; great confidence in the executive branch, some confidence in the executive branch and little confidence in the executive branch. Support for legalization differed among respondents who

feel too much money is spent on our Nation's health and the right amount of money being spent on our Nation's health from respondent's in the other categories; respondent's from the spend too much category did not differ from the other two categories. As for sociodemographic and control variables every variable, except respondent's race and being democrat, had significant bivariate relationships with support for marijuana legalization.

Table 4a: Bivariate Relationships Between Attitudes toward Marijuana Legalization and Independent Variables (N=8,811).

Presidential Administration	% Legalization	% Not Legal	Phi Coefficient (φ)
Ford (1975-1976; yes=1)	30.8	69.2	-0.028**
Carter (1977-1980; yes=1)	26.7	73.3	-0.065***
Reagan (1981-1984; yes=1)	24.5	75.5	-0.045***
Reagan (1985-1988; yes=1)	19.7	80.3	-0.045***
Bush HW (1989-1992; yes=1)	19.7	80.3	-0.085***
Clinton (1993-1996; yes=1)	26.9	73.1	-0.057***
Clinton (1997-2000; yes=1)	31.1	68.9	-0.020
Bush W (2001-2004; yes=1)	36.4	63.6	0.010
Bush W (2005-2008; yes=1)	41.1	58.9	0.043***
Obama (2009-2013; yes=1)	52.2	47.8	0.094***
Obama (2013-2016; yes=1)	61.4	38.6	0.178***
Trump (2017-2018; yes=1)	70.1	29.9	0.145***
Cohorts			
1884-1904 (yes-1)	10.8	89.2	-0.078***
1905-1914 (yes-1)	13.1	86.9	-0.101***
1915-1924 (yes-1)	15.3	84.7	-0.122***
1925-1934 (yes-1)	16.3	83.7	-0.122***
1935-1944 (yes-1)	29.4	70.6	-0.038***
1945-1954 (yes-1)	38.2	61.8	0.044***
1955-1964 (yes-1)	40.3	59.7	0.063***
1965-1974 (yes-1)	38.7	61.3	0.033**
1975-1984 (yes-1)	56.9	43.1	0.130***
1985-2000 (yes-1)	31.0	69.0	0.152***

Notes: **=p≤0.01, ***=p≤0.001.

Source: General Social Survey 1974-2018

Table 4b: Bivariate Relationships Between Marijuana Legalization and Independent Variables (N=8,811).			
Gun Ownership	% Legalized	% Not Legal	Phi Coefficient (φ)
Gun (yes-1)	30.1	69.9	-0.070***
Pistol (yes-1)	35.3	64.7	0.013
Shotgun (yes-1)	28.8	71.2	-0.066***
Rifle (yes-1)	29.5	70.5	-0.057***
Trust in Government			
Great Confidence in Pres (yes-1)	29.0	71.0	-0.046***
Some Confidence in Pres (yes-1)	32.6	67.4	-0.033**
Little Confidence in Pres (yes-1)	39.0	61.0	0.071***
Spending on the Nation's Health			
Too Little Spent On Nation (yes=1)	36.7	63.3	0.075***
Right Amount Spent On Nation (yes=1)	28.3	71.7	-0.075***
Too Much Spent On Nation (yes=1)	32.6	67.4	-0.009
Sociodemographic Variables			
Whites (yes=1)	34.0	66.0	-0.005
Blacks (yes=1)	35.4	64.6	0.010
Other Races (yes=1)	32.7	67.3	-0.007
Males (yes=1)	38.7	61.3	0.087***
Democrat (yes=1)	34.1	65.9	-0.001
Independent (yes=1)	40.8	59.2	0.109***
Republican (yes=1)	24.3	75.7	-0.120***
Liberal (yes=1)	48.6	51.4	0.190***
Moderate (yes=1)	32.1	67.9	-0.035***
Conservative (yes=1)	24.5	75.4	-0.145***
Protestant (yes=1)	27.8	72.2	-0.158***
Catholic (yes=1)	32.4	67.6	-0.021*
Other Religions (yes=1)	46.9	53.1	0.067***
Not Religious (yes=1)	63.0	37.0	0.222***
Married (yes=1)	27.9	72.1	-0.141***
Children under 18 (yes=1)	30.2	69.8	-0.130***
Working Full-time (yes=1)	37.3	62.7	0.066***
High School Graduate (yes=1)	36.8	63.2	0.106***
Notes: *=p≤0.05, **=p≤0.01, ***=p≤0.001.			
Source: General Social Survey 1974-2018			

The multivariate results enabled examination of whether support for marijuana legalization was influenced by period or cohort, gun ownership (and type of gun), trust in the government, whether support was related to respondents' characteristics. Tables 5a and 5b show logistic regression results (odds ratios log odds and standard errors) for whether respondents said "yes" to supporting marijuana legalization.

The results in Table 5a show the logistic regression results for whether respondents support marijuana legalization by Presidential administration and cohorts. The results indicate that there were period and cohort effects. Respondents interviewed during every Presidential administration were significantly less likely to support marijuana legalization than respondents given the survey during the most recent President's administration. Compared to the most recent cohort (1985-2000) every cohort, except two (1955-1964 and 1975-1984), differed in attitudes toward marijuana legalization. Support for marijuana legalization increased with almost every cohort.

The results in Table 5b show the logistic regression results for whether respondents support marijuana legalization by gun ownership, trust in the President, spending on the Nation's health and sociodemographic variables. The results of gun ownership indicate that respondents who own a gun are significantly less likely to support marijuana legalization than respondents who do not own a gun. However, respondents who own a pistol are significantly more likely than respondents who do not own a pistol to support marijuana legalization. Owning a shotgun or rifle were not found to be significantly different from those who do not own either of these. Compared to respondents who have little confidence in the executive branch of the government respondents with some confidence and respondents with a great deal of confidence were

significantly less likely to support marijuana legalization. Spending on the Nation's health was not found to be significant.

Table 5a: Logistic Regression Opinions on Marijuana Legalization (Marijuana Should be Legal = 1) (N=8,811).			
Presidential Administration	B	(SE)	OR
Ford (1975-1976; yes=1)	-0.821	(.163)***	0.44
Carter (1977-1980; yes=1)	-1.205	(.161)***	0.3
Reagan (1981-1984; yes=1)	-1.388	(.189)***	0.249
Reagan (1985-1988; yes=1)	-1.85	(.175)***	0.157
Bush HW (1989-1992; yes=1)	-1.771	(.177)***	0.17
Clinton (1993-1996; yes=1)	-1.491	(.158)***	0.225
Clinton (1997-2000; yes=1)	-1.449	(.162)***	0.235
Bush W (2001-2004; yes=1)	-1.17	(.178)***	0.31
Bush W (2005-2008; yes=1)	-1.069	(.159)***	0.343
Obama (2009-2013; yes=1)	-0.642	(.164)***	0.526
Obama (2013-2016; yes=1)	-0.332	(.155)*	0.717
Trump (2017-2018; yes=1)	REF	REF	REF
Cohorts			
1884-1904 (yes=1)	-1.945	(0.278)***	0.143
1905-1914 (yes=1)	-1.466	(0.213)***	0.231
1915-1924 (yes=1)	-1.298	(0.182)***	0.273
1925-1934 (yes=1)	-1.257	(0.174)***	0.285
1935-1944 (yes=1)	-0.634	(0.159)***	0.531
1945-1954 (yes=1)	-0.292	(0.148)*	0.747
1955-1964 (yes=1)	-0.163	-0.146	0.849
1965-1974 (yes=1)	-0.386	(0.150)**	0.68
1975-1984 (yes=1)	-0.034	-0.155	0.966
1985-2000 (yes=1)	REF	REF	REF
Constant	-0.657***		
-2 Likelihood Ratio	9,436.936***		
Df	42		
Notes: *=p≤0.05, **=p≤0.01, ***=p≤0.001.			
Source: General Social Survey 1974-2018.			

Table 5b: Logistic Regression Opinions on Marijuana Legalization (Marijuana Should be Legal = 1) (N=8,811).			
Gun Ownership	B	(SE)	OR
Gun (yes=1)	-0.259	(0.100)*	0.772
Pistol (yes=1)	0.457	(0.083)***	1.58
Shotgun (yes=1)	-0.068	(0.085)	0.934
Rifle (yes=1)	-0.035	(0.085)	0.965
Trust in Government			
Great Confidence in President (yes=1)	-0.367	(0.081)***	0.693
Some Confidence in President (yes=1)	-0.21	(0.057)***	0.811
Little Confidence in President (yes=1)	REF	REF	REF
Spending on the Nation's Health			
Too Little Spent On Nation (yes=1)	0.158	-0.108	1.172
Right Amount Spent On Nation (yes=1)	-0.046	-0.114	0.955
Too Much Spent On Nation	REF	REF	REF
Sociodemographic Variables			
Whites (yes=1)	0.242	(0.081)**	1.274
Other Races (yes=1)	-0.509	(0.139)***	0.601
Black (yes=1)	REF	REF	REF
Males (yes=1)	0.425	-0.053	1.529
Democrat (yes=1)	REF	REF	REF
Independent (yes=1)	0.079	-0.06	1.082
Republican (yes=1)	-0.207	(0.075)**	0.813
Liberal (yes=1)	REF	REF	REF
Moderate (yes=1)	-0.506	(0.062)***	0.603
Conservative (yes=1)	-0.78	(0.069)***	0.458
Protestant (yes=1)	REF	REF	REF
Catholic (yes=1)	0.108	-0.063	1.114
Other Religions (yes=1)	0.426	(0.105)***	1.53
Not Religious (yes=1)	0.853	(0.081)***	2.347
Married (yes=1)	-0.439	(0.057)***	0.645
Children under 18 (yes=1)	-0.041	-0.063	0.96
Working Full-time (yes=1)	-0.024	-0.055	0.976
High School Graduate (yes=1)	0.213	(0.069)**	1.237
Constant	-0.657***		
-2 Likelihood Ratio	9,436.936***		
Df	42		
Notes: *=p≤0.05, **=p≤0.01, ***=p≤0.001.			
Source: General Social Survey 1974-2018			

Chapter 7: Discussion

This dissertation sought to address the following questions (1) what themes (collective action frames) are present in current pro-legalization social movements (e.g., libertarianism, anti-establishment and anti-drug-war, medical/cancer patient advocacy, market incentives), (2) how have these themes (collective action frames) have changed over the past several decades, and (3) are these themes (collective action frames) connected to trends in legalization attitudes in the General Social Survey (GSS)? Addressing these questions helped extend the literature on the social movement to legalize marijuana and attitudes toward marijuana legalization in the United States.

Three hypotheses were presented pertaining specifically to the content analysis of High Times magazine: the themes identified will have changed sooner than in the General Social Survey or in the historical context of marijuana laws, many of the changes in the themes found in High Times Magazine will be in response to the social/historical context of the "war on drugs" and coinciding rhetoric, and themes found within High Times magazine that correspond with measures in the GSS will be significantly related to attitudes toward marijuana legalization. The first hypothesis that the themes in High Times will have changed sooner than in the General Social Survey or in the historical context of marijuana laws was supported. For instance, the theme of medical marijuana was present from the incarnation of High Times, but in the late 1980s the magazine really began to increase the number of articles dedicated to medical marijuana. High Times began to ramp up discussion of medical marijuana (see Figure 2d) when, according to results from the GSS, attitudes toward marijuana legalization was at an all-time low with only 17.71% supporting it (see Table 2). This increase in dedication to medical marijuana articles was also 6 years prior to California becoming the first state to legalize marijuana for

medicinal purposes in 1996. The second content analysis hypothesis that many of the changes in the themes found in High Times Magazine will be in response to the social/historical context of the "war on drugs" and coinciding rhetoric was also supported. The style of writing drastically changed during the early 1980s, to very defensive, almost like it was a "war on High Times" and in a way it was with places like Georgia banning marijuana publications. Another noteworthy observation is the number of articles pertaining to guns and gun control dropped significantly during the mid1980s; this dip in gun references seems to coincide with the seriousness of the "war on drugs." Before and after the "war on drugs" the President was one of the biggest discussions in High Times. The President was always hot topic with over 32 references per year and continues until today.

Image 7: President Obama Cover August 2015

The results of the GSS analysis find support for the first two quantitative hypothesis: the history of marijuana laws and drug moral panics will correlate significantly with attitudes toward marijuana legalization such that support for legalization will begin relatively high in the 1970s, dip in the 1980s and early 1990s during the "war on drugs," and then gradually increase and conversely support for marijuana legalization will be lowest during Ronald Reagan's Presidency and George H.W. Bush's Presidency due to their Presidencies being the most closely related to the "war on drugs". Results shown in Table 2 and Figure 3 show that support for marijuana legalization 1976 had substantial support (30.84%) but started to fall and bottomed out in 1988, 1989 and 1990 (18.00%, 18.67%, and 17.71% respectively). Following the lowest support in 1990 (17.71%), 1991 saw a large percentage increase to 22.93% of respondents supporting marijuana legalization. The results from the regression analysis found on Table 5a also support the first two hypotheses. Respondents who took the survey during Ronald Reagan's second term (1985-1988) and George H.W. Bush's term (1989-1992) the least likely of respondents (-1.850 and -1.771 respectively) to support marijuana legalization compared to respondents who took the survey during our current President's administration. These results were consistent with previous research (Musto 1999; Nielsen 2010).

Along with support for period results, findings also support cohort differences in attitudes towards marijuana legalization. The hypotheses was considering America's long and changing history of moral panics and different prohibitions of drugs, providing generational cohorts with different life experiences and knowledge, support for marijuana legalization will reflect cohort differences such that the baby boomer cohort will be the most supportive of the marijuana legalization, while the cohorts before and after will differ little in their due to the moral panics

which occurred during their childhood. Interestingly, there was no difference in attitudes about marijuana legalization between baby boomers born between 1955 and 1964 and the latest cohort used in the GSS (1985-2000). These results were consistent with previous research (Musto 1999; Nielsen 2010).

The content analysis of High Times magazine provided a foundation for three additional hypotheses: respondents who own a gun will be likely to support marijuana legalization; respondents with great confidence in the executive branch of the government will be less likely to support the legalization of marijuana; and respondents who feel the government is spending too much money on the Nation's health will be more likely to support marijuana legalization. The first of these hypotheses was only partially supported; the results in Table 5b show that owning a gun was significant but when breaking it down to type of gun only owning a pistol was found to be significant, owning a rifle or shotgun was not significant. This inconsistency among type of gun ownership was surprising. Also, surprising result was that owning a gun was negatively associated with attitudes toward marijuana legalization but owning a pistol was positively associated with marijuana legalization. This finding is most likely a statistical artifact.

The qualitative analysis found that throughout the lifespan of High Times the magazine was been fighting myths presented by the federal government and in particular the President which gave rise to two additional hypotheses about trust in government. High Times continuously wrote articles about how the government was focusing attention in the wrong places and being wasteful. These types of stories led to the two hypotheses: respondents with great confidence in the executive branch of the government will be less likely to support the legalization of marijuana; and respondents who feel the government is spending too much money on the Nation's health will be more likely to support marijuana legalization. Somewhat surprising was

that only the measures about confidence in the President were found to be significant, spending on our Nation's health was not found to be significant. Both respondents who have great amount of confidence in the executive branch of the government and some confidence in the executive branch of the government was found to be significant compared to respondents who had little confidence in the executive branch of the government. As hypothesized respondents with little confidence in the President was the most likely to support marijuana legalization.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

One goal of the content analysis was looking at the changes over time in the social movement to legalize marijuana. The content analysis of this dissertation provided some interesting findings. In the mid1970s the main argument was to decriminalize marijuana. Then the "war on drugs" caused a shift in framework. The mid1980s saw the movement start arguing for medical marijuana legalization. This shift seemed to occur in reaction to the "war on drugs;" marijuana was not the same as other drugs being targeted, it had medicinal purposes. Then, when the medical marijuana frame gained traction there was a split in the framework. The movement to legalize marijuana seemed to pick which fights it could win where. The split was into medical marijuana frames and legalizing marijuana for recreational use. This split in frames was not against each other but a strategy to advance the movement in location where one would be acceptable. The content analysis also provided key findings about guns and confidence in the government which were addressed in the quantitative analysis.

The two key findings in this dissertation pertain to gun ownership, confidence and trust in the government and their correlation with attitudes toward marijuana legalization. Trust and confidence in the government can be understood due to American society starting to recognize the "war on drugs" was a failure. However, more research should address this limited area of study. Examining attitudes toward the government and attitudes towards marijuana legalization specifically was not addressed in the beginning of the research due to a lack of previous literature on the topic; it took an examination of the marijuana culture to find. Beginning the content analysis with a marijuana culture magazine one would not expect guns to come up so frequently. Identifying the importance of guns in marijuana culture both positive and negative is a key finding which should guide future research. Future research should explore the association

between different styles of firearms and attitudes toward marijuana legalization; is there something different about a pistol owner from a shotgun owner which would make the pistol owner support marijuana legalization while the shotgun owner oppose it? This relationship could be spurious with a variable such as occupation (e.g. police officer) or location (e.g. city versus country) being the confounding variable. Another reason to keep this correlation under an investigative eye is some states (i.e. Illinois, Missouri) have legalized medicinal marijuana but have asked patients to give up their firearms in exchange; will these types of laws influence attitudes towards marijuana legalization among firearm owners?

Overall, attitudes towards marijuana legalization have shifted drastically over more than four decades. Several trends based on time period and cohort correspond to the historical evolution of marijuana legalization attitudes, and most researchers credit these changes to moral panics (e.g. "war on drugs") and larger changes in society. This dissertation focused on historical changes in attitudes toward marijuana legality in conjunction with drug law reform between 1974 – 2018, including legalization movements as reflected in the leading marijuana pop culture periodical. This focus revealed findings not considered in prior research. Change in attitudes and policy appear to occur from the ground up, and researchers considering future study of attitudes towards marijuana should look toward the cannabis subculture to understand the ways that long-run trends in public attitudes might evolve.

Appendix A: Additional Tables and Figures

Table 6: Frequency of Themes Appearing in Articles by Month

	Decriminalization	Legal Med MJ	Legalize Rec	SM Legalize MJ	US President MJ	Attitudes MJ Legal	MJ legalize Rights	MJ Tax Profit	Marijuana Media	Religion	Prostitution	Gun Control	Employment	Marijuana Myth
Jun-74	2	2	1	1	2	0	4	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
Sep-74	2	4	0	1	4	2	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Jan-75	2	2	0	0	5	2	4	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
Mar-75	4	1	0	0	5	1	4	0	1	0	2	1	0	0
Aug-75	4	2	0	0	4	4	6	0	0	3	1	2	0	1
Oct-75	2	1	0	0	3	0	3	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Dec-75	4	3	0	1	5	0	6	0	3	1	2	1	1	2
Mar-76	4	2	0	1	3	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
May-76	7	2	0	1	4	3	3	0	0	0	3	2	0	1
Jun-76	8	4	1	1	5	2	4	0	0	2	0	2	0	4
Jul-76	5	1	0	0	4	1	6	3	0	1	1	3	0	1
Aug-76	1	5	2	1	5	2	3	1	1	0	0	2	1	1
Sep-76	1	2	1	2	4	1	7	0	1	3	2	0	0	1
Oct-76	3	4	1	1	2	3	4	0	0	2	0	2	0	1
Nov-76	6	4	1	1	10	0	7	2	5	1	3	5	1	2
Dec-76	3	4	0	1	9	1	10	0	1	2	4	5	0	4
Jan-77	3	4	0	1	6	1	7	0	4	0	1	3	0	1
Feb-77	3	3	1	1	4	1	4	1	2	1	4	1	1	1
Mar-77	4	2	1	1	6	2	7	0	5	0	2	5	1	2
Apr-77	3	1	1	1	5	0	4	1	2	1	2	0	1	0
May-77	1	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	2	1	1
Jun-77	2	0	1	1	5	0	4	0	3	1	0	2	0	1
Jul-77	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Aug-77	2	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	3	2	0	0
Sep-77	3	3	0	1	4	0	3	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Oct-77	5	2	1	0	5	1	2	0	2	0	0	4	0	1
Nov-77	3	1	0	1	6	1	2	1	1	0	3	2	0	1
Dec-77	1	0	0	0	2	1	3	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Jan-78	4	3	0	0	6	1	2	0	2	1	4	2	0	2
Feb-78	4	1	0	1	5	1	4	1	2	2	2	1	0	0
Mar-78	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	2	1	1	2	0	0	0
Apr-78	3	2	1	0	3	0	3	1	3	0	0	3	1	2

May-78	2	1	0	1	3	0	2	0	1	1	1	3	0	0
Jun-78	2	1	0	0	3	1	3	0	1	1	1	2	1	0
Jul-78	2	3	1	1	3	0	3	0	1	3	2	0	0	2
Aug-78	2	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Sep-78	7	3	0	0	6	0	5	0	3	0	0	0	1	1
Oct-78	3	1	0	2	4	1	3	2	3	1	3	1	0	0
Nov-78	3	4	2	0	5	1	5	1	2	3	1	2	1	2
Dec-78	1	2	0	0	3	1	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	3
Jan-79	4	4	0	2	3	1	6	0	1	0	0	3	2	2
Feb-79	0	3	1	2	2	1	4	0	4	0	1	3	0	0
Mar-79	2	3	1	0	2	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Apr-79	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	7	0	1
May-79	0	2	0	0	6	2	3	0	3	0	2	0	0	3
Jun-79	2	4	0	0	4	1	3	1	1	0	0	2	0	4
Jul-79	1	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	1	1	3	4	0	2
Aug-79	0	2	0	2	7	2	4	0	4	2	3	4	0	4
Sep-79	5	4	2	2	5	1	9	2	4	1	0	2	0	1
Oct-79	1	5	1	1	3	2	6	1	3	3	0	3	1	3
Nov-79	1	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	1	0	1
Dec-79	1	1	0	0	4	0	9	1	0	0	0	4	0	1
Jan-80	0	1	1	1	3	0	3	0	1	1	4	1	0	1
Feb-80	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	1
Mar-80	1	2	0	1	3	0	2	1	2	1	1	0	0	1
Apr-80	3	4	0	0	3	2	3	0	4	1	0	1	0	1
May-80	1	1	0	0	2	0	3	0	1	1	2	2	0	0
Jun-80	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0
Jul-80	2	4	1	0	2	1	4	1	5	1	3	0	1	0
Aug-80	1	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Sep-80	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	2	1	3	1	1
Oct-80	1	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
Nov-80	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Dec-80	0	1	0	0	1	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Jan-81	1	3	0	1	2	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Feb-81	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Mar-81	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	3	0	1
Apr-81	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	1	2	0	1	3	0	1
May-81	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Jun-81	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
Jul-81	0	0	1	1	3	1	3	1	2	1	0	1	1	0
Aug-81	0	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	2	1	0	2	1	3
Sep-81	0	1	3	2	0	1	5	1	2	2	1	3	1	1
Oct-81	0	2	2	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	1	4	0	1
Nov-81	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	0	1	1	0	1

Dec-81	1	2	0	0	3	2	6	0	4	2	0	1	0	2
Jan-82	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	2	0	0
Feb-82	2	1	0	0	1	1	4	2	2	1	0	1	0	1
Mar-82	2	1	0	1	2	2	3	1	5	1	1	1	0	1
Apr-82	1	1	0	0	4	2	5	0	3	0	1	3	0	0
May-82	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Jun-82	1	0	0	0	4	0	3	0	3	0	0	2	0	1
Jul-82	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	1	0
Aug-82	1	2	0	0	1	2	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Sep-82	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	5	1	2	2	0	2
Oct-82	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	2	2	0	0	2	0	3
Nov-82	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	3	2	1	1	3	2
Dec-82	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0
Jan-83	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
Feb-83	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
Mar-83	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	2	3	0	0	3	0	0
Apr-83	1	1	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	3	1	0
May-83	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	1	2	0	0
Jun-83	0	1	1	0	4	0	1	0	2	1	2	1	0	2
Jul-83	0	3	0	1	2	1	3	0	4	0	0	1	0	1
Aug-83	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	1	0
Sep-83	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	0
Oct-83	1	3	1	1	1	0	4	2	3	0	1	2	2	0
Nov-83	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	0	5	0	0	1	0	3
Dec-83	1	3	0	0	1	2	4	1	5	0	0	0	3	0
Jan-84	0	2	1	0	3	0	4	1	3	0	2	3	1	0
Feb-84	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	2	1	0	0
Mar-84	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	1	1
Apr-84	1	1	1	0	3	1	2	0	2	0	0	2	1	0
May-84	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
Jun-84	2	1	1	0	4	1	3	0	5	0	0	0	4	1
Jul-84	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	2	0	1	1	1	0
Aug-84	1	1	0	0	3	1	4	1	0	1	1	2	1	1
Sep-84	2	0	1	1	3	0	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	1
Oct-84	0	1	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	0	1	3	1	0
Nov-84	0	1	1	0	2	0	4	0	2	0	0	2	2	0
Dec-84	2	1	1	2	0	3	3	0	2	1	0	2	1	0
Jan-85	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Feb-85	0	2	0	0	1	0	3	0	3	1	0	1	1	1
Mar-85	1	1	1	0	3	0	2	0	3	1	0	4	0	2
Apr-85	0	2	1	0	2	1	5	1	1	0	0	1	2	0
May-85	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Jun-85	1	2	1	0	2	0	7	0	4	1	1	1	1	0

Jul-85	1	1	1	1	2	1	5	0	2	0	0	1	1	0
Aug-85	0	1	0	1	3	0	4	1	4	0	1	2	1	0
Sep-85	2	2	1	1	4	2	7	2	7	2	0	0	0	1
Oct-85	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	0	2	1	1
Nov-85	1	5	2	1	2	1	6	0	4	0	0	2	1	0
Dec-85	1	1	0	0	4	1	4	0	5	0	3	2	1	1
Jan-86	1	3	1	1	1	0	7	0	2	0	0	1	1	0
Feb-86	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	4	0
Mar-86	0	3	0	0	3	0	5	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
Apr-86	0	1	0	0	1	3	4	0	3	1	0	2	1	0
May-86	0	1	1	0	4	0	3	0	1	1	1	0	4	0
Jun-86	2	1	1	0	3	1	4	1	3	1	1	1	4	2
Jul-86	1	0	0	1	3	3	5	1	5	0	2	3	4	1
Aug-86	0	0	1	0	1	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Sep-86	1	3	1	0	2	1	4	0	4	0	0	1	3	1
Oct-86	1	2	0	0	2	1	2	1	3	0	1	0	1	0
Nov-86	2	2	1	0	2	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	1	2
Dec-86	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Jan-87	2	2	0	0	6	1	5	1	3	0	0	1	3	0
Feb-87	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
Mar-87	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	4	1	0
Apr-87	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
May-87	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	0	2	0	2
Jun-87	3	2	1	1	3	2	5	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
Jul-87	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	1
Aug-87	1	0	0	0	4	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Sep-87	0	0	0	1	3	1	3	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
Oct-87	0	1	0	0	3	0	2	0	3	1	0	0	1	0
Nov-87	2	3	0	0	2	0	4	0	3	1	0	0	1	0
Dec-87	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Jan-88	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	2	2	0	1	1	0	0
Feb-88	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	1	0
Mar-88	2	2	0	0	3	2	4	0	2	0	2	1	1	0
Apr-88	1	1	1	0	3	0	4	0	3	0	0	1	1	0
May-88	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Jun-88	2	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Jul-88	1	2	0	0	1	1	5	1	3	1	1	0	1	0
Aug-88	2	1	0	0	4	4	2	0	3	2	0	1	1	1
Sep-88	1	2	2	1	3	1	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	0
Oct-88	0	1	0	0	2	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	2	1
Nov-88	1	4	0	0	3	2	6	2	2	1	1	1	0	0
Dec-88	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
Jan-89	4	1	2	2	1	0	5	2	4	0	1	1	0	0

Feb-89	1	2	1	0	4	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
Mar-89	2	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	3	0	0	1	0	0
Apr-89	0	2	0	1	2	0	6	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
May-89	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	1
Jun-89	1	3	1	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	0	2	0	0
Jul-89	2	1	0	1	3	1	9	0	6	1	0	0	0	0
Aug-89	1	1	1	0	2	1	4	0	1	3	0	2	0	2
Sep-89	0	4	0	0	3	2	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Oct-89	2	2	1	2	4	3	6	1	2	1	0	1	1	2
Nov-89	2	2	2	0	1	2	4	0	3	0	0	3	2	1
Dec-89	3	5	0	1	3	0	3	0	1	0	2	2	0	2
Jan-90	3	2	0	1	6	1	10	0	3	2	0	3	0	0
Feb-90	3	3	0	0	3	0	8	3	5	1	0	1	1	1
Mar-90	6	3	1	2	7	1	9	1	6	2	1	3	2	2
Apr-90	2	2	0	0	6	1	6	2	2	0	1	0	0	0
May-90	2	1	1	2	7	1	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Jun-90	1	2	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Jul-90	1	2	2	0	1	0	6	0	5	1	0	2	2	0
Aug-90	1	1	1	0	0	1	6	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
Sep-90	4	4	1	2	5	0	4	1	3	1	2	2	1	0
Oct-90	2	4	0	0	1	0	5	2	4	0	0	5	1	0
Nov-90	3	2	0	1	3	1	3	0	3	0	2	2	2	0
Dec-90	1	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	2	0	1	3	1	0
Jan-91	1	4	1	1	5	0	4	0	1	0	1	1	2	0
Feb-91	3	1	0	0	5	2	6	0	3	0	0	4	1	0
Mar-91	2	1	0	0	2	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	0	2
Apr-91	0	3	0	0	3	0	4	0	4	0	0	2	0	0
May-91	2	6	1	0	2	3	6	1	3	2	1	2	0	1
Jun-91	2	6	0	3	3	1	7	0	3	1	0	0	2	1
Jul-91	1	3	1	1	2	1	2	0	4	0	1	1	0	0
Aug-91	3	4	0	0	3	0	7	0	5	0	0	2	0	0
Sep-91	2	3	1	0	1	1	4	1	4	0	0	2	1	1
Oct-91	1	5	0	0	2	0	5	0	2	2	0	0	0	2
Nov-91	0	4	1	0	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Dec-91	0	2	1	1	5	1	5	0	6	0	1	2	0	0
Jan-92	1	3	1	1	3	4	4	1	4	0	1	1	1	2
Feb-92	1	6	0	0	3	0	9	0	3	2	0	2	1	2
Mar-92	2	3	1	0	6	1	9	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Apr-92	0	3	0	0	3	1	7	0	6	0	1	0	1	0
May-92	1	5	0	1	4	0	7	0	4	0	0	1	1	1
Jun-92	1	2	1	0	7	0	6	0	2	1	0	1	0	0
Jul-92	2	7	1	0	3	1	6	1	1	1	0	2	0	0
Aug-92	1	2	1	1	4	1	5	0	2	0	0	7	0	1

Sep-92	3	4	0	1	5	0	6	1	0	0	2	2	1	0
Oct-92	0	2	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Nov-92	3	2	0	1	4	0	6	0	3	1	0	2	0	0
Dec-92	1	6	3	1	4	2	3	1	1	0	2	2	1	0
Jan-93	1	6	0	1	3	1	7	0	3	1	0	3	1	2
Feb-93	1	4	1	1	5	1	5	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
Mar-93	1	6	1	1	7	0	7	0	3	0	0	4	0	0
Apr-93	1	4	0	1	3	1	4	0	1	0	0	2	0	1
May-93	0	4	0	1	3	0	3	0	4	2	1	0	0	0
Jun-93	1	5	1	1	7	2	3	1	3	2	0	1	1	1
Jul-93	2	4	1	1	4	0	6	1	5	1	0	0	0	1
Aug-93	1	3	1	1	2	0	9	0	4	0	1	1	0	0
Sep-93	2	5	0	0	3	1	5	0	4	0	1	0	1	0
Oct-93	0	3	0	0	5	1	4	0	2	1	0	2	0	0
Nov-93	1	5	0	0	4	0	5	0	3	0	0	3	0	0
Dec-93	0	2	0	0	3	1	4	0	1	0	2	1	1	0
Jan-94	3	5	0	0	5	1	4	0	3	1	0	2	0	1
Feb-94	0	5	2	0	4	1	6	0	6	1	2	3	0	0
Mar-94	1	4	0	2	5	0	4	1	3	0	1	3	0	1
Apr-94	2	5	1	1	4	3	8	0	6	0	1	6	0	2
May-94	0	4	1	0	6	2	5	0	4	2	0	1	1	1
Jun-94	0	6	1	0	2	0	5	0	3	0	0	2	1	2
Jul-94	1	8	1	0	4	3	7	0	3	0	1	3	1	0
Aug-94	2	3	0	0	5	0	10	1	3	1	1	3	0	0
Sep-94	2	8	1	1	5	2	9	1	7	4	1	3	0	1
Oct-94	2	4	2	0	4	2	6	2	6	0	0	1	1	1
Nov-94	2	7	1	1	5	2	5	0	6	1	2	0	1	0
Dec-94	1	4	1	0	2	0	4	0	4	2	1	0	0	1
Jan-95	2	2	1	0	8	0	5	0	3	0	2	1	0	1
Feb-95	1	5	1	0	5	0	7	1	5	1	1	1	1	0
Mar-95	1	5	0	1	1	0	0	1	4	1	0	2	0	0
Apr-95	2	9	1	2	6	2	9	0	6	0	2	1	1	1
May-95	3	1	0	1	6	1	6	0	7	1	1	2	1	0
Jun-95	1	2	0	1	3	0	3	0	5	2	1	1	0	0
Jul-95	1	3	0	1	4	0	5	0	6	1	0	1	1	0
Aug-95	0	1	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	0	2
Sep-95	3	7	0	2	4	2	8	0	5	1	2	3	0	0
Oct-95	3	4	1	1	5	0	9	1	7	1	3	2	0	1
Nov-95	1	2	1	0	3	0	5	0	6	2	1	2	0	2
Dec-95	1	7	1	0	2	0	7	0	3	2	0	1	2	1
Jan-96	4	5	4	0	2	1	3	0	5	0	1	0	1	0
Feb-96	1	2	1	1	2	0	8	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Mar-96	1	4	0	1	4	1	5	1	0	0	2	3	1	1

Apr-96	3	8	4	0	1	1	6	0	4	1	0	1	0	0
May-96	1	6	1	0	3	2	7	0	6	2	1	1	1	0
Jun-96	1	3	3	0	3	2	10	0	8	2	2	2	0	2
Jul-96	1	3	1	0	2	2	6	0	3	2	1	0	1	0
Aug-96	2	6	2	0	3	0	7	0	4	2	1	0	1	0
Sep-96	1	3	2	0	3	0	5	1	3	1	2	1	0	1
Oct-96	3	4	3	2	6	0	8	1	2	3	0	2	1	3
Nov-96	1	5	2	1	3	1	7	0	4	1	1	0	0	0
Dec-96	1	4	3	0	6	1	3	0	2	1	1	3	1	0
Jan-97	2	5	1	1	4	0	7	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
Feb-97	2	2	1	0	3	4	5	1	4	0	2	1	2	1
Mar-97	1	6	1	1	7	0	10	2	3	0	0	1	0	1
Apr-97	1	6	2	0	4	2	4	1	7	0	0	2	1	0
May-97	1	10	1	0	2	0	8	0	5	1	0	4	0	1
Jun-97	1	14	1	1	4	1	8	0	5	0	1	1	2	1
Jul-97	2	5	1	1	2	1	4	0	0	1	2	0	0	1
Aug-97	2	8	3	1	4	0	6	0	6	0	1	3	0	0
Sep-97	1	5	0	1	3	1	4	0	2	2	1	2	1	3
Oct-97	2	9	3	1	5	1	7	0	5	1	0	1	0	4
Nov-97	2	7	1	1	3	1	7	0	5	2	2	0	1	2
Dec-97	4	9	0	0	4	0	8	1	5	0	0	1	0	1
Jan-98	0	7	1	1	2	1	6	0	4	1	0	1	1	1
Feb-98	3	11	3	0	3	1	8	0	2	1	1	0	1	0
Mar-98	2	10	3	1	2	1	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Apr-98	0	8	0	2	4	2	7	1	5	0	0	6	1	3
May-98	5	7	2	1	4	1	8	0	2	0	0	3	0	1
Jun-98	1	9	1	0	4	0	8	1	3	1	1	1	1	3
Jul-98	4	11	2	1	4	1	9	1	4	1	1	2	2	3
Aug-98	0	3	1	1	3	1	4	0	7	1	1	2	0	1
Sep-98	2	3	0	0	4	1	6	2	2	1	0	1	0	0
Oct-98	2	6	1	0	3	0	3	0	5	0	1	3	0	0
Nov-98	2	7	3	0	7	1	6	0	5	0	0	1	0	1
Dec-98	1	6	0	0	4	0	7	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
Jan-99	1	5	1	0	3	1	4	0	1	0	0	1	0	3
Feb-99	2	7	1	0	2	0	6	0	4	1	0	1	1	0
Mar-99	0	3	0	0	3	0	4	0	2	0	2	1	0	1
Apr-99	2	8	2	0	3	1	6	0	3	0	0	0	0	2
May-99	2	8	3	0	5	0	8	0	5	0	0	1	0	2
Jun-99	2	7	1	3	5	2	8	0	3	1	0	1	1	0
Jul-99	3	8	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Aug-99	1	5	0	1	1	0	4	0	2	1	0	1	0	2
Sep-99	3	6	1	0	1	1	5	0	3	0	2	1	1	0
Oct-99	1	10	1	2	2	0	11	0	2	0	0	2	0	0

Nov-99	1	10	2	2	4	2	11	1	4	0	2	2	0	1
Dec-99	2	9	1	0	1	1	10	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Jan-00	3	6	0	0	7	0	6	0	4	0	1	2	1	1
Feb-00	1	5	0	1	6	1	5	0	4	2	0	1	5	1
Mar-00	2	8	2	0	1	0	9	0	3	0	0	2	0	1
Apr-00	1	5	2	0	2	1	3	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
May-00	1	4	1	1	5	2	6	0	3	0	1	0	1	0
Jun-00	2	6	1	0	3	2	7	0	2	1	1	0	1	0
Jul-00	3	10	1	0	6	0	9	0	3	0	1	4	0	1
Aug-00	3	5	2	0	3	1	4	0	2	0	0	1	2	4
Sep-00	3	8	1	1	7	1	8	0	5	0	0	0	2	0
Oct-00	1	5	0	1	5	1	6	0	4	2	0	2	1	1
Nov-00	2	5	0	0	6	1	5	2	1	1	0	1	0	0
Dec-00	3	8	1	0	4	2	8	0	5	1	0	3	0	1
Jan-01	1	10	1	0	2	1	6	0	3	1	1	0	0	0
Feb-01	0	5	0	1	4	0	5	0	3	3	0	1	1	2
Mar-01	2	7	1	1	4	1	7	0	2	0	2	1	1	0
Apr-01	2	9	1	0	4	1	6	0	2	0	1	2	0	0
May-01	3	6	2	0	4	1	8	0	4	0	0	1	1	1
Jun-01	3	6	2	0	3	2	7	0	2	1	1	2	0	0
Jul-01	1	7	0	1	6	0	5	0	6	0	0	1	0	2
Aug-01	2	9	3	2	5	2	9	0	2	1	2	3	0	3
Sep-01	4	8	0	0	4	2	6	0	3	1	1	4	0	1
Oct-01	6	8	1	0	1	1	4	0	2	1	0	1	0	0
Nov-01	3	7	1	0	4	1	7	0	3	0	3	1	1	0
Dec-01	1	13	0	1	4	1	7	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Jan-02	2	5	1	0	1	1	5	1	4	2	1	4	0	0
Feb-02	3	7	2	1	1	1	5	0	3	0	0	2	0	0
Mar-02	2	2	0	2	4	0	3	0	2	0	0	2	1	2
Apr-02	2	4	0	0	5	0	6	0	4	1	1	2	0	0
May-02	2	7	0	1	2	1	6	0	6	2	1	2	1	1
Jun-02	1	5	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	1
Jul-02	2	7	0	1	4	0	4	0	3	1	0	1	1	0
Aug-02	2	6	1	1	3	1	8	0	3	1	0	3	0	2
Sep-02	2	7	3	0	2	1	5	0	2	1	0	1	0	1
Oct-02	1	6	1	1	4	3	4	0	4	2	0	2	0	2
Nov-02	3	6	1	1	3	0	4	1	0	0	1	2	1	0
Dec-02	1	2	1	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Jan-03	5	9	2	0	4	0	4	0	2	1	1	0	0	0
Feb-03	1	6	0	0	4	0	6	0	3	3	0	0	0	1
Mar-03	2	8	1	0	3	2	4	0	1	1	1	2	1	0
Apr-03	2	4	1	0	2	1	7	0	1	2	1	0	0	1
May-03	2	9	3	0	4	1	6	0	4	1	0	1	0	2

Jun-03	1	6	0	0	1	0	8	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Jul-03	5	4	2	0	2	0	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
Aug-03	6	4	0	0	2	0	4	0	5	0	0	1	1	0
Sep-03	4	6	1	0	4	1	5	0	4	1	1	0	1	1
Oct-03	4	4	1	0	5	0	5	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Nov-03	3	4	0	1	0	1	4	0	3	1	0	2	0	1
Dec-03	3	7	1	0	2	0	5	0	1	1	0	1	0	2
Jan-04	2	3	1	1	5	0	3	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
Feb-04	6	8	1	1	4	1	11	0	4	2	4	1	0	1
Mar-04	3	2	0	2	6	0	2	0	6	1	1	4	0	1
Apr-04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
May-04	3	10	5	1	2	0	8	0	1	1	2	3	1	0
Jun-04	5	5	0	0	2	1	7	0	3	1	1	1	0	0
Jul-04	0	1	1	0	3	1	2	1	5	0	0	4	0	1
Aug-04	4	11	2	0	2	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sep-04	1	4	1	4	5	0	6	1	6	1	3	2	1	1
Oct-04	0	2	0	0	5	0	3	0	1	0	0	3	0	0
Nov-04	2	3	0	0	4	2	4	0	3	3	0	1	0	0
Dec-04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jan-05	1	5	0	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
Feb-05	0	7	1	0	2	1	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	1
Mar-05	1	3	1	0	4	0	3	0	6	1	1	1	1	0
Apr-05	0	3	1	0	3	0	7	0	2	0	1	1	0	2
May-05	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
Jun-05	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Jul-05	3	1	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	2	1	0	1
Aug-05	2	7	0	1	2	1	3	0	0	1	3	1	0	0
Sep-05	1	4	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Oct-05	1	5	0	0	1	0	5	0	2	2	0	0	1	0
Nov-05	0	4	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Dec-05	2	2	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	1
Jan-06	0	3	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feb-06	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	0
Mar-06	2	1	3	0	4	1	6	0	3	1	0	0	1	1
Apr-06	1	5	1	1	1	1	4	1	2	0	0	2	0	0
May-06	1	3	0	1	3	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	0
Jun-06	2	0	1	1	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Jul-06	2	3	1	1	3	1	4	0	3	2	1	1	1	1
Aug-06	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Sep-06	0	3	1	0	2	0	4	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
Oct-06	2	6	2	0	3	0	3	1	3	0	1	0	1	1
Nov-06	1	4	3	0	2	0	5	1	3	0	0	1	0	0
Dec-06	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

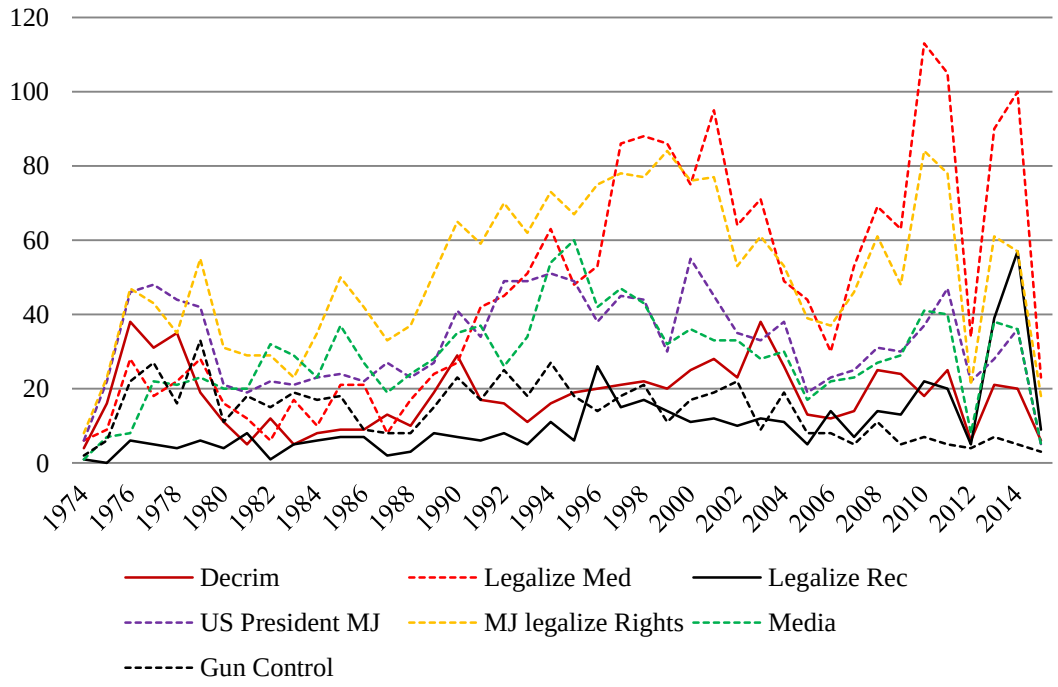
Jan-07	1	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Feb-07	0	6	2	1	1	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Mar-07	1	4	1	0	3	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Apr-07	0	4	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
May-07	2	4	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	2	1
Jun-07	1	6	0	1	5	1	7	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
Jul-07	1	4	0	0	3	1	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	1
Aug-07	2	3	0	0	1	0	4	0	3	2	0	0	0	2
Sep-07	0	6	1	0	1	0	5	2	4	1	0	0	0	1
Oct-07	4	6	1	1	4	1	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Nov-07	1	5	0	1	2	2	6	0	1	2	0	1	0	0
Dec-07	1	3	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	2	0	2	1	0
Jan-08	1	5	0	0	6	0	5	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Feb-08	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	1	1	0	1
Mar-08	0	8	0	0	2	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Apr-08	2	7	0	1	1	0	4	0	3	1	0	2	2	0
May-08	2	9	2	1	5	1	10	2	2	2	1	1	1	0
Jun-08	3	6	2	0	2	2	8	0	2	0	0	1	2	0
Jul-08	6	4	2	1	2	0	4	2	3	2	0	1	0	1
Aug-08	3	5	0	1	1	1	3	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
Sep-08	0	3	1	0	2	0	4	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
Oct-08	2	7	1	0	4	2	6	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Nov-08	2	6	4	1	3	1	6	1	3	0	2	0	0	1
Dec-08	3	4	2	2	3	2	6	1	4	2	0	2	0	0
Jan-09	1	6	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	1	0	0	1	2
Feb-09	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	1	3	2
Mar-09	2	2	1	0	4	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	0
Apr-09	3	3	1	0	5	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
May-09	3	10	1	2	2	1	7	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Jun-09	2	7	2	0	3	1	6	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Jul-09	2	6	1	0	6	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Aug-09	2	4	1	0	4	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	1
Sep-09	3	5	1	0	2	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Oct-09	3	5	1	0	2	0	5	0	2	0	0	1	1	0
Nov-09	0	3	0	0	1	1	4	1	4	1	0	1	0	1
Dec-09	3	8	3	1	1	1	6	2	3	1	1	1	0	1
Jan-10	1	11	1	1	3	0	7	0	2	1	0	1	0	1
Feb-10	1	8	2	0	3	1	5	2	7	3	2	0	2	0
Mar-10	1	5	3	1	5	0	7	0	1	2	0	0	1	1
Apr-10	2	8	2	1	1	0	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
May-10	0	14	2	1	2	1	9	1	4	0	0	1	0	1
Jun-10	2	13	2	1	7	2	7	0	1	1	0	1	0	2
Jul-10	2	8	1	2	3	0	7	0	3	0	2	1	0	0

Aug-10	3	5	0	0	0	1	5	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
Sep-10	0	7	1	0	4	0	6	1	4	0	0	0	1	0
Oct-10	2	11	2	2	3	1	10	2	5	0	0	0	1	1
Nov-10	3	14	2	0	2	1	9	2	5	0	0	1	1	0
Dec-10	1	9	4	0	4	2	6	0	5	1	0	2	0	1
Jan-11	2	2	0	1	5	0	4	1	5	0	0	0	0	1
Feb-11	1	7	3	1	6	0	7	0	5	1	0	0	0	1
Mar-11	1	11	4	1	4	0	7	1	3	2	1	0	1	1
Apr-11	0	5	2	0	3	2	4	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
May-11	3	12	2	0	3	0	9	0	5	0	0	1	0	0
Jun-11	1	12	1	0	6	0	7	0	1	2	0	0	1	1
Jul-11	2	8	0	1	4	0	4	0	2	1	0	1	0	1
Aug-11	1	10	3	1	5	1	7	1	3	0	0	1	1	0
Sep-11	1	12	0	1	3	1	9	1	2	2	1	0	0	1
Oct-11	6	12	2	0	1	1	12	1	5	2	0	1	0	0
Nov-11	2	7	2	1	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	1	1	2
Dec-11	5	7	1	1	7	2	5	0	3	3	0	0	1	2
Jan-12	1	9	0	0	6	1	4	2	1	3	2	0	0	1
Feb-12	0	9	2	0	4	0	7	2	2	1	0	2	3	2
Mar-12	1	8	0	1	4	1	4	2	1	0	0	1	0	3
Dec-12	4	8	3	1	8	0	6	1	4	1	0	1	0	0
Jan-13	1	5	2	1	1	0	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
Feb-13	3	5	2	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Mar-13	5	8	6	2	6	0	6	1	3	0	0	1	0	0
Apr-13	1	6	2	1	1	1	5	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
May-13	2	8	6	0	4	1	5	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Jun-13	1	9	1	0	3	1	5	1	3	0	0	0	2	0
Jul-13	1	6	3	0	2	2	4	0	8	1	1	0	0	0
Aug-13	1	8	4	1	1	0	7	0	6	0	0	1	0	1
Sep-13	0	6	2	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	2	1	1
Oct-13	2	8	3	0	1	0	5	0	3	0	0	0	1	0
Nov-13	3	9	5	0	4	2	8	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Dec-13	1	12	3	1	3	0	8	0	4	0	0	1	0	0
Jan-14	1	9	5	0	3	0	8	1	7	0	0	1	0	0
Feb-14	1	7	6	1	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	2	0
Mar-14	2	12	2	0	5	1	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Apr-14	3	8	4	1	4	0	5	1	2	0	0	1	0	0
May-14	1	7	7	0	5	2	4	0	2	0	0	1	1	2
Jun-14	2	5	3	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Jul-14	2	6	3	0	2	0	3	1	3	0	0	2	1	1
Aug-14	2	13	8	0	5	0	4	2	3	2	0	0	0	0
Sep-14	1	6	4	0	5	0	6	1	4	0	0	0	0	0
Oct-14	1	8	3	0	1	0	6	1	3	0	0	0	2	2

Nov-14	1	7	3	1	2	0	6	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Dec-14	3	12	9	0	4	1	5	1	4	0	0	0	1	0
Jan-15	1	5	5	2	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feb-15	2	4	1	1	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Mar-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Apr-15	2	9	2	1	2	4	7	2	2	1	1	1	0	1
May-15	1	5	1	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
Total	759	1930	449	222	1376	340	2151	177	1197	318	292	590	244	333

Source: Covertocover/Hightimes.com 1974-2015

Figure 2f: Frequency of Most Common Themes in Articles by Year



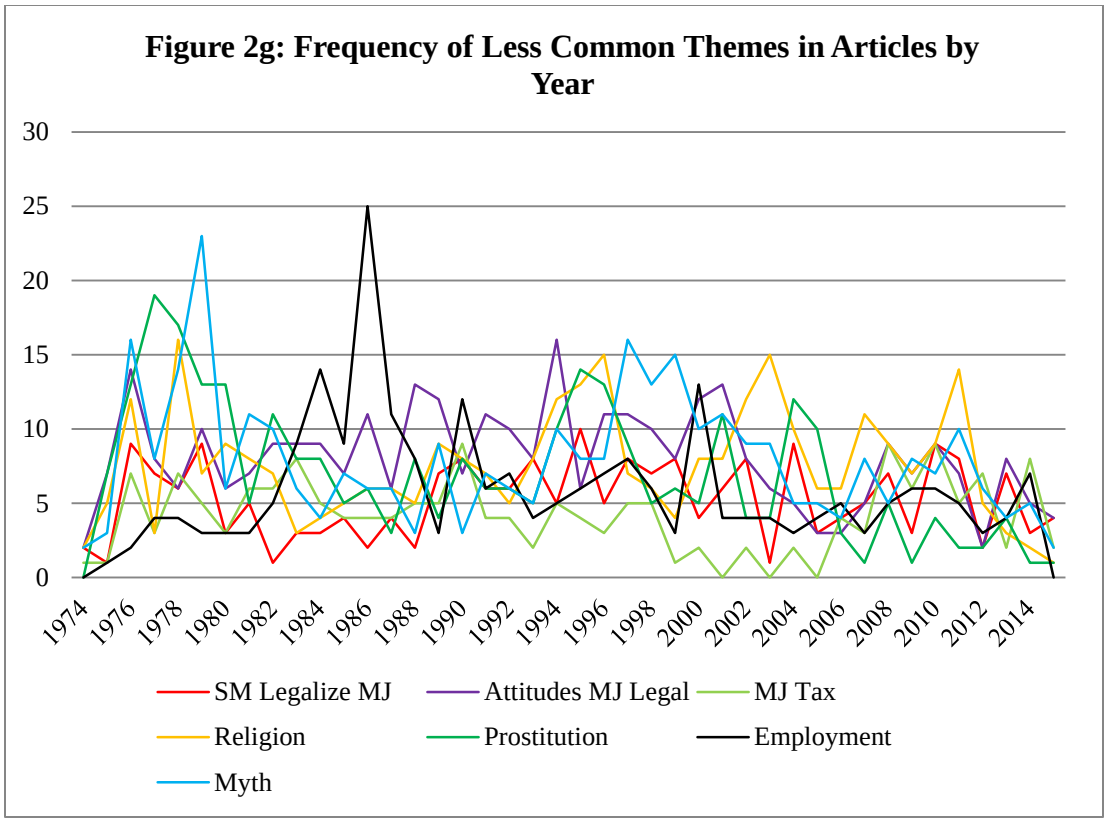


Figure 2g: Frequency of Less Common Themes in Articles by Year
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1974
1976
1978
1980
1982
1984
1986
1988
1990
1992
1994
1996
1998
2000
2002
2004
2006
2008
2010
2012
2014
SM Legalize MJ
Attitudes MJ Legal
MJ Tax
Religion
Prostitution
Employment
Myth

Appendix B: Recoding

```
* Encoding: UTF-8.

RECODE GRASS (1=1) (2=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecGRASS.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecGRASS 'Grass'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE RACE (1=1) (2 thru 3=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecWHITE.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecWHITE 'White'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE RACE (2=1) (1=0) (3=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecBLACK.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecBLACK 'Black'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE RACE (3=1) (2=0) (1=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecOTHER.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecOTHER 'Other Race'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE PARTYID (0 thru 1=1) (2 thru 7=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecDem.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecDem 'Democrat'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE PARTYID (7=1) (2 thru 4=1) (0 thru 1=0) (5 thru 6=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecIND.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecIND 'Independent Other'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE PARTYID (7=0) (5 thru 6=1) (0 thru 4=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecREP.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecREP 'Republican'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE POLVIEWS (1 thru 3=1) (4 thru 7=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecLIB.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecLIB 'Liberal'.
```

```
EXECUTE.

RECODE POLVIEWS (5 thru 7=1) (1 thru 4=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecConserve.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecConserve 'Conservative'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE RELIG (1=1) (2 thru 13=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecProtestant.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecProtestant 'Protestant'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE RELIG (1=0) (2=1) (3 thru 13=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecCath.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecCath 'Catholic'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE RELIG (4=1) (1 thru 3=0) (5 thru 13=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecNOTRELIG.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecNOTRELIG 'Not Religious'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE RELIG (3=1) (4=0) (1 thru 2=0) (5 thru 13=1) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecOTHERRELIG.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecOTHERRELIG 'Other Religion '.

EXECUTE.

RECODE MARITAL (1=1) (2 thru 5=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecMARRIED.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecMARRIED 'Married'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE WRKSTAT (1=1) (2 thru 8=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecWORKING.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecWORKING 'Working Full'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE CHILDS (0=0) (1 thru 8=1) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecCHILD.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecCHILD 'Children'.

EXECUTE.
```

```
RECODE YEAR (1975=1) (1976=1) (1977 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecFORD.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecFORD 'FORD'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE YEAR (1977 thru 1980=1) (1975 thru 1976=0) (1981 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
RecCARTER.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecCARTER 'Carter'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE YEAR (1975 thru 1980=0) (1981 thru 1984=1) (1985 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
RecREAGAN1.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecREAGAN1 'Reagan First'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE YEAR (1975 thru 1980=0) (1981 thru 1984=1) (1985 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
RecREAGAN2.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecREAGAN2 'Reagan 2'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE YEAR (1989 thru 1992=1) (1975 thru 1988=0) (1993 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
RecBUSHHW.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecBUSHHW 'Bush HW'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE YEAR (1975 thru 1992=0) (1993 thru 1996=1) (1997 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
RecCLINTON1.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecCLINTON1 'Clinton 1'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE YEAR (1975 thru 1996=0) (1997 thru 2000=1) (2001 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
RecCLINTON2.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecCLINTON2 'Clinton 2'.

EXECUTE.
```

```
RECODE YEAR (1975 thru 2000=0) (2001 thru 2004=1) (2005 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
RecBUSHW1.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecBUSHW1 'Bush W 1'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE YEAR (1975 thru 2004=0) (2005 thru 2008=1) (2009 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
RecBUSHW2.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecBUSHW2 'Bush W 2'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE YEAR (1975 thru 2008=0) (2009 thru 2012=1) (2013 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
RecObama1.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecObama1 'Obama 1'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE YEAR (1975 thru 2012=0) (2013 thru 2016=1) (2017 thru 2018=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
RecOBAMA2.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecOBAMA2 'Obama 2'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE YEAR (1975 thru 2016=0) (2017 thru 2018=1) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecTRUMP.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecTRUMP 'Trump'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE OWNGUN (1=1) (2=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecGUN.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecGUN 'Gun'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE PISTOL (1=1) (2=0) (3=SYSMIS) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecPISTOL.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecPISTOL 'Pistol'.

EXECUTE.

RECODE RecGUN (3=SYSMIS).

EXECUTE.
```

```
FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=RecGUN
  /ORDER=ANALYSIS.
RECODE SHOTGUN (1=1) (2=0) (3=SYSMIS) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecSHOTGUN.
VARIABLE LABELS  RecSHOTGUN 'Shotgun'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE RIFLE (1=1) (2=0) (3=SYSMIS) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecRIFLE.
VARIABLE LABELS  RecRIFLE 'Rifle'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE CONFED (1=1) (2=0) (3=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecCONGREAT.
VARIABLE LABELS  RecCONGREAT 'Great deal of Confidence'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE CONFED (1=0) (2=1) (3=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecCONSOME.
VARIABLE LABELS  RecCONSOME 'Some Confidence'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE CONFED (1=0) (2=0) (3=1) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecCONLITTLE.
VARIABLE LABELS  RecCONLITTLE 'Little Confidence'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE NATHEAL (2=0) (1=1) (3=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecTOOLITTLE.
VARIABLE LABELS  RecTOOLITTLE 'Too Little Spending'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE NATHEAL (3=0) (2=1) (1=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecRIGHT.
VARIABLE LABELS  RecRIGHT 'Right Spending'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE NATHEAL (1=0) (2=0) (3=1) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecTOOMUCH.
VARIABLE LABELS  RecTOOMUCH 'Too much spending'.
```

```
EXECUTE.
FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=COHORT
  /STATISTICS=MINIMUM MAXIMUM
  /ORDER=ANALYSIS.
RECODE COHORT (1884 thru 1904=1) (1905 thru 2000=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO Rec18841904.
VARIABLE LABELS  Rec18841904 '1884-1904'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE COHORT (1915 thru 2000=0) (1905 thru 1914=1) (1884 thru 1904=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
    Rec19051914.
VARIABLE LABELS  Rec19051914 '1905-1914'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE COHORT (1925 thru 2000=0) (1915 thru 1924=1) (1884 thru 1914=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
    Rec19151924.
VARIABLE LABELS  Rec19151924 '1915-1924'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE COHORT (1935 thru 2000=0) (1884 thru 1924=0) (1925 thru 1934=1) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
    Rec19251934.
VARIABLE LABELS  Rec19251934 '1925-1934'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE COHORT (1935 thru 1944=1) (1945 thru 2000=0) (1884 thru 1934=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
    Rec19351944.
VARIABLE LABELS  Rec19351944 '1935-1944'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE COHORT (1945 thru 1954=1) (1955 thru 2000=0) (1884 thru 1944=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
    Rec19451954.
```

```
VARIABLE LABELS  Rec19451954 '1945-1954'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE COHORT (1955 thru 1964=1) (1965 thru 2000=0) (1884 thru 1954=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
    Rec19551964.
VARIABLE LABELS  Rec19551964 '1955-1964'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE COHORT (1965 thru 1974=1) (1975 thru 2000=0) (1884 thru 1964=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
    Rec19651974.
VARIABLE LABELS  Rec19651974 '1965-1974'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE COHORT (1975 thru 1984=1) (1884 thru 1974=0) (1985 thru 2000=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
    Rec19751984.
VARIABLE LABELS  Rec19751984 '1975-1984'.
EXECUTE.
RECODE COHORT (1985 thru 2000=1) (1884 thru 1984=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO Rec19852000.
VARIABLE LABELS  Rec19852000 '1985-2000'.
EXECUTE.
DATASET ACTIVATE DataSet1.
RECODE SEX (1=1) (2=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecMale.
VARIABLE LABELS  RecMale 'Male'.
EXECUTE.


RECODE EDUC (0 thru 11=0) (12 thru 20=1) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecHIGH.
VARIABLE LABELS  RecHIGH 'High School Grad'.
EXECUTE.
```

```
RECODE POLVIEWS (4=1) (1 thru 3=0) (5 thru 7=0) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO RecMOD.

VARIABLE LABELS  RecMOD 'Moderate'.

EXECUTE.
```

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Curriculum Vitae

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Education:

2019- Doctor of Philosophy, currently ABD
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Comprehensive exams:
Crime and Deviance
Race and Ethnicity
Dissertation: "Attitudes toward Marijuana Legalization: Temporal and Thematic Trends"
Committee Members: Andrew Spivak (chair)
David Dickens
Barbara Brents
William Sousa (Criminal Justice Dept)

2012- Master of Arts
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Major: Sociology
MA Thesis: "Thou Shalt Not: Religiosity and Attitudes toward Marijuana Legalization"
Committee Members: Andrew Spivak (chair)
Shannon Monnat
Michael Borer
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2010- Bachelor of Arts
California State University, Sacramento
Major: Sociology
Cum Laude

2008- Associates of Arts
Foothill College, Los Altos, CA
Major: Law and Society (Pre-Law)

Academic Positions:

2010 - Present: Instructor (Graduate Assistant) Department of Sociology, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

2012 - 2015: Lab Instructor Department of Sociology, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

2012 - 2013: Instructor Department of Human Behavior, College of Southern Nevada

Areas of Interest:

Crime and Deviance
Race and Ethnicity
Gender and Sexuality
Research Methods
Quantitative Methods
Qualitative Methods

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles:

Krystosek, D. "Thou Shalt Not: Religiosity and Attitudes toward Marijuana Legalization." *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice,* 12/2016, Volume 47

Other Publications, Interviews and Newspaper/Magazine Citations:

2016: Livescience.com. Conducted correspondence interview and was quoted in article: "Are Religious People Less Likely to Support Marijuana Legalization?" By Agata Blaszczak-Boxe. September 29, 2016.

2009: Krystosek, D. (Guest Writer), "'Nothing Less' Than an Exceptional Performance." *The State Hornet,* Features, May 24, 2009

2009: Krystosek, D. (Guest Writer), "Paid Dues Festival." *The State Hornet,* Features, April 6, 2009

Teaching Experience

Instructor:	University of Nevada, Las Vegas Department of Sociology	2013 - Present
	Principles of Sociology (SOC101):	Fall 2013, Spring 2014, Fall 2014, Spring 2015, Fall 2015, Spring 2016, Fall 2016 (2 sections), Spring 2017 (2 sections), Fall 2017, Spring 2018, Fall 2018 (2 Sections), Spring 2019
	Juvenile Delinquency (SOC433):	Fall 2013, Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Spring 2017, Fall 2017, Spring 2018, Fall 2018, Spring 2019
	Penology & Social Control (SOC434):	Spring 2015 (online), Spring 2016 (online)
	Deviance (SOC470):	Fall 2016
	Comparative Societies (SOC428/628):	Spring 2017

	Substance Use and Abuse (SOC481):	Fall 2017, Spring 2019
	Crime and Criminal Behavior	Spring 2018 (online)
Instructor:	College of Southern Nevada	2012 - 2013
	Department of Human Behavior	
	Principles of Sociology (SOC101):	Spring 2013 (2 sections)
	Social Problems (SOC102):	Fall 2012
	Research Methods (SOC/PSY240):	Fall 2013
Lab Instructor:	University of Nevada, Las Vegas	2010 – 2015
	Department of Sociology	
	Research Methods (SOC403):	Fall 2010, Spring 2012
	Statistical Methods (SOC404):	Fall 2012, Spring 2014, Spring 2015
Graduate Assistant:	University of Nevada, Las Vegas	2010 – 2016
	Department of Sociology	
	Principles of Sociology (SOC101):	Fall 2010 (Spivak), Spring 2011 (2 sections, online, Spivak), Fall 2011 (online, Brents), Spring 2013 (Spivak)
	Sociology of Work & Occupations (SOC416):	Fall 2014 (Parker)
	Crime and Criminal Behavior (SOC431):	Spring 2011 (online, Spivak)
	Penology & Social Control (SOC434):	Fall 2011 (online, Spivak), Spring 2013 (online, Spivak)
	Race & Ethnic Relations in America (SOC471):	Fall 2014 (Parker)
	Sex and Social Arrangements (SOC449):	Fall 2011 (Brents)

Professional Conference Presentations:

2017: Krystosek, D. "Stoma, 'I Call It My Volcano:' Body-Image in Online Ostomy Support Groups." Pacific Sociological Association Meeting, Portland, OR. April 6, 2017.

2016: Krystosek, D. "Attitudes toward Marijuana Legalization Temporal and Thematic Trends." Pacific Sociological Association Meeting, Oakland, CA. March 30, 2016.

2015: Krystosek, D. "Frontstage, Backstage at the Gun Range." Pacific Sociological Association Meeting, Long Beach, CA. April 1, 2015.

2014: Krystosek, D. "'Tonight, Sexplore with Me:' A Content Analysis of Casual Encounter Advertisements." Pacific Sociological Association Meeting, Portland, OR. March 27, 2014.

2011: Krystosek, D. "Mary Magdalene and Mary Jane: Religiosity and Attitudes Towards Marijuana Legalization." Pacific Sociological Association Meeting,

Seattle, WA. March 11, 2011.

2011: Krystosek, D. and Spivak, A. “Explaining the Deceleration of Growth Rates in U.S. Imprisonment.” Southwest Social Science Association Annual Meeting, Las Vegas, NV. March 18, 2011.

2010: Krystosek, D. “The Church Influences the State: Religion and Marijuana Laws.” Social Science Research and Instructional Center's 34th Annual Student Research Conference, Berkeley, CA. April 30, 2010.

2010: Miller, K. and Krystosek, D. “How Nativity Affects the Relationship between Discrimination and Physical Health; Differences within Black Ethnicities.” Pacific Sociological Association Meeting, Oakland, CA. April 9,

2009: Miller, K. and Krystosek, D. “The Relationship between Discrimination and Physical Health; Are African Americans Affected Differently than Afro-Caribbean Americans?” California Sociological Association Conference, Berkeley, CA. November 13, 2009.

Fellowships, Awards, Offices Held and Honors:

2018: College of Liberal of Arts Summer Research Grant ($3000) College of Liberal Arts, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

2017: Graduate College Summer Doctoral Research Fellowship ($7000) Graduate College, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

2012: Outstanding MA Paper Award 2011-2012, “Thou Shalt Not: Religiosity and Attitudes Toward Marijuana Legalization.” Department of Sociology, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. May 4, 2012.

2010: Gloria Rummels Award for Best Quantitative Paper**,** “The Church Influences the State: Religion and Marijuana Laws.” Social Science Research and Instructional Center 34th Annual Student Research Conference. April 30, 2010.

2009: Co-President of CSU, Sacramento Chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta, the International Sociological Honor Society and Sociology Club

2008: Vice-President of CSU, Sacramento Chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta, the International Sociological Honor Society and Sociology Club

B.A. Alpha Kappa Delta (Sociology Honorary)
Graduated Cum Laude
Spring 2010: Dean's Honor List
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Professional Service:

2018: Journal Reviewer, *Trauma, Violence and Abuse; Justice Quarterly*
2017: Journal Reviewer, *Trauma, Violence and Abuse; Justice Quarterly*
2016: Journal Reviewer, *Trauma, Violence and Abuse; Justice Quarterly*
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2014: Journal Reviewer, *Trauma, Violence and Abuse; Justice Quarterly*
2013: Journal Reviewer, *Trauma, Violence and Abuse; Justice Quarterly*
2012: Journal Reviewer, *Justice Quarterly*
2011: Journal Reviewer, *Justice Quarterly*
2010: Journal Reviewer, *Justice Quarterly*

Special Experience:

2015: Guest Speaker, University of Nevada, Las Vegas Alpha Kappa Delta, Movies that Matter, "The Union: The Business Behind Getting High."

2011: Discussion Leader, University of Nevada, Las Vegas Alpha Kappa Delta Socio-Chat, "The Pros and Cons of Drug Legalization"

2009: Participant in the **33rd Annual SSRIC Student Research Conference in the Social Sciences**, Sacramento, CA. May 8, 2009.

Professional Membership:

American Sociological Association
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