

# **Characterising Crack and Heroin: How are 'Hard Drugs' Characterized in the New York Times from 1988-2010.**

**Daniel Doran**

[Author Name]



## CONTENTS:

Introduction	3
Academic Context	4
Theoretic Considerations	9
Methodology	10
Research Protocol	11
Results	16
<i>1988/Crack</i>	16
<i>1988/Heroin</i>	17
<i>2010/Crack</i>	18
<i>2010/Heroin</i>	19
Discussion	20
Conclusion	24
Addendum (Expanding the Themes)	26
Appendix 1:	32
Appendix 2:	42
Bibliography:	42

Daniel Doran

Mark de Vries  
Leiden University  
Word Count: 10,732

“Crack Epidemic” 1988 – “Opioid Addiction” 2010

Has the *New York Times*’ characterisation of the ‘Hard Drugs Problem’  
changed over time from 1988 to 2010?

### INTRODUCTION

In 1971, President Nixon declared a “War on Drugs”, and that declaration has sounded ever since in the space of public discourse.

The mass media at times amplify that sound to its extremes with terms like “crack epidemic” and “Heroin Addiction Wave” headlines which provoke genuine fear and anxiety.

Many lives are lost, ruined or wasted and much time and many resources used up in this ‘war’, so exactly how the issue is characterized is a far from trivial matter.

Changing perceptions can, and do, result in very real changes in attitude and behaviour.

Public judgement of what constitutes a ‘serious’ problem can change rapidly; for example, polls in 1985 showed only 6% of Americans considered drug abuse a ‘major’ concern, however by 1989, 64 % named it as the single “most important problem facing their country” (Gallup Poll 1) with direct political results.

Despite the expansion of visual media our newspapers still play a leading role in providing the descriptions and definitions through which we all construct our understanding of the wider world; of what is happening there and of what matters. Analysis of the language they use in doing this and particularly of the interpretive schemas and ‘framings’ of issues they present is helpful in an understanding of the interplay between those who create representations and those who internalise them. Changing descriptions alter lives.

Also, from a historical point of view, observing whether such changes have occurred is interesting in relation to the problems that surround forming representations of the past. Newspaper articles are not objective descriptions of reality: behind every story a journalist, under and over editors, chiefs and publishers all having an input into which, and whose descriptions of the ‘real world’ are to be promoted. This paper will observe how the ‘Hard Drugs problem’ was being presented in such stories: what sort of problem was it said to be and to which other areas of social concern was it said to be related- and how was the ‘problem’ characterized.

To achieve this, newspaper articles from two recent time frames, 1988 (at the mid-point of the crack ‘epidemic’) and 2010 (well into the current, and ongoing, opiate abuse crisis), will be analysed.

Discourse analysis is the proposed tool to perform an analysis of articles from each timeframe in order to determine the relative importance of different ‘framing’ themes being used to characterize ‘the problem’ in each time-frame separately, and then in comparison to each other.

The ‘hard-drugs’ problems in question are those of crack cocaine abuse and of Heroin (and its derivatives) abuse. The paper will undergo this sequence of analysis:

Firstly, determining theme-appearance weightings for each ‘drug problem’ separately for each year in isolation.

Secondly, the resulting theme data will be combined for each of the two problems into larger totals for each year. This data can then be grouped into fewer, larger over-themes, each still of distinct character.

Thirdly, with weightings for these still distinct over-themes, plausible characterisations of the ‘hard drugs’ problem can be created for each year.

Finally, comparing and contrasting the thematic characterisations of the newspaper articles can answer the research question.

### ACADEMIC CONTEXT

The context of the academic debate helps to frame and place the research in this paper into the wider discussion.

The representation of drugs in the media has been described and debated for a many decades. The debate will be summarised in the first section, and then the second

section will look at other research that applies similar methods (D.A. and content analysis) to scrutinise similar sources (newspapers or television transcripts) as this paper.

By doing so, the research in this paper can hopefully illuminate an area of interest previously neglected or underreported in the debate.

### GENERAL THEMES IN DRUG DISCOURSES

Many researchers and scholars concur that the drug problem in the US is not dealt with in the compassionate manner that it requires, between 1980 and 2010, those incarcerated for methamphetamine, cocaine or heroin use rose from 50,000 to 500,000 (Reuter 1). Only marijuana has successfully moved out of a law enforcement frame and into a public health frame, according to Reuter, resulting in legalisation in some states. The way a drug is characterized in the news media can have real-world implications for its treatment, whether in law enforcement, or in a public healthcare environment (Reuter 7).

Howard Becker, in 1961, documented how marijuana users were portrayed as ‘outsiders’ and how the media representations of the marijuana users helped to construct this portrayal (150). Becker highlights how deviance is always the result of enterprise, in that before anyone can be labelled as a wrongdoer or a deviant, someone must have made the rule that defines the act as ‘deviant’ (162). Becker looked into marijuana and the construction of ‘deviants’, which is interesting due to the trajectory of marijuana in recent years, in sharp contrast to ‘hard drugs’ like heroin and cocaine.

Many years later, Murji, in 1998, illustrated how drug users were presented in “lurid, hysterical images and as a provider of an un-critical platform from which politicians and other moral entrepreneurs are able to launch and wage drug ‘wars’” (69). Murji concurs with Reinerman and Levine in their account of crack cocaine in 1997, which covers crack’s history, and treatment in public discourses, named ‘Crack in America’. Drugs such as crack are heavily linked with crime and dangerous activities.

‘Crack in America’ places crack cocaine in its historical context of drug demonization in the US and exposes correlations between crack and defunding of social services under the Reagan administration. These papers are extremely critical

of the negative and destructive ways in which ‘hard drugs’ are linked with criminality, and how drug users are punished under hard drug sentences.

A more compassionate approach is heralded as the answer to the lack of progress in the ‘war on drugs’. Therefore, the way that drugs are characterized can influence how implicit attitudes are transmitted to the public.

Critcher’s study in 2003 notes the specific ways in which rave culture and its link to Ecstasy in the UK was demonised, and the result was of more ‘convenient stereotypes’ in which to distance and ‘otherise’ the drug user, in order to absolve the viewer or reader from a compassionate response. The use of such negative stereotypes elicits a harsher, punitive approach.

Drug problems and the way they are represented in media discourses have been analysed in other academic works. Stuart Taylor’s work from 2008, “Outside the Outsiders: Media Representations of Drug Abuse” looks at drug themes in media. Taylor focuses on the media’s reliance on “convenient stereotypes” (869), which create misrepresentations of drug users and therefore, drug responses are disproportionately focussed on certain groups of people.

Taylor contends that drug discourses in British society are characterised still as fixed in “negative reporting moulds” (870). Taylor’s paper opens up the idea that drug discourses are still negative, and produce stigmatised responses to drugs that do not produce realistic alternatives. Negative reporting is reporting in tandem with criminal justice framing of the drug problem.

A study in the *Psychiatric Services* peer reviewed journal by Emma McGinty et al. establishes that the news media more often framed opioid analgesic abuse as a criminal activity between 1998 and 2012. News and print media were both used in this study to ascertain whether the emerging health problem were treated adequately, and the findings underscore the need for reframing opioid abuse as a treatable condition, through public and behavioural health approaches (405). Further compounding this research is Ernst Drucker’s paper in the *Oregon Law Review* called “Drug law, Incarceration and Public Health”. The paper documents trends in incarceration in the US since 1970, in which 8 million Americans have been put in jail in the last thirty-five years (1098), and potential solutions.

Drucker wishes to mobilise a therapeutic and harm reduction drug treatment model in order to relinquish the misguided drug policies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Certain drugs are framed in certain ways in the media, but many voices are calling for change.

But to what extent are previous law enforcement errors manifested in drug characterizations? This question is natural, but cannot be answered in the scope of this paper, which will only look at if characterization has changed for crack and heroin.

What can be gathered from these papers is the sense that many scholars have compared and contrasted the lasting legacies of demonising drugs. Since the 1970s, ‘hard drugs’ have been characterized in the media as threatening and dangerous, especially dangerous are those who use the drugs, and so they must be punished accordingly. In reality, as Drucker, Reinerman and Levine state, is that the drugs are a symptom of societal ills, and therefore require a different solution. These papers are relatively descriptive in nature, and therefore are only useful in so far as they describe ‘hard drugs’ experience in public discourses. Reinerman and Levine published a scathing critique of drug laws and incarceration in the US in a collection of essays titled, ‘Crack in America’.

The papers call for more ‘responsible’ (Reinerman 244) characterizations of drug abuse more in line with the acceptance by the establishment that incarceration of drug abusers is limited in its success. Yet as we will see in the next section, few papers have explored changing rhetoric and discourse in the media and how characterization has differed between the ‘peak’ years of supposed epidemics, the 1980s and recent heroin epidemic.

Many of the authors prescribe solutions to the heavy-handed punitive approach; this paper will do no such thing, except to try and highlight any distinctive quality in ways that drugs are characterized in newspapers.

## FOCUSSED DISCOURSE STUDIES

A few authors have used Discourse analysis as a tool for analysing the structures of power and reproduction in newspapers or other media when talking about drug use in the US.

Austin employs critical discourse analysis as a tool to analyse New York Times articles based upon celebrities and substance abuse culture. In his paper, “Celebrities, Drinks and Drugs: A Critical Discourse Analysis of celebrity substance abuse as portrayed in the New York Times”, Austin concludes that the New York Times articles between 2012-2013, “limit the scope of how substance abuse is viewed socially, and perpetuate stereotypes and stigmas of substance abusers” (Austin 116).

Austin finds that the newspaper texts ignore rehabilitative or law enforcement practices in texts about celebrities, and finds that the isolated, individual nature of the reports narrow the scope of discussion around substance abuse. Obviously, the use of the N.Y.T (New York Times) and discourse analysis draws parallels with this paper. However, Austin does not carry out a time-frame approach, and instead opts to analyse articles between 2012-2013 (32). The narrow experience of drugs in her research also reveals the reliance on criminality in reporting about celebrity drug problems, rather than providing alternatives in care.

Michelle Wood uses celebrities to look at how “Media’s Positive and Negative Frames in Reporting Celebrity Deaths From Illegal Drug Overdoses Versus Prescription Medication Overdoses”. Her research discovered that prescription drug deaths were framed more positively than illegal drug deaths. Taking articles from the day of the celebrities’ death to six months afterwards was Wood’s sample. Her research found prescription drug overdoses to be framed more positively than illegal drug overdoses (56). The meaning is that drugs that are illegal are associated with criminality; this is important, as it offers an analysis of texts and how they construct meaning.

In *Marijuana and the Media: The Influence of Media Narratives on Legislation Outcomes*, Ruth A. Rothstein uses qualitative content analysis to thematically determine how media narratives impacted the outcomes of legalization propositions in Colorado and California. Rothstein concludes that individualistic representations of marijuana legalisation undercut the collective nature of the legislative process (40). The paper supports the conclusion that media institutions hold considerable power in shaping public perceptions and thus, political mobilisation. Rothstein used newspapers articles also, however, the search results were retrieved from a single year, rather than a comparative year study as this study of characterization wishes to research. The overall research though, is important due to the insight that the media is an important mechanism in forming opinions in public discourse, however, it lacks any comparison to another time in which marijuana may have been discussed differently.

Maria Orsini used content analysis to study the changes in rhetoric of crack cocaine and heroin in NBC and ABC news transcripts from 2000-2013. Her paper, “Media Narratives and Drug Prohibition: A Content Analysis of Themes and Strategies Promoted in Network News Coverage, 2000-2013”, attempts to make a



study of temporal change of discourse when talking about drugs in NBC and ABC news broadcasts of evening bulletins. She found that coverage of heroin and cocaine was similar in their rhetoric between the periods of 2000-2013. She also discovered that news transcripts were similarly inflammatory when reporting both crack and heroin. Throughout the period, many of the themes were relating to law enforcement. What her paper does not cover is a larger timeframe between comparative subjects.

The research in this paper intends to look at broader gaps in rhetoric in the N.Y.T, and to therefore distinguish how characterization has changed. By looking at the height of ‘epidemics’ twenty years apart, hopefully some changes can be exposed by such large time differences. As the papers above show, media discussions of drugs seem to be in a punitive spirit, but none seem to have carried out a large time-frame study of such discourses, which this paper will do.

### THEORETIC CONSIDERATIONS

To answer the research question, the research needs to discover if newspaper articles dealing with the “hard drugs problem” in 1988 are clearly different in character from those different with the problem in 2010. Character is defined as “the distinctive nature of something” (Oxford Dictionary).

Since the research is investigating texts, the paper needs to see if there are differences in the way language is used (in naming, describing, judging, associating etc.) between the two groups of articles. If the research can show that there is in fact a difference then the research question will have been partly answered, but to settle the question of “character”, the research must also distinguish what sort of difference it is. Is, for example, the 1988 problem mostly presented as a ‘law-and-order’ issue but the 2010 problem as one of ‘public health concern’; are drug users in 1988 described as criminals whilst those in 2010 as victims etc.

There are different ‘framings’ of the problem in the media discourse. If this research can show that they differ in a distinct way then the research question will have been answered.

### **Discourse Analysis**

A discourse is “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world” (Jorgensen & Phillips 1) and Discourse Analysis (D.A.) is a research tool designed to allow any given text to be broken down into smaller and larger units of meaning. At the smallest scale are single word/ideas (codes in D.A.) such as names (Heroin) or adjectives (dirty) etc. At the next scale it allows for investigation of how ‘codes’ group together to form associations and larger meaning patterns, and to observe if these patterns repeat within texts and across a number of texts. In D.A. these patterns are ‘themes’. At each level, meaning is communicated and reinforced and therefore the study of such codes and themes can help to infer the dominant cultural ideologies of the time at which the text was produced. Newspaper column space is finite, therefore, information is included and excluded and certain arguments are therefore marginalized. Discourse reflects society but also reinforces existing social structures (Teo 11) and so the influence of the meaning of certain texts on the public discourses can be extracted by using D.A.

Theme: The subject of a talk, piece of writing, exhibition, etc.; a topic (Oxford Dictionary)

Most importantly, D.A allows the appearance of themes in a group of texts to be counted so that with, for example, two groups of texts (as this paper proposes), the researcher can say that any given theme occurs 5 times in group A but 105 times in group B, thus indicating a clear difference. However, this does not say much about what the difference is. To get at this, D.A. allows the researcher to select themes which frame the ‘problem’ in different ways relating it to different contexts, for example, ‘drugs and law enforcement’ indicates different concerns to ‘drugs and poverty’ or ‘drugs and recreation’ etc.

So observing differences in the number of times various themes occur along with the number of times themes of different concerns occur should grant the ability to say not only if a change in the characterisation of the ‘drug problem’ has occurred but also more about the nature of such change is.

This research will say nothing about why any change has occurred but may suggest certain relationships for further research.

## METHODOLOGY

The research in this paper is based on investigating changing representations presented by a single media source, the New York Times.

The N.Y.T is considered a “newspaper of record” within the journalistic profession and is the winner of 117 Pulitzer Prizes for excellence. With the second largest circulation of any metropolitan newspaper, it is a major influence on American public opinion (Statista Online 1).

### MATERIALS FOR ANALYSIS

The selected articles for analysis are those appearing in the N.Y.T during the years 1988 and 2010.

1988 was selected as the earlier timeframe as being representative mid-point year in the crack ‘epidemic’ scare of 1984- early 1990’s.

The opiate painkiller/heroin epidemic in America is ongoing but 2010 seems a fair representative year since the ‘scare’ began to attract media attention during the early 2000s.

### RESEARCH PROTOCOL

Using the New York Times Online Archive, the search terms “CRACK COCAINE” & “HEROIN” was entered and the ‘hits’ were scrutinised in the following way:

The results (articles) were refined using a 1 to 3 point ‘relevance’ codification scheme as follows:

1. Crack/Heroin are the main focus of the article
2. Crack/heroin are mentioned in the context of another theme (i.e. politics, trade etc.)
3. Crack/Heroin are mentioned in passing (i.e. former heroin user)

Only articles coded 1 or 2 were selected which resulted in the following totals:

	1988	2010
<b>Crack Cocaine</b>	280	98
<b>Heroin</b>	316	272

The number of articles for analysis was reduced to 50 for each drug in each time period using an every fifth or every seventh article selection pattern to avoid bias, which gave 200 articles to scrutinise in total.

Maria Orsini's paper, "Media Narratives and Drug Prohibition: A Content Analysis of Themes and Strategies Promoted in Network News Coverage, 2000-2013", mentioned earlier in the CONTEXT section, contributes to this paper in that her research protocol framework will be used in order to analyse a different medium, that of newspapers. Orsini uses content analysis whilst this paper uses D.A. , however, the utility of her thematic demarcation's are ideal for this paper's research question.

Orsini utilises themes in order to analyse NBC and ABC news transcripts and the framing of the 'hard drugs problem', exclusively crack cocaine and heroin. Therefore, the framework is very useful for this paper, as the themes used by Orsini are likely to be relevant and apply to newspaper texts also. In reading the articles found on the online archive, the themes were relevant and broad enough to capture the thematic characterizations desired.

Written transcriptions of a television news journalists voice are not substantially different (since the news is scripted) from print media scripts of the newspaper journalist's voice.

Her research themes cover a broad range of social contexts of understanding and should therefore capture any, if not all, of the different framings of the 'drug problem' and its definition, this is what is of relevance to this paper.

The research protocol paper will add two additional themes that seem to be necessary, due to frequent identification in the texts and their importance as developing understandings of 'hard drugs'. They are: 'Poverty' and 'Medical use'.

Each article selected for scrutiny on the New York Times Online Archive was read through individually, one-by-one for general tone, and then a note was taken of who or what organisation/person was quoted or referenced, and other features of the texts were noted, which can be seen in *Appendix 2*. After this coding, the article

would be placed with its article number (1-200), in the theme it best represents which at the end would form totals for each theme. Key phrases or ‘discourse fragments’, which can be found in addendum and sprinkled in the discussion section, are key quotes or phrases, which summarise the text in a sentence.

What the demarcation of articles into the themes provides, are counts or totals that can then be used to make clear comparisons or distinctions between bodies of texts, just in a condensed, thematic form. In this case, the groups of themes can be compared between 1988 and 2010.

The themes that were selected for use in further analysis are as follows, subdivided into two-groups which will be used to display the data:

- 1) Themes that characterise the nature of the problem. What sort of problem is it?

*International concerns (i.e. global crime, smuggling etc.)*

*Law enforcement successes/challenges*

*Drug related violence*

*Drug addiction (i.e. drug use as weakness or illness)*

*Drug use and public figures (i.e. drugs and celebrity, role models etc.)*

*Poverty (i.e. drugs and economic deprivation)*

*Medical use (i.e. justifiable use, legal use)*

- 2) Themes that characterise the nature of the solution to the problem.

*Interdiction efforts (i.e. seizures, arrests, convictions etc)*

*Drug rehabilitation (i.e. treatment)*

*Financial/ military aid (i.e. economic/ political)*

*Mention of other responses (i.e. novelty responses/ one-offs such as a judge sentencing dealer to pay for funerals of addicts dying of overdose to his drugs)*

In later analysis, the themes will be grouped into larger units (over-themes) as below:

International concerns

Law enforcement successes/challenges → **CRIMINALITY**

Drug related violence

Drug addiction

Drug use and public figures → **OTHER PERSPECTIVES**

Poverty

Medical use

And-

Interdiction efforts → **CRIMINALITY**

Drug rehabilitation

Financial/military aid → **OTHER PERSPECTIVES**

Other responses

The hope is that by using over-themes, which are themselves of different character, will simplify the task of answering the R.Q.

This task is to count the appearance of the individual themes and then add them up into total figures for the over-themes, which can then also be added up to see

if that shows anything useful for answering the R.Q. It acts as a way of simplifying the comparison of discursive characteristics within the texts.

## RESULTS

D.A. ANALYSIS                      ARTICLES ON 'CRACK COCAINE'                      1988

Figures and Themes in **BOLD** relate to CRIMINALITY, and those not in bold relate to OTHER PERSPECTIVES

TABLE 1:1 THEME COUNTS: 'THE PROBLEM'

	THEMES	OVER-THEMES
<b>International Concerns</b>	<b>11</b>	
<b>Law enforcement successes/challenges</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>Drug related violence</b>	<b>28</b>	
Drug addiction	18	
Drug use and public figures	5	30
Poverty	7	
Medical use	0	

TABLE 1:2: THEME COUNTS: 'THE SOLUTIONS'

	THEMES	OVER-THEMES
<b>Interdiction efforts</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>
Drug rehabilitation	9	
Financial/ military aid	5	30
Mention of other response	16	

TABLE 1:3: TOTALS FOR THE OVER-THEMES

	CRIMINALITY	OTHER PERSPECTIVES
<b>From Table 1:1</b>	<b>74</b>	30
<b>From Table 1:2</b>	<b>33</b>	30

GRAND TOTALS FOR EACH:

CRIMINALITY	OTHER PERSPECTIVES
<b>107</b>	60



D.A. ANALYSIS

ARTICLES ON 'HEROIN'

1988

Figures and Themes in **BOLD** relate to CRIMINALITY, and those not in bold relate to OTHER PERSPECTIVES

TABLE 2:1: THEME COUNTS. 'THE PROBLEM'

	THEMES	OVER-THEMES
<b>International concerns</b>	<b>9</b>	
<b>Law enforcement success/challenges</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>Drug related violence</b>	<b>15</b>	
Drug addiction	22	
Drug use and public figures	1	42
Poverty	4	
Medical use	15	

TABLE 2:2: THEME COUNTS. 'THE SOLUTION'.

	THEMES	OVER-THEMES
<b>Interdiction efforts</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>32</b>
Drug rehabilitation	16	
Financial/military aid to other countries	4	29
Mention of other responses	9	

TABLE 2:3: TOTALS FOR OVER-THEMES

	CRIMINALITY	OTHER PERSPECTIVES
<b>From Table 2:1</b>	<b>52</b>	42
<b>From Table 2:2</b>	<b>32</b>	29

GRAND TOTALS FOR EACH:

CRIMINALITY	OTHER PERSPECTIVES
<b>84</b>	71

Figures and Themes in **BOLD** relate to CRIMINALITY, and those not in bold relate to OTHER PERSPECTIVES

TABLE 3:1: THEME COUNTS. 'THE PROBLEM'

	THEMES	OVER-THEMES
<b>International concerns</b>	<b>5</b>	
<b>Law enforcement successes/challenges</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Drug related violence</b>	<b>6</b>	
Drug addiction	10	
Drug use and public figures	10	20
Poverty	0	
Medical use	0	

TABLE 3:2: THEME COUNTS. 'THE SOLUTION'

	THEMES	OVER-THEMES
<b>Interdiction efforts</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>
Drug rehabilitation	9	
Financial/military aid to other countries	2	18
Mention of other responses	7	

TOTALS FOR OVER-THEMES

	CRIMINALITY	OTHER PERSPECTIVES
<b>From Table 3:1</b>	<b>32</b>	20
<b>From Table 3:2</b>	<b>24</b>	18

GRAND TOTALS FOR EACH:

CRIMINALITY	OTHER PERSPECTIVES
<b>56</b>	38

D.A. ANALYSIS

ARTICLE ON 'HEROIN'

2010

Figures and Themes in **BOLD** relate to CRIMINALITY, and those not in bold relate to OTHER PERSPECTIVES

TABLE 4:1: THEMES COUNTS. 'THE PROBLEM'

	THEMES	OVER-THEMES
<b>International concerns</b>	<b>17</b>	
<b>Law enforcement successes/challenges</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Drug related violence</b>	<b>5</b>	
Drug addiction	13	
Drug use and public figures	5	22
Poverty	1	
Medical use	3	

TABLE 4:2: THEME COUNTS. 'THE SOLUTION'

	THEMES	OVER-THEMES
<b>Interdiction efforts</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>
Drug rehabilitation	10	
Financial/military aid	9	26
Mention of other responses	7	

TABLE 4:3: TOTALS FOR OVER-THEMES

	CRIMINALITY	OTHER PERSPECTIVES
From Table 4:1	<b>36</b>	22
From Table 4:2	<b>25</b>	26

GRAND TOTALS FOR EACH

CRIMINALITY	OTHER PERSPECTIVES
<b>61</b>	48

## DISCUSSION

Answering the research question requires determining whether, or not, there was a difference in characterization of the ‘drug problem’ in reporting from 1988 when compared to reporting from 2010.

A wide-ranging number of themes were used to capture the overall character of the discourse surrounding the drugs problem. These themes point towards different areas of concern within the over-all discourse offering narrow and wider frames through which to understand and discuss the ‘problem’. These themes in themselves characterise the ‘problem’ in differing ways.

By then grouping these themes into larger ‘over-themes’, which are of themselves different in character, the task of answering the RQ would be simpler, without losing the difference the paper wishes to identify.

The two ‘over-themes’ selected are ‘Criminality’ (which explains itself) and ‘Other perspectives’ (to contain the social, economic, political, personal, medical perspectives).

The ‘Criminality’ over-theme will be abbreviated to CRIM. in the text that follows, and the ‘Other Perspectives’ to O.P.

The intention below is to compare and contrast the CRIM. and O.P. score totals for:

- 1) Each drug-problem separately,
- 2) The drug-problem scores in relation to each other and within each timeframe.

### **1988**

The ‘Crack Problem’

CRIM.: 107

O.P.: 60                      subtracting O.P. from CRIM. = 47.

So for the ‘crack problem’ overall there are **47** more themes for ‘Criminality’ than for ‘Other perspectives’

#### The ‘Heroin Problem’

CRIM.: 84

O.P.: 71                      subtracting O.P. from CRIM. = 13

For the ‘Heroin problem’ over-all there are **13** more themes for ‘Criminality’ than for ‘Other perspectives’

So, 47 to 13, there was a much greater focus on the ‘criminality’ framing when reporting on the Crack issue compared to the Heroin problem.

When looking at the ‘Other perspectives’ in understanding the general drug problem, another disparity is visible though far less marked and pointing in the opposite direction.

Heroin O.P.: 71

Cocaine O.P: 60              subtracting O.P from CRIM. = 11

So the Heroin problem was more often framed using ‘Other Perspectives’ than was the cocaine.

When focussing specifically on theme counts related to discussing solutions to the problem (Tables 1:2, 2:2 and the lower half of Tables 1:3 and 2:3) the whole situation is more balanced.

There is only 1 themes difference favouring a ‘Criminality’ framing (Crack 33, Heroin 32) and the same for ‘Other Perspectives’ (Crack 30, Heroin 29).

#### CHARACTERIZING 1988.

There is a clear difference in emphasis and focus between reports concerning the crack cocaine problem and those that are covering heroin abuse.

The ‘cocaine problem’ is much more firmly placed within a discourse of criminality whilst a more varied understanding is allowed in addressing the heroin

issue. There is a more ‘hard-line’ stance taken in relation to crack and a greater use of other viewpoints when reporting on heroin. For example, heroin is often mentioned in tandem to AIDs and needle exchanges, Article (54) asks if “giving clean needles to New York City drug addicts would do more good or harm in a city that is home to half the nation’s heroin addicts and that expects to bear the worst damage from the rising AIDs epidemic” (NY Times, 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1988). This places Heroin within the O.P. section rather than CRIM.

This difference is largely due to the predominance, when reporting on the ‘crack’ issue, of looking at ‘Drug related violence’ and ‘Law enforcement’ themes, 35 and 28 respectively, compared to 28 and 15 respectively for the Heroin problem. Totalled that is 73 for Crack and 43 for Heroin.

In 1988 the ‘Hard drugs problem’ is characterised as largely a public violence and policing issue. An example in the text of a ‘hard-line’ approach is in the discourse fragment, “This case is probably one of the worst manifestations of the plague of crack” from Article (4) (NY Times, 10<sup>th</sup> Jan, 1988). This was a quote from The Chief of Detectives, Robert Colangelo. CIVIL ORDER.

## 2010

The ‘Crack problem’:

CRIM.: 56

O.P.: 38     subtracting O.P. from CRIM. = 18.

So for the ‘crack problem’ in general there are **18** more themes for criminality than for ‘Other perspectives’.

The ‘Heroin Problem’:

CRIM.: 61

O.P.: 48     subtracting O.P. from CRIM. = 13.

For the 'Heroin' problem overall there are **13** more themes for 'criminality over 'Other Perspectives'.

So, 18-13, there is a greater tendency to use a 'Criminality' framing of the cocaine problem than of the Heroin one but it is not strongly marked. This is despite the fact that the highest CRIM. result is for Heroin (61) since the highest O.P. result is also for Heroin (48). Heroin is getting more coverage, and, more varied coverage.

Looking at the total O.P.'s for both drugs together:

Heroin O.P.: 48

Cocaine O.P.: 38     subtracting = 10

And the total's for CRIM.:

Heroin CRIM.: 61

Cocaine CRIM.: 56     subtracting = 5

There are 5 more themes for heroin over cocaine for criminality but 10 for 'other perspectives'.

## CHARACTERIZING 2010

There appears to be a far less distinct difference between how the 'problem' of each drug was reported and understood. The 'Heroin problem' continued to be understood in a more varied way but the cocaine issue was not as entrenched in the frame of 'Criminality'. Article (164) reports on the emerging problem of powerful, opiate, pain-killing drugs prescribed by doctors becoming "the latest hot commodity for robbers". (NY Times, 25<sup>th</sup> March 2010)

The 'heat' seems to have gone out of the cocaine problem. Only 6 appearances of the 'Drug related violence' theme are counted for cocaine and only 5 for heroin. In 2010 the 'hard drugs problem' is characterised in the 'normal' way in that it is being treated as an illegal substance. ILLEGAL CONSUMPTION.

Using these figures to make comparisons within each timeframe seems valid as a way to make a rough characterization of each as mentioned above. It was expected that the research would expose interesting contrasts in the figures across and between the timeframes, however, this may not be useful for the following reason: there is a massive disparity between the total number of themes counted in one year compared to the other.

For 1988 there are 322 themes counted whereas for 2010 only 203. Why should this be in the same number of article when the same number of articles selected to be of the same type and from the same source?

Either important themes are missing (see 'Conclusion' section) related to these drugs problems, so there needs to be a different protocol and theme selection in future, or there is something else at play. Possibly, that the articles for 1988 transcended the themes placed on them and so covered more than one theme, adding up the totals in the process. However, the difference in the total number of themes was reminiscent of the disparity in the total number of articles found at the beginning of this research, 596 articles for 1988 and 370 for 2010.

This suggests that an unexpected contrast in 'characterization' between the two years namely that the 'Hard Drugs problem' was simply not so newsworthy in 2010 and thus covered in less depth, certainly less often; drugs were far more newsworthy in 1988 and covered in more detail and with more analysis, or maybe just in larger articles.

Another disparity that appears is that of the total articles in 1988 (596) only 208 were recovered for 'crack cocaine' in the original search but 388 for 'heroin'. Therefore the heroin problem was in fact discussed more in 1988 than the crack problem, but in a more balanced way as noted above.

## CONCLUSION

There is a difference in the characterization of the 'hard drugs problem' in the newspaper articles analysed from 1988 as compared with those from 2010.

In 1988 the 'problem' is a very serious issue of mounting civil disorder. In 2010 the problem is 'normalised' to a general social concern with issues around the illegal consumption of forbidden substances.



However, it may be truer to say that in 1988 there were in fact two ‘Hard drugs problems’, each in themselves characterized differently.

In that year the ‘crack’ problem was framed as criminal violence in the black community (civil disorder) and the Heroin problem as the spread of contagious disease (AIDs) through the wider community (Public health). The data fails to show this clearly and would require repeating the analysis using more highly tuned themes.

Likewise for 2010, twenty-two years later this two-problems issue is no longer there but there is now a double issue within the ‘heroin problem’ itself. The use of illegal heroin and the increasing abuse of heroin derivatives (opiate painkillers) that are addictive but legal. This distinction is also not clear in the data. This theme of ‘legal opiate abuse’ is maybe the ‘missing theme’ behind the disparity in theme counts between the years.

The second conclusion then, is that the Discourse Analysis must be constructed meticulously if it is to produce the most accurate data.

Noting the disparity between the numbers of all articles published related to these problems in each year (596 in 1988 and 270 for 2010), it could finally be concluded that the whole question was simply less newsworthy in 2010. The disappearance of frequent ‘crack’ violence, the treatability of AIDs, might account for this.

This study of a single source of a certain type would need to be expanded into a larger and better constructed study of a cross-section of papers in order to determine if this was a general social change in perspectives, or an editorial decision in the N.Y.T. A potential future research route could be with marijuana, which has managed to migrate from law enforcement to public health issue, eventually leading to its legalisation. As ‘hard drugs’ such as heroin and cocaine are still demonised, a look into media representations of marijuana from the 1980s through to a more modern period could be fruitful to understanding representations of drug’s and then their treatment in the real world.

ADDENDUM: “EXPANDING ON THE THEMES”

HEROIN/1988

In general, the heroin article search produced differing thematic results from that for crack cocaine. Heroin received generally more emphasis as a medical issue, and therefore more articles referred to drug rehabilitation. This may be due to the intimate connection between injecting heroin and the outbreak of AIDs during the 1980s, which many articles refer to. 28 articles refer to *law enforcement successes/challenges*, which is slightly less than cracks 35 mentions and *drug related violence* is significantly less at 15 verses crack’s 28. *Drug addiction* themes for heroin are at 22 which is more than crack’s 18. International concerns also play a larger role when speaking about interdiction efforts for heroin.

Expanding the ‘THEMES’ for Heroin 1988.

**International concerns:** Nine articles concern this theme, article (53) expresses US concerns over American narcotics dealers moving into “Vietnam waters to buy heroin, opium or marijuana” (NY Times, 18<sup>th</sup> Jan, 1988). Article (60) discusses methods of combating drugs such as financial aid to Burma’s president Ne Win for efforts in crop eradication (NY Times, 14<sup>th</sup> March, 1988). Overall, interdiction efforts are aimed at stifling supply. *Interdiction efforts*, account for thirty-two articles.

**Law enforcement successes/challenges:** This theme scores 28 articles in 1988. Law enforcement successes are most often covered and experimental enforcement practices mentioned, such as in article (62) (NY Times, 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1988). Frequent use of the word “victim” for people addicted to heroin is a term that was not used once for crack cocaine addicts in the reviewed articles. These articles generally present a positive law enforcement theme but are also challenging calling for other responses such as legalization and increased drug rehabilitation. Article (73)’s focus is on rehabilitation, “The nation is losing the war on drugs by concentrating on catching traffickers rather than treating abusers”. Sixteen articles are focussed on drug rehabilitation for heroin as opposed to nine for crack cocaine, which

shows that even in the 1980s, a more rehabilitative approach was being presented in the N.Y.T.

**Drug related violence:** Fewer articles relate to drug violence in relation to Heroin. Fifteen articles talk about drug violence and their rhetoric demonises the dealer and crime community rather than users individually. This results in a call for a different enforcement approach. Article (65) by Seymour Wishman was a cover story titled, “DECENT FOLKS BEHIND BARS” which is quoted as saying, “We must also have social and job programs that offer better alternatives than crime or heroin” (NY Times, 17<sup>th</sup> April, 1988)

**Drug addiction:** Drug addiction is mentioned twenty-two times in 1988. The articles call for alternatives and do not attempt to talk about the successes of law enforcement. This is in contrast to crack cocaine where successes of punitive measures are described throughout 1988. Addiction is within the realm of medicine, and thus, some articles are based on the treatment of heroin addicts with needles in order to halt the AIDs virus. Article (54) asks if “giving clean needles to New York City drug addicts would do more good or harm in a city that is home to half the nation’s heroin addicts and that expects to bear the worst damage from the rising AIDs epidemic” (NY TIMES, 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1988). Citing the advice of medical practitioners rather than only law enforcement officials is in marked contrast to their omission in crack cocaine articles. Also, interviews with heroin addicts were conducted, again in contrast to crack addicts.

**Drug use and public figures:** Only a single article mentions a celebrity or public figure for heroin abuse in 1988, article (87).

**Poverty:** The articles acknowledge how drug abusers tend to come from poorer backgrounds, but unlike with crack users, heroin users are empathized with. Article (65) states, that the answer, “lie not simply in more effective law enforcement” but in the provision of “social and job programs that offer better alternatives than crime” (NY Times, 17<sup>th</sup> April, 1988). Heroin use is seen as of social and economic failures.

#### Expanding the ‘THEMES’ for Crack Cocaine 1988.

**International concerns:** Many of the crack articles during 1988 focus primarily on the interception of drugs into the US. The countries mentioned are

mainly Latin-American countries. Article (6) titled, “Police are Monitoring a New Drug”. ‘Basuco’ a new, potent derivative of crack cocaine is “flooding” into the US from Cuba. Eleven articles mention international concerns and each of them maintain the War on Drugs rhetoric.

**Law enforcement successes/challenges:** This theme is the most prominent throughout crack cocaine articles in 1988, with thirty-five articles alluding to successes and challenges of the police and courts. For example, article (30) where “officers seized \$10,000 in cash, seven revolvers, a kilo of crack and half a pound of powdered cocaine” (NY Times, June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1988). However, some articles focus on the violence and deaths. “A Crack Addict, Is Held in the Killing of 5” article (4) (NY Times, 10<sup>th</sup> Jan, 1988). The Chief of Detectives, Robert Colangelo, is quoted as saying: “This case is probably one of the worst manifestations of the plague of crack”. Article (12) by Robert Reinhold titled, “Gang Violence Shocks Los Angeles” quotes a member of the State Assembly with saying, “We are not going to take it anymore (drug violence)”. All articles present rhetoric of demonization and invite militaristic responses by linking drug users heavily with violence.

**Drug related violence:** This theme was covered diligently in 1988 by the N.Y.T, with twenty-eight articles having drug violence connotations. Article (22) describes how newer and younger drug gang members “enjoy” killing (NY Times, 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1988). Article (18) describes the death of NYPD officer Edward Byrne as a “brazen slaying of a police officer” (NY Times, 28<sup>th</sup> Feb, 1988) and article (19) continues the story with an emotive language style, “the violence-ridden drug trade that is said to be the backdrop for the execution-style killing of a rookie police officer in Queens” (NY Times, 29<sup>th</sup> Feb, 1988). Article (23) continues war-like metaphorical language, “South Jamaica has become a battleground” (NY Times, 21<sup>st</sup> March, 1988). Article (16) and (26) describe crack as the single cause of the rise in crime, and do not discuss alternative factors such as poverty. Article (16) describes an “execution-style slaying in the District of Columbia”, highlighting the spread of violence to Washington in which Mayor Barry is quoted as saying, “We’re going to reclaim our streets and save our children” (NY Times, 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb, 1988).

**Drug addiction:** Drug addiction themes are referred to eighteen times during 1988, often citing the opinions of doctors and physicians rather than law enforcement officials. The theme is of the violent nature of the addicts, and reinforces the links of crack to violence.

**Drug use and public figures:** This is a less frequently cited aspect. The most notable article is (15), where star football player, Rico Marshall, has died of cocaine intoxication. Overall, only five articles mention celebrities or public figures as being involved with crack cocaine and are usually in the context of a scandal and how crack does not discriminate.

**Poverty:** Seven articles mention poverty within the context of drug addiction and abuse, which helps to alleviate and de-stigmatise the otherwise violent discourses surrounding crack cocaine.

### Expanding the 'THEMES' for Heroin 2010

**International concerns:** Article (153) describes the expanding opium industry in Afghanistan, whilst other articles recount the seizure of opium farms. All highlight the link between the 'war on terror' and the 'war on drugs'. As *international concerns* were mentioned so frequently, *interdiction efforts* were provided as a policy response, twenty-five articles in total, and this leaning towards war rhetoric was possibly a response to waning support for the War on Terror.

**Law enforcement successes/challenges:** This theme covered fourteen articles in total, and often takes the form of challenges to the law enforcement approach. Article (156) reports on a woman afraid of police response to an emergency call. Article (164) reports on the emerging problem of powerful, opiate, pain-killing drugs prescribed by doctors becoming "the latest hot commodity for robbers". Article (166) has a college president told by police to rely on campus security to "rein in drug use". (NY Times, 26<sup>th</sup> April, 2010).

**Drug related violence:** Drug related violence appears only six times within the articles and not in terms of street violence but linking heroin to foreign cartels supplying money and weapons to terrorists. Domestically, law enforcement were not dealing less with street violence than deaths from overdose, therefore, perhaps a stronger need for rehabilitation was desired.

**Drug addiction:** Themes of drug addiction arise thirteen times. Article (179) often describing acts of intervention and life saving. Article (179) presents "an up-from-the-bottom movement in the struggles to rescue those addicted to heroin and other opiates" (NY Times, 24<sup>th</sup> July, 2010). Article (199) is an emotive article because

it tells the story of a veteran's centre for treatment of addicts. The relevance of this article to how heroin use is represented is in the tone, "Mr. Smith, reared on long island, knows all about it- the growing distance from family and friends, the inability to hold down a job, the aimlessness, the urge to blot out the world with booze then with pills, the by sniffing heroin, then by shooting it". The article is sympathetic and builds a bridge between the reader and the sufferer of addiction.

In summary, the heroin articles evaluated during 2010 focus specifically on many *international concerns*, and on the addicts of foreign nations or the supply from other nations.

#### Expanding the 'THEMES' for Crack Cocaine 2010

**Drug use and public figures:** A greater focus on public figures and their addiction to crack cocaine is evident. A high profile case, article (103), involving star basketball player Emanuel Mayben, "led to the dismissal of six players" (NY Times, 10<sup>th</sup> Feb, 2010). Emanuel Mayben was sentenced to five years probation, showing how stances have softened since 1988.

**Law enforcement successes/challenges:** Multiple articles indicate how law enforcement efforts are softening. Article (105) starts the trend with consensus in Obama administration and congress on a bill to reduce crack cocaine and powder cocaine sentencing disparities. Article (109) continues the story. As do articles (110) and (124). This change in judicial fairness may be due to the greater media association of public figures and crack use developing sympathy towards the user. Article (142), presents a defendant who "turns towards drugs as a way to basically cope with his emotional problems" (NY Times, 27<sup>th</sup> Oct, 2010). Previously, court defendants were presented from a figurative distance, creating the image of the user as a marginal 'other'. But now, article (149) interviews Mr. Rosado, "a scraggy recovering addict with a 10<sup>th</sup>-grade education halfway through an eight month stint on Rikers Island" (NY Times, 24<sup>th</sup> Dec, 2010). Article (150) presents Mr. Garcia, who "was also paying for his addiction to cocaine". Defendants are presented as people with back-stories of 'human-interest'.

**Drug related violence:** Some articles still reinforce violent stereotypes of crack users. Article (112) reports on a drug boss “responsible for more than 1,400 drug-related killings in this country in the 1980s” and six articles citing drug related violence. Article (116) has an F.B.I agent describing the situation as having reached “crisis proportions” (NY Times, 13<sup>th</sup> May, 2016). However, article (104) has a state governor saying of a convicted former aide, “people can change their personal circumstances and achieve success when given a second chance”, users may be violent but they are also reformable.

**Drug addiction:** Ten articles emphasise addiction over related violence. Article (106) criticises a film-maker for depicting false myths of “crack babies” and of a “crack addicted black mother who leaves her children”. Such depictions being ‘irresponsible’. Addiction needs to be understood before it is punished.

APPENDIX 1:

<b>Number</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>
1.	Todd Purdum	02/01/1998	2 Officers Find Guns and Drugs in Queens Home
2.	Jerry Cheslow	03/01/1998	UNION CITY ANGERED BY CUBA PACT
3.	Robert D. McFadden	05/01/1988	Drug Cases Top Others in Prisons
4.	Esther Iverem	10/01/1988	A Crack Addict, Is Held in the Killing of 5 Since Jan. 01
5.	Warren E. Leary	14/01/1988	Young Adults Show Drop in Cocaine Use
6.	Albert Parisi	17/01/1988	Police are Monitoring a New Drug
7.	Peter Kerr	22/01/1988	THE LAW: CRIME STUDY FINDS RECENT DRUG USE IN MOST ARRESTED
8.	Lawrence K. Altman M.D.	26/01/1988	THE DOCTOR'S WORLD; Cocaine's Many Dangers: The Evidence Mounts
9.	John T. McQuiston	26/01/1988	5 Shot, 1 Fatally, on East 28th St.
10.	Peter Kerr	06/02/1988	DRUG COURT CUTS NEW YORK BACKLOG
11.	Albert J. Parisi	07/02/1988	FEDERAL DRUG OFFICIALS SKEPTICAL ON BASUCO
12.	Robert Reinhold	08/02/1988	Gang Violence Shocks Los Angeles
13.	Jane Gross	12/02/1988	COCAINE AND AIDS IN NEW YORK ADD TO INFANT DEATHS
14.	Robert M. Morgenthau	16/02/1988	We Are Losing the War On Drugs
15.	NY Times	18/02/1988	Cocaine-Related Death
16.	B. Drummond Ayres	23/02/1988	Surge of Violence in Capital Linked by Police to Narcotics
17.	Thomas Morgan	25/02/1988	Moslem patrol Helps Cut Crime In Brooklyn
18.	David E. Pitt	28/02/1988	Battle for Crack Trade in Queens May Hold Key to Officer's Killing
19.	Joseph R. Fried	29/02/1988	10 or More Groups Vie For Queens Drug Trade
20.	NY Times	01/03/1988	For Drugs: A Monroe Doctrine



21.	Peter Kerr	08/03/1988	Submachine Guns and Unpredictability Are Hallmarks of Crack's Violence
22.	Selwyn Raab	15/03/1988	Brutal Drug Gangs Wage War Of Terror in Upper Manhattan
23.	Jane Gross	21/03/1988	Weathering the Crack Storm in Queens
24.	Joseph P. Fried	28/03/1988	Queens Gets Court to Speed Drugs Cases
25.	A.M. Rosenthal	01/04/1988	ON MY MIND; Inside the Van
26.	George James	28/04/1988	Murders in Queens Rise 25%; Crack Is Key Factor
27.	David E. Pitt	30/04/1988	Police Cite Tumult in Error On Report of Officer's Death
28.	Peter Kerr	02/05/1988	Young Crack Addicts Find There's No Help For Them
29.	Charles B Rangel	18/05/1988	Legalize Drugs? Not on Your Life
30.	Sarah Lyall	03/06/1988	26 People and \$10,000 Seized In a Cocaine Raid in Harlem
31.	Sarah Lyall	14/06/1988	Anger Grows on West 46th St. Between Police and 'Angels'
32.	Gina Kolata	25/06/1988	Drug Researchers Try to treat an Unbreakable Habit
33.	NY Times	30/06/1988	Crack-Possession Law is Stiffened in New York
34.	Richard L. Madden	20/07/1988	Crack and Its Violence Surprise Stamford
35.	Elizabeth Holtzman & Stephen J. Solarz	12/08/1988	Going Straight to the Source in the Drug War
36.	Peter Kerr	21/08/1988	THE SCOURGE OF CHOICE
37.	Andrew Rosenthal	26/08/1988	Dukakis Makes Sharpest Attack On Administration's

38.	Jane E. Brody	06/09/1988	Drug Policies Cocaine: Litany of Fetal Risks Grows
39.	Charles Mohr	11/09/1988	TOUGHER THAN THOU; In the Politicians' War on Drugs, The Rhetorical Guns Are Blazing
40.	NY Times	25/09/1988	The Candidates and Poor Children; An Issue for the No-Issue Campaign
41.	Richard Levine	01/10/1988	Koch Plan Would Tax Illegal Drugs
42.	NY Times	15/10/1988	Drug Arrests Near Schools
43.	Irvin Molotsky	30/10/1988	Capital's Homicide Rate is at a Record
44.	Phillip Lutz	13/11/1988	Agencies Divided on Treatment
45.	William Robbins	25/11/1988	Armed, Sophisticated and Violent, Two Drug Gangs Blanket Nation
46.	B. Drummond Ayres	29/11/1988	End of a Manhunt Brings Respite in the Capital's Violent Drug War
47.	D. Drummond Ayres	09/12/1988	Washington Finds Drug War is Hardest at Home
48.	William G. Blair	16/12/1988	Larry Davis Gets 5 to 15 Years For Conviction on Weapons
49.	Jesus Rangel	23/12/1988	Teachers Held in Manhattan and Brooklyn
50.	Ira Berkow	28/12/1988	SPORTS OF THE TIMES; Sometimes The 'Demon' Won't Let Go
<b>Number</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>
51.	NY Times	03/01/1988	Baltimore Policeman is Held in Sales of Heroin by Phone
52.	NY Times	14/01/1988	This Heroin Fix Ought to Be

53.	Barbara Crossette	18/01/1988	the Law Hanoi Seeks New Image, U.S. Lawmakers Report
54.	Peter Kerr	01/02/1988	Weighing of 2 Perils Led to Needles-for-Addicts Plan
55.	Selwyn Raab	03/02/1988	Strange Old Man on Sullivan St. : New Mob Power
56.	Joel Brinkly	09/02/1988	Washington Talk: The Presidency; Drug Issue May Mar Mexico Talks
57.	NY Times	20/02/1988	On Heroin; Right for Many of the Terminally Ill
58.	Steve Lohr	29/02/1988	Liverpool Journal; There's No Preaching, Just the Clean Needles
59.	Arnold H. Lumbasch	07/03/1988	4 Are Convicted of Selling Heroin To an Organized- Crime Informer
60.	Barbara Crossette	14/03/1988	Burma Rebels Find a Cause in Autonomy
61.	NY Times	22/03/1988	METRO DATELINES; Gun Charge Added In Steinberg Case
62.	Leonard Buder	29/03/1988	DEALER MUST PAY TO TREAT ADDICTS
63.	Leonard Buder	01/04/1988	Fugitive is Tied to A Drug Theft From the Police
64.	William Ira Bennett	10/04/1988	BODY AND MIND; Patterns of Addiction
65.	Seymour Wishman	17/04/1988	DECENT FOLKS BEHIND BARS
66.	NY Times	23/04/1988	'Mob Yuppies' Said to Reshape Organized Crime
67.	NY Times	02/05/1988	Federal Study to Label nicotine as Addictive
68.	Lester C. Thurow	08/05/1988	U.S. Drug Policy: Colossal Ignorance
69.	Anthony Lewis	19/05/1988	ABROAD AT HOME; Merchants of Death
70.	NY Times	02/06/1988	End the Losing War on Drugs by Legalizing Them; The Cost of Prohibition
71.	Bruce Lambert	06/06/1988	Study Supports New York's Needle Plan
72.	James Barron	13/06/1988	Manhattan Prosecutor Is Pressing Plan for Evictions of Drug Dealers
73.	NY Times	28/06/1988	Increased treatment for Addicts is Urged

74.	NY Times	29/06/1988	3 Found Shot Dead In Coney I. Project; Drug Tie Suspected
75.	Peter Kerr	10/07/1988	THE NATION; The American Drug Problem Takes On 2 Faces
76.	Arnold H. Lumbasch	14/07/1988	2 in Heroin Ring Forfeit Property Worth Millions
77.	Al Franken	19/07/1988	Addictions and Mr Reagan
78.	NY Times	21/07/1988	Metro Datelines; 'China White' Heroin Is Seized on 10th St.
79.	Ralph Blumenthal	28/07/1988	Acquitted in 'Pizza Connection' Trial, Man Remains in Prison
80.	Peter Kerr	12/08/1988	30 Held in Sweep Against Drug Ring Tied to Officer's Killing
81.	Tom Wicker	16/08/1988	IN THE NATION; Congress's Real Drug Bust
82.	Jane Gross	22/08/1988	Mission of An AIDs Unit is Not to Cure, But to Care
83.	Jesus Rangel	27/08/1988	ALL 20 ACQUITTED IN NEW JERSEY MOB CASE
84.	NY Times	30/08/1988	Man in Court on Heroin Charges Is Arrested in Slaying of Girl, 11
85.	Robert Pear	07/09/1988	U.S. SEES INCREASE IN AFGHAN OPIUM
86.	Kirk Johnson	11/09/1988	Program for 'Dangerous' Homeless to Expand
87.	Peter Kerr	23/09/1988	Drug Policies For Schools Are Criticised
88.	Charles Mohr	02/10/1988	THE NATION; Drug-Proof U.S. Borders May Be An Impossible Dream
89.	Peter Kerr	09/10/1988	THE REGION; The Homeless for Whom Housing Is Not Enough
90.	NY Times	18/10/1988	METRO DATELINES; Court Drops Charges On Mafia Informant
91.	NY Times	23/10/1988	Boy Faces Drug Charges
92.	Maureen Dowd	25/10/1988	Bush Says Dukakis's Desperation Prompted Accusations of Racism

93.	Irvin Molotsky	30/10/1988	Capital's Homicide Rate is at A Record
94.	Michael Marriott	07/11/1988	Needle Exchange Angers Many Minorities
95.	George James	16/11/1988	Drug Crackdown is Expanded to East Harlem
96.	Bruce Lambert	28/11/1988	AIDS DANGER RISES FOR COCAINE USERS
97.	NY Times	04/12/1988	The Drug Czar's Mission
98.	NY Times	08/12/1988	A Good Way to Fight Drugs and AIDS
99.	NY Times	11/12/1988	Massachusetts Port City Fighting Heroin Problem
100.	David E. Pitt	25/12/1988	IDEAS & TRENDS; Why Drug Arrests Are a Big Production

Number	Author	Date	Title
101.	Pete Thamel	13/01/2010	Binghamton President Announces Retirement
102.	Michelle Quinn	15/01/2010	Sampler: Oakland Child Care Receives a Boost and the Sea Lion Party Will Wait
103.	Pete Thamel	10/02/2010	Binghamton Audit Nears Completion
104.	Danny Hakim and William K. Rashbaum	16/02/2010	Paterson Aide's Quick Rise Draws Scrutiny
105.	Mark Leibovich	24/02/2010	Missing Element in Obama's Ties With G.O.P. Leaders: Good Chemistry
106.	Charles M. Blow	26/02/2010	Tyler Perry's Crack Mothers
107.	Ian Urbina	02/03/2010	Marion Barry Disciplined by Washington Council
108.	Julie Bosman	07/03/2010	For Juveniles in Family Court, Judges Seek Safer Alternatives to Prison
109.	Ashley Southall	11/03/2010	A Vote to Change Some Cocaine Sentences
110.	The Associated Press	17/03/2010	Cocaine Sentencing Bill Advances
111.	Michael S. Schmidt	17/03/2010	Manager tested Positive For Cocaine Last Season
112.	Liz Robbins	25/03/2010	Vivian Blake, 54, Founder of Jamaica Drug Gang, Dies
113.	Jesse McKinley	03/04/2010	Hundreds of Drug Cases Are at Risk in San Francisco
114.	NY Times	03/05/2010	Corrections
115.	A.G Sulzberger	06/05/2010	New York Officer Linked to a

116.	Ray Rivera	13/05/2010	Violent Robbery Ring Agents Swarm Newburgh in Raid Against Gangs
117.	Emily Bazelon	21/05/2010	Arguing Three Strikes
118.	Denny Lee	28/05/2010	Tale of A Life, Unabridged
119.	Benjamin Weiser & William K. Rashbaum	01/06/2010	Liberia Aids U.S. in Drug Fight
120.	Simon Romero	13/06/2010	Coca Production Makes a Comeback in Peru
121.	Dwight Garner	15/06/2010	Successfully Surrendering It All to Crack
122.	Robert C. Bonner	22/06/2010	The New Cocaine Cowboys
123.	Jesse McKinley & Malia Wollan	25/06/2010	Facing Deficit, Oakland Puts Police Force on Chopping Block
124.	Adam Liptak	01/07/2010	Kagan Reminds Senators: Legislation Is Your Job
125.	Greg Bishop	10/07/2010	The Cornerback and the Ex- Con
126.	Nina Bernstein	20/07/2010	For Those Deported, Court Rulings Come Too Late
127.	Anahad O' Connor	22/07/2010	Ex-Police Officer Gets 11 Years in Drug Case
128.	NY Times	25/07/2010	The House Should Listen and Learn
129.	Erik Eckholm	28/07/2010	Congress Moves to Narrow Cocaine Sentencing Disparities
130.	Peter Baker	03/08/2010	Obama Signs Law Narrowing Cocaine Sentencing Disparities
131.	Rebecca Cathcart	16/08/2010	Judge Orders Man Freed in a Three-Strikes Case
132.	Richard A. Friedman	30/08/2010	Lasting Pleasures, Robbed by Drug Abuse
133.	Kareem Fahim	09/09/2010	On a Brooklyn Street, a Simmering Feud and a Violent Death
134.	Shoshana Walter	18/09/2010	Officers See More Sick and Elderly Selling Prescription Drugs
135.	Trymaine Lee	20/09/2010	In Harlem, a Hint of a Previous Era as Peddlers Stealthily Quench a Thirst
136.	NY Times	05/10/2010	An Illegal Search, by GPS
137.	John Elgion	05/10/2010	8 Longshoremen Charged With Smuggling Cocaine

138.	NY Times	14/10/2010	Out of a Failed Drug Test Came Team Unity
139.	Benjamin Weiser	17/10/2010	U.S. Case Against Informer Bares a Tangled Bond
140.	William Glaberson	18/10/2010	Penalty Phase Starts in Triple-Murder Case
141.	Pete Thamel	18/10/2010	Binghamton Avoids Major Sanctions
142.	William Glaberson	27/10/2010	Childhood Abuse Is Cited for a Convicted Killer of 3
143.	Nate Silver	10/11/2010	Are Parents Just Saying No to Marijuana Legalization?
144.	Meribah Knight	20/11/2010	A Soul Singer's Life of Highs and Lows Soars Anew
145.	Eric Schmitt & Charlie Savage	29/11/2010	In U.S. Sting Operations, Questions of Entrapment
146.	Mosi Secret & Karen Zraik	07/12/2010	5 at Colombia are Charged With Drug Sales
147.	Serge F. Kovaleski & Mosi Secret	17/12/2010	Typical Drug Case, Except for Ivy League Address
148.	NY Times	23/12/2010	Mayo's Father Arrested
149.	Fernanda Santos	26/12/2010	'Daddy, Read For Me'
150.	Jennifer Maschia	07/01/2011	Leaving Gangs and Drugs to Earn a Living Honestly

Number	Author	Date	Title
151.	Anemona Hartocollis	05/01/2010	Public Officials Attack City's Heroin Pamphlet
152.	A. G. Sulzberger	06/01/2010	Trouble Tempers Working Families Party's Triumph
153.	Boris Gromov & Dmitry Rogozin	11/01/2010	Russian Advice on Afghanistan
154.	Martha Schwendener	14/01/2010	Gritty Scene, Mostly Male and White
155.	C.J Chivers	21/01/2010	Welcome to 'The Mansion'
156.	Katie Fretland	23/01/2010	The Pulse: Proposed Bill Would Shield People Reporting Overdoses
157.	Erik Eckholm	24/01/2010	In Drug War, Tribe Feels Invaded by Both Sides
158.	C.J Chivers	01/02/2010	As Marines Move In, Taliban Fight a Shadowy War
159.	Patrick Healy	07/02/2010	Back From the Depths, Rebuilding a Career
160.	Seth Mydans	15/02/2010	Cambodian Addicts Abused in Detention, Rights Group Says
161.	Kirk Johnson	24/02/2010	Denver Woman Sentenced in Hepatitis Infection Case

162.	Michelle Quinn	11/03/2010	Sampler: Drug Cases Dismissed in San Francisco and Can a Big House be Green?
163.	Rod Nordland	20/03/2010	U.S. Turns a Blind Eye to Opium in Afghan Town
164.	Al Baker	25/03/2010	From 8 Ball Jackets to Prescription Drugs: What the Bad Guys Want
165.	Alan Feuer	16/04/2010	The Last of the Asian Godfathers
166.	Tamar Lewin	26/04/2010	Reed College's President Is Told to Crack Down on Campus Drug Use
167.	Alan Feuer	30/04/2010	After the Mob, He's Just Scraping By
168.	John Eligon	13/05/2010	Police Say They Smashed a Major Bronx Drug Ring
169.	Malia Wollan	15/05/2010	Gang Injunction Names Names, and Suit Follows
170.	C.J Chivers	22/05/2010	In Afghan Fields, a Challenge to Opium's Luster
171.	David M. Halbfinger	24/05/2010	Budget Cuts Polarize a Long Island County
172.	Dan Frosch	07/06/2010	A Rodeo Cowboy, Thrown by Life
173.	Charlie Savage	10/06/2010	Hundreds Held in Drug Raids in 16 States
174.	Colin Moynihan	22/06/2010	The Art of the Potentially Deadly Deal: Marketing Heroin on the Street
175.	Kate Taylor	07/07/2010	Artist's Daughter Wants Videos Back
176.	Donald G. McNeil Jr.	12/07/2010	Desperate Addicts Inject Others' Blood
177.	Jane E. Brody	19/07/2010	Not Starting Means Never Having to Quit
178.	Michael Wilson	21/07/2010	The Final Crime Spree of an Oxygen-Toting Robber
179.	Don Terry	24/07/2010	A Shot That Saves the Lives of Addicts Is Now in Their Hands
180.	Abigail Zuger, M.D	27/07/2010	Lifesaving Medications, Through a Back Door
181.	Marc Lacey	31/07/2010	The Mexican Border's Lost World



182.	NY Times	13/08/2010	Arizona: Fugitive's Accomplice Offered to Be Informant
183.	Shoshana Walter	27/08/2010	In Scandal's Wake, Police Turn to Quick, Cheap Test for Drugs
184.	Katherine Bindley	17/09/2010	Morris Heights, the Bronx
185.	H.D.S Greenway	21/09/2010	The Addiction to War
186.	Andy Newman	06/10/2010	Drug Arrest For Man Involved in Fatal Game in 1994
187.	Jon Caramanica	07/10/2010	On His Own, Finding His Range Again
188.	Reuters	11/10/2010	Gunmen Ambush Mexican Officers, Killing 8
189.	Elmer Mendoza	16/10/2010	Ground Zero in Sinaloa
190.	Randal C. Archibold	17/10/2010	Mexico Watches California Marijuana Vote
191.	William Glaberson	20/10/2010	Defendant in Triple-Murder Case is Called Suicidal
192.	Randal C. Archibold	27/10/2010	Gunmen Kill 15 in Mexico; Gang Link Seen
193.	Michael Schwirtz	29/10/2010	Russia Joins Drug Raid in Afghanistan, Marking Advance in Relations With U.S.
194.	Rens Lee	09/11/2010	Russia, Iran and Drug Interdiction in Afghanistan
195.	Michael Wilson	11/11/2010	'Heroin Mill' Raided on West 43rd, Authorities Say
196.	Donald G. McNeil Jr.	23/11/2010	U.N. Reports Decrease in New H.I.V. Infections
197.	James Stevenson	27/11/2010	LOST AND FOUND NEW YORK; Night at the Museum
198.	James Risen	11/12/2010	Propping Up a Drug Lord, Then Arresting Him
199.	Clyde Haberman	23/12/2010	Together, a Holiday Spent Battling Double Demons From Combat
200	Abby Goodnough	05/01/2011	Prescription Drug Abuse Sends More People to the Hospital

APPENDIX 2:  
**Newspaper Article coding sheet:**

*Example of the coding sheet used for each article to discern the themes:*

Document Number:  
 Date:  
 Primary Drug Mentioned:  
 Focus:  
 Topic:  
 Theme and Subtheme:  
 Crisis Issue (Y/N):  
 Youth Issue (Y/N):  
 Tone:  
 Moral Evaluation:  
 Medical evaluation (Y/N):  
 Location:  
 Persons quoted directly:  
 Persons/ Organisations referenced:

Bibliography:

Austin, Brent. J. "CELEBRITIES, DRINKS, AND DRUGS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF CELEBRITY SUBSTANCE ABUSE AS PORTRAYED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES". California State University, San Bernadino. Sept. 2014. Web.  
<http://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1109&context=etd>

Becker, H. (1963) *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: The Free Press

Boyd, S. (2002) 'Media Constructions of Illegal Drugs, Users, and Sellers: A Closer Look at Traffic', *International Journal of Drug Policy* 13: 397–407.

Critcher, C. (2003) *Moral Panics and the Media*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Drucker. E. "Drug Law, Mass Incarceration, and Public Health." *Oregon Law Review* 91 (2013): 1097-337. Web.

Gallup Poll. "ILLEGAL DRUGS". Web. 2016  
<http://www.gallup.com/poll/1657/illegal-drugs.aspx>

Jørgensen, Marianne, and Louise Phillips. *Discourse Analysis As Theory and Method*. London: Sage Publications, 2002. Print.

Levine, Harry Gene, and Craig Reinerman. *Crack In America : Demon Drugs And Social Justice*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. eBook Collection (EBSCOhost). Web. 26 Nov. 2016.

Mcginty, Emma E., Alene Kennedy-Hendricks, Julia Baller, Jeff Niederdeppe, Sarah Gollust, and Colleen L. Barry. "Criminal Activity or Treatable Health Condition? News Media Framing of Opioid Analgesic Abuse in the United States, 1998–2012." *Psychiatric Services* 67.4 (2016): 405-11. Web.

Murji, K. (1998) 'The Agony and the Ecstasy: Drugs, Media and Morality', in R. Coomber (ed.) *The Control of Drugs and Drug Users: Reason or Reaction?*, pp. 69–85. London: Harwood

Orsini, Maria, Fondren, Kristi, Roth, Frederick, and Sullivan, Donna. *Media Narratives and Drug Prohibition: A Content Analysis of Themes and Strategies Promoted in Network News Coverage, 2000-2013* (2015): ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. Web.

“Character”. Def. 1.1. [oxforddictionaries.com](http://oxforddictionaries.com). Oxford Dictionary. Feb, 2016. Web.

“Theme”. Def. 1. [oxforddictionaries.com](http://oxforddictionaries.com). Oxford Dictionary. Feb, 2016. Web.

Reuter, P. “Why Has US Drug Policy Changed So Little Over 30 Years?”. University of Chicago, 2013. Web.  
[http://faculty.publicpolicy.umd.edu/sites/default/files/reuter/files/proofs\\_corrected.pdf](http://faculty.publicpolicy.umd.edu/sites/default/files/reuter/files/proofs_corrected.pdf)

Rothstein, R. “Marijuana and the Media: The Influence of Media Narratives on Legislation Outcomes”. University of California. 2015. Web.  
<http://sociology.ucdavis.edu/undergraduate-program/the-john-and-lyn-lofland-undergraduate-research-award/winning-theses/marijuana-the-media-the-influence-of-media-narratives-on-legalization-outcomes>

Statista. “Average paid and verified weekday circulation\* of the New York Times from 2000 to 2015 (in 1,000 copies)”. Web.  
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/273503/average-paid-weekday-circulation-of-the-new-york-times/>

Taylor, S. “Outside the Outsiders: Media Representations of Drug Abuse”. Vol 55, Issue 4, 2008. Liverpool John Moores Univeristy. SAGE Pub. Web.  
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0264550508096493>

Wood, Michelle. “Media’s Positive and Negative Frames in Reporting Celebrity Deaths From Illegal Drug Overdoses Versus Prescription Medication Overdoses”. University of Arkansas. 31 Dec. 2011.