

COLLECTIVE ACTION AND NEWS REPORT FRAMING:
THE INTERACTION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND NEWS ORGANIZATIONS

by

WALTER STEVEN LOW

(Under the Direction of JOSEPH DOMINICK)

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the relationship between anti-drunk driving organizations, led by Mothers Against Drunk Driving and journalists who covered the drunk driving issue. A content analysis of five national news organizations (New York Times, Washington Post, ABC News, CBS News, and NBC News) covering both the pre-MADD (1969 to 1980) and the MADD-era (1981-1990) examined the news reports produced by those news organizations that addressed the drunk driving issue. Specifically, the content analysis looked at frequency of reporting, primary theme of those reports, how the drunk driving issue was framed, how those reports covered “media events,” and the use of MADD-related terms and phrases. A series of interviews were conducted with reporters whose work products were included in the content analysis. Those interviews were used to examine how those reporters felt about MADD, drunk driving, and their coverage of the drunk driving issue. The results of the content analysis indicated that there was a significant increase in reporting about the drunk driving issue from 1981 to 1990. The content analysis also showed that the framing of the drunk driver by reporters did to some extent become more deviant and that print journalists focused more on media events during the MADD-era. MADD was only partly successful in having journalists adopt their jargon and viewpoint to present the drunk driving issue to the public. During the interviews, reporters stated that the drunk driving story presented by MADD was very attractive to journalists and therefore more likely to be included in the final news product.

INDEX WORDS: Framing, Social Movement Organizations, Collective Action Frames, MADD, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, Drunk Drivers, Print Journalism, Broadcast Journalism

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WALTER STEVEN LOW

B. S. University of Tennessee at Martin 1974

B. S. Middle Tennessee State University 1975

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WALTER STEVEN LOW

Major Professor: Joseph Dominick

Committee: Alison Alexander
Louise Benjamin
Carolina Acosta-Alzuru
Scott H. Ainsworth

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
August 2004

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this study to the Scheib and Tidwell families, whose great personal tragedy started me down the path that resulted in this study.

I also dedicate this study to my wife, Russelle Low, who is the driving force behind my life and whose patience and encouragement were critical to my (our) success. Russelle continued to believe in me when I had lost faith that I could complete this undertaking.

Elise Low, my daughter, has grown up while her father has been working on this project. She has always provided a positive outlook when it seemed that I would never get this dissertation done. She forgave me when I applied PhD. proof reading standards to one of her high school freshman papers.

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Finally, to my father, Kirk Hall Low Sr., who is now with his mother. His support when I was not an easy person to support, who believed that I could do wonderful things in my life, this is for you.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Overview

Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) came into existence in 1980, after a tragic incident in which the founder's 13-year old daughter was killed. This dissertation will utilize content analysis and qualitative interviews with reporters that covered the drunk driving story to explore MADD's interaction with news organizations to examine what, if any impact MADD has had on how the story of the drunk driver has been presented to the American public. By gaining a greater knowledge of the social movement organization (SMO)-news organization interaction, the impact of the movement's collective action frame upon the news organization's framing of important public issues can be advanced.

Drunk Driving and Danny Lee Ross

"Drunk driving is woven into our social fabric" (Mosher, 1985, p. 239). I became woven into the drunk driving fabric of American society by two events, Watergate and an automobile crash. Watergate was responsible for my decision to become a broadcast journalist, while the results of the automobile crash made me begin to question the impact of how journalists do their work. The automobile crash occurred on Donaldson Pike in Nashville, Tennessee on February 11, 1993 at 9:00 p.m. when a Chevrolet Monte Carlo driven by Danny Lee Ross, Jr. crashed into a Toyota driven by Pamela Tidwell. All three occupants in the Toyota were killed including Pam Tidwell's 18-year old son Blake and his 15-year old girlfriend Keri Scheib. According to the Metro Nashville Police, Ross' Monte Carlo was doing about sixty miles per hour in a forty mile

per hour zone, when it ran a red light and slammed into the side of Tidwell's Toyota. Vanderbilt Hospital treated Ross for minor injuries. He was administered a court ordered Blood Alcohol Content (BAC) test after refusing to voluntarily take a BAC breath test, and released by the hospital into police custody. From that point, Ross began his journey through the local court system. At the time of this accident, I was almost 18 years into my broadcast journalism career as a photojournalist at WSMV, the Nashville NBC affiliate.

The Ross case appeared at least 22 times in WSMV news reports over the next two years. The initial coverage focused on the spot news aspects of the crash, giving a basic description of the incident. Follow-up coverage, both general news and long form reports, tracked the various steps the case was taking through the court system. That coverage personalized the victims, in particular 15-year-old Keri Scheib and her parents. One long form report, the first of a four-part series entitled "Liquor by the Wink," (March 11, 1993) told the story of Keri's parents and friends celebrating her 16th birthday at her gravesite by sending her messages tied to colorful balloons. Keri's father closed the report:

What I want everyone to do is think what they were going to give Keri. And then I will let these go. Happy Birthday, Keri! (video continues of balloons rising into the sky).

On Tuesday, February 8, 1994, almost one year after the crash, Ross' trial opened. Reporter Kerry Anderson and I were assigned to cover the trial. The coverage documented the progress of the trial, with Anderson's first report describing the "horrific nature of the crash" and reintroducing the central characters of the trial, Danny Lee Ross, Jr., the victims and their families, the prosecution and defense attorneys, the judge and jury, and the introduction of a representative of MADD, Mothers Against Drunk Driving. Millie Webb, a victim's assistance representative from MADD, attended every day of the trial. Webb's primary responsibilities were to help the families understand the procedures during the trial and to provide emotional

support for the victim's families. A secondary activity for Webb was to serve as a liaison between the families and the press. She informed us early on in the trial that the families did not want to give any interviews during the trial, but they might be available for interviews after the jury had given its verdict. The trial lasted for a total of three days. Closing arguments were presented early on Wednesday afternoon, the judge read his charge to the jury, and deliberations began. A verdict was not reached by end of court that day. Deliberations resumed Thursday morning, and that afternoon a guilty verdict was returned. In that evening's report (Ross Trial #3), Anderson described the deliberations as being agonizing for family members, and Ross as showing no emotion when the verdict was read. The district attorney had decided to try Ross on second-degree murder charges for the three deaths. The families of the victims were anticipating a guilty verdict on three counts on those charges and were devastated by the jury's verdict of guilty of the lesser-included charge of vehicular homicide by intoxication. Pam Tidwell's husband said, "I basically feel like it was a victory for anybody that wants to drink and drive. It was definitely not a victory for us." A police officer said, "this has got to stop." Anderson pointed out that:

What has frustrated officers and family members is that the jury didn't know that Ross was out on bond for another DUI arrest when he killed his victims. [And] That because of overcrowding and the year he's already spent in jail, Ross could be back on the street in 18 months. (1994, February 10)

Anderson concluded the by recounting that the families "Say they have no doubts that Ross will drink and drive again. And tonight they are questioning justice. When the verdict was read, one asked 'Their lives meant this?'"

On Monday, February 14, WSMV's coverage of Danny Lee Ross, Jr. continued with "Ross Perspective," that explored the jury deliberation process. The report described the battle

that took place within the jury room. One group of jurors believed that Ross should be convicted of vehicular homicide by intoxication, a lesser offense. One juror, who felt that Ross should be convicted of vehicular homicide by intoxication, stated the he had driven while intoxicated the previous weekend. The report used police interrogation videotape and other information provided by police to position Ross as an uncaring individual who deserved the harshest punishment possible. The story included two stand-ups, one in the room where the jury deliberations took place and the other at the crash site:

The crash site has become a memorial to what was lost here, not just by the families, by everyone.

One juror in the case has had to seek psychiatric counseling this weekend; another says she thinks about what happened all the time. And a third went home and told his wife, "I am changed forever." Even veteran police officers say this case haunts them. And Danny Lee Ross?

Prosecutors say he continues on as if nothing happened. (Kerry Anderson standup)

The next step in the judicial process was the sentencing hearing that was scheduled for Wednesday, March 9, 1994. Anderson described the testimony by the victim's families as "gut-wrenching" and "having brought tears" as the relatives described the impact of the case upon them and their friends. WSMV's coverage of "Danny Ross Sentencing" was broadcast during the *Scene at Six*. Jeff McAtee began the story:

He said that he was sorry, but apparently, no one believes Danny Lee Ross has discovered remorse in jail. This afternoon, a judge gave the maximum sentence to the 19-year old for three counts of vehicular homicide. In handing down the toughest possible sentence, the judge said that there was no indication that Ross wouldn't commit the crimes again if given the chance. Kerry Anderson reports.

During WSMV's coverage of the Ross trial, I felt that I was being a vital part of the journalistic promise that influenced me to become a broadcast journalist. I was part of the Watergate class of journalists, who saw the press performing a vital role in correcting serious

flaws in our governmental process and our society, and I wanted to become part of process. In order to prepare myself to become part of the solution to some of society's problems, I returned to journalism school. I believed that journalists use their professional news judgment to hold up a mirror so that American society could see its flaws and take action to correct those shortcomings (Epstein, 1973, Gans, 1980, Tuchman, 1978, and Tuchman, 1972). I believed that I had been trained, both academically and professionally, to have a newsworthiness standard by which I could judge potential stories. I would be able to make news decisions using my "professional news judgment" of a given potential news story "independent of the needs, expectations, and hierarchy of the organization for which they [I] work" (Epstein, 1973, p. 25). Based on my experience and evaluation of the newsworthiness of the story, I would be able to determine if the story should be covered and in what manner it should be treated. I would use the journalist's traditional standards of objectivity so that none of my personal values (Gans, 1980) would influence my news judgments. I believed that Millie Webb, MADD's representative, was just functioning as a standard news source that journalists covering the Ross trial could use to gather information that was needed to cover the news event properly.

On the day that the jury returned with the verdict, there was the normal activity by the journalists who were assigned to cover the trial. Kerry Anderson and I were very busy, getting all the appropriate interviews, including with the district attorney who prosecuted the case, Millie Webb (MADD's representative), and one of the victim's relatives. We were the last journalists to leave the courtroom area. As we heard the footsteps echoing down the hall, then the noise of the elevator doors opening and closing, we broke down into tears and leaned on each other for support. This series of news reports had a greater emotional impact on me than any other story that I had reported on to that point in my career.

At about the same time I was working on my Master of Science degree at Middle Tennessee State University and was looking for a subject for my thesis. I was talking with David Eason, one of my professors, about the impact of the Danny Ross case and he suggested it as a possible focus for my thesis. In my thesis I examined how Channel Four (WSMV-TV, the NBC affiliate in Nashville, Tennessee) covered the story, starting with the initial crash and continuing through the trial and numerous follow-up reports. When I started my studies at the University of Georgia for my doctorate, I felt that a logical and useful continuation of my thesis would be to examine had the national news organizations and the anti-drunk driving movement (such as MADD and RID) had interacted with journalists to present the drunk driving story to the national audience. Because of the impact of alcohol influence drivers on the nation, resulting in over 25,000 alcohol related traffic deaths each year in the early 1980s, along with many injuries and a significant economic impact on the nation, how the media presented the drunk driving story to the public could influence how the public reacted to this social problem. Agenda setting research claimed that journalists could not tell the public what to think, but could tell the public what to think about. Framing research argued that how information was presented to an audience helped to limit how the consumers of that information would interpret and act upon that knowledge. Social movement organization/news organization research indicated that it was critical that the social movement construct its message intended for a larger public in such a manner that journalists would accept the movement's framing of the story as the version that it would present to the public.

Preview

Chapter Two will present the theoretical grounding, starting with the development and impact of anti-drunk driving groups. Their mission and the tactics they used to accomplish their

mission of transforming the operative norm for American society from blaming alcohol for the drunk driving problem to squarely placing the responsibility for any alcohol-related traffic incidents upon the alcohol consuming driver follows. The last element that concerns anti-drunk driving organizations presents the success that such groups had achieved.

Chapter Two continues, presenting the theoretic background. First, the interaction between Social Movement Organizations and News Organizations is presented. Then the importance to the SMO's collective action frame is examined. Next agenda-setting theory is explored, which then leads into a discussion of how framing of information affects the interpretation of that information by the public. Finally, the interaction between the media and modern society is considered and the five research questions are presented.

The third chapter will describe the methods used to gather and then interpret the content analysis. The choice to the news organizations for the content analysis, the time frame of the study, and the selection of individual news reports from the universe of news reports contain with the news organizations and times will be explained. The fourth chapter will present the results of the content analysis and the fifth chapter will discuss the results of the content analysis, using the data from the analysis and interviews with reporters who wrote some of the news reports studied.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Anti-Drunk Driving Organizations in America

DeJong and Hingson (1998) argue modern efforts “in the United States to combat drunk driving began with the founding of grassroots organizations such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), Students Against Drunk Drivers (SADD), and Remove Intoxicated Drivers (RID)” (p. 359). These groups “defined drunk driving as a serious but neglected problem in need of stringent countermeasures” (Applegate, Cullen, Barton, Richards, et al, 1995, p. 171). The policies espoused by these organizations had universal appeal to both the public and politicians because they held out the promise of saving lives (Kenkel, 1998, p. 795). According to Grasmick, Bursik, and Arneklev (1993), the activities of these group began “a decade of intense activity concerning drunk driving [that] included moral crusades, intertwined with legislative change, aimed at altering values, beliefs, and community standards” (p. 41). Up to this point, Americans were reluctant to recognize drunk driving as a problem because society found it was all too easy to identify with the drunk driver (Robin, 1991). Society’s view of the drunk driver, from the individual level to the criminal-justice level, was shaped by a “There but for the grace of God go I” attitude. The court system viewed the drunk driver as an ordinary citizen, who was normally law abiding, but who had on this one occasion consumed too much alcohol before operating his or her motor vehicle (p. 7). Robin argues that because legislators saw that supporting increased sanctions against drunk driving would not be in their own self-interest

because of an increased potential for arrest and punishment for both themselves and their constituents, they generally refused to support any calls for tougher drunk driving laws.

This lack of enthusiasm was indicative of the nature of drunk driving in America. The United States is an alcohol rich environment where more alcohol is purchased than milk (Jacobs, 1989, p. xiii). Americans use alcoholic beverages to organize numerous social activities (Ross and Voas, 1989). Alcohol's absence from social functions would in many cases be deemed as inappropriate and deviant (Jacobs, p. 31). Alcohol is used as a rite of passage for youth (Jacobs, p. 7), a sedative or stimulant for adults (Atkin, 1979, p. 18), and a major source of revenue for local, state, and federal governments.

America is also a nation that is dependent upon the use of the automobile. The pervasive relation between the automobile and society are such that for a majority of Americans, living without an automobile is unthinkable and probably impossible. The automobile is a powerful symbol in American life, serving as a rite of passage for American youth (Jacobs, 1989, p. 15). An American's car is a symbolic method of telling others who we are and where we are going, and serves as both a sport and a past time for many Americans. America's dependence upon the automobile creates both a mass interpersonal trust and a pervasive interpersonal risk (Jacobs, 1989, p. 32) that in turn generates an extraordinary interpersonal trust because the improper use of the automobile could inflict great harm upon society (Gusfield, 1979, p. 155).

Drunk Driving, News Organizations, and MADD

When I left WSMV to pursue my academic studies, I believed that the interaction between MADD's representative and the journalists covering the Ross trial was nothing out of the ordinary. In fact, I saw the relationship as beneficial to both the families of the victims and the journalists. The families were provided needed psychological support and journalists were

given, through Millie Webb, a humane manner of communicating with the families. Webb could also serve as what Reeves and Campbell (1994, p. 49-50) call a “representative of common sense,” and an expert to help us inform the public about the broader nature of the impact of drunk drivers upon our society. Because of my academic and professional training, I believed that I was functioning as a neutral observer who merely passed along information that the public needed so that they could be better informed and prepared to make decisions that could influence their lives.

What I did not understand at that point in time was that how the information was presented or framed by journalists would affect the public’s interpretation of that information. The framing of the news events that journalists choose to present to the public to some degree limit the public’s discussion about that news event. Journalists accomplished this by including some information and excluding other information. Social movement organizations such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving sought to limit the public’s discussion about drunk drivers to their construction of the problem by having journalists present MADD’s collective action frame to the public. The collective action frame presented by MADD constructed the drunk driving problem and its solution to that problem in a certain way. This construction limited the public’s discussion of alcohol impaired driving and its potential solutions to those presented by Mothers Against Drunk Driving while at the same time implicitly limiting the free flow of information into the market place of ideas.

The combination of the collective action frame presented by MADD, and the framing of the information presented by the journalists in their newswork serves as a powerful constraint upon the free flow of information. This results in the public being presented a drunk driving agenda to consider that is limited to the collective action frame presented by MADD. To

understand how this interaction developed, first the history, mission, tactics, and success of Mothers Against Drunk Driving needs to be examined. Then the importance of a social movement's collective action frame to the social movement and how that collective action frame affects the chance of the SMO's success will be explored. Next, the relationship of the agenda setting effect of the news organization's presentation of an issue along with the news media's framing of the news event will be examined. First, how did Mothers Against Drunk Driving (Appendix C) happen to come into existence and grow into a large organization and what are the goals and objectives of the organization?

Mothers Against Drunk Driving: History

The current dominant approach to dealing with the drunk driver in American society seeks to define the problem of the drunk driver as being created through a moral deficiency of the person who drinks and then drives. American society then seeks to deal with the problem through the use of the legal system as a means of social control. This moral-legal approach focuses on the individual consumer of alcohol who then chooses to drive, and tells a moral tale of personal irresponsibility. One of the primary proponents of this approach is Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), which was founded by Candy Lightner in 1980, after her 13-year old daughter who was on her way to a church carnival, was struck and killed while walking in a bicycle lane. The hit and run driver was later found to be driving under the influence (Reinarman, 1988, Golden, 1983, Robin, 1991). The driver, Clarence Bush, was on probation for an earlier DUI conviction, and out on bail for yet another hit-and-run DUI offense, which had happened only a few days before he killed Lightner's daughter. He had served a total of two days in jail for his earlier DUI offenses. When Lightner was told by a patrol officer that Bush would probably never serve any time for killing her daughter, she quit her real estate job and

founded Mothers Against Drunk Driving. Later, the judge gave Bush less than the maximum sentence because the judge considered his alcoholism a mitigating factor (Robin, p. 10).

Up until the early 1980's, the public identified with the drunk driver and was hesitant to seek any change in how society dealt with the drunk driving problem (Robin, 1991). Because each of the acts involved in DUI (driving and drinking) were so much a part of the fabric of American life, the act of being intoxicated while driving was almost immune from legislative or legal action until the early 1980's. That was when MADD and other groups created a backlash that has evolved into an effective moral crusade, which has produced an aggressive social agenda that focuses on deterrence and is aimed at the drunk driver (p. 8).

Mothers Against Drunk Driving: Mission

According to Reinerman (1988), MADD has focused exclusively on the sins of the drinking driver and has become the primary moral-entrepreneurial force behind the redefining of the drunk driver from someone who is a victim of alcohol to a person who makes other people his victims. Robin (1991) argues that "MADD has become the driving force behind the movement to reform drunk driving laws, to encourage societal intolerance of drunk drivers, and to alter the benign attitudes of prosecutors and judges toward the offense and the offenders" (p. 10). MADD has used this position of prominence to define the "killer drunk" as originally proposed by Gusfield (1981), as an irresponsible user/abuser of alcohol. Reinerman argues that MADD has chosen to focus its efforts on defining this person as the primary cause of the drinking driver problem, and then changing the legal system to punish more severely this class of alcohol user. MADD's own mission statement is "The mission of Mothers Against Drunk Driving is to stop drunk driving and support the victims of this violent crime" (MADD: Home Page, 1996). Reinerman argues that MADD members accomplish this by "repeatedly railing

against the ‘Killer Drunk’; they complain of the neglect of the drinking driver as ‘America’s most frequently committed violent crime,’ the only socially acceptable form of homicide” (Reinarman, p. 105). MADD, citing statistics from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, argues that “two out of every five Americans will be involved in an alcohol-related crash at some time in their lives unless we act now” and that the “direct costs of alcohol-related crashes are estimated to be \$44 billion yearly. . . . An additional \$90 billion is lost in quality of life due to these crashes” (MADD Statistics, 1996).

To accomplish its stated mission, MADD focuses its efforts upon strengthening the deterrent effect of the legal system. It seeks to have more stringent laws enacted with less judicial discretion and to end plea-bargaining in order to ensure longer sentences. Robin argues that because of Lightner’s efforts, in 1981 California passed what was then the strictest anti-drunk driving law in America. The drunk driver, upon conviction, faced a mandatory term of up to four years in prison and a minimum fine of \$1,375 (p. 11). MADD’s other goals included banning plea bargaining, increasing funding for DUI control measures, administrative license revocation, per se assumption at .08 BAC, the use of victim impact statements in court trials, and 48 hours minimum jail time for the first DUI offense (Golden, 1983). Reinarman contends that MADD has made significant changes in the alcohol arena, where “both the quantity and quality of anti-drunk driving weapons has increased” (p. 106). He argues that MADD has promoted better accessibility to the records of drunk drivers, citizens reporting system, and the reclassification of drunk driving offenses involving injury or death from misdemeanors to felonies (p. 107). All of these changes in the legal system’s treatment of the drunk driver focus attention upon the individual’s responsibility for his actions.

Mothers Against Drunk Driving: Tactics

One of the primary tools, which MADD uses to make drunk driving into a hot issue, is the use of citizen observers in both the judicial and legislative arenas. These observers act in all stages of MADD's assault upon the drunk driver to amplify MADD's influence and impact upon the legal system's treatment of the drunk driver. In the legislative phase, observers seek out legislators who will sponsor bills that would enact the changes in the laws that MADD espouses. When a drunk driving case reaches the court system, MADD acts in several ways to influence the results of the trial. Members of MADD act to support the families of victims emotionally through the trial process, explaining to the families what is going on and what they should expect. They also "train volunteers to serve as 'court watchers' who monitor how prosecutors and judges handle impaired driving cases and evaluate the judicial proceedings" (Reinarman, p. 11). This action is undertaken with the expectation that prosecutors and judges, knowing that they are under the observation of a politically powerful group, will become more sensitive to the plight of the victims. Hopefully, they will hand out punishment that is commensurate with the harm which MADD argues has been caused by the drunk driver. MADD believes that the drunk driver should be considered for rehabilitation only after he or she has been taken out of circulation by the criminal justice system.

Reinarman argues that while local MADD organizations focused primarily on victims, Lightner's strategy for the national organization became more and more focused on the "maximization of the media's attention to what she called 'the dirty little secret' of drinking-driving: That 250,000 American lives had been lost in 'alcohol related auto crashes' in the past decade" (p. 98). According to Reinarman, newspaper and magazine coverage of the drunk driving issue grew from a few articles in 1978 and 1979 to more than several hundred articles in

1983 and 1984. In 1985, “not a week would go by without a MADD story in most major newspapers and magazines (p. 99). Golden (1983) argues that the media is the “single, most important tool” (p.61) for an anti-drunk driving organization to use. Golden argues that while the media has historically failed to do its job to inform the public about drunk driving before the advent of MADD, now both television and newspapers have become sensitized about drunk driving and are willing to increase their coverage of the drunk driving issue. Accordingly, the anti-drunk driving advocate needs to learn how to use the press as a tool so that they can exploit this new attitude of the press so that the change can continue. He urges the anti-drunk driving crusader to recognize that the press is now willing to run stories about drunk driving. Because of this, the anti-drunk driving crusader needs to learn how to present story ideas, cultivate reporters, give effective interviews and understand the ground rules by which journalists play so that the crusader’s message about the “killer drunk” can be more effectively delivered.

Has MADD made any progress toward establishing a more punitive societal stance toward the drunk driver? MADD argues that it has partially accomplished its mission because:

More than 1,600 anti-drunk driving laws have been enacted nationwide. . . Two-thirds of the states have now passed Administrative License revocation laws [and/or] lowered the legal blood alcohol content from .10 to .08 [and] MADD volunteers are watching court cases involving drunk driving offenders and are reporting the outcome of cases to the media and members of the community to ensure that drunk driving offenders will be punished to the fullest extent of the law. (MADD: Progress and Accomplishments, 1996)

Ross (1991) argues that MADD is only one of several groups that have a vested interest in promoting the “killer drunk” viewpoint. There are “vested political and economic interests”

(p. 3) who believes that the public's acceptance of MADD's viewpoint will be to their benefit. Examples are the alcohol beverage industry, law enforcement, and the traffic safety establishment, all of which avoid responsibility in this view by focusing the public's attention on the drunk driver and positioning their organizations as acting responsibly to help deal with the problem. Ross, however, argues that MADD has been the primary leader in focusing the public's attention upon their view that the application of the moral-legal view of the individual drunk driver is the best way for society to deal with this problem. Reinerman argues that the success that MADD has achieved has resulted in a limitation of public discussion on other possible alternative or conceptions of how society should deal with the problem of the drinking driver (p. 110). This is because "MADD and the anti-drunk driving movement it spawned have resurrected a drama that *reaffirms a particular symbolic order* [italics in the original]" (Reinerman, p. 111).

Mothers Against Drunk Driving: Success

McCarty and Harvey (1989) state that during the decade of the 1980s, "a wide spread movement of citizen advocate groups has emerged whose members, many of whom are victims of drunk drivers, [have] worked to reduce the level and consequences of drunk driving" (p. 247). They cite Senator John Danforth (1988) as saying about MADD:

This organization has made the public realize that drunk driving is not a victimless crime. This change in public attitudes has made it possible for those of us in Congress and in State legislatures to pass stronger drunk driving laws. (p. 247)

Applegate, Cullen, Barton, Richards, et al, (1995) believe that grassroots groups such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving have been able define drunk driving as a problem that needs the

application of stringent countermeasures to protect innocent citizens against drunk drivers.

These countermeasures focus on the use of deterrent policies that have been enacted by state or federal legislators and are then enforced by the criminal justice system (Appendix E). Grasmick, Bursik, and Arneklev (1993) argue that the grassroots groups such as MADD has focused on increasing the cost of drink driving, typically through more severe penalties. MADD has also sought to change society's values, beliefs, and standards in order to change the moral climate surrounding drunk driving. This change in societal values has resulted in the emphasis in drunk driving social policy being placed upon maintaining social norms and morality. The authors also argue that organizations like MADD have brought the drunk driving issue to the top of the social problem agenda. This has been accomplished by altering moral beliefs and community standards, "Such appeals [were an] attempt to persuade the public that drunk driving is shameful, morally wrong, [and] a violation of community standards" (p. 46). DeJong and Hingson (1998) argue that the grassroots groups:

[F]irst success was a widespread change in public attitude. Drunk driving is no longer a source of easy laughs, nor is it shrugged off as an inevitable cost of modern life. Most Americans instead view it as a serious public danger, a violent crime that results from a person's decision to drive while impaired. Emerging from this change in public attitudes came the passage of new laws to impose firm and consistent punishment against convicted drunk drivers. (p. 359)

How were Mothers Against Drunk Driving and other anti-drunk driving grassroots organizations able to be a part of this change in American's view of drunk drivers?

According to a Gallup Poll commissioned by Mothers Against Drunk Driving, a plurality of the American public considers drunk driving to be one of the major highway safety problems

in the United States, and most want tougher laws against drunk driving. In addition, according to MADD, over three-quarters of those surveyed favored the immediate taking of a driver's license upon arrest for drunk driving (MADD, Public Opinion). MADD has positioned itself as being in the forefront of the battle to redefine the drunk driver. This redefinition has repositioned the drunk driver from a person who could blame alcohol for any of their problems, including driving while intoxicated, to being a criminal who should be dealt with by the criminal justice system. This stance, along with MADD's other efforts, has led the public to have a very positive view of the organization. According to the *Chronicle of Philanthropy* (cited in MADD, Public Opinion), MADD ranks as the most popular non-profit cause in the United States. MADD also was ranked second among the most supported charities and third among charities relative to its credibility. To better understand the influence Mother Against Drunk Driving claims to have had on the developments of drunk driving policy in America, one needs to know its history, the methods that it used to achieve its success, and the impact its views have had on limiting the areas of public discussion of the drunk driving problem.

Mothers Against Drunk Driving; Summary

In summary, the moral-legal approach defines the drunk driver as a person who is morally deficient because he or she is willing to drive while intoxicated; endangering innocent members of society who have chosen to act responsibly. MADD has been one of the primary moral-entrepreneurs in this area by arguing that the best means of control is through the criminal justice system. Historically, the criminal justice system has not aggressively sought out and prosecuted the drunk driver. However, MADD believes that through aggressive lobbying for change, the legal system will provide the necessary tools for dealing with the drunk driver. Specific changes proposed by MADD include the passage of tougher laws that lower BACs for

determining drunk driving and lengthen prison sentences for drunk drivers. MADD also wants the police to more aggressively enforce existing laws and for prosecutors to end plea-bargaining with drunk drivers. MADD argues that only through measures like these can the road be made safe for responsible citizens and drivers.

The creation of the “killer drunk” did not happen by chance. Mothers Against Drunk Driving had a specific action plan that they have used to create the “killer drunk” for public consumption. Golden (1983) argues that the use of “the media--radio, television, newspapers and magazines--is the single most important and powerful tool [that] . . . an anti-drunk driving organization can use” (p. 61). Golden argues that because groups like MADD have learned to use the press as an effective tool that “drunk driving is rapidly becoming the national priority” (p. 62). This re-prioritization has paved “the way for vigorous corrective action” (p. 63).

Activists should seek out receptive reporters, and then educate those reporters in the movement’s agenda and goals while forgiving any mistakes while trying to make the reporter’s jobs as easy as possible. The activist should educate him or herself in the needs of journalists and seek to meet those needs. Golden cautions the activist “**You need the press, they don’t need you**” (p. 70) (emphasis in the original), therefore, any misquotes or other shortcomings should be forgiven. Journalists should also be the focus of “an all out campaign to force their support” (p. 72) because of the journalist’s importance in transmitting the movement’s message to the public.

Theoretic Background

Social Movement Organizations and News Organizations

Molotch (1979) argues, “a social movement must create a societal context in which it can survive, prosper, and ultimately triumph. One important resource in providing for this fertile context is the mass media and, in particular, the print and broadcast news” (p. 71). Molotch

continues that because social movements are made up of individuals and portions of society that lie outside of the established power structure, the use of the mass media represents an opportunity to reach actual and potential movement followers and neutralize, confuse, or immobilize would-be opponents. The use of the mass media by the social movement allows the movement to use an establishment institution to achieve non-establishment goals. The media coverage both enlivens the movement and increases morale within the movement. Thus, the mass media can become a means for organizational goal attainment. However, Molotch argues, that for a social movement to achieve its goals successfully using the mass media, the social movement must provide the news organization with information in a “dependably usable format, or produced at a dependable time and length with follow-up information securely available. . . . They [the social movement] must become interesting” (p. 77). In order to achieve this goal, the social movement must fulfill the needs of the news organization. Carragee (1990) argues, “The American news media are a centralized symbol-creating, -producing, and distributing system. Through their production staffs, writers, editors, and reporters, news organizations contribute to the construction of social reality” (p. 3). Carragee continues that news organization and journalists possess the critical power of definition and that this power is increased because of the centralized nature of the symbolic processes in the news organization. Because of this power, journalists play a decisive role in the construction of social reality.

Collective Action Frames

Because of the importance that anti-drunk driving SMO's place on how their arguments are presented to the public, an understanding of how a SMO's collective action frame (CAF) is constructed is important. A SMO's collective action frame is how the movement presents its agenda and arguments to the public. Definitions and concepts that are used in the construction,

repair, and maintenance of the CAF are very important to the social movement if the collective action frame is to be an effective tool for advancing the SMO's agenda. Snow and Benford (1988) argue that an collective action frame “refers to an interpretative schemata that simplifies and condenses ‘the world out there’ by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment” (p. 137). According to the authors, a collective action frame serves three roles, punctuation, attribution and articulation. The collective action frame serves as accenting devices that emphasize the gravity and injustice of a social situation. The collective action frame can also redefine as unjust or immoral a previously unfortunate but tolerable social condition, such as drunk driving. Blame or causality, along with responsibility, must be established in order for the collective action frame to function effectively. The SMO must “attribute blame for some problematic condition by identifying culpable agents” while “suggesting a general line for ameliorating the problem and the assignment of responsibility for carrying out that action” (p. 137). The final goal of the collective action frame is to provide a unified package of slices of observed and experienced reality. This ideological package serves as a “signaling and collating device” that provides an interpretative framework that serves as a map so that “subsequent experiences or events need not be interpreted anew” (p. 138). This acceptance of the collective action frame into the public’s schemata allows the collective action frame to be effective.

Feeney (1998), in supporting Snow and Benford, argues that in order for a collective action frame to galvanize public support there must be a readily identifiable source for the problem. He argues that a “fully articulated collective action frame must serve as catalyst for action by simplifying and condensing complex social phenomenon into something akin to an abbreviated morality tale” (p. 3). The purpose of this tale is to present the public a collective

action frame that will culturally identify the SMO. Tarrow (1992) argues that the collective action frame also implies policy positions, allies, and opponents while kindling the conviction of SMO followers without creating additional opposition. The collective action frame hopefully becomes part of the mainstream cultural values and discourse. According to Tarrow, an effective collective action frame ultimately becomes incorporated into the main stream as a cultural value. In order to achieve this, Feeney argues that the collective action frame must be crafted in “a manner that garners attention while at the same time appearing close enough to the political and cultural mainstream so that the SMO cannot be easily marginalized” (p. 7).

Adair (1996) argues that a collective action frame “established a common ‘schemata of interpretation’ so that people can orient their activities around a defined problem and recognize themselves as participants within a larger collective” (p. 352). However, Adair believes that maintenance of an effective and meaningful collective action frame becomes more difficult as the SMO gains public attention. This is because the collective action frame comes under the influence of “opponents, state actors, news media personnel, members of other movement groups, and the people that potentially can be mobilized” (p. 354). The SMO's collective action frame becomes increasingly dependent upon the circulation of meaning within the mass media and the public arenas. Once the collective action frame has entered these areas, it becomes increasingly vulnerable to appropriation or redefinition by opponents or counter movements.

Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford (1986) argue that what “is at issue is not merely the presence or absence of grievances, but the manner in which grievances are interpreted and the generation and diffusion of those differences” (p. 464). They argue that the SMO's frame alignment serves as link between the individual and the social movement. The frame must bridge gaps between the movement and potential but unrealized members while clarifying and

focusing the CAF on a particular issue so that an unambiguous framing of the issue is presented to the public. Often, the authors argue, a social movement will have to transform its collective action frame into a form that is more acceptable to the public in order to garner support and secure participants. This transformation can result in the public seeing a social injustice that was once tolerable as being intolerable and in need of correction “for a shift in attributional orientation is also frequently a constituent element of mobilization for and participation in movements that seek change by directly altering sociopolitical structures” (p. 474).

Social movement organizations like Mothers Against Drunk Driving face an on going battle in trying to get news organizations to present the movement’s collective action frame to the public. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) state “That most conversations between social movement activists and journalists take a drearily predictable form: ‘Send my message’ say the activist; ‘Make me news’ say the journalists” (p. 115). The authors argue that SMO’s are generally more dependent on the media than the reverse. The social movement needs the media so it can accomplish three major goals, mobilization of potential supporters, validation of the movement’s goal, and scope enlargement. The presentation of the movement's view in the media can give the organization access to its public, implicitly validate the organization’s goals and objectives, and broaden the reach of the organization's message. Noonan (1995) argues that access to the mass media is important for the social movement. In order for the SMO effectively to use the mass media, the movement must present a message that has counter themes and oppositional frames relative to the status quo. Unless the organization can position itself as being significantly different from frames that already exist in the public sphere, then the media will not give the movement access to the public. Danielian and Page (1994) argue that the SMO needs that mass media so that it can openly and directly advocate its policies to the public. They

also argue that certain types of groups, groups that cannot resort to professional lobbying or heavy campaign contributions, especially have to rely on public appeals through the mass media.

If a social movement organization like MADD is unable to reach the masses through the news media, then Meyer (1995) argues that “absent media attention, activists are unable to reach and activate a ‘reference public,’ broaden the scope of a conflict and the range of actors involved in an issue, and affect political change” (p. 176). The result will be the failure of the movement in its attempt to change how the public perceives and acts upon the issue that the movement presented. If the SMO is able to bring new information, perspectives, analysis, or actors into the public discourse, a “frame contest” can be created and there may be a change in how the public understands a social problem. The organization that is involved in the frame contest will “select and use mainstream symbols, values, and rhetoric in order of mobilize activists inundated by, and operating within, mainstream political culture” (p. 175). The frame contest can serve to bring dissident viewpoints into the public discussion, increase the salience of the SMO's political issues, and suggest alternatives that might support the movement's viewpoint. “As a result, public discourse may reflect the conflict between various actors, as challengers seek to redefine the issues of their concern and shape viable political solutions” (p. 173).

However, if the social movement organization is unable to initiate a frame contest, then the impact of the organization will be limited. Susan Ross (1998) argues that an SMO's success is directly related to the ability of the organization to link its message(s) to the existing interests, values and meanings of potential supporters. For the social movement organization to assimilate its values into the general political culture, the organization “must develop and employ rational strategies to rally resources (including media coverage) to support social and political change” (p. 519). She also argues that the “media play an important role in reality construction,

movement legitimatization, popularization, and success” (p. 520). This is because, according to Ross, that while agenda-setting research does not explicitly deal with SMOs, that setting research suggests that media coverage may be critical to the development of social agendas. If a social movement is able to successfully produce and promote a collective action frame that is in turn used by a news organization, the issues that the SMO is putting forth may be amplified and be given a measure of legitimacy. This will in turn cause those issues to receive greater attention than otherwise would have occurred. How the media presents the SMO's issues will affect the public's perceptions of those issues, because the public develops its vision of reality through “the interaction with a variety of sources, including the symbolic reality constructed by news media. The media creates a “public identity and definition” of the social movement, because media stories do not reflect an abstract, objective reality but rather selectively transmits messages from and about the movement. For the social movement, the mass media represents a tool for reaching out to movement followers, potential recruits, and would be opponents.

Gusfield (1975) argues that society's discussion of a public issue takes place within a container. If a social movement like MADD is able to use the media and other resources to alter or reconstruct this container, the public's discussion and interpretation will be altered. Gusfield believes that his “container” provides “the structure within which the problem phenomena can, as contained, be talked about, referred to and within which solutions can be proposed” (p.285). The control of the construction of this container is critical because it shapes the nature of the public discussion that will follow. The container's construction, its dimension, shape, and the materials used, all serve to limit and direct the nature and intensity of the public's discussion of a particular policy issue. Wallack (1984) argues that the “defining of the problem may well be the most intractable part of the problem” (p. 474). If the SMO is able to have its collective action

frame accepted as the container within which the public's discussion of a social issue should take place, then that discussion is then:

[B]ased on a set of critical but unexamined assumptions, which define the boundaries within which the phenomena can be talked about, referred to, and within which solutions can be proposed. Such assumptions become a part of the problem; they are not questioned or scrutinized, but are taken for granted. They become incorporated into personal thought and actions as basic truths that reflect the way things are or ought to be. (p. 474)

Wallack goes on to argue that defining the problem is a part of the political process that is linked to a set of underlying values and assumptions that are part of a broader societal arrangements and public policy. The contest over problem definition cannot ignore the public policy issues.

Problem definitions are extremely powerful tools that are directly linked to the context within which the problem exists. According to the author:

Problem definitions tend to serve disciplinary interests, narrow policy needs, and programmatic and bureaucratic interests. . . . [P]roblem definitions are always in somebody's interest, and the process of 'blaming the victim' or looking for particularistic explanations of social problem is in the short-term interest of everyone but the person with the problem. (p. 477)

Wallack also argues that the way in which the problem is defined helps to determine the research that is done in that particular area. Research that would tend to support the dominant problem definition is more likely to receive funding or other support, while research that conflicts with the dominant definition is less likely to be considered creditable. According to Wallack, "the way that the problem is defined virtually determines the research" (p. 477).

For a movement like Mothers Against Drunk Driving to be successful in its goal of changing how America chooses to deal with drunk driving, then MADD must carefully construct its collective action frame. If the frame is in a form that is not acceptable to the news organizations, then the collective action frame stands little chance of being placed on the public's agenda by the news organization.

Agenda-Setting Theory

For a social movement to have its collective action frame become part of the public's dialogue, the collective action frame must be placed on the public's agenda. Because of the nature of communication in American society, the mass media, particularly its news organizations, are one of the primary tools that a social movement can use to achieve that goal. If and how a news organization chooses to cover a given issue affects where that issue is placed on the public's agenda. Ghasen (1997) argues that the manner in which an issue or collective action frame is covered by a news organization affects both what the public thinks about the issue and the issue's salience relative to the public's discourse. For an SMO to have its collective action frame accepted by the public, it is important that news organizations transmit the collective action frame without significantly altering that frame. McCombs and Estrada (1997) argue that the news media are a primary source of the information that creates what Lippman called the pictures in our heads. This is because much of the world is beyond the direct reach of the public. Therefore:

The core theoretical idea underlying agenda setting is that elements prominent in the media picture become prominent in the audience's picture. . . . That the priorities of the media agenda influence the priorities of the public agenda over

time, elements emphasized on the media agenda come to be regarded as important on the public agenda. (p. 237)

Takeshita (1997) argues that the agenda setting function of the mass media has “significant implications for politics: In a contemporary mass democracy, it is people cognition and choices based on them that determine the main direction of a polity in the long run” (p. 15). For a social movement like MADD to be effective, then it must have news organizations place its CAF into the agenda created by the news organization.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) argue that the decisions newswriters make play “an important role in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but how much importance to attach to that issue” (p. 176). This is because the mass media constantly suggests to the readers that they pay attention to the issues that the media presents, while not presenting other issues to their audience. McCombs and Shaw continue by arguing that “while the mass media may have little influence on the direction or intensity of attitudes, it is hypothesized that *the mass media set the agenda, . . . influencing the salience of attitudes toward the political issues* [italics in the original] (p. 177). Cohen (1963) argued that while the mass media “may not be successful in telling its readers what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (p. 13). Katz (1980) extends Cohen’s contention by arguing that “as a latent consequence of telling us what to think about, the agenda setting effect can sometimes influence what we think” (p. 128). Lang and Lang (1991) argue that:

The media forces attention to certain issues. . . . They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals should think about, know about, and have feelings about. There is implied in the way they address their audience, more over, an appropriate way of looking at politics. (p. 468)

Protest and McCombs (1991) argue that the media's presentations create a perceived salience in the minds of the mass communication audience (p. 2). "It is important to note these cues created by the news media influence people's pictures of the world, not their feelings about these issues" (p. 3). According to Protest and McCombs, heavy media coverage of a specific issue will not decide an individual's view about how the issue should be treated, but the media's coverage will increase the overall salience of the issue for that individual. Rogers and Dearing (1988) posit that agenda setting needs to be sub-divided into three components: media agenda setting, public agenda setting, and policy agenda setting. The authors believe that media agenda setting is the result of "the mass media softly but firmly presenting the perspective of the ruling class to their audiences" (p. 558). This results in the audience giving their consent and support to the views being presented by the media.

The setting of the public agenda occurs because of the public's increasing dependence upon the mass media for information. McCombs and Shaw (1976) argue that:

Audiences not only learn about public issues and other matters from the media, they also learn how much importance to attach to an issue or topic from the emphasis the media places upon it. . . . It is the power of the press--the ability to structure the unseen environment of symbols--which has been called the agenda-setting function. (p. 176)

White (1973) argues that the power of the press is overwhelming to the point that "no great social reform can succeed in the United States unless the press prepares the public mind. And when the press seizes a great issue to thrust onto the agenda of talk, it moves action on its own" (p. 327).

The policy agenda setting aspect is based on the theory that government is responsive to public opinion (Rogers and Dearing, p. 559). Researchers have sought to find out if an issue that has gained salience on the public agenda will have that salience transferred to some degree to the

policy agenda of the appropriate governmental entity. Research has shown that while public opinion does have some influence upon the policy agenda, the methods by which this influence occurs has not been established and defined.

This ability of the news media to define the meaningful issues of the day allows the media to decide, by allocation of news coverage, the degree of importance which the public will attach to the issues presented by the news media (Iyengar and Simon, 1993, p. 366-367). Shaw and Martin (1992) argue that one of the main functions of the news media is to provide, through agenda setting, “a limited and rotating set of public issues, around which the political and social system can engage in dialogue” (p. 903). Shaw and Martin argue that agreement on such issues is necessary for the social system to function effectively. Furthermore, they argue that agreement between divergent social groups can and is supplied by a “media-provided” common agenda. The authors continue that “agenda-setting is a matching of issue patterns by collections of people in a social system, people who learn, talk, vote, act, and sometimes speak back to the media” (p. 906). McCombs and Shaw (1972) argue that even though the political world is reproduced imperfectly by the mass media, that the public accepts the media’s synthesized description of the world. This acceptance “strongly suggests an agenda setting function of the mass media” (p. 184).

Shaw and Martin (1992) argue that under agenda setting, “The media spotlights public events and issues long enough for collective identification and social discourse (p. 920). This allows the event to resonate within the sphere of public discussion, which in turn gives the event a prominence that it would be unable to achieve on its own. Shaw and Martin also argue that “nearly all thoughtful people have an interest in public agendas and the agencies that shape these agendas, and nearly all operate on the basis of (often unstated) assumptions about mass media

effects” (p 907). The authors continue that the assumption that agenda setting effects exist is widespread in journalism studies. Weaver (1984) argues that there are two major assumptions, which underlay agenda setting research:

- (1) The press does not reflect reality, but rather filters and shapes it, and (2) concentration by the media over time on relatively few issues leads to the public perceiving these issues as more salient or more important than other issues. (p. 682)

The ability of the mass media to set the agenda of the public is critical because once MADD has been able to present its arguments to news organizations in a manner that journalists accept, then those arguments will be presented to the public. Then it becomes highly likely that MADD’s construction of the drunk driver will gain salience with the public. Several scholars have argued that the press is not able to tell its audience what to think, but merely what they should think about. Other scholars have argued that once the public’s agenda has been set by the media, the appropriate governmental entity will have to become responsive because of the policy agenda setting effect. This allows a social movement like MADD to sway governmental action by first accessing the mass media, using that access to influence public opinion, and then using public opinion to sway governmental policy.

Framing

How a social movement’s collective action frame is presented to the public by the news media is critical to that movement’s success. This is because, as Hanson (1995) argues, that any news organization constructs, during the news production process, a frame of the world for its audience. This occurs because the news producer selects a small number of events, from the massive number of possible news stories, to present to its viewers. The news organization then shapes and molds the news event to meet the journalist’s needs. If a movement’s CAF is not selected, then the SMO has little chance of reaching the public and succeeding in the political

arena. However, if news organization decides to deal with the issues raised by the social movement, but presents an analysis that conflicts with the movement's objectives and goals, then even greater harm is done to the movement. This is because once a cognitive map of a particular news issue is established in the public's mind, then great effort is required to re-map that issue. During the news production process, journalists choose to emphasize certain elements of the chosen story while other elements are down played. Certain ideas, images, and topics are repeated in association with each other until the procedure "becomes a self-reinforcing process that in turn shapes the future decisions about the selection of news" (p. 389). The news producer also "helps the . . . viewer to process this information by using familiar categories, key words and images" (p. 371). This "framing" of the news serves to limit the information presented to the audience, and also limits the interpretative frames with which the audience has to analyze the news. This in turn serves to construct the container within which the public's discussion takes place.

Why should we be concerned about the frame in which a public issue is placed? Tversky and Kahneman (1981) conducted a series of experiments, which they argue, clearly shows how an issue is placed in front of the public impacts how the public acts upon that issue.

For these experiments, the total number of respondents is represented by N and the percentage who chose each option is indicated in brackets.

Problem 1 [N = 152]: Imagine that the U. S. is preparing for the outbreak of an unusual Asian disease. Two alternative programs to combat the disease have been proposed. Assume that the exact scientific estimate of the consequences of the program are as follows:

If program A is adopted, 200 people will be saved. [72 percent]

If program B is adopted, there is a 1/3 probability that 600 people will be saved, and 2/3 probability that no people will be saved. [28 percent]

Which of the two programs would you favor?

Problem 2 [N= 155]

If Program C is adopted 400 people will die. [22 percent]

If program D is adopted there is 1/3 probability that nobody will die, and a 2/3 probability that 600 people will die [78 percent]

Which of the two programs would you favor? (p. 453)

The authors' analysis of the data concludes that the framing in which each problem was presented caused the different results. The authors believe that Problem One was presented in a "risk aversion" frame while Problem Two was presented in a "risk taking" frame. However, the authors argue that the problems were effectively the same and concluded that the frame that each problem was placed within caused the results. Anderson (1995) argues that individual's decisions vary on where they perceive themselves to be relative to the subjective value and magnitude of gain and loss of a given decision making situation. He also believes that "situations where framing effects are most prevalent tend to have one thing in common—that there is not a clear basis for choice" (p. 339). Shafir (1993) argues that an individual's preferences are influenced by "different frames, contexts, and elicitation procedures [that] highlight different aspects of the options and bring forth different considerations" (p. 546). He believes that an individual tends to make decisions that are the easiest to justify and not necessarily the best decision. Anderson (1995) argues that "different framings make it easier or harder to justify an action" (p. 339). Entman (1993) argues, "Kahneman and Tversky's experiment demonstrates that frames select and call attention to a particular aspect of reality" (p. 54). Entman continues that the experiments demonstrate that frames also serve to direct attentions away from other possible explanations or solutions of a given problem.

Goffman (1974) argues that all individuals actively classify, organize and interpret what happens in our lives so that we can make sense out of those events. He believes individuals use

frames as a “principles of organization which govern events--at least social ones--and our subjective involvement in them” (1974, pp. 10-11). Goffman uses that concept of a “strip” to describe or “refer to any arbitrary slice or cut from the stream of on going activity . . . as seen from the perspective of those subjects involved in sustaining an interest in them” (p. 10). A strip is not a naturally occurring division in the flow of life, but an arbitrary segmentation that can be used to draw attention to a starting point for examination. Tuchman (1978) argues that frames turn Goffman’s strips from a “non-recognizable happening or amorphous talk into a discernible event. Without the frame, they would be mere happenings of mere talk, incomprehensible sounds” (p. 192). With a frame, the strip becomes recognizable as a conversation about an event. Framing imparts a character to the event being considered that it is important for a movement to have its collective action frame represented in the frame produced by the news organization.

Tuchman (1978) argues that because “news is a window on the world” (p.1) that it is through the news frame that Americans learn about that world and what is happening outside of the individual’s direct experience. If the news organization chooses to frame an issue in a certain way, alternative views will have only limited access to the market place of ideas. The news frame delineates the known world for the news consumer. Tuchman, however, argues that the news frame is problematic because the view, which it provides the audience, depends upon the size, shape, direction and clarity of the glass contained within the window. The view also depends upon each individual member of the audience and their location relative to the window. Tuchman argues that the frames, which are provided by news workers to the public, are to a large part dependent upon what the news worker defines as newsworthiness. The routines of news work help to impose a frame on the information being presented to the public. Tuchman argues, “reporters do more than make an event public; they define what an event is and which

amorphous happenings are a part of the event. As frames, news stories offer definition of social reality” (p. 94). Reporters, according to Tuchman, construct a social reality that possess its own internal validity and selective reality that only exist within the news story’s own frame.

Gamson (1989) argues that facts only take on meaning when they are embedded in a story line or frame that provides coherence. Gamson argues that, citing Gitlin’s (1980) analysis “media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports” (p. 7). While it is possible for many different stories to be told about a given event, the news frame allows only one version to be effectively presented to the public by the news organization. The information included within a story is meaningful and relevant to the extent that it serves to differentiate between different potential frames. Information that can be shared between possible frames tells the audience little about the meaning being constructed by the story. What is critical to production of meaning is the information that is included or excluded from a given story because inclusion or exclusion reveals implicit story lines. Frame analysis should examine both inclusions and omissions. Gamson continues his argument:

Television news is replete with metaphors, catch phrases and other symbolic devices that provide a shorthand way of suggesting the underlying story line. These devices provide a rhetorical bridge by which discrete bits of information are given a context and relationship to each other. (p. 158)

Gamson concludes his support of applying framing analysis to the mass media by arguing that “framing analysis offers a way of specifying relationship by focusing on the relative prominence of competing frames as a measure of outcome” (p. 160-161).

Entman (1993) argues that an analysis of framing can illuminate in a clear and precise manner the “influence over a human consciousness [which] is exerted by the transfer (or

communication) of information from one location . . . to that consciousness” (p. 51-52). The author further argues that framing primarily involves issues of selection and salience:

“To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.”

[italics in the original] (p. 52)

Frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies. This is accomplished by highlighting some information, making that information more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to the audience, while downplaying or ignoring other information. Entman argues that the highlighting can be accomplished by placement, repetition or by associating the information with other, more culturally familiar information. This emphasis:

Determines whether most people notice and how they understand and remember a problem, as well as how they evaluate and choose to act upon it. The notion of framing thus implies that the frame has a common effect on a large portion of the receiving audience. . . . [F]rames simultaneously direct attention away from other aspects. Most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include. (p. 54)

Entman (1991) argues that framing devices are difficult to detect because such devices appear to be natural and unremarkable choices in the construction of the news story. He argues, however, that such choices “are not inevitable or unproblematic but are central to the way the news frame helps to establish the literally ‘common sense’ (i. e., widespread) interpretation of events” (p. 6). Agreeing with Hanson, Gamson and Tuchman, Entman argues that a given frame “does not eliminate all inconsistent data, but through repetition, placement and reinforcing data, render one basic interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensible, and memorable than others” (p. 7). Frames reside in the news narrative production process, and encourage the audience to develop particular understandings of those frames. Entman (1993) also argues that

framing “plays a major role in the exertion of political power, and the frame in a news text is really the imprint of power--it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text” (p.55).

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) argue that the frames that news organizations make available with the greatest frequency, and that the public uses most often, are the frames that are most likely to influence public opinion. Gamson (1992) believes that frame availability, as provided by the news organization, affects the use of that frame by the audience. Sotirovic (1998) argues that the “choice of a catch phrase, an attractive metaphor, or an extreme exemplar of human behavior in a report may provide a powerful framework influencing which aspects of the issues one should bring into focus and which to drop from thinking” (p. 3). The greater the availability of particular presentation of an issue, the more likely the public is to use that presentation in their decision-making. Sotirovic argues that:

Media use may not change or directly shape opinion, but predominance of some frames may lead audience understanding in certain directions. Repeated focus on the same images and ideas restricts access to alternative views, and narrows the thinkable solutions to problems. The ideas that come to mind more easily maybe the most decisive information of one’s opinion about an issue. (p. 23)

Media and Modern Society

In today’s mediated society, individuals rarely directly experience the events about which they will be called upon to be knowledgeable. The mass media, and in particular television, “play important, if often invisible and taken for granted, roles in our daily lives” (Morgan and Signorielli, 1990). Molotch and Lester (1997) argue that “In everyday life, news tells us [about] what we do not experience directly, and thus renders otherwise remote happenings observable and meaningful” (p. 193). Graber (1993) states, “The mass media play a central and ever-

growing role in the conduct of American politics” (xiii). Researchers have found that “television is the source of the most broadly shared images and messages in history. It is the mainstream of the common symbolic environment into which our children are born and in which we all live out our lives” (Gerbner, et al., 1994). It has become the centralized storytelling system of American society by bringing relatively coherent messages and images into our homes. TV has become “the primary common source of socialization and everyday information” (p. 18).

Broadcast news in particular has a significant impact because the public finds the information that it presents as being very believable. The “life” presented by television is not “so much composed of specific attitudes and opinions as it is by broad, underlying, global assumptions about the ‘facts’ of life”(Morgan and Signorielli, 1990, p. 14). One of the reasons why this presentation is so believable is that the news product is directly seen and heard by viewers (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987, p. 1). Graber (1993) argues that the mass media provide attitudinal and behavioral models, and that the images that are provided are especially powerful because the events that are depicted are not directly experienced by the audience. What is not seen and heard is the construction of the “frame” that sets the boundaries and context within which a given message is presented to the public by the news story. Gamson (1989, p. 157) argues that the facts have no intrinsic meaning. The meaning that the audience gives to the facts presented in the news story depends upon how the facts are framed and presented. If the news report selects certain facts, organizes them in a particular manner, and gives them coherence by selecting certain information to emphasize while ignoring other information, then the news report will make sense only within that context. How news organizations frame their reports about social movements is crucial to the success of the SMO. While the dedicated, hardcore members of a social movement may actively seek information that is relevant to the movement’s

goals and objectives, most potential members are passive in their acquisition of such information. Therefore, the decision of the mass media to present the agenda of the social movement to the public, and frame within which it is presented, can help to determine if potential members of the social movement become active participants.

Gamson (1995) argues that “movement activists are media junkies. . . .Media discourse provides them with ‘weekly, daily, sometimes hourly triumphs and defeats, grounds for hope and fear’” (p. 85). However, Gamson believes that the social movement activist realizes that potential or less involved members of a social movement does not share the activist’s desire to seek out specialized information from movement publications and public meetings. Instead, the organization’s constituency generally has to be reached by the mass media, “General-audience media are only one forum for public discourse, but they are the central one for social movements. . . . Only general-audience media provide a potentially shared public discourse” (p. 85). The manner in which the media presents the movement’s message will greatly influence the likelihood the movement being successful. Because of the significance of the media in the success of the social movement organization, it is important to understand how the social movement and the media interact. The first step in SMO/news organization is the decision by the social movement to construct a collective action frame. If the CAF is constructed in a manner that meets the needs of a news organization, the collective action frame has a chance of becoming part of the daily news flow. If the collective action frame does not meet the needs of journalists, then the frame fails at this chance to enter into the public discourse. Once the news organization accepts the movement’s frame as being news worthy, the reporter’s decision on how to use the collective action frame while constructing the journalist’s report becomes critical. If journalists choose an oppositional frame, then the social movement's agenda fails to reach the

public in a form that supports the social movement. However, if the news organization accepts the movement's framing of a potential news event, and produces a news frame that supports the social movement, then the SMO's agenda has a chance of becoming part of the public' agenda. Through this process, the collective action frame of the social movement can become part of the public agenda.

The framing of social movement organizations by the news media is critical to the organization continued existence and effectiveness. If news organizations had continued to frame the drunk driving issue in the “there but for the grace of God go I” frame that had dominated society's view of the drunk driver prior to 1980, then MADD would have probably have a short and uneventful existence. It was crucial for MADD to construct a collective action frame that was true to its goals but at the same time would be acceptable to news organizations. The news organizations would in turn present MADD's collective action frame to the public for their consumption.

To understand the SMO/journalist interaction, a sequence of interrelated actions needs to be understood. This interaction is complex and interdependent. First, the social movement organization needs to determine what the message is that it wants to present to the public. Then the SMO needs to create a collective action frame. That frame is critical to the movement because if it is unattractive to the media, it will be rejected by news organization. The collective action frame has to meet the “make me news” criteria that journalists use to sort out what they consider is be legitimate news events from the over whelming flow of potential news stories. The social movement then has to present effectively its position to the news organizations. Once the collective action frame has been accepted by the news organization, it is crucial that the frame has been constructed in such a manner so that it maintains its integrity as the journalist

processes the collective action frame into a news frame. The framing of the issue that the journalist uses is critical because journalists are able to accept the issue raised by the SMO but reject the associated collective action frame. By presenting an oppositional frame to the issue raised by the social movement, control of the construction of the cylinder within which the public discussion will take place is taken from the SMO and given to the individual or organization that supports the competing frame. After the collective action frame is made news worthy, the journalist then presents the report to the public. Because of the agenda setting effect, the issues raised by journalists can become salient to the public and in turn result in the legislative agenda being changed to answer the questions raised by the collective action frame of the social movement.

Entman and Rojecki (1993, pp. 156-157) argue that there are seven evaluative factors that are likely to affect a social movement's ability to receive news coverage that is framed in such a manner so that the presentation by the media is favorable to that organization:

1. Rationality-emotionality: whether the movement is intellectually driven by sound policy ideas as opposed to emotionality.
2. Expertise: whether the movement has the technical capacity to analyze and recommend valid policy.
3. Public support: how many Americans agree with movement goals.
4. Partisanship: whether movement participants seek to influence policy through the use of political power.
5. Unity: the degree of agreement among those pursuing the movement's goal.
6. Extremism: whether participants deviate from the mainstream.

7. Power: whether the movement is likely to influence government power.

Entman and Rojecki continue their analysis by arguing that when there are two sides disputing the construction of a given social issue, that the application of these framing judgments may be applied unequally. This unequal application will favor one view at the expense of its competition because what “the media choose[s] to highlight in covering a movement will centrally affect its ability to influence public opinion and policy” (p. 156). Other impacts of the media’s framing decision will affect the social movement organization’s ability to recruit new members to the organization and to gain support from powerful societal elites. News framing also can serve to legitimize or marginalize the SMO (p. 159-169).

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) argue that social movement’s messages need access to the news organizations transmission facilities for three reasons. First is mobilization, so the organization can reach their constituency through public discourse. Second is validation, so that targets of influence, which the SMO have been focusing its effort on “will grant a movement recognition and deal with its claims and demands” (p. 116). Last is scope enlargement, where other parties are drawn into the public discussion. Gamson and Wolfsfeld found:

Three elements of media coverage of particular interest to [social] movement actors: (1) standing, this is, the extent to which the group is taken seriously by being given extensive coverage, regardless of content; (2) preferred framing, this is, the prominence of the group’s frame in media discourse on the issues of concern; and (3) movement sympathy, that is, the extent to which the content of the coverage presents the group in a way that is likely to gain sympathy from the relevant public. (120-121)

The authors also offer several hypothesis that suggest how the social movement’s characteristics and actions will affect media products: (1) the greater the resources, organization, and media standing of the SMO, the greater and more prominent its preferred frame will be presented by the

media, (2) the narrower the demands of the movement, the more likely the movement is to receive sympathetic coverage by the media, (3) the greater the size and “eliteness” of the media outlet’s audience, the greater the effect on the movement’s framing strategies, and (4) the more the movement emphasizes the visual element in its news production, the more likely the organization is to produce action strategies that emphasize spectacle, allocated through competition, drama and confrontation (p. 120-125).

Snow and Benford (1988) argue that there are three core-framing tasks, which the SMO has to meet in order to be successful:

- (1) diagnosis of some event or aspect of social life as problematic and in need of alteration, (2) a proposed solution to the diagnosed problem that specifies what needs to be done, and (3) a call to arms or rationale for engaging in ameliorative or corrective actions.

Diagnostic framing focuses on the identification of a problem and attribution of blame to an individual or organization. Prognostic framing not only proposes solutions but also seeks to identify strategies, tactics, and goals of the movement. Motivational framing by the organization seeks to gain additional supporters for the social movement by prodding those individuals and organizations to action.

Pride (1995) argues that in order for an SMO to be effective in delivering its message to the public at large, there is a need for a critical event, which is contextually dramatic to support the organization’s goals. According to Pride, events drive the movement’s development because critical events can alter expectations and perceptions of threats by the public, and thus focus or distract the attention of potential members of the SMO. Pride argues that a redefining event “is a critical event followed by an important shift in public and elite perceptions of reality affecting movement issues” (p. 7). The redefining event sets the stage for a change in public policy “because it marks the shift in perceptions among contestants, and stimulates significant change

within the mass public” (p. 7). Pride continues his argument that “mass media operatives and social movement activists frequently frame social problems for the public and that “the collective redefinition of a social problem is enhanced if media and movement frame the issues in similar way” (p. 8).

How the media frames a given social issue is critical to the movement. If the press adopts the social movement’s framing of an issue as its own, then the public becomes knowledgeable about the issue through the organization’s frame while at the same time other competing frames are generally excluded from public discourse. The critical relationship between the press and the SMO is that each group meets the other group’s needs. The organization needs to get its message out to the public with the message generally intact. The press needs to fill the daily “news hole” within the resources that are at the news media’s disposal. Standing, preferred framing and movement sympathy are important to the movement when the news media presents the organization’s message to the public. The social movement should focus on a critical event because such events can alter expectations and perceptions of the public and provide an effective vehicle to present to the news media for its use in presenting the story to the public.

Summary: Interaction between Social Movements, News Organizations, and the Public

The social movement organization is a group of individuals who have joined to promote a particular viewpoint that entails societal change. They might seek to use the mass media to reach, and then enlist, the public into their effort to enact social change. The decisions that the organization makes during the construction of its collective action frame impacts the likelihood of a news organization accepting that frame for the basis of its news reports. The structuring of

the collective action frame needs to present effectively the social movement's agenda while meeting the reporter's journalistic needs in order to succeed.

The collective action frame must meet the "make me news" criteria of the news organization or the social movement organization's framing of the issue will be rejected by the news organization. If the CAF meets the journalist's needs, then the journalist might produce news reports supporting the SMO views. This acceptance of the collective action frame is important because journalists are a major provider of information to the public due to the public's lack of direct contact with issues of public importance. Journalistic decisions influence which issues become part of the public discussion/political agenda. Holding themselves out as non-biased and objective, news organizations are not neutral transmitters of information. Through the use of news judgment, personal values, and news routines, news is shaped to meet the needs of the news organization at the expense of providing the public unbiased information.

News organizations produce reports that fit within a "frame" that serves to meet the needs of the news organization. The news frame is transparent but always present and while it is unable to tell the public what to think, it can tell the public to think about an issue. News frames serve to shape and focus public discussion. A social movement needs journalists to use a frame that supports their views. If the journalist adopts an oppositional frame, that will severely limit the social movement's chance of success in having its view adopted as public policy. Even a lack of treatment may prevent public discussion of the social movement's collective action frame because the public relies on the mass media for information about the world outside of their direct experience.

The picture that the media paints in the public's head will influence what the public thinks about and raise that issue's salience for the public. Issues that have been raised in salience

by news reports will be more likely to be placed on the public agenda. Once an issue's salience has been raised, then the likelihood of political action increases because it is in elected officials' own self-interest to service their public.

If the social movement organization is successful in presenting its views to journalists, having those journalists listen and accept the organization's views, and then having the journalists present those views in that form to the public, then the public discussion is more likely to take place within the SMO's framing. Once that public discussion takes place, and as long as no competing frame is presented and adopted by the journalists/public, then the SMO's collective action frame may be enacted into law, regulation, or public policy.

Research Questions

The dominant paradigm presented by news organizations is the moral-legal approach to the "killer drunk," as defined by Gusfield (1981) and used by Mothers Against Drunk Driving to argue for strict laws and harsh prison sentences. Lord (1990) argues that there were three main elements that converged to allow and support MADD's dramatic entry into the traffic safety arena. The elements were name, timing and media savvy. Lord, citing Freund (1985), argued that the needs of news organizations and Mothers Against Drunk Drivers coincided within each other:

Television began this groundswell by giving airtime to MADD's painful Congressional Hill testimony. I did so not because of its perceived importance, but because it was emotional, sentimental. No news director will pass up a grieving, sobbing mother. In their search for safe issues on which to take a 10-second position, editorial directors pounced on drunk driving as if it were an end-zone fumble. (p. 192)

Lord argues that it was because of the convergence of these three elements that MADD was successful in presenting its case to the press, public and politicians.

Very few social movements have had the continued success that MADD has enjoyed, in both the length of the coverage and in the adaptation of MADD's collective action frame as the media's journalistic frame. These research questions seek to explore various aspects of this apparent effectiveness and longevity.

- RQ1: Will the type news report and the frequency of coverage of the drunk driver in the news media's change after the founding of Mothers Against Drunk Drivers in 1980s when compared to the frequency of such coverage prior to 1980?
- RQ2: Will the framing of the drunk driver become more deviant after the founding of MADD than before the founding of MADD?
- RQ3: Will high visibility "media events" be featured more in the news coverage of drunk driving by the news organizations than coverage of substantive drunk driving issues?
- RQ4: What aspects of the drunk driving issue have resulted in the continuing long-term coverage of drunk drivers and MADD by the news media?
- RQ5: Did the reporters covering the drunk driving story interact with Mothers Against Drunk Driving or any other anti-drunk driving group in such a manner that the journalist's reports were influenced?

Chapter Three

Methods

Introduction

The primary methods of addressing the research questions were both quantitative and qualitative. A content analysis of the news media's coverage of the drunk driver in periods both before and after the founding of Mothers Against Drunk Driving in 1980 provided insight into what was published or broadcast. The quantitative content analysis consisted of the analysis of news reports, both print and broadcast, that dealt with the drunk driving issue. To explore the impact of MADD and other similar groups upon journalists, a series of interviews was conducted with journalists who were identified during the content analysis section of this study as having written or reported significantly on various drunk driving issues. This qualitative data was used to interpret or support the quantitative data generated by the content analysis.

The data for this study was drawn from news reports about alcohol-impaired drivers and related subjects in *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and the three major broadcast networks (ABC, NBC, and CBS). In order to explore what, if any, influence the anti-drunk driving movement, (primarily represented by Mothers Against Drunk Driving), had on society's reaction to the drunk driver, the period for this study was from 1975 to 1990 inclusive. The use of this time period allowed the establishment of a base line of journalistic coverage of the drunk driving story prior (1975-80) to MADD, RID, and SADD's (defined as pre-MADD era) founding in the late 1970s and early 1980s. A comparison between this baseline and the

MADD/RID/SADD-era coverage (1981 to 1990, defined as the MADD-era) provided an opportunity to explore any changes in news coverage by the selected news organizations.

Sampling Procedures: The New York Timesⁱ

Use of the Lexis-Nexis Academic Universe database allowed the selection of the relevant stories from *The New York Times*. A keyword search using “MADD,” “Mothers Against Drunk Driving,” “drunk! driv!,” “DWI,” or “DUI” was conducted for each individual year contained within the study for the *Times*. The Lexis-Nexis database covered the entire period of the study for the *Times*. The search returned full text versions of the news reports from June 1, 1980 to December 31, 1990. That text, along with the descriptive information such as reporter, date, and page number were entered into the print database. However, the Lexis-Nexis database did not contain the full text of the *Times*’ news reports from January 1, 1975 to May 31, 1980. Instead, the database offered Information Bank Abstracts summaries of those news reports that generally ranged from 20 to 100 words in length. The available microfilm records of the *New York Times*, along with the data provided by the Abstracts generated the full text of those news reports that predated the reports available in their entirety through the Lexis-Nexis database.

The length of each story obtained from microfilm was determined by counting the words on a photocopy of each news report. A printout of the complete text of each microfilm report was used for this study, and the text and descriptive information obtained from the microfilm was entered into the print database. Descriptive data that were obtained from the Lexis-Nexis search included month, day, year, and day of week along with edition, section, page, column, desk, length, title, and reporter/source. The data that was available for the stories that were obtained from Information Bank Abstracts included the month, day, year, day of week, and page number. The Information Bank Abstracts also included page, column, length, title, and

reporter/source for 99 out of the 116 stories that were obtained from the Information Bank Abstract. The remaining Information Bank Abstracts reports lack some of the descriptive data that was not available from other sources.

The search resulted in a total of 1,821 news reports from the *New York Times* that met the search criteria. After hard copies of all of the reports were printed out, they were organized into chronological order, and each report was read to determine if the news story was relevant to this study. The standard that was used in this determination was “did the story deal with some aspect of the drunk driving issue in a meaningful way.” A news report was defined as having meaningful content if the report dealt with some aspect of drunk driving in a direct and non-superficial manner. This could range from a feature profile of a major drunk driving activist or a report on an alleged drunk driver being arrested, to a legislative progress update that dealt with one of many different legislative issues, as long as some aspect of drunk driving legislation was addressed in the news report. A brief update on the progress of a drunk driving case through the court system also met the meaningful way criteria. There was no length criteria set. One type of report that was defined as not meeting the “meaningful way” filter was a legislative profile that merely mentioned a political candidate or office holder’s concern about drunk driving as part of a laundry list of other concerns/issues without going into any greater depth. A report that contained a few lines of copy that dealt with some aspect of drunk driving would be able to meet the standard if those lines had the necessary meaningful content as in the example below:

Other automobile-related laws that become effective today require that drivers injured in an accident (as well as those not injured) must now make a report to police as soon as possible; would make inspections unnecessary for boat or utility trailers up to and including 3,000 pounds that do not have brakes; would extend the validity of drivers' learning permits from six months to a

year, and would allow police to join their colleagues in the District in using the "Denver Boot" to immobilize parked cars with three or more unpaid traffic tickets.

Police will also henceforth be able to charge persons with drunk driving, while intoxicated if the mode of transport is a motorized bicycle (moped)(italics added). Motorists will also be prohibited from covering both ears with earphones. (*Washington Post*, July 1, 1977)

After applying this filter, there were a total of 975 reports from the *New York Times* that were to be included in the sampling universe. Two major areas that were rejected from inclusion in the sampling universe were the Exxon Valdez incident and three Northwest Airlines pilots who were arrested for flying while intoxicated. The captain of the tanker and at least one of the pilots had previous drunk driving records, but there was no discussion about drunk driving beyond the brief mention of that previous drunk driving record.

Out of the 975 *New York Times* reports that were determined to be the sampling universe, one out of three were selected to be included in the sample, for a total of 325 reports. Each report in the universe was listed in chronological order. If there were two or more news reports on any given day, the database program selected the order in which the reports were listed. Each report was then assigned, in sequence, a four-digit identification number, beginning with 0001 and ending with 975. A hard copy of each report was stamped with the corresponding number. That number was also inserted into the computer database to identify that specific report for later use if necessary. There were a few reports in the sequence that were determined to be invalid after the computer assigned identification numbers and the hard copies were stamped with the appropriate identification number. Those reports were removed. If one of those deleted numbers was chosen for the random sample, then the next valid report number will be chosen. For example, if report number 321 is chosen to be part of the sample, and that report does not meet the meaningful content criteria, report 322 (or the next non-selected report) will be used in place

of 321, and the sampling selection will continue with the next report chosen by the random number process. Using a random number generator, the database program being used in this study was instructed to choose one third of the universe to be included in the sample. After this selection, clean hard copies of the selected news reports were printed for the coders to analyze.

Sampling Procedures: The Washington Postⁱⁱ

The text and descriptive date for *The Washington Post* was obtained in a similar manner with one exception. The same keyword search as was used with *The New York Times* was conducted using Lexis-Nexis for *The Washington Post* for the period from January 1, 1977 to December 31, 1990. Because Lexis-Nexis did not include editions of *The Washington Post* published prior to January 1, 1977, *The Washington Post Index* was used to find the news reports published in the *Post* during the period from January 1, 1975 to December 31, 1976. The Index was searched using key words “automobile” or “traffic accident.” Several other key words were tried but no other categories were found in *The Washington Post Index* that contained stories about drunk driving. Photocopies of any story found using the *Post Index* were obtained using available microfilm.

The Washington Post Index and Lexis-Nexis searches resulted in 2,278 *Washington Post* news reports being selected for possible inclusion into the study. A hard copy of each report was printed out from the Lexis-Nexis database or photocopied from microfilm. After all of the reports were organized into chronological order, each report was read to determine if the news story was relevant to this study. The standard that was used in this determination was “did the story deal with some aspect of the drunk driving issue in a meaningful way” (see explanation in the New York Times sampling explanation). As with the *Times*, two major areas that were

rejected were the Exxon Valdez incident and the three Northwest Airlines pilots that were arrested for flying while intoxicated.

In addition, a number of reports that were returned had no mention of any of the keywords that related to the drunk driving issue. This was because of the nature of the search methods required to cast a broad enough net to be reasonably assured that the search returned the sought after news reports resulted in several stories being selected that did not deal with any aspect drunk driving issue. After applying this filter, there were a total of 1,237 reports from *The Washington Post* that were included in the study. The same listing, numbering, and selection process as was used for the *Times* sample was used for the *Post* sample. A total of 419 reports were selected to be included in the sample for *The Washington Post*. After the selection process was completed for both the *Post* and the *Times*, the two samples were joined together in a single unified print sample.

Enhanced Sampling Print

After gathering the original print universe and following the sampling procedures described above, it became apparent that the number of news reports included in the pre-MADD era (65 total reports in the print sample), was insufficient to support a valid and sound statistical analysis of the pre-MADD data. The decision was made to address this problem in two ways. First, the starting point of the analysis would be moved to January 1, 1969, while the same ending point of December 31, 1990 would be maintained. The rationale for choosing to extend the study to include 1969-74 was based on the limitations of the Vanderbilt Television News Archive. The Vanderbilt database only extended back to August 1968. Because the print and broadcast database needed to cover the same period, 1969 was the earliest start that was possible. Secondly, the 1969 to 1980 section would no longer be a one out of three random sample, but

instead all relevant news reports from 1/1/1969 to 12/31/1980 would be included in the overall sample. The original sample of 744 reports, starting at the beginning of 1975 and ending on the last day of 1990, would be designated of the Original Print Sample. The new sample would be designated the Enhanced Print Sample and would included all of the reports in the original sample along with the new reports selected by the enhanced selection process described above.

Because the sampling universe had already been determined for the years 1975 to 1980 for the *New York Times*, all that remained to be done to complete the gathering of those selected news reports was to enter those reports that were already in the sampling universe but not included in the Original Sample. The ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, which covers the New York Times from 1857 to the present, along with Lexis Nexis, was used to gather those reports. Using identifying information already in hand, a search was done on an individual basis for each news report. Lexis-Nexis provided a full text version of each report it returned from 1975 to 1980, while the ProQuest database produced an image of each report from 1969 to 1979. That image was printed out, and then transcribed into the computer database being used for this analysis. The descriptive information (title, reporter date, etc) was already in that database for the reports obtained from Lexis-Nexis. The ProQuest database was also used to create the universe for the 1969-74 years that were being added to the study. A keyword search was executed following the guidelines for the Lexus-Nexis keyword search described above. After the story list was generated, each individual news report was called up, and read on the computer screen. If those reports meet the relevance guidelines for the study, then that report was printed. The text of the report was manually entered into the computer database being used. However, for the 1969-74 years, the descriptive data for each report also had to be keyboarded into the database. For the 1975-80 period, there were an additional 46 reports from the *New York Times*

added the Enhanced Sample. The inclusion of all drunk driving related news report published in the *New York Times* in 1969-74 added an additional 33 reports to the study for a total of 79 reports added to the database from the *Times*.

For the *Washington Post*, a similar approach was used, including not only the ProQuest database for the *Post*, but also using *The Washington Post Index* when the ProQuest database was not available. The same procedures were followed in entering the additional news reports in the print database as were used for the *New York Times*. For the *Washington Post*, there were an additional 39 news reports that were included in the Enhanced Print Sample from the 1975-80 period. There were additional an 39 news reports added to the database from the 1969-74 period, for a total of 78 additional reports added from the *Washington Post* to the Enhanced Print Sample from the *Washington Post*. After these additions from the *Post* and *Times*, there were 900 news reports that were included in the Enhanced Print Sample. The pre-MADD era now contains 221 reports, and the MADD-era continued to contain 679 reports. It is believed that for the print portion of the analysis, the question about the lack of statistical soundness has been properly addressed by this increase. Because the assumptions about the use of data generated by a randomly selected sample no longer applies to the 1969-80 portion of the sample when using the number of reports published for a statistical test, percentages within a specified time period will now be used (see Table 3). This will factor out the biases that the increased number of reports that are now included in the pre-MADD portion of the Enhanced Sample has caused, while maintaining the increased statistical soundness.

Sampling Procedures: Broadcastⁱⁱⁱ

For the broadcast portion of the content analysis, the study used the Vanderbilt Television News Archive database to search for ABC, NBC, and CBS news coverage of the drunk driving

issue. A keyword search was conducted using the Archive's web site. That search extended from 1975 to 1990, inclusive. The keywords used in the search were "MADD," "Mothers Against Drunk Driving," "DUI," "drunk! driv!," and "DWI." A total of 229 news reports were found. An abstract of each news story was printed out. Each abstract is created by an employee of the Vanderbilt Television News Archive. That individual also determines the name of the report that is included in the Vanderbilt database. After the news program is recorded, a person views the program, enters a variety of data into the database, and writes the abstract. That database is accessible over the Internet. The descriptive data that was provided by the Archive's database consisted of year, month, day, title, anchor, reporter, length of the news report to the nearest ten seconds, location of the report within the newscast, and network. After all of the reports were organized into chronological order, each abstract was read to determine if the news story was relevant to this study. The same criteria as was used for the *Post* and *Times* analysis was used to determine if the news report met the "did the story deal with some aspect of the drunk driving issue in a meaningful way" standard.

Because of the limited number of reports that the search returned from 1975 to 1980, a decision was made to include all of the reports from this period returned by the key word search into the Original Broadcast Sample that would be subjected to further analysis. Numerous scholars have designed studies that are done by using only the limited data provided by the Vanderbilt abstracts. It was felt that the nature of the questions that would be asked in this study could not be effectively answered by using the Vanderbilt Abstracts. The decision was made to have Vanderbilt compile a selection of reports on tape for use in this analysis from a list that I provided. Because of the cost of having a compilation of news reports created by the archive, a decision was made to limit the number of reports that would be analyzed. To do this several

filters were chosen to select the reports from the MADD-era that might contain the most meaningful information. The first filter removed all reports that consisted only of the anchor reading information on set, with or without supporting video. These reports were typically 40 seconds or less in length. Because airtime is a critical and limited resource for network news organizations, the remaining news reports were put through a second filter that excluded all reports of less than 110 seconds in length as determined by the start and end times provided by the Vanderbilt Television News Archive. After that filter, the remaining stories were reduced using several additional filters. One filter excluded all reports that were less than 180 seconds in length. A network news report that is three minutes or greater in length represents a significant allocation of a scarce resource, airtime, within the network newscast. With the average news hole that is available within each network newscast being between 22 minutes or less, a news report that takes up about one-seventh of the news hole indicates that the news organization believes that the news report has great significance. A third filter included clusters of reports that dealt with the same drunk driving issue that were broadcast by two or more networks on the same day. This filter was chosen because during the time frame under study, the three networks were the primary broadcast news source for the nation. If some aspect of drunk driving was presented on two or more networks on the same evening, then a large percentage of households using television would have been reached.

For an SMO or other organization to have a news organization present the group's message to such a significant portion of the total audience, would be of benefit to the SMO. The remaining stories were randomly sampled using a systematic random sample. These filters produced a sample of 56 news reports out of the initial 229 reports that were returned by the Vanderbilt Television News Archive search. A videotape compilation of those reports from the

Vanderbilt Television News Archive was requested. The total length of the compiled reports was slightly under three hours. After receiving the videotapes, a complete transcript and visual description was produced to be used in further analysis. During this analysis it was determined that one of the reports did not meet the “meaningful way” standard that had been applied to previous print sample selections. A second news report as returned by the Archive turned out to be a commercial break that occurred during a newscast. The data provided by the Archive’s web site that was used in the compilation process was rechecked and the video segment returned by the Archive did match the times requested. Because of the additional expense that would be involved in requesting the correct news report from the Archive, it was decided to use the 54 video reports that were provided by the Archive in this study.

Enhanced Sampling Broadcast

The Original Broadcast Sample had the same problems as the Original Print Sample, with a less than desirable number of reports included in the pre-MADD segment of the sample by the original sampling procedure. The broadcast database also had another problem with the small number of reports in the 1981-90 portion of the sample. The problem with the under populated pre-MADD era was dealt with in the same manner as was used in the print sample. The period of the study was extended from the beginning of 1969 to the end of 1990, with all reports for 1969 to 1980 were included in the sample. To deal with the under population of the MADD-era, several steps were taken. First, because one of the filters used in choosing the original sample precluded the selection of any short news reports (40 seconds or less), the decision was made to include two-thirds of all reports 40 seconds or less that were broadcast during the MADD-era into the sample. Similar reports contained within the pre-MADD era have already been included in the pre-MADD sample and it was necessary to provide balance for those types of reports

during the MADD-era. After the inclusion of these reports, a list was made of all of the unselected reports from the MADD-era. A random start point was selected within that list. Every third previously unselected report was chosen for inclusion into the Enhanced Broadcast Sample. A decision was made to stop adding reports to the Enhanced Broadcast Sample when there were 100 total reports for the 1981-90 section of the Enhanced Broadcast Sample. This required several passes through the unselected MADD-era list to reach the 100-report goal.

The total number of reports now included in the Enhanced Broadcast Sample is 138. Of those reports, 38 were from 1969 to 1980 (all of the 1969-80 reports), and 100 reports were from 1981 to 1990. To lessen the cost of obtaining the necessary data from the additional broadcast reports, the researcher traveled to Nashville, Tennessee and transcribed the selected tapes on site. That data was entered into the broadcast database along with the previously selected broadcast news reports.

Units of Analysis

The unit of analysis for this study was the news report. The news report was defined as a complete news report for both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* as was provided by either the Lexis-Nexis database, ProQuest database, or microfilm records. The complete report contained the headline, byline, and the complete text of the report. Photographs, graphics, or other visual elements of the report were not included in the analysis.

For broadcast reports, a news report was defined as (1) the anchor lead-in and the complete self-contained video tape or film package that followed or (2) the anchor on set reading the news reports while remaining on-camera or with illustrative video being rolled while the anchor continues to read. During the period of this study, there was only one report that had any live coverage from outside of the broadcast studio. That report included video of the Senate

chamber while a vote concerning drunk driving was taking place. The only other live portion of the news reports was the anchor lead-ins that were done in each network's studios for each report or group of reports and the occasional anchor-tag at the end of the report, with the exception of a commentary read live in the studio by NBC's John Chancellor. When there are a series of reports that were presented in a single day as a unified package, such as NBC coverage on February 23, 1982, each of the segments of the report will be examined as a freestanding report.

Quantification System

A coding sheet was developed that included a total of 57 different question that served as a data gathering instrument for both print and broadcast news reports. The coding sheet was scored on the General Purpose NCS© Answer Sheet form number 4521. A template was developed that properly identified the correct coding area for each question. Each of the coders was familiar with the use of a computer scanned scoring sheet prior to the beginning of the coding process. After the data was entered onto the scoring sheet, the sheets were scanned. The output of the scanner was both printed out onto a hard copy and downloaded onto a floppy disk. The floppy was then used to enter the data into a computerized database. This database was integrated with the already existing demographic data obtained from the Lexis-Nexis database, to form a single database that allowed both the coder generated data and the demographic data to be analyzed as a single data set. The same procedure was followed for the broadcast data, with the results of the scanning being combined with demographic data obtained from the Vanderbilt Television News Archive. When it was decided that it would be necessary to expand both the original print and broadcast databases, manual coding was used and the results were integrated into the database.

A “Coding Sheet Instructions and Definitions” (See Appendix B) was developed to go along with the coding sheet to guide the coders in correctly interpreting the questions asked by the coding sheet. This booklet contained detailed definitions, instructions, and descriptions of the terms used on the coding sheet. Several training sessions were held with the coders where the coder read the coding sheet, the definitions and instructions sheet, and then coded several news reports. After this coding practice, the coders then were asked if they any questions that had not already been addressed in previous discussions. Any questions were discussed and a consensus was developed. Any needed changes to the coding sheet or coding sheet instructions and definitions were incorporated into the final documents.

The first five items on the coding sheet (see Appendix A) were designed to gather basic descriptive data on the coder, news organization, news report identification number, whether the reports dealt with the drunk driving issue, and to locate geographically where the news report took place.

The next item examined where the first mention of drunk driving or a related subject took place within the news report. The choice was (1) anchor lead-in or headline, (2) first third of the report, (3) middle third of the report, and the (4) last third of the report.

After obtaining this data, the remaining items on the coding sheet sought to gather data about how the drunk driving issue was presented by the news report. The first item of this section asked if there were any alternatives to the use of the criminal justice system to try to reduce alcohol related traffic deaths. Other alternatives to reducing such deaths would include but not be limited to treating drunk driving as a medical problem, producing safer automobiles, constructing safer roads, using mass transit to reduce total miles driven in the United States, reducing alcohol consumption, or improving medical care. The next two questions determined

the major drunk driving theme of the news report. A major theme was defined as the theme that had the greatest length of time or column inches devoted to that theme. Using a prior analysis of *The Washington Post* coverage of drunk drivers and other materials, twenty different types of possible news reports themes were developed. This included federal or local action on either the executive, judicial, and legislative levels. Other themes were the use of a drunk driving task force on either the local/state or federal level, letters to the editor, editorials or columns, MADD success, impact upon the alcoholic beverage industry, advertising restrictions, and happy hour restrictions. After coding, a number of themes proved to have only a few responses, so those themes were merged with similar themes. For example, attempts to regulate happy hour regulation were merged with state or local action because the regulatory agencies are generally part of the state or local government.

The next set of items sought to examine if the three social movements that previous research indicated had played a major role in the anti-drunk driving crusade were mentioned in the news reports. The three groups in question were MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Driving), SADD (Students Against Drunk Drivers), and RID (Remove Intoxicated Drivers). The role of each group was examined by asking if the group was mentioned, where within the report the group was first mentioned, and which of the group's themes were mentioned. The final item in this section dealt with any anti-drunk driving group other than MADD, SADD, and RID with a similar set of three questions.

The next group of questions dealt with any references within the report of how the anti-drunk driving campaign had impacted society. Societal change, alcohol use change, the impact of the anti-drunk driving movement upon alcoholic beverage providers, the societal position of the drunk drivers depicted in the news reports, and the impact of two adjacent states having

different legal drinking ages were examined. Because of the prominence of roadblocks in the anti-drunk driving effort, a series of five questions examined that issue. The next set of questions examined the role of MADD's goals and standard terms in the news coverage of drunk driving.

The final set of questions sought to examine the use of the word accident and related terms. Questions asked were: (1) was accident used in relation to the operation of an automobile in the report, (2) was an alcohol-related descriptive term used to describe "accident," and (3) was accident, crash, both, or neither used in the report. Another question explored the use of the phrase "50% of all traffic fatalities are alcohol related" or similar terminology was used in the report.

Initial intercoder reliability for the data gathered was measured by using Scott's pi. A random selection of 49 news reports from *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* that were not selected for inclusion into the study's sample were coded by two independent coders as a reliability check. The Scott's pi ranged from .72 to .96. The results are in Appendix I. The reliability was judged to be acceptable for all variables and full scale coding commenced.

Qualitative Interviews

An analysis of the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* databases identified 28 reporters for the *Post* and 20 reporters for the *Times* that had reported on drunk driving or a related subject at least seven times during the time frame of this study (see Appendix D). After notifying the interviewee that the interviews were being recorded on audiotape, the interviews were conducted. A semi-structured approach was used. A set of questions served as an outline and was asked to the journalist. The questions sought to explore the reporter's coverage of drunk driving and their relationship with MADD or a similar organization, and what if any

impact that relationship had on that reporter's journalistic product (see Appendix F).

Appropriate follow-up questions were asked if any of the original set of questions disclosed a potentially useful area of questioning.

The purpose of these interviews was to explore if there was a connection between the SMOs that were active in the anti-drunk driving movement, in particular MADD, and the journalists that reported on the drunk driving issue. Examples of the questions asked included if the journalists remembered why they were assigned to cover this subject area, if they were aware of MADD, SADD, or other anti-drunk driving organizations, and about any relationship that they had developed with such groups either professionally or personally. If they could remember such a relationship, the journalist was asked how the anti-drunk driving organization influenced the relationship. The journalist was also asked if the relationship had any impact on their coverage of drunk driving. The transcripts from all of the reporter's interviews were then examined to find themes or relationships that would aid or support the data generated by the quantitative content analysis. Among specific areas of interest for this analysis was the type of reports the individual journalist had produced. Was the reporter involved in the on going coverage of a criminal case, legislative coverage of drunk driving related bills, editorial or opinion pieces, or other areas of drunk driving coverage? Another area of interest was decision-making process that resulted in particular story ideas being included as part of the news organization journalistic output. Was the story idea generated by the reporter, another journalist, someone outside of the news organization, or suggested by management? A third area of interest was the reporter's use of drunk driving victims to personalize the news reports. If this occurred, how did the reporter gain access to those individuals?

Advantages of Qualitative Interviews

According to Babbie (2001) one of the strong points of a qualitative interview as was used in Research Question Five is that there is an semi scripted interaction between the interviewer and the subject. This type interaction allows for a general inquiry about the subject being addressed. The survey interview follows a scripted format with no deviation while the qualitative interview is more like a conversation between two individuals. This allows the interviewer to follow leads that appear during the course of the interview. This flexibility allows the interviewer to study subtle nuances and gain a depth of understanding that qualitative methods do not allow. The interview subject is more likely to feel that they are part of an conversation with the researcher rather than being acted upon by the researcher.

The qualitative interview also allows for greater validity because such an interview allows the researcher to “tap a depth of meaning of concepts” (p. 299) that gives a texture and intensity to the data that sterile quantitative methods such as content analysis lack. The detailed illustrations that are the result of qualitative interviews give meaning to the research that is very different than the meaning that is provided by surveys and experiments.

Summary

There were two major research areas in this project. The first was a content analysis of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and ABC News, CBS News, and NBC News coverage of drunk driving from 1969 to 1990. The areas covered in the content analysis were major news themes, mention of anti-drunk driving organizations, changes in how society viewed and used alcohol, and governmental action relative to drunk driving. That effort was followed by a series of qualitative interviews with the journalists that covered the drunk driving story for either *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. This area explored the relationship

between the journalist and the drunk driving SMO. The content analysis and qualitative interviews were combined to examine the relationship between SMOs, journalists, and the news organization's coverage of the drunk driving issue.

ⁱ A complete list of *New York Times* news reports used in this analysis can be obtained from the author.

ⁱⁱ A complete list of *Washington Post* news reports used in this analysis can be obtained from the author.

ⁱⁱⁱ A complete list of broadcast reports used in this analysis can be obtained from the author.

Chapter Four

Findings⁴

Overview

The analysis of the data gathered will focus primarily on the change of the coverage of the drunk driving issue between the pre-MADD era (1969-80) and the MADD-era (1981-90). In order to explore change over a shorter period of time, and to be able to see long-term trends, the data will also be examined by looking at two-year groupings, starting with 1969-70 and ending with 1989-90. There will be eleven two-year groups used in this part of the analysis. These two-year groups will be used to examine change over the entire period of the study or change within the Mothers Against Drunk Driving-era. The primary tools used in the analysis will be Chi-square, along with simple percentages and z-tests. Research Question One will used both frequency of publication or broadcast, and any change in the Primary Drunk Driving Theme used in news reports to examine if there was any change of the journalist's treatment of the drunk driving issue. Research Question Two will examine the framing of the drunk driver by looking at the use of accident in reporting the drunk driving issue and the change in the use of the Police/Crime Primary Drunk Driving Theme in those print and broadcast news reports. Research Question Three will consider the change in coverage of the drunk driving issue by looking at media events, while Research Question Four will examine four aspects of drunk driving coverage to explore the impact of Mothers Against Drunk Driving upon journalist's coverage of the drunk driving issue.

Research Question One Will the frequency of reporting about the drunk driving issue and the type news report covering that issue change after the founding of Mothers Against Drunk Drivers in 1980 (1981-1990) when compared to the frequency of such coverage prior to MADD's founding in 1980 (1969-1980)?

Print: Frequency of Coverage

Using the Original Print Sample (744 reports covering from 1975 to 1990), Figure 1 and Table 1 show the change of frequency of publication of drunk driving related news reports published by the *Post* and *Times* over the time frame of this study. Figure 1 shows that there

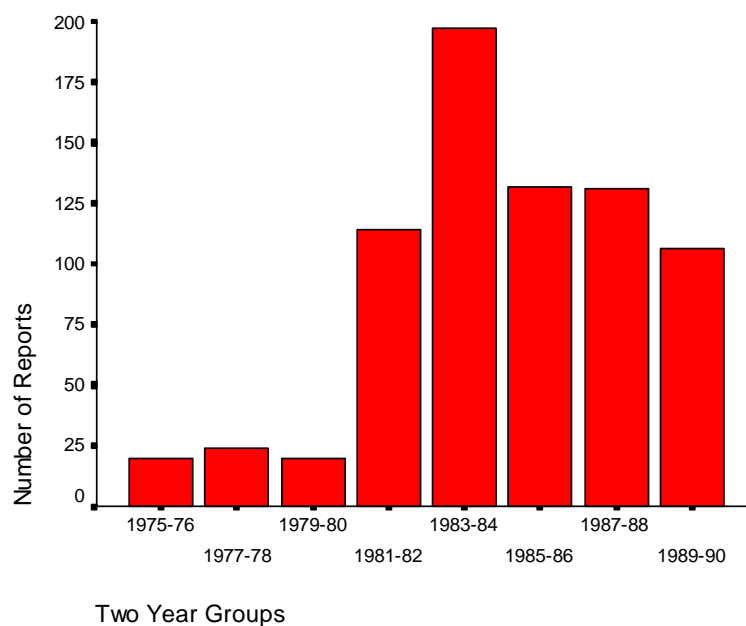


Figure 1
Washington Post and *New York Times*
 Frequency of Coverage of Drunk Driving Related News Reports
 1975-1990
 Print Original Sample

was a major increase in the frequency of publication that started in the 1981-82 period (defined as the beginning of the MADD-era) and continued through the end of the study. The pre-MADD era averaged 21.7 reports per two-year group, while the MADD-era averaged over 135 reports o-year period, a greater than six fold increase in publication frequency. The lowest coverage of the MADD-era was more than four times the greatest coverage during the pre-MADD era. Table One shows that 20 reports were published during both 1975-76 and 1979-80 (pre-MADD era) while 197 reports were published during 1983-84, representing a nearly ten-fold increase from the lowest pre-MADD years to the highest MADD-era years in the publishing of drunk driving related news reports. After examining the above data, it appears the MADD, along with other drunk driving organizations, was successful in raising the prominence of the drunk driving issue in the nation's two leading newspapers.

Table 1
Washington Post and New York Times
 Frequency of Coverage Drunk Driving Related News Reports
 1975-1990
 Original Print Sample

Years	Frequency	Percent
1975-76	20	2.7
1977-78	25	3.3
1979-80	20	2.7
1981-82	114	15.3
1983-84	197	26.6
1985-86	132	17.8
1987-88	130	17.4
1989-90	106	14.2
Total	744	100.0

Print: Coverage Themes

The Primary Drunk Driving Theme of those news reports, analyzed by pre-MADD and MADD-era periods using the Enhanced Print Sample, is presented in Table 2. The Enhanced Print Sample will be used for all of the following newspaper analysis. As the table indicates, the only significant change was in the Police/Crime theme. Police/Crime reporting decreased from pre-MADD to the MADD-era by 15%, while coverage of other themes increased. However, that increase in coverage of other themes was not significant. Some examples of the Police/Crime theme are:

Bobby Bonds, 29-year-old star center fielder for the New York Yankees, was arrested early today on a drunk driving charge after the car he was driving hit a building. Bonds wasn't hurt but his car and the building at the corner of Broadway and California Drive sustained some damage in the 2 AM incident, the police officers said. Bonds, who lives in San Carlo, few miles south of the precinct on the San Francisco Peninsula, was released (on his own recognizance) and ordered to appear in Central District Municipal Court Nov. 18. The police said when they arrived Bonds was alone in the car behind the wheel with the motor still running. (*New York Times*, October 26, 1975)

Law enforcement officials throughout the Washington metropolitan area issued a stiff warning yesterday to motorists who might get drunk and drive this New Year's holiday.

District police say they have a special unit assigned for the holiday that is specifically trained and bent on catching the drunken driver.

According to a police spokesman, the unit, which consisted of 26 cars during the Christmas weekend, made 28 drunk driving arrests. The spokesman said the arrests did not include those made by the regular police force. (*Washington Post*, December 31, 1976)

A 56-year-old Mount Vernon man whose car, police said, crashed into an oncoming car during a high-speed chase on the George Washington Parkway in June was charged yesterday with murdering Margaret Jacobsen Haley, the mother of 11 children, who was killed in the accident.

Tests performed on David Earl Fleming, who suffered multiple broken bones in the crash, indicated his blood contained .315 percent alcohol, more than three times the level establishing intoxication under Virginia law, Assistant U.S. Attorney Robert Cynkar said.

Fleming, an unemployed carpenter, led police on a 100-mph chase along the parkway the afternoon of June 15 before his car hit a Subaru driven by Haley, 55, a Mount Vernon area resident, according to court papers filed in federal court in Alexandria. Fleming has been charged with second degree murder and faces up to life in prison if he is convicted. (*Washington Post*, September 9, 1983)

Table 2
Washington Post and New York Times
Drunk Driving Primary Theme
1969-90

	1969-80	1981-90	p***
Federal government	8.1* (18)**	9.3 (63)	n.s
Non-government	3.6 (8)	12.4 (84)	n.s
Police/Crime	57.5 (127)	42.1 (286)	.05
State government	23.1 (51)	28.3 (192)	n.s.
Other	7.7 (17)	8.0 (54)	n.s
Total	100.0 (221)	100.1 (679)	

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

*** z test for proportions

The Primary Drunk Driving Theme analyzed by two-year groups is presented in Table 3. The analysis of this data indicates that there were significant changes in coverage theme over the period of the study. Federal government action remained low during all of the MADD-era, however, that coverage as a percentage of news reports within the two-year groups peaked

during 1971-72. Non-government reporting peaked in 1985-86, representing almost one-third of all drunk driving related news reports during that two-year period. Police/Crime reporting peaked during the pre-MADD era, representing almost 70% of all drunk driving related coverage during 1969-80, while such coverage during the 1981-90 interval represented only 42% of drunk driving related reporting. The peak of activity for state action was during the first six years of the MADD-era, with over 37 percent of coverage in those years focusing on state or local action, while the pre-MADD average was only 23%. This data supports the argument that during the MADD-era, issues other than the reporting the crime of drunk driving such as legislative action supported by MADD, at the local, state, and federal levels, began to receive numerically greater coverage.

Table 3
Washington Post and New York Times
Drunk Driving Primary Themes by Two Year Groups
1969-1990

	1969 -70	1971- 72	1973- 74	1975 -76	1977- 78	1979- 80	1981- 82	1983 -84	1985 -86	1987 -88	1989 -90	Total
Federal	7.7* (1)**	32.3 (10)	7.1 (2)	1.9 (1)	4.0 (2)	4.4 (2)	8.8 (10)	8.1 (16)	11.4 (15)	6.2 (8)	13.2 (14)	9.0 (81)
Non- govern- ment	23.1 (3)	12.9 (4)	21.4 (6)	11.1 (6)	6.0 (3)	6.7 (3)	14.9 (17)	17.3 (34)	31.1 (41)	20.0 (26)	18.9 (20)	18.1 (163)
Police/ Crime	53.8 (7)	32.3 (10)	50.0 (14)	70.4 (38)	72.0 (36)	48.9 (22)	37.7 (43)	40.6 (80)	31.8 (42)	54.6 (71)	47.1 (50)	45.9 (413)
State	15.4 (2)	22.6 (7)	21.4 (6)	16.7 (9)	18.0 (9)	40.0 (18)	38.6 (44)	34.0 (67)	25.8 (34)	19.2 (25)	20.7 (22)	27.0 (243)
Total	100 (13)	100 (31)	99.9 (28)	100 (54)	100 (50)	100 (45)	100 (114)	100 (197)	100 (132)	100 (130)	100 (106)	100 (900)

$\chi^2 = 171.64$, 30 d. f., $p \leq 0.001$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Broadcast: Frequency of Coverage

The methods used to gather the Original Broadcast Sample (54 reports) were described in Chapter Three, along with the need to augment that sample to generate the Enhanced Broadcast Sample (138 reports). Figure 2 and Table 4 show the distribution of broadcast reports for the three networks from 1975 to 1990 using the Original Broadcast Sample⁵. The pattern of broadcast coverage generally reflects the pattern of print coverage. There was relatively little

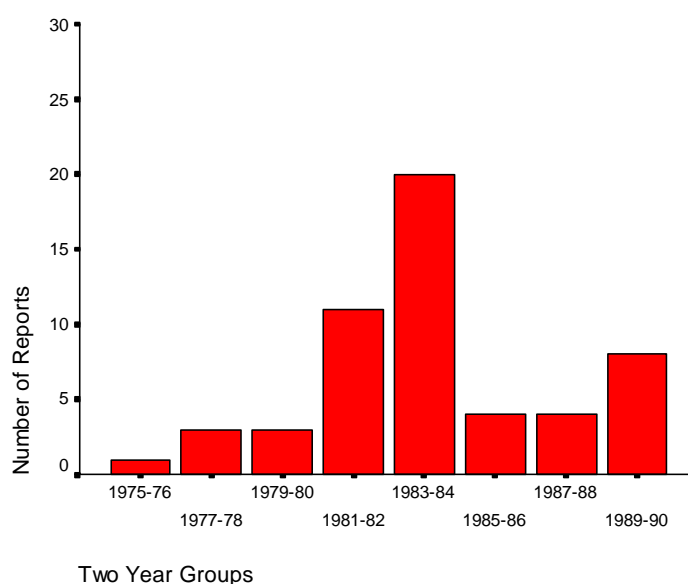


Figure 2⁶
 ABC, CBS, and NBC
 Frequency of Coverage of Drunk Driving Related News Reports
 1975-1990
 Original Broadcast Sample

coverage of drunk driving related issues during the pre-MADD era, with an average of 2.3 reports per two-year period, for a total of seven reports. MADD-era coverage rose sharply, starting in 1981-82 and peaking in 1983-84 with 20 reports being broadcast. However, there

appears that there was a sharper decline in broadcast coverage of the drunk driving issue following those years. In 1985-86, broadcast coverage decreased to only 20% of the 1983-84 level, while the print analysis shows that the 19885-86 coverage was at 67% of the 1983-84 level. Broadcast coverage had a secondary peak during 1989-90.

Table 4
ABC, CBS, and NBC
Frequency of Coverage, Drunk Driving Related News Reports
1975-1990
Original Broadcast Sample

Years	Frequency	Percent
1975-76	1	1.9
1977-78	3	5.6
1979-80	3	5.6
1981-82	11	20.4
1983-84	20	37.0
1985-86	4	7.4
1987-88	4	7.4
1989-90	8	14.8
Total	54	100.0

Broadcast: Coverage Themes

The analysis of the Primary Drunk Driving Theme⁷ (Table 5) compared the pre-MADD and MADD periods for the three networks. This analysis of the five primary drunk driving themes produces data that is significant. Reporting of the Police/Crime theme decreased from more than half of all news reports during the pre-MADD period to about one-third of all MADD-era reports. Examples of Police/Crime reports by the three networks are:

(Peter Jennings reads on set)

Congressman Dan Rostenkowski, the chairman of the House Ways and Means committee was arrested on drunk driving charges early this morning. The congressman was stopped by police for allegedly driving 70 mph in a 55 mph zone. He failed a sobriety test Rostenkowski told the police

that he was not intoxicated and he had had no further comments today. (ABC News, June 2, 1986)

(Tom Brokaw begins to read on set) New York City Police tried something new over the Memorial Day weekend. They stopped more than 18,000 vehicles, checking for drunk or drugged drivers.

Good idea, right?

Well, in his commentary, John Chancellor offers another view of this matter.

John

(John Chancellor begins reading commentary on set)

Here is one for the record book.

The police caused a huge traffic jam in Brooklyn the other night, and were cheered by the drivers caught in the jam.

Cars were held up for half a mile on Flatbush Avenue, yet practically no one complained.

The reason, the police who had set up the roadblock were searching for drunken drivers.

That is a popular cause these days, catching and convicting drunk drivers. . . . (Commentary continues) (NBC News, June 1, 1983)

News reports focusing on the Federal Government action increased by more than half during the same time. Some examples of this category include:

(Tom Brokaw begins reports reading on set)

The Surgeon General, C. Everett Koop (italics added), is in the middle of a new battle tonight, a try to cut down on drunk driving in America. He's proposed a wide range of actions to combat the lethal effects of alcohol. A factor each year in almost 24,000 traffic deaths. NBC's Robert Hagger has more.

(Robert Hagger begins narration of the body of the news report)

The Surgeon General called for a tough new crack down on the amount of alcohol adults could legally drink before driving. And said that young people s ought to be encouraged not to drink at all before age 21. In Koop's last planned news conference before his July retirement, the Surgeon General, who earlier campaigned for condoms to prevent AIDS, and then took on the cigarette industry, today targeted excess consumption of beer, wine, and liquor.

(Koop speaks on camera)

"Now these options may not make people as happy as happy hours do, but they will help keep them alive. . . (NBC News, May 31, 1989)

(Dan Rather reads on set)

This is the CBS Evening News, Dan Rather reporting. In a new push to stop the slaughter of and by young drunk drivers on the nation's highways, the *Senate started voting just a few moments ago on whether to make 21 to get a drink, a uniform law nationwide* (italics added). The idea is to punish individual states refusing to go along,

Phil Jones is on Capitol Hill

(Phil Jones begins narration of the body of the news report)

It is the statistics that got to the Senate, one senator telling his colleagues that 14 young Americans will die and 360 will be injured today in drunk driving accidents while the senate debates this issue.

The Senators only needed to look up into the gallery today to see and feel the pressure.

There watching the lawmakers with eagle eyes were representatives from pressure groups like Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the National Council on Alcoholism, and the PTA.,

The legislation calls for withholding partial federal highway funds from states that refuse to enact a 21-year-old minimum drinking age. . . CBS News, June 26, 1984

(Harry Reasoner reads on set)

Two government departments, Transportation and Health, Education and Welfare (italics added) said today that they will begin a joint drive to reduce the number of deaths caused by drunken drivers.

Government experts say that alcohol was involved in as many as half of the 55,000-highway death a year. ABC News, January 11, 1971

This data would support the same argument that the print analysis of the Drunk Driving Primary Theme, that the decrease in the coverage of the Police/Crime Theme may have allowed increased reporting on other issues that were important to groups like MADD, such as legislative action. While the marginalization of the drunk driver by increased reporting of drunk driving arrests based of the pre-MADD legal standards was important to MADD and other such groups, changing the law in such a manner that would increase the likelihood and severity of punishment would be more likely to results in attainment of MADD's goals. Because the news hole for both the print and broadcast journalism organization are determined by non-journalistic constraints or requirements, expenditure of a limited resource such as column inches or broadcast time is a major decision for the journalism editor. This expenditure inherently reduces the space for other reports. Editors are more likely to include reports on other topics so that they will provide their readers/viewers a variety of subjects that may attract and inform their public.

Table 5
ABC, CBS, and NBC
Drunk Driving Primary Theme
1969-1990

	1969-80	1981-90	p***
Federal government	23.7* (9)**	37 (37)	.05
Police/Crime	52.6 (20)	33 (33)	.01
State government	15.8 (6)	16 (16)	n.s.
Non-government	7.9 (3)	14 (14)	n.s.
Total	100.0 (38)	100.0 (100)	

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

*** z test for proportions

However, in the broadcast analysis, practically all of the increase took place at the federal level while in the print analysis local government coverage dominated over federal government by more than a three to one ratio. This in turn supports that relative to the drunk driving issue, both the *Post* and *Times* function more as a local news source and the networks function as a national news source.

When you analyze the five primary themes using two-year groups (Table 6), the data is significant but interpretation is difficult because nine-out-of-fifty-five cells have a zero value. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the coverage of the Police/Crime theme remained high during the first eight years of the pre-MADD era. In the last four years of that era, a decline began that continued during the MADD era with the exception of 1985-86. This data appears to indicate

Table 6
ABC, CBS, and NBC
Drunk Driving Primary Theme by Two Year Groups
1969-90

	1969 -70	1971 -72	1973 -74	1975 -76	1977 -78	1979 -80	1981 -82	1983 -84	1985 -86	1987 -88	1989 -90	Total
Federal	22.2* (2)**	10 (1)	33.3 (1)	0 (0)	33.3 (2)	60.0 (3)	11.8 (2)	51.3 (20)	13.3 (2)	33.3 (4)	52.9 (9)	33.3 (46)
Non-Govern-ment	0 (0)	20.0 (2)	0 (0)	20.0 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	23.5 (4)	10.3 (4)	13.5 (1)	33.3 (4)	5.9 (1)	12.3 (18)
Police/Crime	66.7 (6)	60.0 (6)	66.7 (2)	80.0 (4)	33.3 (2)	0 (0)	17.6 (3)	25.6 (10)	73.2 (11)	16.7 (2)	35.3 (6)	38.4 (53)
State	11.1 (1)	10.0 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	33.3 (2)	40.0 (2)	47.1 (8)	12.8 (5)	0 (0)	16.7 (2)	5.9 (1)	15.9 (22)
Total	100.0 (9)	100 (10)	100 (3)	100 (5)	99.9 (6)	100 (5)	100 (17)	100 (39)	100 (15)	100 (12)	100 (17)	100 (138)

$\chi^2 = 607.59$, 30 d. f., $p \leq 0.001$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

that the decrease in the use of the Police/Crime Theme that was apparent in Table 5 actually began before the advent of vocal anti-drunk driving groups such as MADD. Then comparing print and broadcast coverage, there is a consistency in the coverage of the Police/Crime theme by print journalists over the entire study while broadcast journalists use of the Police/Crime theme varies widely.

Research Question Two Will the framing of the drunk driver become more deviant after the founding of MADD than before the founding of MADD

Print: Use of "Accident" to Describe Drunk Driving Related Incidents and Primary Drunk Driving Themes

One point of focus for Mothers Against Drunk Driving was to have both journalists and the public cease using "accident" when describing either a specific alcohol related traffic incident, or when discussing public policy issues such as legislative agendas that dealt with some aspect of the drunk driving debate. An example of accident used in the description of a traffic incident was published in the *Washington Post* on March 2, 1983:

A Beltsville woman was convicted yesterday on two counts of *automobile homicide while intoxicated, for killing two young Bowie girls in a traffic accident* (italics added) in Prince George's County last August.

Circuit Judge James H. Taylor ordered Cheryle Roxanne White, 34, a mother of three children currently working as a waitress, to surrender to sheriffs on Thursday evening to wait in jail for her April 15 sentencing. She could receive two years in prison on each conviction."

Also included in this analysis were reports about the discussion of public policy issues that relate to alcohol related traffic incidents such as was published in the *New York Times*

Supporters of the strict laws say that they are necessary to reduce the incidence of *alcohol-related accidents* (italics added) and fatalities, that the sobriety checkpoints are constitutionally valid and

an effective deterrent to driving while intoxicated and that to grant jury trials to those charged with drunken driving would place overwhelming pressure on the state's already overburdened court system. (March 11, 1990)

MADD argues that to describe an alcohol-related traffic incident as an accident serves to remove the responsibility for that incident from the individual who freely choose to consume alcohol and then operate an automobile. The standard legal/judicial approach that used during the pre-MADD era was based on the concept that an otherwise good driver who had consumed alcohol and the alcohol was to blame for the traffic incident. An accident is described by the Random House College Dictionary (1988, p. 9), as “an unintentional or unexpected happening that is undesirable or unfortunate, esp. one resulting in an injury.” MADD believes that it is an intentional and voluntary act to consume alcohol and then drive an automobile. Therefore, that driver is negligent and responsible for his or hers actions and not deserving of the social and legal protection that “accident” gives to an individual who drives after consuming alcohol. Analysis revealed no significant difference in the use of “accident” when comparing the pre-MADD and MADD-era reporting by print journalists at the *Post* and *Times*. There was less than a two-percent change between the two eras, and that change indicated an increase in the use of accident during the MADD-era (See Table 21 in Appendix H). This data does not appear to support the argument that MADD was able to affect journalist’s reporting of drunk driving issues.

Exploring further the attempt by anti-drunk driving organizations to remove the protective shield of “accident” from the drunk driver, the frequency of use of alcohol-related, drunk driving-related, or other similar descriptive terms to describe “accident” was analyzed. Two different uses of accident and an alcohol-related descriptive were included in the study.

One use was the application of those terms to describe an actual alcohol-related driving event such as:

A second woman died yesterday from injuries suffered in an accident for which the *Pepperdine University chancellor, M. Norvell Young, was booked for investigation of manslaughter and drunken driving* (italics added). Christine Dahlquist, 81 years old, of Lincoln, Neb., died four days after the auto crash in which Beulah Harrison, 55, of Clare was killed. (New York Times, Jan 7, 1975)

Though his death certificate noted “traumatic asphyxiation” as the cause of death, the National Safety Council will list that fatality of May 30, 1975, as having been caused by “driving while under the influence of liquor.” *The Eugene, Ore. police reluctantly revealed to the press that Prefontaine’s blood alcohol level (BAL) at the time of the accident was .16 per cent* (italics added), far exceeding the level allowed by Oregon law for the safe operation of a motor vehicle. (Washington Post, July 31, 1976)

Also included was the use of “accident” in situations that do not refer to a specific alcohol related incident, but instead used alcohol based descriptive term and “accident” in a public policy discussion or similar situation such as:

The No. 1 culprit in automobile *accidents* is the *drunken driver*. The National Safety Council reports that, during 1969, *drunk drivers killed 25,000 people and caused 800,000 accidents*. (italics added) Especially tragic is the fact that much of the annual loss in life, limb, and property damage on the high way involves completely innocent persons. (New York Times, July 5, 1970)

Kevin N. Cooper, 26, the Glen Burnie, Md., man who was convicted of *manslaughter and drunken driving in an auto accident* (italics added) last Christmas Eve that killed five members of a Montgomery County family, was sentenced yesterday to three years in jail with all but six months suspended

Cooper, a carpenter, was ordered to serve the six months in a work-release program that will permit him to leave jail on weekdays if he gets a job. The prison sentence plus five years of

probation and the requirement that Cooper perform 500 hours of community service were imposed by Carroll County Circuit Judge Donald Gilmore.

The judge noted that Cooper is not a hardened criminal, according to a prosecutor present at the sentencing. (Washington Post, November 16, 1982)

When examining the use of an alcohol-related descriptive connected to “accident”, there was a 3.6% increase between the pre-MADD and MADD-eras. That increase was not significant (Table 22, Appendix H). The results displayed in Table 22 does not support the ability of organizations like MADD to reframe the reporting on the drinking driver as being more deviant. The failure of print journalists to decrease the usage of accident and increase the use of other terms appears to be a shortcoming in MADD’s attempt to redefine the public’s discussion of the drinking driver issue.

To gain additional insight into the framing of the drunk driver, the Primary Drunk Driving Theme of the reports were analyzed for trends during the MADD-era (Table 7). For purpose of this section of the analysis, Drunk Driving Primary Theme was recoded into a Police/Crime Yes or No, with all Police/Crime reports becoming “Yes” and all other reports becoming “No.” Because the focus of this section of the analysis was the impact of MADD, in Table 6, the years before 1981 were ignored and the standard two-year pairs were used. For the Print section of the analysis, there was a significant difference. For the 1981-90 portion of the sample “yes” Police/Crime was 286 reports (42%) and “no” Police/Crime was 393 reports (58%). During 1981-82, 38% of the reports did have Police/Crime as their primary theme, while in 1987-88, 55% of the reports used a Police/Crime theme. Data indicates that “NO” Police/Crime dominated coverage during the first six years of the MADD-era while the results were almost evenly distributed during the 1987-90 period. This data can be interpreted as showing that print journalist’s coverage of Police/Crime increased after 1985-86. This

increasing coverage of the Police/Crime theme may have been at the cost of coverage of other aspects of the drunk driving issue such as federal and state action in either the judicial or legislative arena, activity of anti-drunk driving organizations, and other themes. The concentration of the Police/Crime theme by print journalists during 1987-90 may ignore other, potentially more socially useful reporting, for the mundane everyday reporting of crime. However, this result could occur because there was a lessening of activity in the state and federal legislative branches because that most of MADD's agenda had been enacted.

Table 7
Washington Post and New York Times
Police/Crime Primary Theme
1981-90

	Yes		No		Total	
1981-82	37.7*	(43)**	62.3	(71)	16.8	(114)
1983-84	40.6	(80)	59.4	(117)	29.0	(197)
1985-86	31.8	(42)	68.2	(90)	19.4	(132)
1987-88	54.6	(71)	45.4	(59)	19.1	(130)
1989-90	47.2	(50)	52.8	(56)	15.6	(106)
Total	100.0	(286)	100.0	(393)	100.0	(679)

$\chi^2 = 16.27$, 4 d. f., $p \leq 0.01$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Broadcast: Use of "Accident" to Describe Drunk Driving Related Incidents and Primary Drunk Driving Theme

As above, the use of "accident" in the public policy arena and the use of "accident" in actual incident description are examined for broadcast reports during both the pre-MADD and

MADD-eras. Examples of journalist's use of accident in both public policy area and to describe a specific traffic incident are:

(Harry Reasoner reads on set) The long holiday weekend is coming to an end with the usual traffic and the commensurate increase with hazards on the highways.

Last year 55,000 persons died in highway accidents, (italics added) half of them because of drunken driving.

And a new study shows that many of them may not realize that their judgment was being affected by their drinking. ABC's Jules Bergman reports. (ABC News, July 5, 1971)

There were only a few minutes left in 1979 when Washington state police were called to a *one-car accident* just south of Seattle.

Incredibly, the driver wasn't hurt when his car sheared off a power pole.

Troopers suspected that the *driver was under the influence of alcohol.* (italics added) (NBC News, January 1, 1980)

There was a significant change in broadcast journalist's use of accident from the pre-MADD era to the MADD-era (Table 8). However, Table 22 indicates that there was not a significant change in print journalist's use of "accident" during the same period. The data supports that there was little impact on print journalists while there was a one-third increase in broadcast journalists' use of accident in their reports. In the analysis of the broadcast reports, the increasing use of accident during the MADD-era denied anti-drunk driving groups the ability to redefine the position of the drunk driver in American society as being more deviant than the use of accident allowed. However, the increased coverage of the drunk driving story by both print and broadcast journalists may have made the above conclusion more a theoretical musing and not a very reflective of how journalists and the public saw the presentation of the drunk driving issue.

Further analysis was conducted comparing the use of accident and descriptive terms such as “alcohol related,” “drunken drivers” and “drunk driving accident” or other terms used to describe an alcohol-related traffic incident. Examples of such coverage are:

(Dan Rather reads on set)

About 4,000 teenagers are killed each year in accidents connected to drunken drivers. (italics added) Declaring this a national epidemic, the House voted today to begin a program to pressure all states to do something about this. Twenty-eight states plus the District of Columbia do not have a legal drinking age of 21. With only a couple of dissenting voice, the members of the *House said today the want all states to ban all alcoholic beverages for those under 21*. (italics added)

(CBS News, June 7, 1984)

(Tom Brokaw reads on set)

Larry Mahoney, the man convicted of killing 27 people in the nation's *worst drunk driving accident*, (italics added) was sentenced today in Carrolton Kentucky. The judge sentenced the 36-year-old chemical plant worker to 16 years in jail on 27 manslaughter and other charges. Mahoney showed little emotion. The *accident* occurred in May of 1988 when Mahoney's truck, going the wrong way on a highway smashed into a church bus carrying mostly children and teenagers. He will be eligible for parole in eight years. (NBC News, February 23, 1990)

(Sam Donaldson reads on set)

We have a report on drinking and driving, and it is not a coincidence that we choose this night to bring it to you. Safety officials estimate that more people die in *alcohol related accidents* (italics added) on New Years Eve and Day than on any other day of the year. The challenge is this, How do you keep people with a history of drunk driving from doing it again.

Here is Cathleen Delasky. ABC News, December 30, 1988

The results show that there is a significant difference in the use of an alcohol-related descriptive of “accident” between the pre-MADD and MADD eras. However, the analysis of broadcast

Table 8
ABC, CBS, and NBC
Use of Accident in Conjunction with an Alcohol-Related Descriptive Term
1969-1990

	1969-80	1981-90	Total
Yes	13.2* (5)**	29.0 (29)	24.6 (34)
No	86.8 (33)	71.0 (71)	75.4 (104)
Total	100.0 (38)	100.0 (100)	100.0 (138)

$\chi^2 = 7.49$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.01$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 9
ABC, CBS, and NBC
Police/Crime Primary Theme
1981-90

	Yes	No	Total
1981-82	17.6* (3)**	82.4 (14)	17 (17)
1983-84	20.5 (8)	79.5 (31)	39 (39)
1985-86	73.3 (11)	26.7 (4)	15 (15)
1987-88	16.7 (2)	83.3 (10)	12 (12)
1989-90	35.3 (6)	64.7 (11)	17 (17)
Total	100.0 (30)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (100)

$\chi^2 = 17.56$, 4 d. f., $p \leq 0.01$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

coverage of the use of alcohol connected descriptive terms and “accident” increased from 13.2% (5 reports) in 1969-80 to 29.0% (29 reports) in the years from 1981 to 1990 (Table 8). This is counter to MADD’s desire to redefine the drinking driver as being more deviant by denying those individuals and the press the use of an alcohol-related descriptive term to describe accident in either a policy related or a traffic related situation. There was a significant difference found in

Table 5 between the pre-MADD and MADD-era use of the Police/Crime theme. In addition, in Table 9 there was a significant difference within the MADD-era of the use of the Police/Crime theme. When there is a closer examination of the MADD-era Police/Crime numbers, 1985-86 makes up 37% of the total Police/Crime reports during the MADD-era. If you remove the 1985-86 numbers from the MADD-era and recalculate the significance of the pre-MADD and MADD-eras, there is little difference between those eras relative to the broadcast journalist's use of the Police/Crime theme.

Research Question Three	Will high visibility “media events” be featured more in the news coverage of drunk driving by the news organizations than coverage of substantive drunk driving issues?
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Print: Media Events/Multiple Reports on a Single Drunk Driver

For the purpose of Research Question Three, media events were defined in two ways. The first was multiple reporting about a single individual who was identified as a drunk driver. The second was the journalist's choice of a specific high visibility/interest employment (professional or collegiate sports) for an accused/convicted drunk driver when deciding on which drunk driving cases to report.

The multiple reporting could be by a single journalism organization producing multiple reports about an individual over a period of time, reporting by more than one news organization on a single day about a single person, or a combination of the two. When dealing with multiple reports about a single individual, each report about a single individual was counted as a single entry in the multiple reporting analysis. For example, during a diving competition in Florida, Bruce Kimball, an Olympic diver who won a silver medal in the 1984 Olympics, was the driver in an alcohol-related traffic incident that killed two persons and injured several others. There

were 15 stories reported between the *Post* and *Times* from 1988 to 1990 about Kimball. Those reports counted for 15 entries in the multiple reports category. Examples of reports dealing with the Bruce Kimball incident are:

Saying, "the whole country in a sense is watching him," a judge in Tampa suspended *Bruce Kimball's* (italics added) driving privileges yesterday but refused to impose travel restrictions on the former Olympic diver while he awaits trial on alcohol-related manslaughter charges.

Kimball, accused of driving a car into a group of teen-agers and killing two of them Aug. 1, pleaded not guilty in Hillsborough Circuit Court to two counts of drunken-driving manslaughter and three counts of drunken driving in an accident with serious injury. (*New York Times*, August 30, 1988)

Olympic diver Bruce Kimball (italics added), awaiting sentencing Jan. 30 in a drunk driving-manslaughter case, is in a special cell and is being checked by jailers every 15 minutes following warnings by his lawyers about possible suicidal tendencies. (*Washington Post*, January 13, 1989)

Olympic diver Bruce Kimball (italics added) told police he had been drinking before his sports car plowed through a group of teen-agers, police said.

Two people were killed and six hurt. The Hillsborough County sheriff's department continues to investigate the Monday night accident.

Police said an arrest affidavit states that Kimball, 25, admitted drinking four beers earlier Monday evening. (*Washington Post*, August 4, 1988)

Former Detroit Lions defensive coordinator Wayne Fontes was mentioned in a single report in the *Washington Post* in 1987.

Wayne Fontes, defensive coordinator of the Detroit Lions (italics added), faces drug possession charges after alleged discovery in his car of a vial containing cocaine.

It happened after an Oct. 21 traffic accident near Pontiac in which he was charged with drunken driving.

Fontes maintained his innocence. "I didn't have any controlled substances. I didn't have any cocaine," Fontes told the Detroit News. (October 29, 1987)

That report would count as a single entry in the Single Report category. As Table 10 shows, the print coverage changed from a little more than one-third of all pre-MADD era reports being in the multiple reports category to almost half of all print reports during the MADD-era being in the multiple reports category. This significant increase of the continuing coverage of drunk drivers supports the argument that MADD had an impact of journalist's coverage of the drunk driving issue. By showing a greater willingness for journalists to continue to follow a drunk driving incident, an argument can be made that anti-drunk driving organization did have an affect on the coverage of the drunk driver. Examination of the data showed that almost all the mentions of an individual in the multiple reports analysis were in the Police/Crime Primary Theme category.

Table 10

Washington Post and New York Times
Media Event: Multiple Reports about a Single Drunk Driver
1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total	
Single Report	64.8*	(57)**	50.7	(137)	54.2	(194)
Multiple reports	35.2	(31)	49.3	(133)	45.8	(164)
Total	100.0	(88)	100.0	(270)	100.0	(358)

$X^2 = 4.07$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.05$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Print: Drunk Driver Occupation, Sports Related

Another element in making a media event is the desire of the public to know about an individual drunk driver because of that individual's occupation. One of the main areas of public

interest that has received coverage in both the specialized and main stream media are professional and collegiate athletes. These sports related occupations have taken a major role in American society. Cable networks channels that present only sports or sport related programming are commonly available, major magazines publish lists of the 100 highest paid athletes, athlete's role in society has changed from merely playing a sport to being role and style models for society, and some of the most highly paid individuals in America are professional athletes. There are ongoing discussions of the role of athletes in our society and the negative or positive impact that athletes have on the youth and adults of America.

During the data collection phase of the study, the drunk driver's occupation was determined by using information included in the news report, combined with the coder's own knowledge of that individual. For the Professional/Collegiate athlete category, coaches and other management employees of the university or professional teams were included in the category. Examples of newspaper reports that identified the occupation of an individual as either a professional or collegiate athlete and as a drunk driver include:

Chicago Bears Coach Mike Ditka's license to drive has been suspended six months because of his Oct. 14 arrest and Nov. 8 conviction for drunken driving (italics added) after one of the biggest victories in the team's NFL championship season.

The hearing before Associate Cook County Circuit Judge Earl Hoffenberg was requested by Ditka's attorney to address the coach's refusal to take a breath test to determine blood alcohol level, and to determine whether the arresting officer had probable cause to stop Ditka on the Northwest Tollway. (*Washington Post*, February 15, 1986)

Television sports commentator *Sonny Jurgensen, former quarterback of the Washington Redskins, yesterday lost his driver's license for two months and was fined \$350 after he pleaded guilty to a charge of drunken driving (italics added).*

"Sonny's just a regular guy like the rest of us," said his lawyer, Martin A. Gannon, after Jurgensen's brief appearance in Alexandria General District Court. "These things can happen."
(*Washington Post*, March 28, 1980)

Cleveland State basketball coach Kevin Mackey, arrested Friday night on a charge of driving while intoxicated (italics added) as he left a suspected drug house, was suspended without pay. Mackey, 43, and a companion were stopped a half-block from the house and arrested about 8:30 p.m. Friday, Lt. Michael Thome of the Cleveland police narcotics unit said. *Washington Post* July 15, 1990

All other jobs categories were collapsed into the "Other" category, which was included in the calculations. Reports that did not identify an individual as being a drunk driver were not included in this analysis. Table 11 shows that the coverage of athletes more than doubled (percentage) between the pre-MADD and MADD eras. The number of reports increased from 14 pre-MADD reports to 98 MADD-era reports, a seven-fold increase. The percentage of reports that identified the occupations of a drunk driver remained consistent between the pre-

Table 11

Washington Post and *New York Times*
Media Event: Drunk Driver Occupation
1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total	
College or professional athlete	15.9*	(14)**	36.3	(98)	31.3	(112)
Other Occupation	84.1	(74)	63.7	(172)	68.7	(246)
Total	100.0	(88)	100.0	(270)	100.0	(358)

$\chi^2 = 10.79$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.01$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

MADD and MADD-era, with 40% of news reports identifying a drunk driver's occupation in both eras. Thus, during the MADD-era, print journalists were more than twice as likely to report

about a high visibility professional or collegiate athlete than they were during the pre-MADD era. A vast majority of this reporting was on the sports page (Table 32 and 33, Appendix H). However, when you remove the athletes from the ranks of drunk drivers whose occupation state identified in the news reports and look at the pre-MADD and MADD era periods, the apparent consistency between the two periods goes away. Thirty-five percent of news reports during the pre-MADD era identified the occupation of the drunk driver mentioned in the news report, while during the MADD-era; only 17% of reports identified the occupation of a drunk driver in a news report. Print journalists covering the non-sports related "hard news" decreased their naming of an individual drunk driver while on the sports side of the newspaper there was a dramatic increase in the coverage and naming of drunk drivers. This emphasis on the high visibility professional or collegiate during the MADD-era supports the argument that MADD had significant influence upon the reporting of media events involving high interest occupations such as professional or collegiate athletes.

Broadcast: Media Events/Multiple Reports on a Single Drunk Driver and Driver Occupation, Sports Related

For the broadcast reports, the print standards were applied for both the multiple/single reports and for the athlete/other occupation analysis. United States Representative Louis Stokes is an example of multiple reports about a single individual:

For the second time in six months, *House Ethics Committee Chairman Louis Stokes* (italics added) was stopped allegedly for drunk driving by suburban police early Friday morning. Police said that Stokes failed a sobriety test but was released when he invoked the law protecting members of Congress from arrest when traveling to or from a session. (NBC News, March 28, 1983)

Police in suburban Montgomery County Maryland said that they were wrong when they said *Louis Stokes of Ohio* (italics added) had invoked congressional immunity to avoid being charged with

drunk driving. Police said that they let him go on their own even though he had run a red light, driven on the wrong side of the road, failed the agility test three times, and could not recite the alphabet. Stokes said that he was not under the influence of alcohol but that he was extremely tired and exhausted. (NBC News, March 30, 1983)

An example of a single broadcast news report about a single individual occurred on February 24, 1975 on the west coast:

California police say that *Henry Ford the Second, the chief executive officer of Ford Motor Company* (italics added) was arrested Saturday night for investigation of drunk driving. Ford, who is 57, was held for three hours in the county jail in Santa Barbara before being released on bail. (ABC News)

When reporting the occupation of an individual identified as a drunk driver, broadcast journalists gave Bruce Kimball a single mention on ABC News World News Tonight newscast on January 30, 1989. However, Joe Namath was mentioned twice, once by ABC News and once by CBS news. Both reports on Namath were broadcast on May 2, 1969.

The former *Olympic diver Bruce Kimball* (italics added) was sentenced to 17 years in prison today for driving his car into a group of teenagers while he was drunk and killing two of them. The judge in Tampa, Fla. says he hopes the sentence will scream out to young people that must suffer the consequences of drunk driving. (ABC News, January 30, 1989)

In Miami today *New York Jets football star Joe Namath* (italics added) was found innocent on a drunken driving charge. He was fined fifty dollars for speeding April 14th. (CBS News)

Pro football star Joe Namath (italics added) settled for a tie in a Miami court today. He was cleared of a drunk driving charge but was fined fifty dollars for speeding last month in an early morning car chase with Miami police. (ABC News)

For both of the media event elements, multiple reports about a single driver and reports about a college or professional athlete, the results did not produce significant data for broadcast news reports. There was a slight decrease in both multiple reports about a single individual and reports about athletes from the pre-MADD to the MADD era, but the change was not meaningful (See Tables 24 and 25 in Appendix H).

When comparing print and broadcast journalists in this area, the only significant data was the increase by print journalists in publishing multiple reports about an individual drunk driver, with an increase of almost 40% between the pre-MADD and MADD-era and the increase in drunk driving related news reports about sports figures. There appears to be little or no impact in the other media events areas. This shows that MADD may have had limited impact on media events as defined by this study. MADD's could be seen as having two distinct paths. The first would be that MADD's aggressive pursuit of increased penalties for previously lesser drunk driving offenses have produced extended life within the court system for the typical drunk driving case, therefore there are more opportunities for coverage by journalists. The second path would be that because reporters/editors perceive a greater interest by the public in news reports about drunk drivers, journalists are more likely to follow a drunk driving case through the court system during the MADD-era than during the pre-MADD era. Journalists are also more likely to publish reports about high visibility individuals like professional or collegiate sports figures.

Research Question Four	What aspects of the drunk driving issue have resulted in the continuing long-term coverage of drunk drivers and MADD by the news media?
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Possible Areas of Influence by Mothers Against Drunk Driving

There were four areas that were analyzed to explore the possible impact of MADD and other anti-drunk driving organizations might have had on the journalist's telling of the drunk driving story. Each of these areas tests the research question and provides possible insight into the interaction of drunk driving organizations and journalists

- PERCENTAGE OF ALCOHOL-RELATED TRAFFIC DEATHS
- MOTHERS AGAINST DRUNK DRIVING MENTIONED IN NEWS REPORTS
- DRUNK DRIVING ORGANIZATION'S GOALS MENTIONED
- ACCIDENT OR OTHER DESCRIPTIVE TERMS USED

Print: Percentage of Alcohol Related Traffic Deaths

The first area examined was the use of descriptive terms that indicated a relationship between a certain percentage of traffic deaths and alcohol-influenced drivers. Example from the pre-MADD and MADD-eras are:

In June 1970, the Department of Transportation made a modest try at reducing the death and injury rate in accidents involving drinking drivers. Indeed, in view of the magnitude of the problem any first effort would necessarily be small: *of the annual 55,000 traffic fatalities, approximately half were alcohol-related* (italics added). (*Washington Post* Feb. 12 1974)

So what do you do about *drunks at the wheel-drunks responsible for 55 percent of the 25,000 fatalities* (italics added) and nearly 700,000 injuries on American highways every year? (*New York Times*, May 7, 1983)

President Reagan convened the Presidential Commission on Drunk Driving, which drew up a nationwide plan for combating *a problem that kills more than 20,000 people each year* ((italics added). There is some evidence that the message may be wearing off. In 1986, 21,200 people died

in alcohol-related traffic accidents, up from 19,876 in 1985. (*Washington Post* December 31, 1987)

The minimum criteria were the mention in a news report that at least 40% of the traffic deaths in a given geographical or political area (nation, state, or other governmental division) were alcohol-related. This mention could be a direct percentage or the information could be provided in the news report that would allow the percentage to be calculated by the well-informed reader. The reference could concern a public policy issue or refer directly to an alcohol related traffic incident. The primary reason why this was chosen was because that this phrase was in use prior to the beginning of the MADD-era. Anti-drunk driving groups, in particular MADD, used variations of that phrase to seek to place the severity of the drunk driving problem within their arguments and the public's discussion of the issue. Those groups felt that the public did not understand the severity of the drunk driving problem, and if the public better understood the situation, that they would be more likely to appreciate and support those organization's agenda. An examination of the use of that phrase or its derivatives could show the impact of drunk driving social movements on the story journalists told.

In the print analysis (Table 12), using the pre-MADD and MADD-era period, the results were significant but those results were not what were expected. Instead of the use of a phrase like "50% of all traffic deaths are alcohol-related" increasing with the founding of MADD and other such organizations that pushed the use of that phrase, the percentage use by reporters in their news stories of such a phrase fell by almost two-thirds of total reports when 1969-80 is compared to 1981-90. The number of reports presenting "50% death" information between the two periods were close to being equal when comparing the number of reports between the two periods. There was a slight increase (34 reports in the pre-MADD to 39 reports in the MADD-

era). However, remember that when comparing the number of reports, the pre-MADD era is based on reports from that period, while only one out of three reports were included in the MADD-era. This decrease in the percentage of reports that used an important term linked with

Table 12
Washington Post and New York Times
 Report Refers to 50% of Traffic Fatalities are Alcohol Related:
 1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total
Yes	15.4*	(34)**	5.7	(39)	(73)
No	84.6	(187)	94.3	(640)	(827)
Total	100	(221)	100	(679)	(900)

$\chi^2 = 4.99$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.05$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

anti-drunk driving organization appears not to support the position that MADD was able to influence meaningfully reporting about the drunk driving issue relative to news reports linking traffic fatalities and the use of alcohol.

When examining the linking of traffic fatalities and the use of alcohol in news reports during the MADD-era (Table 13), the results were significant. However, there is very little change over the ten-year period in question. There were slight peaks at the beginning and end of the MADD-era when examined on a percentage basis, but the number of reports only ranged from six to nine reports per two-year period. This data supports and expands the view that was stated in the analysis of Table 11. If the use of the phrase in question indicates the influence of MADD, then MADD's influence on journalists during the MADD-era as consistently low during that time.

Table 13

Washington Post and New York Times
Report Refers to 50% of Traffic Fatalities are Alcohol Related
1981-90

	1981-82		1983-84		1985-86		1987-88		1989-90		Total
Yes	7.0*	(8)**	4.1	(8)	4.5	(6)	6.2	(8)	8.5	(9)	(39)
No	93.0	(106)	95.9	(189)	95.5	(126)	93.8	(122)	91.5	(97)	(640)
Total	100.0	(114)	100.0	(197)	100.0	(132)	100.0	(130)	100.0	(106)	(679)

$\chi^2 = 66.58$, 4 d. f., $p \leq 0.001$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Print: Mothers Against Drunk Driving Mentioned in News Reports

As the most prominent drunk driving organization and the focus of Research Question Four, the frequency of mention of Mothers Against Drunk Driving (or MADD) in news reports published during the MADD-era could be an indicator of the impact of MADD upon the continuing, long-term coverage of the drunk driving issue. Either the mention of MADD or Mothers Against Drunk Driving was included. References either could refer directly to the organization or could identify an individual as being a member of the organization. Other drunk driving organizations, such as RID, SADD, or WRAP, were not included because those organizations were infrequently mentioned in the reporting of the drunk driving story.

Examples of such a mention of Mothers Against Drunk Driving include:

More than 1.5 million red ribbons will be distributed throughout Maryland as part of *MADD's "Project Red Ribbon."* The national campaign wants drivers to tie ribbons to their automobile's left door handle, left side-view mirror, or antenna symbol to symbolize "*that the driver has joined MADD* (italics added) in our hope for a less violent future for us all and as a reminder for a safe

and happy holiday for all," said Virginia Bright of the Montgomery County chapter of MADD.

(*Washington Post*, December 1, 1988)

Looking on were representatives of such groups as *Mothers Against Drunk Driving* (italics added), which had lobbied for the legislation for years. "We know that drinking plus driving spell disaster," Mr. Reagan said. "We know that people in the 18-to-20 age group are more likely to be in alcohol-related accidents than those in any other age group." (*New York Times*, July 22, 1984)

The print sample did not produce significant data (Table 26, Appendix H), with only a minor increase during the middle six years of the MADD-era. This supports the view that MADD's influence remained constant during the last ten years of the study

Print: Drunk Driving Organization's Goals Mentioned in a News Report

Mothers Against Drunk Driving and other such organizations have a set of goals that were the basis for their agenda. Those goals included increasing the legal drinking age, decreasing the legal blood alcohol content required for a drunk driving conviction, stiffening/increasing jail time and/or fines upon conviction, generally increasing the severity and certainty of punishment, administrative driver's license revocation, server liability, and the use of roadblocks as a law enforcement tool. Again, these elements of the drunk driving organizations agenda existed before MADD and other similar organizations became prominent in American society in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The analysis focuses upon the use of any of those goals in a news report. The report could specifically mention an anti-drunk driving organization in connection with one of its goals or could only mention a goal without referencing the organization. Examples of such uses include:

One group able to play most effectively on the lawmakers' election-year sensitivities was *Mothers Against Drunk Drivers (MADD)*, a loosely organized but highly effective group of relatives of victims of drunk drivers. . . .

The result: *Legislators raised the state's drinking age from 18 for beer and light wine to 21 for everything alcoholic* (italics added), effective July 1. They approved a bill allowing the car license plates of repeat drunk drivers to be confiscated for 120 days. They passed another bill requiring drivers to submit to blood-alcohol tests if they are involved in fatal traffic accidents. And they passed another bill lengthening the time that drunk driving convictions must remain on a motorist's driving record (italics added). (*Washington Post*, April 21, 1982)

In California, the State Supreme Court upheld a checkpoint plan in October. California has since joined the growing number of states that use the checkpoints - more than half have some kind of program - not so much *to arrest drunken drivers* (italics added), officials said, as to deter intoxicated people from getting behind the wheel. (*New York Times*, December 27, 1987)

Table 14

Washington Post and *New York Times*
Drunk Driving Organization's Goals Mentioned in News Report:
1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total
Yes	19.9*	(44)**	46.7	(362)	45.1 (406)
No	80.1	(177)	53.3	(317)	54.9 (494)
Total	100.0	(221)	100.0	(679)	100.0 (900)

$\chi^2 = 16.17$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.001$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

This area was examined using several different time frames. The first time frame used was the pre-MADD/MADD-era grouping. This was used to see if there was any change in the use of those goals between those years. The print analysis (Table 14) produced significant results. Those results indicated that on a percentage basis, there was more than a doubling of reports from 1969-80 to 1981-90 that included a reference to at least one of the drunk driving.

Table 15
Washington Post and New York Times
 Drunk Driving Organization's Goals Mentioned in a News Report
 1981-1990

	1981-82	1983-84	1985-86	1987-88	1989-90	Total
Yes	53.5* (53)**	55.3 (88)	52.3 (63)	33.8 (86)	32.1 (72)	100.0 (362)
No	46.5 (61)	44.7 (109)	47.7 (69)	66.2 (44)	67.9 (34)	100.0 (317)
Total	100 (114)	100 (197)	100 (132)	100 (130)	100 (106)	100 (679)

$\chi^2 = 21.09$, 4 d. f., $p \leq 0.001$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

organization's goals. There was more than an eight-fold increase in the number of reports mentioning such a goal from the pre-MADD to the MADD-era. When examining the two-year groups contained within the MADD-era, the print analysis (Table 15) showed that the first six years of the MADD-era (1981-82 through 1985-86), there was little variance in the use of drunk driving organization's goals in the print sample. The range was from 52.3 to 55.3 percent of reports include some reference to at least one of the drunk driving organization's goals. The last four years of the print sample (1987-88 and 1989-90) produced a drop of more than 20% (from an average of 53.7% to 32.95%) between the two time periods. When the results of Table 12 and Table 13 are combined, an argument can be made that while MADD was able to increase coverage of its goals during the MADD-era, however, that influence appeared to be decreasing towards the end of this study.

Print: Accident or Other Descriptive Terms Used

One focus of MADD's campaign was to redefine the alcohol-related traffic incident from an "accident" to a "crash" or other descriptive term. This is because MADD believes that to use "accident" removes the personal responsibility from the alcohol-consuming driver and places it

elsewhere, whereas the use of “crash” or other similar terminology places the social and personal burden on the individual who choose to consume alcohol and then operate a motor vehicle. The print analysis (Table 27 Appendix H) resulted in data that was not significant. There was less than a four percent difference between to two periods being tested. There were further analysis of the print data (Table 28, Appendix H), including alcohol-related use of accident, alcohol related use of crash, and a category that combined alcohol related use of accident and alcohol related use of crash. Testing showed that none of the data was significant. In the combined category, with both accident and crash being used in the same report to describe accident, there was less than 4 percent difference between the pre-MADD and MADD-eras. This data suggests that MADD was not successful in changing the standard term used to describe an alcohol related traffic incident.

Broadcast: Percentage of Alcohol Related Traffic Deaths Mentioned in News Reports

As was described in the print section of Research Question Four, one of the points that MADD emphasized was the severity of the alcohol-related traffic incidents and the impact that such incidents had upon America. One of the tools that they used was informing the public that, according to government figures, 50% of all traffic deaths involved at least one driver who tested positive for some level of alcohol. Because this phrase was in use prior to the formation of the anti-drunk driving organizations in the late 1970s and early 1980s, an analysis was carried out to see if broadcasters use of such a phrase or other closely related phrases had changed. Examples of broadcaster’s use of such a phrase from both before and after the founding of anti-drunk driving organizations are:

(Frank Reynolds reads on set)

Each time we ring in a new year we can be sure the highway death toll is rising. 50,000

Americans die each year in automobile crashes, and *alcohol is a factor in more than half of this*

nation's fatal accidents. (italics added) Each year, 1,300,000 drunk driving arrests are made.

(ABC News January 1.1982)

(John Dancy reads on set)

The biggest single cause of death on the highway. (italics added)

It is responsible for half of the automobile accidents in which someone is killed. In Chicago, the city has adopted a new policy, giving jail terms to drinking drivers. And it is credited for cutting traffic deaths by a third. (NBC News, February 3, 1971)

Table 16

ABC, CBS, and NBC
Report Refers of 50% of Traffic Fatalities are Alcohol-Related
1981-1990

	1981-82	1983-84	1985-86	1987-88	1989-90	Total
Yes	41.2* (7)**	17.9 (7)	20.0 (3)	25.0 (3)	7.6 (3)	21.7 (23)
No	58.8 (10)	82.1 (32)	80.0 (12)	75.0 (9)	82.4 (14)	78.3 (77)
Total	100.0 (17)	100.0 (39)	100.0 (15)	100.0 (12)	100.0 (17)	100.0 (100)

$\chi^2 = 21.20$, 4 d. f., $p \leq 0.001$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 29 (Appendix H), shows that while there was an increase in the use of that phrase (4.6%) from the pre-MADD to the MADD era, that increase was not significant. An additional analysis that looked at the use of that phrase during the MADD-era (Table 16). The results were significant and showed a peak during the first two years (1981-82) of the MADD-era. There was a significant decrease in the use of such terms during the remaining eight years of the study (1983-90). This indicates that any impact that MADD had upon journalist's use of such a descriptive term was limited to the beginning of the MADD era and usage fell off to close to the pre-MADD use during the final eight years of the MADD-era.

Broadcast: MADD Mentioned in News Reports

Table 17 shows that there was a significant difference in the broadcast journalist's inclusion of Mothers Against Drunk Driving in their news reports during the MADD-era. The peak coverage of MADD occurred in 1987-88, while the lowest coverage was in the preceding four-year period. While the 1983-84 period had one of the lowest percentages, the seven reports broadcast during those years that mentioned MADD were the most reports during any two-year

Table 17

ABC, CBS, and NBC
Mothers Against Drunk Driving Mentioned in News Report
1981-1990

	1981-82	1983-84	1985-86	1987-88	1989-90	Total
Yes	27.8* (5)**	18.4 (7)	13.3 (2)	33.3 (4)	23.5 (4)	22 (22)
No	72.2 (13)	81.6 (31)	86.7 (13)	66.7 (8)	76.5 (13)	78 (78)
Total	100 (18)	100 (38)	100 (15)	100 (12)	100 (17)	100 (100)

$X^2 = 13.69$, 4 d. f., $p \leq 0.01$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

period. The average over the MADD-era was 4.4 reports per two-year group, with the first four years of the MADD-era containing 55% of all such reports. The data shows that the influence of MADD was indicated by the number of reports that mentioned MADD numerically decreasing during the last six year of the study.

Broadcast: Drunk Driving Organization's Goals Mentioned in News Report

Broadcast journalist's coverage of the anti-drunk driving organization's goals significantly changed (Table 18) from the pre-MADD year to the MADD era. The goals were mentioned in 26.3% (10 reports) of broadcast news reports from 1969-80 and more than doubled to 60.0% (60 reports) during the MADD-era. Analysis of the coverage of drunk driving

Table 18
ABC, CBS, and NBC
Drunk Driving Organization's Goals Mentioned in News Report
1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total	
Yes	26.3*	(10)**	60.0	(60)	50.7	(70)
No	73.7	(28)	40.0	(40)	49.3	(68)
Total	100.0	(38)	100.0	(100)	100.0	(138)

$\chi^2 = 23.15$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.001$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

organizations during the MADD-era (Table 19) shows that mention of those organization's goals peaked in 1981-82 and decreased to a low point in 1987-88. While Table 19 shows that while there was an increase in coverage of drunk driving organizations goals from the pre-MADD to the MADD-era, the coverage of those goals was decreasing consistently during the MADD-era.

Table 19
ABC, CBS, and NBC
Drunk Driving Organization's Goals Mentioned in News Reports
1981-1990

	1981-82		1983-84		1985-86		1987-88		1989-90		Total	
Yes	70.6*	(12)**	71.8	(28)	66.7	(5)	50.0	(6)	52.9	(9)	100	(68)
No	29.4	(5)	28.2	(11)	33.3	(10)	50.0	(6)	47.1	(8)	100	(70)
Total	12.3	(17)	28.2	(39)	10.9	(15)	8.7	(12)	12.3	(17)	100	(138)

$\chi^2 = 17.8$, 4 d. f., $p \leq 0.01$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

The data supports an argument that MADD's influence peaked early and gradually declined over time. The finding was similar to the finding presented in Table 17 that examined the mentions of MADD by name during the same period.

Broadcast: Accident or Other Descriptive Terms Used

As was explained earlier, Mothers Against Drunk Driving sought to change the public's view of the alcohol related traffic incident from the pre-MADD view that it was the alcohol to blame, not the driver who choose to consume alcohol and then became involved in a traffic incident. The use of alcohol gave the drunk driver both moral and legal protection. MADD argues that you "Do not refer to incidents caused by alcohol and other drug-impaired as 'accidents.' These crashes are not accidental because they result from two clear choices: (1) to consume alcohol or use other drugs; and (2) to drive." (MADD pamphlet, no date) If MADD was able to achieve their goal of changing the public's view that such an alcohol-related traffic incident was not an accident. Table 20 shows that there was a significant increase in the use of the word "accident" in broadcast news reports from 1969-80 to 1981-90. This result does not

Table 20
ABC, CBS, and NBC
Accident Or Other Term Descriptive Used to Describe an Alcohol Related Traffic Incident
1981-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total	
Accident	20.0*	(1)**	47.8	(11)	42.9	(12)
Non-Accident	80.0	(4)	52.2	(12)	57.1	(16)
Total	100.0	(5)	100.0	(23)	100.0	(28)

$\chi^2 = 17.24$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.001$, the distribution is significant

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

support the argument that MADD was able to influence broadcast journalists coverage of the drunk driving issue. The preferred term that some anti-drunk driving organization wanted used in place of accident was "crash". Table 30 (Appendix H) shows an analysis of broadcast news

reports relative to their use of accident, crash, or both in an alcohol-related context. The data was not significant; however, it does show that accident was the primary descriptive term used in during the study. Use of crash was a rare occurrence, either by itself or in combination with accident in broadcast news reports.

Research Question Five	Did the reporters covering the drunk driving story interact with Mothers Against Drunk Driving or any other anti-drunk driving group in such a manner that the journalist's reports were influenced?
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Introduction

There were a total of 19 reporters who were contacted by the researcher to explore the issues raised in Research Question Five. Of those 19 reporters, eight reporters agreed to be interviewed. Of the eleven reporters who did not agree to an interview, they cited an inability to remember enough to be able to make any meaningful comments about the drunk driving issue or to answer the researcher's questions. The researcher tried to jog their memory with mention of the reports they had written and their assigned beat to improve their recall. However, the effort was unsuccessful in getting any of those reporters to be willing to answer any of the questions in the survey.

The eight reporters⁸ who agreed to be interviewed covered a wide range of reporting assignments (Appendix F). The reporter with the shortest length of time at the reporter's newspaper had eight years of service with their news organization. However, several of the reporters stated that they had been at their respective newspapers for more than 30 years. Three of the reporters covered courts and crime in an assigned county, another three covered the state

legislature, a single reporter was assigned to a national beat, and the final reporter covered legal issues.

There were four categories of responses that help to illustrate the interaction between MADD and the journalists who covered the drunk driving story. The first category deals with reporters telling how they worked with Mothers Against Drunk Driving while they were covering the drunk driving issue. Several of the reporters also mentioned concerns about becoming overly dependent on MADD as a news source. The second category deals with why the reporter thought the potential story was interesting enough to cover. This category deals with both the changing journalistic view of the drunk driving issue and why the drunk driving story presented by MADD was journalistically interesting. The third category presents the impact that MADD had upon the news coverage of the drunk driving issue as seen by the reporter, while the fourth category presents anecdotal stories or remembrances that illustrate the impact that MADD's presentation of the drunk driving issue had upon reporters.

Reporters Working with MADD

In describing the reporter's relationship with MADD, Reporter D tells of how the reporter "was in constant contact with the Mothers Against Drunk Driving people and trying to get a sense of what they were doing in terms of policy and getting legislators to try to change their views." That reporter also described the relationship with MADD as one where Mothers Against Drunk Driving helped to provide the real people who were necessary to sell the reporter's story more effectively their report to their editors. Reporter E said that MADD was used to supply the human-interest element of the report. Without that element, the reporter stated, "I was simply writing and reporting a news story." Another reporter credited MADD with being very well

informed about drunk driving cases as they made their way through the criminal justice system, so much so that:

They were very useful for understanding context or for simply being flagged for something that I might have overlooked because it was a busy courthouse, I was one person, and I didn't know everybody or everything by any means. For me they were a good source for making sure that I hadn't missed something. (Reporter B)

In supporting the use of MADD, Reporter A believed that MADD helped reporters to better do their job by helping the individual reporter to sort out the continuing deluge of possible news stories that faced the reporter everyday. Because the reporters had to pick and choose the stories that would be written for their newspaper, Reporter A stated:

I am sure that it would make a difference to have somebody there pointing things out to you and also filling out the background to you. If you are jumping around from case to case or story to story, often you avoid things that you don't think you would understand. If you have the choice between two cases, you will cover the simple one or the one that you know the background of, but if there is somebody monitoring things from MADD and saying look you need to cover this and here is the whole background. It is important because then you are less likely to avoid it.

Two reporters were concerned with a possible over reliance by reporters on MADD. Both were worried about MADD gaining more influence over the reporter's work than was appropriate and undermining the objective presentation of the report that was being produced. Reporter A stated, "Obviously, no one is taking their instructions from Mothers Against Drunk Driving" while Reporter B stated that:

I did not think that they were a reasonable or useful source of comment about the events because they were not the participants in the accident. I didn't go to MADD representatives for comment about something that happened, but used them as a source for information about certain cases. They were an interested party but not a real party to the event.

Story Elements/Interest

When reporters were asked about what elements made the drunk driving story interesting, they cited the pervasive nature of the drunk driving issue and the human elements that the drunk driving story presented. One reporter, when asked about the pervasive nature of drunk driving said that it seemed like everyone was driving drunk and that it was “like no one had added up all of the deaths and injuries and maimings and thought about it before” (Reporter A). Another argues that “drunk driving was-and too often is-pervasive in many parts of American society” (Reporter G).

A third reporter argued that:

Journalism at its best is about people, about individuals, what happens to them. Statistics are simply a way to illustrate the larger issue. It’s hard to sell a story unless you have some real people who have a problem, and MADD people were very good at giving you that stuff. (Reporter D)

Another reporter maintained that the drunk driving stories presented by MADD are a “natural for news; violence, tragedy, victims, an individual’s suffering” (Reporter G). Reporter A contends that:

Innocent kids getting killed. In a sense, an ideal story from the reader’s point of view is the MADD story. Some innocent kid, it is inevitable some sort of honor student, and they get killed on the eve of their graduation, or the happiest times of their lives with endless potential. An organization like Mothers Against Drunk Driving tends to focus exactly on those people, a grieving family and friends, potential wiped out and all of that sort of awful stuff. There are a lot of other ways to die I suppose, but that type of story in a sense has got it all from a dramatic sob story point of view. When you are writing the story, you are not thinking that this is the ideal sob story; it is just awful, because you react just like a reader.

Reporter G believes that “being able to touch reporters with a strong message, and the underlying facts, is a tried and true way of getting your story out.” He continues that “the emotionally powerful impact of ‘mothers’ fighting for their children” is a prototypical example of such a story. Reporter B believes that “the significance of the person involved, injury, or death from the incident” are key elements in making a drunk driving incident newsworthy. “It is a big metro area and a big newspaper and something had to have some level of newsworthiness, just being stopped for drunk driving is not a news worthy event, obviously” (Reporter B).

Reporter D has a divergent view of such prototypical stories:

We still do the archetypical great teen dies in crash before the prom story that does pop up with regularity in my paper. Those reports get two reactions from the public. My personal reaction is gosh that is a tragedy but that we are not really writing much about alcohol or drunk driving. [One of the public’s reactions is the classic MADD inspired reaction to the prototypical “teen prom” report]. The other public reaction about these stories is the reaction that comes from low-income readers and the minority readers. They complain ‘Oh, there is another white kid who gets dead and we put that on the front of the metro section, while our kids are getting shot down in the inner city and it doesn’t even get a mention.’ Those are the two reactions.

MADD’s Impact on News Coverage

Several reporters believed that Mothers Against Drunk Driving was successful in having an impact on reporter’s presentation of the drunk driving story. Reporter D cited the need for a news peg involving a person so that the report “has a better chance of getting on page one or getting good play inside the A section, which was what I was writing for” and later said that MADD excelled at providing a victim who served as the news peg that would help the reporter write a story that was worthy of the reporter’s desired placement in the newspaper. Reporter G agreed that the suffering of an individual victim of the drunk driver “can help tell the larger story of drunk driving costs to the nation and society as a whole.”

Reporter H reasoned that because of the effective presentation of their view of the drunk driver, Mothers Against Drunk Driving made “It seem that in the eighties that you were seeing more about and hearing more about people being killed, manslaughter, vehicle accidents in which people were being killed, and it was because of a drunk driver.” After reflecting upon the drunk driving story, Reporter C said, “MADD was very, very active in the issue. They had a lobbyist in [the state capitol] and they were very active in pushing the changes in the law. The lobbyists interacted with the reporters.” Reporter H continued that train of thought: “The lobbyist would seek us out. They will often come to the pressroom and hand out press releases to see if anyone wants to talk with one of the lobbyists or one of the lobbying groups” Reporter B backed up that outlook, saying that:

I could look at lists of people arrested for drunk driving and nothing would jump out. But they [MADD] sort of made it their mission to pay attention to that. To me they were a way, they were a second set of eyes, they were a flag, they were somebody to say ‘have you looked at this case, do you know what is going on here?’ For me they were a good source for making sure that I hadn’t missed something and they were also a reasonable place to say ‘how does this sentence look in the context of other events like this’ but not without going and verifying that.

While the previous reporters dealt with MADD’s presentation of the drunk driving issue within a legislative context, Reporter E dealt with MADD’s efforts to have journalists present MADD’s issues to the public within a general news context. That reporter stated:

I am sure that the efforts by MADD, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, that the existence of that organization, had a major role to play in causing more news organizations to take a look at that particular area, that particular problem. Because they were quite insistent in crafting their message, helping to get the word out to journalists. They just simply developed relationships, you have a family, I have a family, perhaps we have children and spouses. You can easily identify with someone who has lost a child or spouse or loved one in an accident, and then to have the

person who was responsible for the accident to walk away with a very light sentence or not any kind of severe reprimand because of it.

Reporter A reflected on MADD's attempt to influence reporter's coverage of drunk driving by saying that:

I don't recall anything particularly slick or sophisticated, it was that there was just somebody doing it, you know. It was almost like a sort of polite nagging and a resource while you were in the courthouse. You could probably get the information easily from the state police, but when you have someone calling you up and saying that you should cover this because this is one of 175 cases and it has not been reported and it is a good story. Something like that and you are more likely to do the report.

Illustrative Anecdotal Stories by Reporters

Many reporters told anecdotal stories that spoke about their frustration with their coverage, shortcomings in their reporting, and how the journalistic coverage of the drunk driving issue had changed over time. Reporter G reflected, "in retrospect, I believe that we could have done more to highlight drunk drivers, but [instead] the main story was to strengthen punishment regardless of why people drink." When contemplating the need for dramatic interest to sell the news reports to both editors and readers, Reporter A theorized that:

Maybe an element of its dramatic interest is "There but for the grace of God go I." It could have been me that got killed, or it could have been me who drove drunk, I am now [middle age]. When I was in my late teens and early twenties, when driving drunk, being drunk didn't stop you from leaving the party. You would get in your car and fly on home. So it is easy to imagine myself being in that sort of situation, either the drunk driver or the person who gets killed. I never really thought about it before, but I imagine from a reporter's point of view or a reader's point of view or an editor's point of view there is a little bit of that involved that makes the story compelling.

During the closing portion of our interview, Reporter B reflected on how society's views of public officials who were also drunk drivers have changed. The reporter said:

I never wrote this story but it is an interesting benchmark. The prosecutor that I covered as part of covering the courthouse is a very good person. But what I was told was that in the 60s and 70s, the prosecutor was routinely pulled over driving drunk by his own cops, the cops in the prosecutor jurisdiction that the prosecutor worked with everyday. They would just take the prosecutor home.

Well, if the prosecutor had been stopped for drunk driving while I was a reporter, the prosecutor's political career would have been over. That would have been it. I don't think that they would have waited to see whether the prosecutor was actually guilty or not, the prosecutor would have been guilty. So to me that was an amazing shift in attitude in the course of a very brief period of time. Americans changed their attitude about the acceptability of drunk driving in a very short period. I don't know how it was that the prosecutor adapted the prosecutor personal habits to that change, but it is very clear the prosecutor is tuned into it. Maybe I'm wrong; maybe the prosecutor political career wouldn't be over. You can imagine a person who is in charge of an office of 20 prosecutors who among other things prosecute drunk driving, being pulled over for drunk driving. That would not have been a good moment for the prosecutor.

The reason that I didn't write it is, I don't know, what is exactly the story, that the prosecutor used to drive drunk 15 years ago but the prosecutor doesn't anymore. I didn't write it because I didn't see how it was relevant. To me it was mostly interesting as a flag as to how dramatically attitudes were shifting. It is a fascinating little window on a moment in time that has definitely changed.

When asked if MADD had an impact on the coverage of the drunk driving story, the same reporter said that:

Well, I think that MADD had an impact on more than the coverage, eventually you have to draw a line between the coverage and the change in attitude. I think that change in attitude preceded MADD, but I think she, Ms. Lightner, crystallized people's sort of inchoate sense that driving while drunk was not a good way to behave.

Summary of Research Question Five

With the exception of one reporter, all of the reporters that the researcher interviewed agreed that the drunk driving story as presented by Mothers Against Drunk Driving was a journalistically interesting presentation. Several of the reporters described how MADD made their work easier, while two reporters voiced concern about reporters developing a potentially journalistically inappropriate relationship by becoming too close with MADD as a source. Several of the reporters agreed that the drunk driving story as presented by MADD was journalistically interesting because of the emotions and human tragedy that were contained in MADD's presentation of the drunk driving issue.

Summary of Chapter Four

Research Question One examined any increase in the frequency of publication/broadcast of drunk driving related news reports from 1969 to 1990. Beginning in 1981, and continuing through the end of the study, there was a significant increase in such coverage. The reactions of the newspaper reporter's interviewed provided one reason why the issue was attractive to journalists. According to reporters, the drunk driving story's human element made it attractive to journalists. MADD's emphasis on providing the human angle to the drunk driving problem made the issue accessible to reporters. When the drunk driving story is presented without the human element it, becomes much less attractive to the reporters because of the lack of human drama.

Also in Research Question One, there was a difference in the presentation of the drunk driving theme between the newspapers and the broadcasters. Print journalists increased their coverage of Police/Crime reports during the MADD-era, while broadcast journalists decreased their Police/Crime coverage during the same era while increasing coverage of Federal

Government action. When examining the beats of the print reporters who were interviewed, it is evident that the newspapers used considerable resources specifically dedicated to covering local police activity. The analysis of the network's coverage of the drunk driving issue shows that their resources were focused more on the national aspect of the drunk driving issue. With the exception of the rare drunk driving story like Larry Mahoney (Carrollton, KY school bus crash where 27 people killed), there was rarely any coverage of a specific alcohol-related traffic incident by broadcast journalists. However, as the print reporter's job description (Appendix D) indicates that out of the eight reporters interviewed, three were assigned to the Police/Crime beat at the local courthouse. This difference denotes the different local/national nature of print and broadcast news organizations included in this analysis.

In Research Question Two, there were several different examinations of the use of "accident" as it relates to describing an alcohol-related traffic incident. With MADD's position that the shelter provided by the use of "accident" as being unjustified when used in such a context, the broadcast networks significant increased their use of "accident" during the MADD-era is directly counter to MADD's guidelines. When interviewing the eight print reporters for this analysis, four of the reporters used "accident" during their interview without any prompting by the researcher. None of the reporters used other substitute terms such as incident, occurrence, or event during the interviews to replace accident in their interviews. This supports the content analysis finding that MADD's desires relative to the use of "accident" were not realized in the reporter's work product.

Research Question Three examined the occurrence of high visibility media events during the study. Both types of media events, repeated reports about a single drunk driver and the identification of a sports figure within a drunk driving context in news reports were examined.

For the broadcast networks there was no significant data generated in either category. For the newspapers, there was a significant increase in both categories. Several reporters addressed this issue by saying that the human element was one of the keys to determining which reports were published. If someone was involved in a horrific alcohol-related traffic incident with a dramatic human element, that story was more likely to be printed. In addition, if someone who was already known to the public (like a high profile sports figure), a report about such an individual had a much greater chance of reaching the public. Both reporters and the content analysis confirmed that the human element was important during the journalistic decision making process for print reporters.

Research Question Four used four different measures to examine the influence of Mothers Against Drunk Driving. Both print and broadcast news organizations decreased the use of the MADD endorsed term/goal that correctly attributed about 50% of all highway traffic fatalities as being alcohol related during both the pre-MADD and the MADD-eras. Again, because the reporter interviews emphasized those human elements of the news story as major selling points, recitation of important but potentially emotionally dry goals hinder the inclusion of such terms in the report or the inclusion of the report into the paper or broadcast news program. For both the print and broadcast news organizations included in this analysis, there was the expected increase in the mention of MADD's goals from the pre-MADD to the MADD-era. However, there was a decrease in the mention of such goals over time during the MADD-era. While none of the reporter's interviews specifically addressed this issue, several reporters did say that the "newness" of the drunk driving issue was one of its selling points. The last measure again looked at the use of "accident" or other descriptive term to describe an alcohol-related traffic incident. This measure took into consideration the use over time (pre-MADD and

MADD-eras) of alternative terms such as crash. There was no significant change between the two eras. When expanding the analysis of the reporter's interviews to include the use of accident or crash, only one reporter used "crash," MADD's preferred term, to describe an alcohol-related traffic incident. Two reporters used "incident" in addition to using "accident" relative to our conversation about their coverage of drunk driving. Two additional reporters also used "accident" in the same context. Such small numbers are not sufficient to draw meaningful conclusion, but the researcher believes that this measure continues to show the failure of MADD to have journalists use some word other than "accident" in their reports. For a brief analysis of the average length of selected story types see Appendix J.

¹ Those tables that are referenced but not included in the text can be found in Appendix H.

² Table 21 and Figure 3 (Appendix H) show that when the Original Broadcast Sample, the Enhanced Broadcast Sample, and the Broadcast Universe are compared, there is no significant difference between the three data sets. ($X^2 = 6.90$, 14 d. f., $p \leq 1.00$, the distribution is not significant.)

³ For all of the following print tables the Enhanced Print Sample was used.

⁴ For all of the following broadcast tables the Enhanced Broadcast Sample was used.

⁵ There was one reporter who gave a detailed interview. However, because of the nature of that reporter's job the interview had very little to do with the subject of the research. The reporter covered the federal courts at the appellate level. Because most of the action at that level consists of documents and brief court arguments, that reporter said little that addressed the issues of this research. While several drunk driving cases were heard in the courts that the reporter covered, the nature of that reporting was to consider only the constitutional issues concerned. Reporter F said that:

My interest in a story like that would be more of a constitutional law point of view. Warning against self-incrimination is a Fifth Amendment issue. I would be interested in it from the development of Fifth Amendment doctrine at the court rather than drunk driving per se. It could be drunk driving, it could be bananas. I don't think that I would have come at that issue from a viewpoint of a drunk driving question.

Chapter Five

Interaction between Journalists, MADD, and the Construction of the Drunk Driving Story

Overview

A quantitative content analysis was conducted using five national news organizations, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, ABC News, CBS News, and NBC News. The period of the analysis extended from 1969 to 1990. Nine hundred print reports and 138 broadcast reports were analyzed. Over fifty questions were asked about each report, and those results were included in the content analysis. Print reporters who wrote five or more reports that were included in the sampling universe became the pool from which a total of 19 reporters were contacted. Of those reporters, eight agreed to participate in a qualitative interview exploring how the reporters dealt with the drunk driving issue. Those interviews were used to examine how news professionals were impacted by MADD.

Findings

Research Question One inquired about two separate but important areas, (1) would the frequency of news reports about some aspect of the drunk driving issue increase with the founding of MADD in 1980 and (2) would the type of news report dealing with the drunk driving issue change after the founding of MADD? One of the clearest results of this study was the increase in drunk driving related news reports during the MADD-era (1981-1990). For both print and broadcast news outlets included in this study, there was a dramatic increase in coverage. Print reporting about the drunk driving issue increased at least four-fold from the pre-MADD to the MADD-era, while broadcast coverage peaked in 1983-84 with an almost seven-

fold increase from the highest pre-MADD era reporting. Reinerman (1988) found similar results, with coverage growing from a few reports in the late 70s to 1985 where there was consistently at least a story a week in most major newspapers and magazines.

This finding supports a view that MADD was successful in its campaign to have the drunk driving issue have a more visible presence in the news media's coverage of American society. One possible reason for that is that the redefined view of the drunk driver was more attractive to journalists. According to one reporter who was interviewed for this analysis, the story presented by MADD was a "natural for news, violence, tragedy, victims, an individual's suffering." A second reporter said, "it is hard to sell a story unless you have some real people who have a problem," while a third reporter described the problem as it was presented by MADD, "Innocent kids getting killed. In a sense, an ideal story from the print point of view is the MADD story." This attractiveness made it more likely that the story would be reported. Another possible factor would be the demand from the public for more reports concerning an issue that had gained newfound prominence in America. One of the questions that communication research tries to answer is what drives the inclusion of one story in a news product while another news story is left out. Public demand is one of the factors that is discussed in this area, and such demand is probably at least part of the reason for the increased coverage of the drunk driving issue during the MADD-era. What may have happened is that once MADD had been able to start journalists thinking about drunk driving and to get the public wanting to hear more about drunk driving that each of those apparently separate happenings began to feed on each other. As the public heard more about the "killer drunk," the more they wanted to hear. As the reporter reported more about the drunk driving issue, that coverage created greater public demand to hear more about

the issue. The desire for more reports/reporting feed on each other creating a snowball effect that could have lead the results that were found in the content analysis.

The second part of Research Question One asked if the type of news reports about drunk driving had changed between the pre-MADD and MADD-eras. For the *Post* and *Times*, the only significant change occurred in the Police/Crime category; while for the broadcasters, there were significant changes in both the Police/Crime and Federal government themes. One possibility that both print and broadcast journalists focused their coverage on the Police/Crime theme was that of all the categories, that was the one that most consistently focused on the immediate danger to the readers/viewers and presented an immediate solution to that danger along with the gratification of having retribution on the evil doer. Snow and Benford (1988) argue that an organization's collective action frame should punctuate, attribute, and articulate the group's goals in such a way the journalists will reproduce the group's message. With MADD presenting the drunk driving story as an assault upon innocent victims, their families, and society, then it would follow that journalists would focus on stories that would most immediately deal with that problem. Governmental related reports often focused on solutions to the drunk driving problem that were in the future, such as passing stricter laws that were intended to help control drunk driving, not something that would help the driver who was going to drive to work the next morning. The emphasis by both print and broadcast journalists is focused on finding the immediate individual to blame.

Research Question Two asked if the framing of the drunk driver would become more deviant after the founding of MADD in 1980. Two measures were used to explore this question. First, the use of "accident" to describe an alcohol-related traffic incident was explored.

Secondly, within the MADD-era, of the percentage of Police/Crime theme used when compared to the total number of reports in the study was analyzed

One of the tools that MADD sought to use in building the container that Gusfield (1975) described as providing "the structure within which the problem phenomena can, as contained, be talked about, referred to and within which solutions can be proposed" (p.285) was redefining the alcohol related traffic incident. During the pre-MADD era, such an incident was commonly referred to as an "accident." MADD wanted journalists and the public to begin using "crash" or some other alternative term. MADD believed that it was important for their cause that the protection provided by "accident" be removed. The primary reason for this was that the term gave the drunk driver protection from retribution by society. American society has traditionally viewed the individual who was involved in event that was deemed an accident as not having legal or moral responsibility for that event. If that remained the case, then MADD would not be able to have the legal or moral retribution that was part of their redefining of the drunk driver into the evil "killer drunk." According to MADD, "Those injured or killed in drunk driving collisions are not "accident" victims. The crash caused by an impaired driver involves two choices: to drink AND to drive. The deaths and injuries caused each year can be prevented ...They are not "accidental" (emphasis in the original) (Mothers Against Drunk Driving Home Page (<http://www.gran-net.com/madd/madd.htm>)).

If there was an increase in the use of other terms, such as crash, incident, event, etc., to describe an alcohol related traffic incident while replacing "accident", then that would be an indicator that MADD had been successful in redefining one element of the drunk driving issue. For both print and broadcast news outlets included in the study, the use of "accident" was examined when it was used to describe either a specific alcohol related traffic incident or policy

debate. The study found that, for both print and broadcast news organizations, that there was not a significant decrease in the use of “accident” in either a traffic incident or a policy discussion context as would have been expected had MADD been successful. There were insignificant increase in the used of “accident” by broadcast journalists between the pre-MADD and MADD-eras while there was no significant change in the use of accident by print journalists. This finding implies that MADD was not successful in its efforts to have journalists and the public change the descriptive terms that were used to describe an alcohol-related traffic incident or the discussion of alcohol related public policy. During the qualitative interviews with the reporters for Research Question Five, four of the reporters used “accident” during our conversations. Two of those four reporters also used “incident” during our dialogue. One of the four reporters who did not use “accident” did use “crash” during our interview. These responses were not solicited. These results tend to backup the findings of the content analysis relative to the use of “accident.”

The use of “accident” was also examined when that word was used with a descriptive term that involved alcohol. Those terms included “alcohol related accident,” “drunk driving accident” and other similar uses. There was no significant change in the use of “accident” in conjunction with a drunk driving related descriptive term for either the *Post* or *Times*. However, for the three networks in this study there was a significant change. That change was an increase of the use of “accident” to describe an alcohol related phrase. This change was in the opposite direction from what the researcher expected and MADD desired. This result, when combined with the other results included in Research Question Two, could make a good case that Mothers Against Drunk Driving failed in this area to carry out effectively their agenda.

One possible reason why the both reporters and the public did not change their use of accident relative to drunk driving is that American society had accepted the medical view that

alcoholism is a disease. If alcoholism is one of the major causes of drunk driving, (a number of reports in this study refer to judges requiring convicted drunk drivers to attend AA) then a significant number of drunk drivers have a medical problem. Traditionally, Americans have regarded medical problems a disease, which in turn removes any stigma from the individual who has that disease. If under the medicalization concept, the drunk driver is sick, then the alcohol-related traffic incident that the drunk driver causes is implicitly an accident. Secondly, the reporter and the public have grown up expecting that they will have the legal and emotional shield of “accident” if they are responsible for an alcohol-related traffic incident, therefore they maybe unwilling to have that shield removed.

A third reason that the change from “accident” to “crash” was less than successful in its challenge to the use of “accident” was the inertia in that word’s usage that comes from using accident to describe an alcohol related traffic incident for many years has created. While there have been occasions when there has been a rapid change in society’s use of a word or phrase, (the introduction of cosmonaut and astronaut during the early space race in the 60s) those situations are rare occurrences and have unique factors that allow them to happen. The researcher surfed MADD’s national web site prior to writing this part of this dissertation and did not find any mention of “accident” within the context of trying to replace it with a more MADD friendly term like “crash.” During a similar surfing of MADD’s web site on June 6, 1996, on MADD’s home page the second item, headed “CRASH VS. ACCIDENT” clearly explained MADD’s reason for wanting to redefine an alcohol-related “accident” into an alcohol related “crash.” The reason why MADD no longer places the accident/crash dichotomy on its home page isn’t stated but one possible motive maybe that MADD has decided that they are unable to change the public’s habits in this case.

Research Question Three focused on the change in use of high visibility media events between the pre-MADD and MADD-eras. Such media events were defined as either (1) repeated reports about an individual drunk driver or (2) reports about high visibility occupations, specifically either a college or professional sports figure. These two elements were chosen as representative of media events. If there were greater follow up given to a drunk driving incident or more reports involving sports figures, then MADD's view of the drunk driver would be reinforced. These events could be seen as being a successful indicator that Mothers Against Drunk Driving was achieving its goal of reframing the drunk driver from a responsible individual into a demonized outcast.

For the *Post* and *Times*, there was a significant increase in multiple reports about a single individual from the pre-MADD to MADD-eras. That coverage increased from about one-third of all reports that identified the occupation of a drunk driver between 1969 and 1980, to half of all such reports between 1981 to 1990. This increase in coverage primarily consisted of the news organizations following an individual through the court system. There are at least two possible views as to the reason for this increase occurring. First, because of the impact of MADD upon the criminal justice system and the legislative branch of government, that existing and newly enacted laws were being more vigorously enforced, therefore, more individuals were being cycled through the court system. In addition, the new laws made the prosecution of accused drunk drivers who were involved with traffic incidents involving injury and death felonies and subject to jury trials. Both of these factors made it much more likely for an individual to have multiple court hearings, which in turn increased the likelihood for more news reports about a given individual.

The second view of the increase was that because of the activity of MADD, journalists were more likely to follow a case through the court system. What was not news before MADD now became news because of the effective system MADD had developed for lobbying reporters. The reporters believed that it was journalistically justified and necessary for such coverage to occur. This would support the view that MADD had been able to redefine the container within which the drunk driving issue was being discussed. Reporter A supports MADD's impact on journalists by saying that MADD was able "to touch reporters with a strong message, and the underlying facts, [and that] is a tried and true method of getting your story out." Reporter D said, "Journalism at its best is about people, about individuals, what happens to them." The same reporter cited a need for a news peg involving a person so that the report would be more interesting to the editors and the public. Reporter G continued the thought saying that using an individual victim of a drunk driver "can help tell the larger story of drunk driving costs to the nation and society as a whole." One of the ways of covering the victim is by following the alleged drunk driver through the court system.

The researcher believes that the impact of MADD upon the drunk driving story involving multiple reports about a single individual combines the two different versions of why the increase in such reporting occurred. There was a change in both law enforcement and the laws that were available to be enforced. There was also a change in how journalists viewed the drunk driving story. Therefore, the increase is the result of the confluence of two factors, both which were influenced by MADD.

The second section of the media event analysis examined the reporting on high profile drunk drivers, specifically professional and collegiate athletes. After the initial content analysis, it became apparent the athletes were by far the most covered occupation. The researcher decided

to see how the coverage of athletes changed between the two eras involved in this study. The results of this portion of the study produced significant data showing that the coverage of athletes more than doubled as a percentage and increased seven-fold relative to the number of reports that appeared in either the *Post* or the *Times*.

This significant change of coverage of professional and collegiate athletes can be seen as a major change in how society treated a class of highly visible and idolized individuals who were now publicly identified as being accused of drunk driving. A possible explanation for the lack of coverage of athletes during the pre-MADD era is that the real athlete was supposed to be a “two-fisted” drinker and “a good ole boy” that could and should drink everyone under the table. At least one pre-MADD era reports described professional athletes using similar terms. Any coverage of this type of an individual during the pre-MADD era may have presented drinking and driving as the appropriate behavior and maybe even behavior that should be imitated. The increase in MADD-era coverage can be seen as a validation of MADD’s attempt to redefine the drunk driver as an irresponsible individual who deserved to face the criminal justice system and be ostracized in the media and by the public.

For the broadcast news organizations included in this study there was no significant data generated in either the multiple reports or athletes for Research Question Three. For the multiple reports analysis, the network newscasts are primarily a nationally oriented news product, while the *Post* and *Times* have a major local component. Being primarily national, the coverage of an individual drunk driving case as it makes its way through the court system by a network news organization is much less likely. As for the lack of significant data relating to the coverage of athletes who were involved in a drunk driving incident, one of the primary reasons for this maybe that the networks do not have a dedicated section of the newscast devoted to the coverage

of either professional or collegiate athletics. Without a daily sports section to fill, there is less motivation for the network news organizations to produce reports concerning athletes who were accused of drunk driving. While there is a large amount of sports coverage on the networks, and some aspect of drunk driving may be covered within that network product, such coverage is not part of the network's evening newscast or network news organization's product. An interesting comparison would be to find sections of the *Post* and *Times* that are comparable to the content to a network newscast. Then the same analysis could be carried out and that comparison might produce results that could be more properly compared.

Research Question Four seeks to identify any aspects of the drunk driving issue that have resulted in continuing long-term coverage of the drunk driver or MADD. Rather than testing coverage about a set of individuals as was tested in Question Three, this question is more focused on the ability of MADD to have its view of drunk driving accepted by the news organizations included in this analysis. Four different areas were analyzed to answer this question. The first tested the use of a key phrase in MADD's campaign against drunk driver (50% of all traffic related fatalities are alcohol related). The second checked for any mention of Mothers Against Drunk Driving in news reports. The third checked for any mention of MADD's goals within news reports, while the fourth examined the use of specific terms (accident, crash, or both) to describe a drunk driving incident.

For the *Post* and *Times*, there was a significant result in the first area tested. However, the analysis showed that the use of the phrase "50% of all traffic deaths are alcohol-related" decreased during the MADD-era. This result is opposite of what would have been expected if MADD had been effective in having news organizations accept their framing of the drunk driving issue by using that phrase. One of the possible causes for such an unexpected result is

that the phrase during the pre-MADD era had relatively little competition from other phrases that sought to increase the public's awareness of the seriousness of the drunk driving issue, while there were a variety of competing phrases in use during the MADD-era. Thus, the prominence given to "50% of all traffic deaths are alcohol-related" would be lessened. Some of the competing phrases may have been: sobriety checkpoints (or roadblocks), drunk driving is the most frequently committed violent crime, 21-year old national drinking age, victim aids, administrative drivers license revocation, and dram shop liability. Further analysis looked at use within the MADD-era and there was little change in the use of that phrase during that period.

The second part of Research Question Four examined the use of Mothers Against Drunk Driving's name in a news report during the MADD-era. The results of the content analysis showed that there was no significant change during the MADD-era for the *Post* or *Times*. This consistent use of Mothers Against Drunk Driving's name could be seen that MADD had become an ingrained part of the American dialogue about drunk driving. This would be seen as a success for MADD.

The third part of Research Question Four dealt with the presentation of MADD's organizational goals. This analysis was conducted using two different periods. The first compared the pre-MADD and MADD-eras, while the second looked at the use of MADD's goals within the MADD-era. Results for both tests returned significant results. The pre-MADD and MADD-era comparison showed that there was more than a doubling of reports as a percentage and more than an eight-fold increase in the number of reports that presented one of MADD's goals. The analysis of the data within the MADD-era also produced significant results. However, the MADD-era data showed that there was a decrease in reports that included a goal that was identified with Mothers Against Drunk Driving over time. During the first six years of

the MADD-era, at least 50% of all reports contained such a goal. During the last four years of the MADD-era, about one-third of all reports met the same criteria. One interpretation of such data is that MADD and other anti-drunk driving organization did a very good of promoting their goals to journalists. Those journalists included MADD's goals in their reports during the first six years of the MADD-era. However, the journalist's use of those goals eventually decreased because the reporter began to see those goals as either being already fulfilled or becoming timeworn. In either case, journalists began using other terms or phrases in their description of the drunk driving issue.

The last analysis in this section examined the use of "accident," "crash," both, or neither of those terms in a news report. Those terms were examined when they were freestanding or used in conjunction with an alcohol-related descriptive term as in Research Question Three. MADD promotes "crash" as their preferred replacement term. There were no significant results in this area. This results backs up the earlier data from Research Question Two by showing that not only was there continued use of "accident," but that there was no significant increase in the use of "crash" with the context of the drunk driving issue.

For the broadcast portion of Research Question Four there was not any significant increase in the use of the phrase "50% of all traffic deaths are alcohol related" between the pre-MADD and the MADD-eras. However, when the MADD-era is examined using two-year groups, there is significant data. There was a spike during 1981-82, with over 40% of broadcast news reports using that phrase. However, during the remainder of the MADD-era there was a continuing drop in the use of the phrase to a low of under 8% during the final two years of the study. One possible explanation for this decrease is that during the first two years of the study the "50%" phrase was new and different. This uniqueness encouraged reporters to include that

phrase in their reports. However, over time reporters searched for new terms so that they could keep their reports fresh and this resulted in the decrease in usage over the remainder of the MADD-era. Other terms that MADD promoted over the years and that could have taken the place of the original phrase being studied include Designated Driver, control underage drinking, 0.08 BAC per se laws, Tie One On For Safety, and Rating the States.

When examining the inclusion by broadcast journalists of “MADD” or “Mothers Against Drunk Driving” in their news reports the data was significant. There was an initial peak during the first two years of the study followed by a lull in the next four years, and then another peak during the last four years of the study. One explanation of this result is that 1983-84 was the peak year for broadcast coverage with 38 drunk driving-related reports broadcast. Even though there were seven reports during 1983-84 that used the phrase “50% of all traffic fatalities are alcohol related,” that coverage was overwhelmed by the other 31 reports that did not use the phrase, thus the low percentage. Another possible reason for this result is that MADD had found another goal to promote their agenda.

When analyzing broadcast journalists mention of MADD’s goals in their news reports, there was significant data. Broadcasters included such goals in 60% of their MADD-era reports, more than doubling the pre-MADD era usage. This result could be seen as being the consequence of the style of writing used by broadcast journalists. Because of the time limitations faced by broadcast journalists, the use of phrases or terms that the viewers are already familiar with provides an efficiency of communication that is attractive to broadcast journalists.

When examining the broadcast journalists use of “accident,” “crash,” neither term, or both terms in their news reports, the only significant data occurred when those terms were used in conjunction with an alcohol-related descriptive term. However, because the analysis was

limited to reports that used either “accident” or “crash” to describe an alcohol-related traffic incident, the data should be carefully interpreted. With only five reports that qualify from the pre-MADD era, the researcher is reluctant to draw any conclusions or posit a reason why there was a significant increase of such coverage during the MADD-era.

The results of Research Question Five are critical to the understanding of MADD’s role in the development of news organization’s presentation of the drunk driving issue. While earlier analysis has shown what happened and the researcher has speculated as to why the coverage occurred as it did, in this question reporters give their opinions as to why MADD was successful in increasing drunk driving coverage. The first point that several reporters made was the effectiveness of MADD as a source. Reporter D said that the reporter was in contact with MADD everyday while Reporter E said that MADD was effective in providing the human element of the story. A third reporter state that, “They were very useful for understanding the context . . .for me they were a good source for making sure that I hadn’t missed anything” (Reporter B). A fourth reporter said that:

If you have a choice between two cases, you will cover the simple one, the one that you know the background of, but if there is somebody monitoring things from MADD and saying look you need to cover this and here is the background. It becomes important because you are less likely to avoid it.

Two reporters even voiced concern with the possible over reliance on MADD by reporters.

Another factor that made the drunk driving story as presented by MADD attractive to reporters was the emotional nature of that story. Reporter D argued that journalism at its best is about people and that MADD was very good at providing a victim of a drunk driver for the reporter to use in the reporter’s story. Reporter G back up that view by saying that MADD’s presentation of the drunk driving story “was a natural for news, violence, tragedy, victims, an

individual's suffering." Reporter A stated, "Innocent kids getting killed. In a sense, an ideal story from the reader's point of view is the MADD story. . . . That type of story in a sense has got it all from a dramatic sob story point of view." One reporter said that "being able to touch reporters with a strong message, and the underlying facts, is a tried and true way of getting our story out. [That] the emotionally powerful impact of mothers 'fighting' for their children is a prototypical example of such a story." Another reporter reflected that "Maybe an element of its dramatic interest is 'There but for the grace of God go I.' It could have been me that got killed, or it could have been me who drove drunk."

A third way in which MADD was able to influence reporters was their lobbying effort, with both elected officials and reporters. Two reporters describe MADD's legislative lobbying as very effective. Another reporter stated: "I am sure that the efforts by MADD, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, that the existence of the organization, had a major role to play in causing news organizations to take a look at that particular area, that particular problem." (Reporter E). Reporter A described the effort, "I don't recall anything particularly slick or supplicated, it was that there was just somebody doing it, you know. It was almost like a sort of polite nagging and a resource while you were in the courthouse."

Reporter E summed up the impact of MADD upon news reporters when the reporter the reporter described how the reaction to drunk driving had changed:

Well, if that guy had been stopped for drunk driving while I was a reporter, his political career would have been over. That would have been it. I don't think that they would have waited to see whether he was actually guilty or not, he would have been guilty. So to me that was an amazing shift in attitude in the course of a very brief period of time. Americans changed their attitude about the acceptability of drunk driving in a very short period. . . . To me it was mostly interesting as a flag as to how dramatically attitudes were shifting. It is a fascinating little window on a moment in time that has definitely changed.

One question that needs to be probed is why was MADD able to establish a near total monopoly as the public voice of the anti-drunk driving movement. Two other anti-drunk driving groups were originally included in the content analysis, Remove Intoxicated Drivers (RID) and Students Against Drunk Drivers (SADD). There was such little coverage of those groups when compared to MADD that those groups were not included in the study.

Implications of Theory

Entman and Rojecki believe that there are seven factors that impact the SMO's ability to receive news coverage: rationality, expertise, public support, partisanship, unity, extremism, and power. The content analysis and interviews support the view that MADD was successful in meeting those goals. According to Reporter A, MADD was able to add things up and present that information in a way that no one had done before. This rational presentation allowed journalists to efficiently and willingly approach the drunk driving issue. Several reporters stated that representative's of MADD were able to provide expertise in providing information in a manner that made the reporter's job easier. The content analysis showed that MADD was the most recognized anti-drunk driving organization and that MADD's goal were included in 50% of the broadcast reports during the MADD-era and 45% to the print reports during the same time frame. MADD's rapidly growing membership (Appendix C) also indicates significant public support.

Reporter C and Reporter H both directly addressed the issue of partisanship and the attempt to influence the legislative process. Reporter C described the actions of a legislative lobbyist for MADD while Reporter H told about MADD's lobbyist seeking out reporters to see if anyone wanted to talk about the drunk driving issue. Because of the nature of MADD's national organization, MADD presented a unified message to journalists and the public. Again, the large

presence of MADD-related issues that were shown by the content analysis supports MADD's speaking with a unified voice. MADD's choice of the drunk driver as the focus of their campaign put anyone opposing MADD as being in an extreme position while MADD was seen as the representative of common sense. Because of the organization's large membership and the dramatic increase in the coverage of the drunk driving issue, MADD could be easily seen as being able to influence government action. The increase in State Government and Federal Government coverage for the *Post* and *Times* indicate the influence of MADD on both the legislative and executive branches of government at the local, state, and national levels.

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) argued that there were three elements of media coverage that an organization like MADD should be worried about: standing, preferred framing, and movement sympathy. The authors defined standing as extensive coverage being given to the organization's issues. The content analysis shows that MADD was given such coverage, with the increase in coverage of the drunk driving issues was discussed in Research Question One. When analyzing the use of MADD's preferred framing of the drunk driving issue compared to other potential frames, in the original coding of the content analysis there were two questions (see Appendix A, question 11 and 12) that asked about other approaches to society dealing with the drunk driving issue. Six specific options to MADD's approach of increasing the certainty and severity of punishment were explored. Only 17 out of 900 print reports mentioned any of the six alternatives presented by the question, with ten of those reports focusing on treating the drunk drivers as a medical problem, five urging safe cars, and two wanting to reduce alcohol consumption by raising the tax on alcoholic beverages. MADD's framing was clearly the one preferred by journalists and presented to the public. The author's third element was sympathetic presentation of the SMO by journalists. The reporter's interviews spoke to this aspect of the

author's argument. One reporter said MADD's story was a natural for news, while another believed that the MADD story was the ideal story from the journalist's point of view. A third reporter believes that MADD touched reporters with the powerful image of "mothers" fighting for the safety of their children.

Snow and Benford (1988) argues that there were three core-framing tasks that a SMO had to achieve in order to be successful, diagnosis of a problem, a proposed solution, and a call to action. Reporter A addressed the first of those three core-framing tasks when the reporter said, "no one had added up all of the deaths and injuries and maimings and thought about it before." Reporter G continued, saying that:

Some innocent kid, it is inevitable some sort of honor student, and they get killed on the eve of their graduation, or the happiest times of their lives with endless potential. An organization like Mothers Against Drunk Driving tends to focus exactly on those people, a grieving family and friends, potential wiped out and all of that sort of awful stuff. There are a lot of other ways to die I suppose, but that type of story in a sense has got it all from a dramatic sob story point of view. When you are writing the story, you are not thinking that this is the ideal sob story; it is just awful, because you react just like a reader.

The second aspect of Snow and Benford's core-framing tasks requires that SMO to present a clear solution to the problem defined in the first core-framing task. Both the print and broadcast journalists' presentation of MADD's goals of increasing the certainty and severity of punishment meets the second core-framing requirement. The emphasis on the Police/Crime Primary Theme, with state and national action following in use, supports MADD's promotion of increasing the severity/certainty of punishment as being the most effective approach to solving the drunk driving problem. The third core framing task, issuing a call to arms to the public to solve the problem as defined by the SMO, was described by reporter E, saying that MADD:

Had a major role to play in causing more news organizations to take a look at that particular area, that particular problem. Because they were quite insistent in crafting their message, helping to get the word out to journalists. They just simply developed relationships, you have a family, I have a family, perhaps we have children and spouses. You can easily identify with someone who has lost a child or spouse or loved one in an accident, and then to have the person who was responsible for the accident to walk away with a very light sentence or not any kind of severe reprimand because of it.

While one reporter describe MADD's efforts as not "being slick or sophisticated," but as providing "a good story," Another reporter said that the emotional story of the victims of drunk driving "from a reporter's point of views or a editor's point of view. . .makes the story compelling." A third reporter summed up MADD's impact on journalist's presentation of the drunk driving story saying that "I think she, Ms. Lightner, crystallized people's sort of inchoate sense that driving while drunk was not a good way to behave."

When comparing the results of both the quantative and qualitative analysis of this research project to Entman and Rojecki's seven factors, Gamson and Wolfsfeld's three elements, and Snow and Benford's three core-framing tasks, it is easy to see why MADD's construction of the drunk driving issue and it's proposed solution to that problem was accepted by news organization's and the public.

Creation of MADD's Monopoly as the Public Voice of the Anti-Drunk Driving Movement

There were three anti-drunk driving organizations that were included in the content analysis data gathering stage, Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), Students Against Drunk Drivers (SADD), and Remove Intoxicated Drivers (RID). In the print portion of the content analysis, RID was mentioned a total of ten times and SADD was mentioned in 11 news reports. Mothers Against Drunk Driving was mentioned in 104 news reports. Why was MADD able to

achieve a near monopoly as the public voice of the drunk driving movement in this content analysis while RID and SADD were mentioned only in a insignificant amount

The audience that SADD sought to reach was a very different one than MADD was seeking. According to SADD's web site (now the national organization has redefined the acronym SADD to stand for Students Against Destructive Decisions) states "SADD's unique approach involves young people delivering education and prevention messages to their peers through school- and community wide activities and campaigns responsive to the needs of their particular communities." Because the focus of SADD's efforts is on reaching high school students, there is not the need to use the local or national media to reach the desired audience. Each SADD chapter seeks to deliver their messages at the chapter's high school. In addition, because SADD lets each individual chapter develop a custom approach to meeting the challenges unique to that school, there is not the national oversight that is part of Mothers Against Drunk Driving. Another factor that mediates against the coverage of SADD by the media is that there could be multiple chapters of SADD within the coverage area of a news organization. All of those chapters could ask the news organization for coverage of what the journalist would see as equivalent news events. When a news organization is faced with such a decision, the easiest decision is for the news organization to decline to cover such events so that those organizations who do not receive coverage will become angry with the news organization.

Finally, the age of the participants in SADD might mitigate against coverage by the news media of the organization. Reporters might view high school students as not being useful news sources, along with the high school campus being a potentially inaccessible area to the reporter due to decisions by the school administration.

One of the major differences between MADD and RID is the degree of local/national control that the national organization exerts over the local chapters. Remove Intoxicate Drivers' web site states that:

RID Chapters are autonomous: at least 90% of the funds they raise stay in the community where they are raised. . . . Local groups know the problem areas in their communities. They are free to set their own programs and priorities. RID leaders in the field are volunteers: there are no paid state or county coordinators.

This type of oversight by the national organization can lead to a variety of messages being presented under the RID banner. If a journalist see such inconsistent or conflicting messages being presented under the organization's banner, then the reporter is likely to ignore the organization and seek out a news source that presents a consistent message. Critics of MADD have cited the control that the national organization has over the local chapters as one of the organizations shortcoming. However, such control does allow for a unified presentation of the organization's goals and messages. White (1973) described how journalists often follow the lead of other journalists. They will pick a "definer" of an issue and follow that example in their reporting. If an issue has various conflicting definitions being presented to them by an organization for possible inclusion into the journalist's news reports, then that organization will be more likely to be ignored. If a different organization presents a unified message to journalists, then that organization will be considered a usable news source. With RID encouraging local chapters to present their unique take of various aspects of the drunk driving issue, RID was not speaking with on unified voice and therefore would not be seen as an effective news source by reporters.

In MADDvocate (Summer 2000) (a publication of Mothers Against Drunk Driving) MADD gives ten reasons why the organization was successful. Among those reasons are (1)

enlist a charismatic and tireless spokesperson, (2) choose a name that is catchy or symbolic, (3) develop a simple mission statement, (4) recruit enthusiastic volunteers, and (5) generate visibility and media attention. By using a single spokesperson, MADD is able to put a consistent face on their presentation of the drunk driving issue. By connecting the drunk driving issue with both the full title (Mothers Against Drunk Driving) and acronym (MADD), the organization was able to greatly increase the likelihood that they would gather pity and sympathy from the public. Either the organization was “Mothers” who may have lost a child to a drunk driver or they were “MADD” about the drunk driving issue. Both uses of the organization’s title would strike an emotional cord in the public that they were trying to reach.

Because both RID and SADD encouraged local chapters to define their approach to defining the drunk driving problem to fit the local reality, both organizations denied themselves the ability to speak with a single voice. Because each chapter developed a local spokesperson, there was not a chance to develop a single national “face”. MADD consciously worked to develop a single national message and face for the organization. While all three organizations were able to recruit enthusiastic volunteers, but the inconsistent messages presented by RID and SADD lessened the chance of those anti-drunk driving organizations achieving recognition by the news organizations.

Conclusions

The overall conclusion that can be drawn for the content analysis section of this analysis is that MADD was generally successful in its attempt to influence the coverage of the drunk driving issue. There was an increase in drunk driving related news reports for both print and broadcast news organizations during the MADD-era along with increase in police crime coverage for both types of media included in this project during that period. MADD’s attempt to

redefine an alcohol related incident from being an “accident” to being a “crash” failed with the use of accident increasing an insignificant amount rather than achieving MADD’s goal of decreased usage. For the newspapers in this study there was no change in the use of accident in conjunction with an alcohol related descriptive term, however for the broadcast news organization there was an increase use of accident with such terms. Again, MADD failed to achieve its goal.

For the newspapers included in this project, the framing of the drunk driver became more deviant, with increases in both multiple reports about a single individual and with an increase in high visibility occupations (athletes) being identified. For the networks there was no significant data generated in this area. The result of the print coverage was a success for MADD while broadcast coverage was neutral. Of the four tests that were applied in Research Question Four, there was significant data supporting MADD only relative to the mention of MADD’s goals in the newspaper reports. For the broadcast news organizations, there was significant data produced by Research Question Four. There was a significant decrease in the use of the phrase “50% of all traffic deaths are alcohol-related,” a failure for MADD. There was a significant use of MADD’s name in broadcast reports. There was also significant data relating to the use of MADD’s goals in broadcasts reports, with 60% of all broadcast report during the MADD-era using such goals. These results support MADD’s efforts. The last test applied in Research Question Four produced data the researcher question because of the small number of reports being analyzed.

While the content analysis produced a mixed bag of results for Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the researcher feels that the results to research Questions One and Three show enough support for MADD that there can be an overall grade of success for MADD and its attempts to

have the news media present its message to the public. Results from Research Questions Two and Four are somewhat mixed but still support MADD to some degree.

Even if the content analysis did not support a positive conclusion MADD, the interviews with the reporters would provide a sound basis for concluding that MADD was successful in its media relations. While the number of reporters is small, and the sample was to some degree self selected, there was a broad range of beats and experience within the sample. With the exception of the senior legal reporter, all reporters supported MADD's effectiveness. MADD was able to provide reporters with what they needed, an emotional story with the people to personalize that news report. Their lobbying effort with the legislature and reporters was effective. They were able to provide reporters with context and help by checking parts of the news reports. They served a flag for reporters, notifying them of possible interesting stories. Those reports were described as "naturals" for news coverage and "ideal" from the reader's point of view. The MADD inspired story ideas were described as having it all "from a dramatic sob story point of view" and having an emotional content that helped reporters get better placement within the newspaper. One reporter said that the reporter was sure that MADD had "a major role to play in causing more news organizations" to look at the drunk driving story. While their effort wasn't "particularly slick or sophisticated" and was more like "polite nagging," the results were that "MADD had an impact on more than coverage, eventually you have to draw a line between the coverage and the change in attitude." Finally, "to me that was an amazing shift in attitude in the course of a very brief period of time. . . .To me it was mostly interesting as a flag as to how dramatically attitudes were shifting. It was a fascinating little window on a moment in time that has definitely changed."

Suggestions for Further Research

Mothers Against Drunk Driving has continued its drive to redefine and punish the drunk driver. The organization is approaching its 25th anniversary in 2005. While this study found that MADD was successful in presenting a framing of the drunk driving issue that was attractive to reporters during the period of this analysis, has the organization continued that success into the 21st century? Both the content analysis and reporter's interviews could be applied to the last ten years of coverage of the drunk driving issues by the same news organizations. To gain a better comparison between the print and broadcast news organization, the coverage of several local network affiliates could be included in the analysis. Because the data would be more recent, access to the reporter involved might be easier and provide greater insight into this issue.

Shortcomings of this Research

While MADD claims to be responsible for a significant part of the reduction in alcohol related traffic fatalities, there is research that questions that view. Such research should be factored into the new studies, and both the content analysis and interview format appropriately modified. One of the major problems with the reporter interviews in a historical research like this dissertation was that more than half of the reporters contacted said that they could not remember any information about their coverage of the drunk driving issue. In addition, the sample of reporters who agreed to be interviewed was small and self-selected. The use of a self-selected sample puts into question the results that were obtained. One possible impact of such a sample is that reporters who had negative views or opinions of MADD would not want to talk about such views because of a desire not to speak negatively about Mothers Against Drunk Driving and possible negative social costs of such speech.

By attempting the same study in a more recent period, hopefully more reporters would be willing to cooperate and provide even better interviews and there would be a larger numbers of reporters included in the study. There are also more databases that are available to conduct research, and those databases could add additional insight to this research. Local network affiliates often make their news product available on the Internet. This would allow the researcher easier access to the local station's news product.

The number of news organizations that were included in this study was small, only two newspapers and three television networks. Because of this, the application of the results of this study to other media outlets is problematic. While the researcher did view very news story that was included in this study, the researcher was not able to see all the reports that included MADD while the researcher was able to read every drunk driving related news story in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. This difference may have affected the overall sampling universe of the broadcast news content analysis. The research only looked at a few possible indicators of MADD's success.

There may have been other variables that were not coded and could have suggested more about MADD's success or failure. Finally, there may have been non-drunk driving related factors outside of the scope of this study that could have caused the changes in coverage that were found by this study. This content analysis would not have found those factors.

One of the main changes from the original study is that there are no longer only the "three networks" and two "papers of record" that were part of the initial study. Fox, other network and non-network local stations, cable, satellite, and the Internet now provide alternative news outlets to the viewer. There are also increased channels available for the readers of

newspapers. Research could be expanded into these media channels to provide more insight into this area of research.

Closing Statement

This dissertation began with a tragic alcohol-related traffic incident where Danny Lee Ross took the lives of three innocent victims in 1993. Ross was later convicted and sentenced to 18 years in jail. That incident is an example of how the combination of alcohol use and driving were woven into part of American society. MADD was founded as the result of another tragic alcohol-related traffic incident that occurred in 1980 with a much different result, the drunk driver only served minimum time in jail for killing the 13-year old daughter of Candy Lightner, the woman who went on to found MADD. MADD and other anti-drunk driving organizations sought to unweave that fabric and reweave that material into a cloth that would help keep Americans safer from the drunk driver. My coverage of the Ross incident was based on the Watergate-era journalist's expectations that through the use of objectivity and the conventions of professional news judgment, I could be part of solving the problem of drunk driving without having my personal views of the drunk driving issue impact my reporting of that issue. Now my coverage of the drunk driving issue is based on the academic standards that are part of writing a dissertation. The human impact of the prototypical MADD alcohol-related traffic incident is restated in analytical terms that can obscure the human toll that drunk driving imposes on our society. I urge the readers of this study to realize that behind all of the academic prose, there are human lives that are being lost. Act accordingly in your personal life.

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Appendix A

Dissertation Coding Sheet/Newspaper and Broadcast

Coder identification.

1. Each coder should enter the first three letters of his or hers last name in the indicated blocks on the scoring sheet for each report that is coded.
2. News organization
 - A New York Times
 - B Washington Post
 - C ABC News
 - D NBC News
 - E CBS News
3. **Coding Number**

0 through 9 for each of four columns	Four-digit number that allows cross-indexing with another database and the paper version of the news report, will be stamped or written in the upper right hand corner on the front page of each news report. Please write the numerals in the space provided along with filling in the appropriate circles
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4. Did the report cover any aspect of drunk driving or drunk driving related alcohol consumption?
 - 1 Go to Question 5
 - 2 Go to next report
5. Where was the first mention of drunk driving or a related subject in the news report?
 - 2 First third of the report
 - 3 Middle-third of the report
 - 4 Last third of the report
 - 5 There was no mention of drunk driving or a related subject, Go To Next Report
6. What was the primary location reported on in the news story? Use only the headline or body of the report to answer this question, do not use information included in the dateline or other material that comes before the headline
 - 0 **Nationally based news report or no location given**, including overview reports that give information about many states that are not geographically closely related to each other.
 - 1 **New York City**, including the five boroughs and Long Island inclusive

- 2 **Northeast**, including any of the following: locations in New York State, New Jersey, Delaware, Conn., Penn, Mass., and Maine. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont but not including reports that are solely located in N.Y. City
 - 3 **Washington DC**, reports that are solely based in the District of Columbia
 - 4 **Washington DC area**, including either Virginia, Maryland or West Virginia but not including reports that are solely based in Washington D. C.
 - 5 **West Coast**, including California, Oregon, Washington State, Hawaii, and Alaska
 - 6 **South East**: including North Carolina, South Carolina. Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi., Arkansas, and Louisiana,
 - 7 **South West**: including Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. Arizona, Nevada, Colorado
 - 8 **Mid West**: including Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio
 - 9 **Other** (including international news reports)
7. Was the news report an editorial, opinion column, or letter to the editor?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
8. What was the major drunk driving theme of the news report.
- 1 Federal action, executive branch, judicial, and legislative
 - 2 State or local action, executive, legislative, or judicial
 - 3 MADD or other anti-drunk driving group success
 - 4 Police crime, enforcement, and traffic fatalities
 - 5 Drunk driving task force or commission, national, state, or local, or action by a preexisting governmental board or commission
 - 6 Alcoholic beverage industry having to deal with decreased demand or new laws/regulations
 - 7 Teenage drinking
 - 8 Alternatives to MADD's approach to reducing alcohol related traffic deaths such as safer cars, better roads, or better medical response
 - 9 Other
9. If there was a specific drunk driver mentioned in the news report, how was that driver primarily identified?
- 11 Repeat offender drunk driver
 - 12 Current or former professional athlete or coach

- 13 Current or former collegiate athlete or coach
 - 14 National elected official (U. S. House or Senate) current, former, or running for office
 - 15 Local governmental official (governor, mayor, or legislator or other elected official or local appointed official) (either state or local) current, former, or running for office
 - 21 Professional entertainer, including actor or actress, singer, or musician
 - 22 Professional or white-collar employee or self-employed individual. Example would include business executive, doctors, nurses, or members of the clergy
 - 23 Member of criminal justice system, including judge, lawyer, or law enforcement officer
 - 24 Blue collar worker, including construction worker or truck driver
 - 25 Student, college
 - 31 Student, high school or younger
 - 32 Unemployed individual
 - 33 No specific mention of drunk driver's occupation or previous drunk driving record
 - 34 No mention of a specific drunk driver in the report
 - 35 Other
- 10 Was the word "tough", tougher, toughest, toughen, or any derivative of the word "tough" used in the news report to describe either a law under consideration in the legislature, a law that is to be proposed to the legislature, or the application of an existing law to an actual drunk driving case?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
11. Did the news report present any alternatives to the use of the criminal justice system/MADD's agenda to reducing alcohol related traffic deaths?
- 1 Yes, go to Question 12
 - 2 No, go to Question 13
12. Which alternatives to the use of the criminal justice system/MADD's agenda were presented?
- 11 Treating drunk driving as a medical problem
 - 12 Producing safer automobiles
 - 13 Constructing safer roads
 - 14 Use of mass transit to reduce total driving in the United States
 - 15 Reducing alcohol consumption by increasing alcohol taxes
 - 21 Improving medical treatment of those injured in automobile wrecks
 - 22 Other

13. Was MADD mentioned in the story?
 - 1 Yes, go to Question 14
 - 2 No, go to Question 16
14. Where was the first mention of MADD?
 - 1 Headline (newspaper) or Anchor Lead-in (broadcast news)
 - 2 First third of the report
 - 3 Middle-third of the report
 - 4 Last third of the report
15. What was the primary area of coverage relating to MADD?
 - 11 Increasing or considering increasing legal drinking age to 21 from current legal drinking age or strict enforcement of drinking age laws
 - 12 Fake Ids
 - 13 Sobriety Checkpoints
 - 14 .10 or .08 BAC (either lowering BAC or making a given level of BAC proof of drunk driving)
 - 15 Mandatory BAC testing
 - 21 Administrative drivers license revocation
 - 22 Increased penalties upon drunk driving conviction such as larger fines or longer jail sentences
 - 23 Server liability
 - 24 Happy hour/bar closing hours or other restaurant or bar regulation
 - 25 Other
 - 31 Monitoring judges or criticizing judges for lenient sentencing
16. Was an organized anti-drunk driving group other than Mothers Against Drunk Driving mentioned in the story?
 - 1 Yes, go to Question 17
 - 2 No, go to Question 20
17. What was the name of the group that was mention first in the news report
 - 1 Students Against Driving Drunk (SADD)
 - 2 Remove Intoxicated Drivers (RID)
 - 3 Washington Regional Alcohol Project (WRAP)
 - 4 Other

18. Where in the news report was the first mention of that particular anti-drunk driving group?
- 1 Headline (newspaper) or Anchor Lead-in (broadcast news)
 - 2 First third of the report
 - 3 Middle-third of the report
 - 4 Last third of the report
19. What was the primary area of coverage relating to that anti-drunk driving group?
- 11 Increasing or considering increasing legal drinking age from current legal drinking age through legislative means
 - 12 Fake ID
 - 13 Sobriety Checkpoints
 - 14 .10 or .08 BAC (either lowering or making a given level of BAC proof of drunk driving)
 - 15 Mandatory BAC testing
 - 21 Administrative drivers license revocation
 - 22 Increased penalties upon drunk driving conviction such as larger fines or longer jail times
 - 23 Server liability
 - 24 Happy hour/bar closing
 - 25 Reducing under age drinking
 - 31 Promoting alcohol free activities for teenagers
 - 32 Promoting a contract between students and their parents concerning drunk driving
 - 33 Promoting safe ride programs for students
 - 34 Responding to the death of a specific students in a given school
 - 35 Other
 - 41 Non-specific toughening of drunk driving laws
20. Was there a mention of a change in how society views drunk drivers?
- 1 Yes, go to Question 21
 - 2 No, go to Question 22
21. What was the primary societal change mentioned?
- 1 Drunk driving is socially unacceptable
 - 2 Servers or liable for the action of people that provided alcohol to
 - 3 Harsher penalties are OK
 - 4 Other

- 22 Was there a mention of a change in how society views the use of alcohol?
- 1 Yes, go to Question 23
 - 2 No, go to Question 24
- 23 What was the primary alcohol usage change mentioned?
- 11 Switching from hard liquor to wine
 - 12 Switching from beer to wine
 - 13 Switching from alcoholic beverage to designer water
 - 14 Drinking the same type of alcoholic beverage but decreasing the total amount of beverage or increasing food consumption.
 - 15 Limiting or avoiding alcohol at a particular meal, usually lunch or other social occasion
 - 21 No longer consuming alcoholic beverages/new temperance movement
 - 23 Using designated driver or other means to avoid driving while intoxicated
 - 24 No longer socially acceptable to drink to excess
 - 25 Other
- 24 Was there a mention in how alcoholic beverage providers (bars, restaurants, etc) are being impacted by changes in drunk driving laws?
- 1 Yes, go to Question 25
 - 2 No, go to Question 26
- 25 In which area did the alcoholic beverage provider make the greatest change?
- 11 Supporting designated driver programs
 - 12 Training bar tenders in recognizing potential drunk drivers
 - 13 Increasing food or other services to still attract more customers, including serving non-alcoholic beverages
 - 14 The need to properly determine to age or potential customers by using a bouncer, wrist bands, or other means to identify underage patrons
 - 15 Installation and use of breathalyzers so that patrons can check and see if they are legal to drive
 - 21 Lobbying to prevent or control potential legislative changes
 - 22 Increased costs due to server liability
 - 23 Other
 - 24 Dealing with the new temperance movement
 - 25 Lobbying to change legislation to benefit alcoholic beverages providers or producers

- 26 Was there a mention of potential or realized problems caused when two adjacent states had different drinking ages (blood borders)?
- 1 Yes, go to question 27
 - 2 No, go to question 28
- 27 Was the blood border problem considered to be:
- 1 Severe problem
 - 2 Moderate problem
 - 3 Little or no problem
- 28 Did the report mention underage individuals using fake IDs to obtain alcoholic beverages?
- 1 Yes, go to question 29
 - 2 No, go to question 30
- 29 Was the use of fake ID's considered to be a
- 1 Severe problem
 - 2 Moderate problem
 - 3 Little or no problem
- 30 Did the news report attempt to personalize the drunk driving story through the use of or featuring of a single individual involved in a drunk driving situation or incident to build a story around?
- 1 Yes, go to question 31
 - 2 No, go to question 32
- 31 Which individual did the news report use to personalize the drunk driving story?
- 1 A surviving victim of a drunk driver
 - 2 The parents, sibling, spouse, or friend of a drunk driving victim
 - 3 The drunk driver
 - 4 Law enforcement officers or other member of the criminal justice system
 - 5 Other
- 32 Did the news report mention the use of roadblocks or sobriety checkpoints?
- 1 Yes, go to Question 33
 - 2 No, go to Question 37

- 33 Did the reports mention opposition to the use of roadblocks?
- 1 Yes, go to question 34
 - 2 NO, go to question 35
- 34 What was the basis for the opposition to the use of roadblocks?
- 1 Road blocks are unconstitutional searches
 - 2 Road blocks were inefficient use of police resources
 - 3 Roadblocks presented dangerous traffic situations
 - 4 All of the above
 - 5 Other
- 35 Did the report mention a vehicles stopped to drunk driver arrested ratio mentioned or could be derived from the information provided in the report.
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- 36 Did the report mention the deterrent benefit of roadblocks mentioned?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- 37 Were any of MADD's goals mentioned in the news report?
- 1 Yes, go to Question 38
 - 2 No, go to Question 39
- 38 Which of MADD's main goals received the greatest attention in the news report?
- 11 Increasing legal drinking age to 21, strict enforcement of the legal drinking age, or decreasing teenage drinking
 - 12 Decrease BAC necessary for per se drunk driving conviction to .10 or .08
 - 13 Increased or mandatory fine or jail time
 - 14
 - 15 Use of roadblocks or sobriety checkpoints
 - 21 Use of extra enforcement efforts
 - 22 Dram shop liability
 - 23 Limits on advertising/marketing of alcohol
 - 24 Mandatory BAC testing in traffic wreck involving fatalities or injuries
 - 25 Server training or Happy Hour regulation
 - 31 Designated Driver/Safe Ride
 - 32 Redefinition of a traffic fatality in a drunk driving incident as a homicide rather than a

- lesser offense
- 33 Other
- 34 General stiffening of anti drunk driving laws
- 35 Automatic drivers license revocation
- 41 Monitoring judges to force tougher sentencing
- 42 Open container laws
- 43 Victim impact statement
- 39 Were any of MADD's standard terms used?
 - 1 Yes, go to question 40
 - 2 No, go to question 41
- 40. Which of MADD's standard terms were used in the report?
 - 11 Drunk driving is the nation's most commonly or frequently committed violent crime
 - 12 that ½ of the nation's traffic fatalities are alcohol related
 - 13 that society or the CJ system has not treated drunk driving as a real crime
 - 14 that the individual is responsible for his or hers drunk driving actions
 - 15 An estimated cost of society caused by drink driving
 - 21 3 of 5 Americans will be involved in a alcohol related traffic incident during their lifetime
 - 22 MADD's Rating the States Program
- 41 If an individual drunk driver mentioned in a news report was convicted of drunk driving, was that individual given an opportunity by the court to attend an alternative form of rehabilitation such a alcoholism treatment, drunk driving school, probation, or public service as an alternative to serving jail time?
 - 1 Yes, go to question 42
 - 2 No mention of any form of rehabilitation or no mention of a convicted drunk driver in the news report, go to question 43
- 42 Which alternative to rehabilitation was offered to the convicted drunk driver?
 - 1 Alcoholics Anonymous or similar group
 - 2 Hospital based alcoholic treatment program or non-hospital based residential treatment program
 - 3 Community service, probation, or public speaking
 - 4 Drunk driving or DUI school
 - 5 Other

- 43 If the news report referred to a specific legislative act or regulatory act that was being considered by a legislative body or regulatory agency, or had been passed a legislative body/regulatory agency, was that legislation/regulation presented as toughening or weakening drunk driving laws relative to drunk driving convictions?
- 1 Toughen, by increasing the severity or certainty of punishment or lowering the standards necessary for conviction
 - 2 Weaken, by decreasing the severity or certainty of punishment or lowering the standards necessary for conviction
 - 3 No mention of how the legislation would impact the standards necessary for conviction
 - 4 No mention of any legislation in the news report
 - 5 Other
- 44 Was there a single, specific alcohol-related traffic incident described in the news report that involved any injury to an individual or any damage to any automobile involved in the incident?
- 1 Yes, go to question 45
 - 2 No, go to Question 46
- 45 What was the primary or dominant descriptive term used to describe the incident?
- 11 Accident
 - 12 Wreck
 - 13 Crash
 - 14 Impact
 - 15 Incident
 - 21 Mishap
 - 22 Collision
 - 23 Rampage
 - 24 Drinking or drunk driving
 - 25 Other
 - 31 Struck
 - 32 Smashed
 - 33 Ran Down

46. Did an organization or individual propose a ban, restriction, or regulation of advertising in the media?
- 1 Yes, all media
 - 2 Yes, broadcast only
 - 3 Yes, print only
 - 4 No attempt
47. Was there an attempt by an individual or organization to change how television presented alcohol consumption in its entertainment programming?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
48. Did any individual or organization argue that anti-drunk driving organizations should more actively use the media to present their message to the public?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
49. Using your own standards of interest, how would you classify this news report?
- 1 Not very interesting when compared to the normal, non-drunk driving related news report
 - 2 Some what interesting when compared to the normal , non-drunk driving related news report
 - 3 Moderately interesting when compared to the normal, non-drunk driving related news report
 - 4 More interesting than the normal, non-drunk driving related news report
 - 5 Very interesting when compared to the normal, non-drunk driving related news report
50. Would you consider this report to be sufficiently unique, meaningful, insightful, or to have made an unusual point so that it should be considered as my of a study about drunk driving coverage by the media?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 Maybe
 - 3 No

51. Was the word accident used to describe a specific alcohol related traffic incident or when discussing public policy issues such as legislative agendas that deal with some aspect of the drunk driving issue?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
52. Were terms such as “alcohol-related” or “drunk driving related” or other similar descriptive terms used to describe “accident”?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
53. If there was an individual drunk driver identified in the news report, was that individual mentioned in only one news report or was that individual mentioned in multiple news reports?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
54. If there was an individual drunk driver identified in the news report, was that individual identified either as being a member of a professional or collegiate sports team? Include coaches, players, and team management.
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
55. If there was an individual drunk driver identified in the news report, was that news reports included on the sports page? Include coaches, players, and team management.
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
56. In the news report, was a descriptive term that indicated the percentage of traffic deaths caused by alcohol-influenced drivers used? There could be either a direct reference of a given percentage (at least 40%) or information could be given (315 out of 600 traffic death are alcohol-related) that would allow you to calculate the percentage. The reference could refer to a public policy issue or to an actual drunk driving incident.
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
57. Was MADD or Mothers Against Drunk Driving mentioned in the news report?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No

Appendix B

Dissertation Coding Sheet/Definitions

Special Note: If an individual drunk driver is mentioned in the news reports, write down their name and the story identification number on the extra sheet of paper provided. This information will be used to answer Question 53.

1. Each coder should enter the first three letters of his or hers last name in the indicated blocks on the scoring sheet for each report that is coded.
The first three letters of the coder's last name are to be entered into the appropriate blocks on the coding sheet
2. News organization
Darken the letter that corresponds to the news organization that produced the report that you are coding
3. Coding Number
Four-digit number that allows cross-indexing with another database and the paper version of the news report. This number will be stamped or written in the upper right hand corner on the front page of each news report. Please write the numerals in the space provided along with filling in the appropriate circles
4. Did the report cover any aspect of drunk driving?
Did the news report cover any of the following? Any incident that involved an alcohol related traffic incident. This category would also include actions by the executive, legislative, or judicial branches of local, state, or federal government that seeks to deal with some aspect of drunk driving. Activities of citizens' activists groups, alcoholic beverage producers or providers or other interested parties including users or potential users of alcohol or alcoholic beverage use or drunk driving should be included.
5. Where was the first mention of drunk driving or a related subject in the news report?

First third of the report-As estimated by the coder
Middle-third of the report-As estimated by the coder
Last third of the report-As estimated by the coder
6. What was the primary location where the report took place?
Use only the headline or body of the report to answer this question. Do not use information included in the dateline or other material that is presented prior to the headline.
Nationally based news reports or no location given. Reports where there were no mention of a specific location. Examples would include editorial, columns, or letters to the editor that did not have a location mentioned. A news report that used example from several states to deal with

drunk driving issue from a national level would be included in this category. Also included would be reports that dealt with a national view of drunk driving that were not located in any of the following categories but did.

New York City: including the five boroughs and Long Island. Any location within the city boundaries of New York City and governed by the mayor of New York City or Long Island

North East: including any of the following: locations in New York State, New Jersey, Delaware, Conn., Penn, Mass., and Maine. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont but not including reports that are solely located in N.Y. City: Any news report that has its primary geographical location in any of the states listed. This category would include reports that deal with two or more of the states in this listing.

Washington DC: Any news report that has its sole location within the boundaries of the District of Columbia. These reports could deal with the local city government, federal government, or other governmental or non-governmental activities that take place within the District

Washington DC area, including either Virginia or Maryland but not including reports that are solely located within Washington D. C.: Any news report that has its primary location within the boundaries of Virginia or Maryland but is not solely located within the District of Columbia. This report would include reports that deal with two or more of the governments that are included in this listing

West Coast, including California, Oregon, Washington State, Hawaii, and Alaska

South East: including North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and West Virginia; **Any news report that has its primary location within the boundaries of the listed states.**

South West: including Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Colorado; **Any news report that has its primary location within the boundaries of the listed states**

Mid West: including Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio

Other: Included in this category would be reports that were located outside the United States.

7. **Was the news report an editorial, column, or letter to the editor.** This category would include reports that state the view of an individual or organization relative to some aspect of the drunk driving issue. Such a report would be an analysis or report generally printed or contained on the Editorial or Op-Ed page of the newspaper that states the opinion of the editorial board of the newspaper, single members of the newspaper staff, or a regular columnist. A letter to the editor would include letters written to the newspaper by private citizens about drunk drivers that were printed on the editorial or Op-Ed pages. These letters can cover a wide variety of opinions about drunk driving.
8. **What was the major drunk driving theme of the news report.**

Federal action taken by either the executive branch, judicial, and legislative branch of a governmental unit: The main subject of the report is focused on or derived from an action of a member or members of the executive, legislative, or judicial branches of federal, state, or local government. Examples include but are not limited to coverage of actions by the President, governors, mayors, legislators at the federal, state, or local levels. Consideration or passage of legislation should also be included. Also included would be decision of the federal or local judges that deal with some aspect of drunk driving. This area would not include the normal

progress of a criminal drunk driving case at the initial court level. Interviews by journalists with any member of the executive, judicial, or legislative branches would also fall into this category.

State or local action taken by either the executive branch, judicial, and legislative branch of a governmental unit: The main subject of the report is focused on or derived from an action of a member or members of the executive, legislative, or judicial branches of a state, or local government. Examples include but are not limited to coverage of actions by the governors, mayors, legislators at the state or local levels. Consideration or passage of legislation should also be included. Also included would be decision of state or local judges that deal with some constitutional aspect of drunk driving. This area would not include the normal progress of a criminal drunk driving case at the initial court level. Interviews by journalists with any member of the executive, judicial, or legislative branches would also fall into this category.

MADD or other anti-drunk driving group success: A news report that praises or is laudatory about the role that MADD has had in dealing with some aspect of the drunk driving problem. An example of such a report would be a profile of a member of MADD. The report should not be directly tied to the passage of a law or other governmental action.

Police crime, enforcement, and traffic fatalities: This category would include police action in enforcing drunk driving laws both before and after the fact. An example of after the fact enforcement would be the arrest of a suspected drunk driver involved in a traffic incident in which one or more persons were killed. Follow up stories that covered the advancement of the case through the criminal justice system, including the trial and sentencing of the suspect if found guilty should be included. This category would also include police action in the enforcement of drunk driving laws before any drunk driving laws had been broken. An example would be saturation patrol on New Years Eve or the use of road blocks/sobriety checkpoints in attempts to catch possible drunk drivers. News reports about traffic fatalities would include reports whose main theme is up dating the public on the impact of drunk driver. The main focus would be on a killed and injured body count and would also be included in this category

Drunk driving task force or commission, national, state, or local or recommendation by pre-existing governmental board : Coverage of the Presidential Drunk Driving Commission or a state or local Drunk Driving Task Force. Included in this category would be stories about MADD's efforts to get President Reagan to appoint a task force, his initial refusal to appoint such a task force and then his change of mind in agreeing to appoint a task force. Also included would be similar actions by anti-drunk driving advocates to have a state or local drunk driving task established. That actions recommended by the task force would also be included. Legislative action on the task force's recommendation would not be included in this category, but would be included in the state or local action by the executive, judicial, or legislative branch category. Also included would be recommendations or other action by a pre-existing governmental board or agency that deals with some aspect of the drunk driving issue. An example would be for the National Science Foundation or the NHTSA to make a recommendation in this area

Alcoholic beverage industry having to deal with decreased demand or new laws/regulations: Reports that deal with the impact of society's changing treatment of drunk drivers on alcoholic beverage providers. These changes could be initiated by a state or local governmental agency or by the alcoholic beverage industry. These changes could include but are not limited to decreasing hours of operation, restrictions on advertising/promotions of alcoholic beverages, regulating happy hours, or dram shop liability or training of bartenders or servers.

Teenage drinking: Reports about teenage drinking and/or how the new tough drunk driving laws impacts teenagers. Examples would be how teenagers are trying to get around the increased legal

drinking age or effort to lobby against increasing the legal drinking age by teenagers. A teenager would be an individual whose age is under 18 year of age or who attends high school or junior high school

Alternatives to MADD's approach to reducing alcohol related traffic deaths such as safer cars, better roads, or better medical response: Coverage of alternatives to the use of the criminal justice system to control the impact of drunk drivers upon American society. An example would be treating the drunk driving problems as a medical situation. Other examples would be the construction of safer roads, safer cars, better medical treatment, the reduction of alcohol consumption, and the decreasing the amount of driving in the United States.

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

International: News stories that report about various aspects of drunk driving outside of the United States. An example would be a report about new drunk driving laws that had just been enacted in France

Drunk driving /athlete's roles in American Society: a news report that primarily focuses on the interaction of drunk driving and the athlete's roles in American society. News reports that deal only with an athlete being arrested for drunk driving should not be included in this category.

Safe Ride Programs: A news report that primarily focuses on a Safe Ride or similar program.

9. If there was a specific drunk driver mentioned in the news report, how was that driver primarily identified?

Repeat offender drunk driver: An individual who has a police record that includes more than one drunk driving arrest or conviction. This classification should take precedence over another category that received equal billing.

Current or former professional athlete or coach: An individual who is identified as being currently or formerly a professional athlete or coach

Current or former collegiate athlete or coach: An individual who is identified as being currently or formerly a collegiate athlete or coach

National elected official (House or Senate): an individual who is referred to as being either a former or current member of either the US Senate or House of Representatives or who is currently running for such an office

Local elected official (governor, mayor, or legislator or other elected official) (either state or local): an individual who is referred to as either a former or current member of a state or local legislative body or executive branch or who is currently running or such an office

Professional entertainer: including actor or actress, singer, or musician: An individual who is referred to as being either an actor or actress or related field such as movie producer or director, singer, or musician

Professional or white collar employee or a self employed individual, including but not limited to business executive, doctor, nurse, or member of the clergy

Member of criminal justice system, including judge, lawyer, or law enforcement officer: An individual who is referred to as either a current or a former judge, lawyer, or law enforcement officer

Blue-collar worker: an individual who is currently employed or self employed in a blue-collar job. An example would be a truck driver or a construction worker.

Student, college: an individual who is primarily referred to as being a college student. Enrollment in an institution of higher education is required.

Some one who is under the legal drinking age: an individual that is under the then current legal drinking age, or is referred to as being under the current legal drinking age or who attends high school.

Unemployed individual: an individual who is referred to as not having a job

No specific mention of the drunk driver occupation or previous drunk driving record

No mention of a specific drunk driver in the report: There is no mention to a specific drunk driver in this report

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

10. **Was the word “tough, tougher, tougher, toughen” or any derivative of the word “tough” used in the news report to describe either a law under consideration in the legislature or the application of an existing law to an actual drunk driving case?**

Was the word tough used to describe either a potential law that was under consideration by a legislative body (local, state, or federal) or the application of an existing law by a police authority. An example would be legislative or other discussion of a law that would increase the minimum penalty for a drunk driver's first conviction that was described as being “tough.” A second example would be the police enforcing such a law, or a judge sentencing an offender using the news sentencing standards

11. **Did the news report present any alternatives to the use of the criminal justice system/MADD's agenda to reducing alcohol related traffic deaths?**

Was the use of alternative programs such as Alcoholics Anonymous, a medically based program such as inpatient or outpatient treatment at a hospital, or other alternatives to traditional fines/jail times offered?

12. **Which alternatives to the use of the criminal justice system/MADD's agenda were presented?**

Did the news report present any alternative to the use of the criminal justice system for the control of the drinking driver?

Treating drunk driving as a medical problem: using the medical system to treat drunk driving as a medical problem.

Producing safer automobiles: improving the design of the American automobile so that the driver or passengers are less likely to be killed in a traffic wreck. Also, the injuries will be less severe in a better-designed automobile. These improvements would include but not be limited to air bags, seat belts, energy-absorbing bumpers, and other such improvements

Constructing safer roads: improving the design of roads that accidents or crashes are less likely to happen and when they do, the injuries will be less severe and the likelihood of death is reduced

Use of mass transit to reduce total driving in the United States: The use of mass transit to reduce the total amount of driving in the United States, thus reducing the total amount of drunk driving and the injuries and death that are associated with drunk driving

Reducing alcohol consumption by increasing alcohol taxes or other means: reducing the injuries and deaths caused by drunk driver by using taxes and other means of increasing the cost of alcoholic beverages in the United States, thereby reducing the total amount of drunk driving in United States.

Improving medical treatment of those injured in automobile wrecks: Improving the medical treatment that victims of automobile wreck receive.

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

13. Was MADD mentioned in the story?

Was MADD or Mothers Against Drunk Driving specifically referred to in the news report. Any mention using the letters MADD or the full title Mothers Against Drunk Driving should be included

14. Where was the first mention of MADD?

First third of the report-As estimated by the coder. Do not count words, use column inches or the length of the report on the page as a basis for your estimation. If the first mention of MADD appears to be on the boarder between the first third and the second third or the second third and the last third, code that mention as being in the higher located third of the report.

Middle-third of the report-As estimated by the coder

Last third of the report-As estimated by the coder

15. What was the primary area of coverage relating to MADD?

Increasing legal drinking age to 21: Legislation at either federal or state level that will increase the legal drinking age from it current level towards or to 21 year of age

Fake ID: The use of fake IDs by under age individuals to attempt to gain access to alcoholic beverages.

Sobriety Checkpoints: The use of police roadblocks to catch or deter drunk drivers.

.10 or .08 per se legislation: Decreasing the blood alcohol level where a driving is presumed to be guilty of driving while intoxicated.

Mandatory BAC testing: Requiring that a driver submit to BAC testing once he or she has been stopped by police. Refusal to submit would result in the automatic drivers' license loss.

Administrative drivers' license revocation: Taking of an accused drunk driver's driving license in an administrative hearing that does not include the use of a judge.

Increased sanctions/tougher penalties: Increasing the severity and/or likelihood punishment once the drunk driver is arrested.

Server liability: increasing the liability of an alcoholic beverage provider or making easier for someone who believes they have been injured because of the actions of an alcoholic beverage provider to sue for damages

Happy hour/bar closing or other bar/restaurant regulation: Seeking to regulate happy hours or bar closing times I order to control drunk driving

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

16. Was an organized anti-drunk driving group other than Mothers Against Drunk Driving mentioned in the story

Yes, go to Question 17

NO, go to Question 20

17. What was the name of the group that was mention first in the news report

Students Against Driving Drunk (SADD)

Remove Intoxicated Drivers (RID)

Washington Regional Alcohol Project (WRAP)

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

18. Where in the news report was the first mention of that particular anti-drunk driving group?

First third of the report-As estimated by the coder. Do not count words, use column inches or the length of the report on the page as a basis for your estimation. If the first mention of MADD appears to be on the boarder between the first third and the second third or the second third and the last third, code that mention as being in the higher located **third of the report**.

Middle-third of the report-As estimated by the coder

Last third of the report-As estimated by the coder

19. What was the primary area of coverage relating to that anti-drunk driving group?

Increasing legal drinking age to 21: Legislation at either federal or state level that will consider increasing or increase the legal drinking age from it current level towards or to 21 years of age or legislation that encourages increasing the legal drinking age to 21.

Fake ID: The use of fake IDs by under age individuals to attempt to gain access to alcoholic beverages.

Sobriety Checkpoints: The use of police roadblocks to catch or deter drunk drivers.

.10 or .08 per se legislation: Decreasing the blood alcohol level where a driving is presumed to be guilty of driving while intoxicated.

Mandatory BAC testing: Requiring that a driver submit to BAC testing once he or she has been stopped by police. Refusal to submit would result in the automatic drivers' license loss.

Administrative drivers' license revocation: Taking of an accused drunk driver's driving license in an administrative hearing.

Increased sanctions/tougher penalties: Increasing the severity and/or likelihood punishment once the drunk driver is arrested.

Server liability: increasing the liability of an alcoholic beverage provider or making easier for someone who believes they have been injured because of the actions of an alcoholic beverage provider to sue for damages

Happy hour/bar closing: Seeking to regulate happy hours or bar closing times I order to control drunk driving

Reducing underage drinking-Efforts to decrease underage drinking. An example to be SADD involvement in an undercover sting operating involving sending in an underage individual that would try to purchase illegally an alcoholic beverage.

Promoting alcohol free activities for teenagers-SADD or SADD related group seeking to provide alcohol free proms, graduation activities, or other opportunities for teenagers to have alcohol free social events

Promoting a contract between students and their parents concerning drunk driving-SADD promoting the signing of a contract between a teenager and their parents. The contract states that the teenagers will call their parents if there are in a potential drunk driving situation and the parents will pick them with out questioning their child's activities at that point.

Promoting safe ride programs for students-a teenager provided safe rider program for teenage drunk drivers. Usually supported by parents or other adults.

Responding to the death of a specific student in a given school-An example would the formation of a SADD chapter at a high school due to the death of a student from hat school in a drunk driving related traffic incident.

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

Non-specific toughening of drunk driving laws

20. Was there a mention of a change in how society views drunk drivers?

Examples of societal changes include by are not limited to decrease tolerance for public consumption of alcohol, increased desire for harsher penalties, or changes in drinking habits or customs

21. What was the primary societal change mentioned?

Check the appropriate box. A societal change is not the action of a branch of government. A societal change is a meaningful change in how society as a whole views the drunk driver. If the "other" box is checked, please identify the societal change, write the news report ID number and the identified societal change on the paper provided

Drunk driving is socially unacceptable

Server liability: The server is seen by the public as being equally responsible for the actions of the person to whom the server provided alcohol

Harsher penalties are socially acceptable

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

22. Was there a mention of a change in how society views the use of alcohol?

Did the news report mention or explore a change in how society views the use of alcohol?

19. What was the primary alcohol usage change mentioned?

What was the change in alcohol usage that the report mentions? Examples would include changing the type of alcoholic beverage consumed, or a change in other consumption habits

Switching from hard liquor to wine

Switching from beer to wine

Switching from alcoholic beverage to designer water

Drinking the same type of alcoholic beverage but decreasing the total amount of beverage.

Limiting or avoiding alcohol at a particular meal, usually lunch or some other social occasion

No longer consuming alcoholic beverages/new temperance movement

Using designated driver or other means to avoid driving while intoxicated

It is no longer socially acceptable to publicly drink to excess

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

20. **Was there a mention in how alcoholic beverage providers (bars, restaurants, etc) are being impacted by changes in drunk driving laws?**

Did the report examine mention that alcoholic beverage providers have had to change their practices because of news drunk driving laws, including increasing legal drinking age?

21. **In which area did the alcoholic beverage provider make the greatest change?**

Examples would be support of designated driving programs, bar tender training or the use of wrist bands or other means of identifying under age drinkers/

Supporting designated driver programs: An example would be the alcoholic beverage provider serving free non-alcoholic beverages a group's designated driver

Training bar tenders in recognizing potential drunk drivers: Either a state or industry mandated program that seeks to provide the beverage server with the ability to identify potential drunk drivers and stop serving those individual alcoholic beverages.

Increasing food or other services to attract still more customers: Promotions that feature food or other services to attract customers without the reliance upon reduced price drinks

The need to identify correctly the age of a potential customer by the use of a bouncer, wristbands, or other means to identify underage patrons: Various methods of identifying under age individuals so that those individuals will not be served alcoholic beverages.

Installation and use of breathalyzers so that patrons may check and see if they are legal to drive: The installation of a breathalyzer for customers use. These devices will help the customer to tell if they are below the legal BAC limit

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided

Lobbying to prevent or control potential legislative changes

Dealing with the new temperance movement

Lobbying to change legislation to benefit alcohol beverage providers.

22. **Was there a mention of potential or realized problems caused when two adjacent states had different drinking ages (blood boards)?**

Did the report discuss problems with teenagers who were underage in one state driving to a second state where because the legal drinking age was lower, they could legally drink? Examples would include concern over the increased likelihood of traffic deaths and injuries that might occur as the teenagers returned home and the impact on alcoholic beverage providers if the state with the lower drinking age raises its legal drinking age to match the surrounding state(s).

23. Was the blood boarder problem considered to be:

Severe problem: A problem that caused clear and immediate danger to larger segments of society and required immediate application of governmental resources or passage of specific legislation to solve the problem

Moderate problem: A problem that does not stand out from many other problems to which governments are called upon to deal with. Resources will be applied when they become available and are not needed by more serious problems or legislation will be passed, but not under time pressure.

Little or no problem: Very few if any people see this as being a problem. Will probably never receive any governmental attention or resources

24. Did the report mention underage individuals using fake IDs to obtain alcoholic beverages?

Were fake IDs being used to circumvent the legal drinking age. Example would include individuals who were producing the fake IDs and the efforts of alcoholic beverage providers to find and collect the fake IDs.

25. Was the use of fake ID's considered to be a

Severe problem: A problem that caused clear and immediate danger to larger segments of society and required immediate application of governmental resources or passage of specific legislation to solve the problem

Moderate problem: A problem that does not stand out from many other problems to which governments are called upon to deal with. Resources will be applied when they become available and are not needed by more serious problems or legislation will be passed, but not under time pressure.

Little or no problem: Very few if any people see this as being a problem. Will probably never receive any governmental attention or resources

26. Did the news report attempt to personalize the drunk driving story through use of a victim or survivor of the victim?

Did the report use the personal story of a drunk driving victim or relative to explore the drunk driving issue. An example would be a report that included the personal story of a parent of a teenager killed in a drunk driving incident who was now lobbying for changes in their state's drunk driving laws.

27. Which individual did the news report use to personalize the drunk driving story?

A surviving victim of a drunk driver-A person who was riding in an automobile, in a bicycle, was walking along that road, or was otherwise minding their own business when a drunk driver hit that individual with the automobile he or she was driving. This individual survived the crash and is now telling his or her story to the public or a journalist.

The parents, sibling, or friends of a drunk driving victim-A parent, sibling, or close friend of a drunk driving victim. The victim can still be alive, or may have died in the traffic wreck

The drunk driver-A convicted drunk driver who is now telling his or her story to the public. This can be done of the driver's own free will or can be part of a court ordered program

Law enforcement officers or other members of the criminal justice system-A member of the law enforcement profession who is telling their personal story, usually based on the officer's professional work at the scene of many drunk driving crash sites

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

28. Did the report mention the use of roadblocks or sobriety checkpoints?

Were roadblocks or sobriety checkpoints mentioned in the news report?

29. Did the reports mention opposition to the use of roadblocks?

Examples would include but not limited to court ruling, objections to the use of roadblocks, police plans to use roadblocks, or the results of the police using a roadblock.

30. What was the basis for the opposition to the use of roadblocks?

Road blocks are unconstitutional searches-Roadblocks allows police to stop and search a vehicle without any evidence that the driver or the vehicle was doing anything illegal, therefore ignoring an individual right to avoid unreasonable police searches.

Roadblocks were inefficient use of police resources-Roadblocks were inefficient uses of limited police resources. The automobiles stopped to drunk drivers ratio was general less than ten cars out of a thousand and shows that the large amount of police resources could have been better used elsewhere.

Roadblocks presented dangerous traffic situations-The necessity of stopping cars late at night and in busy areas pose a traffic hazard to even well run road block operations. This increased danger outweighs any possible benefit that the roadblock will create by removing a few drunk drivers.

All of the above-The news report contained arguments bases at least in part on all of the above items.

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

31. Did the report mention a vehicles stopped to drunk driver arrested ratio mentioned or could be derived from the information provided in the report.

An example would be a report that states that out of 1,154 automobiles stopped during a single roadblock, the police found and arrested 17 drunk drivers. Do not consider non-drunk driving arrests that were made during the roadblock. Do not calculate a ratio. Answer yes if there is enough information present to do such a calculation.

32. Did the report mention the deterrent benefit of roadblocks mentioned?

Did the news report mention that the supporters of roadblocks believe that while the number of drunk drivers found at a given roadblock might be low, that the preventative or deterrent impact of a roadblock is one of their major selling points.

33. Were any of MADD's goals mentioned in the news report?

Yes or no, for MADD's goal see Question 38.

34. Which one MADD's main goals received the greatest attention in the news report?

Increasing legal drinking age to 21, strict enforcement of the legal drinking age, or decreasing teenage drinking

Decrease BAC necessary for per se drunk driving conviction to .10 or to .08-Lowering or establishing .10 BAC or .08 BAC as the maximum BAC level necessary for a per se conviction of driving while intoxicated

Increased or mandatory fines-Requiring a convicted drunk driver to pay a minimum fine upon conviction of drunk driving. The judge in the case is not able to reduce the minimum fine after conviction. An example would be for the first time drunk driver to have to pay \$400 and court expenses, regardless of the surrounding circumstances

Increased or mandatory jail time-Requiring a convicted drunk driver to serve a minimum amount of jail time upon conviction. The judge in the case is not able to reduce the minimum sentence after conviction. An example would be for the first time drunk driver to have to serve 48 hours of jail time, regardless of the surrounding circumstances

Use of roadblocks-The stopping to a large number of automobiles at a given location in an attempt to catch drunk drivers. The deterrent effect of a roadblock is cited as a positive benefit.

Use of extra enforcement efforts-The use of special drunk driving enforcement police squads or a major enforcement effort over a particular holiday period. An example would be extra enforcement efforts over the Christmas and New Year holidays.

Dram shop liability-Holding the servers of alcoholic beverages financially responsible for the actions of individuals that became drunk while at a specific location, and then became involved in an alcohol related traffic incident where a victim was injured or killed

Limits on advertising or marketing of alcohol-Efforts to limit, regulate, or prohibit the marketing of alcoholic beverages. This category could include advertising limits or bans. Other examples would include time, place, or substance regulations such as define where or how a bar or liquor store could advertise.

Mandatory BAC testing of all driver involved in a traffic incident that involved a injury or fatality-police are required by law to test each driver involved in such a traffic wreck.

Server training or Happy Hour regulation-Alcoholic beverage providers are required to train servers to recognize and deal with potential drunk drivers and/or limits or cease any multiple drinks for the price of one or other types of happy hours promotions.

Designated Drivers- an alcoholic beverage provider has a special promotion for the designated driver that may include free non-alcoholic drinks or other means of supporting the designated driver.

Redefinition of an alcoholic related traffic wreck that involved a fatality from a lesser crime to a homicide-Having legislation passed that puts the death of an individual in an alcohol related traffic wreck on par with the death of an individual in a traditional criminal activity such as a death in a robbery.

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

General stiffening of drunk driving laws-Without mentions a specific law, MADD's effort to increase certainty or severity of punishment by the criminal justice system for driving while intoxicated.

Administrative Drivers license revocation-The taking of an individual who is accused of drunk driving in an administrative hearing without the use of a judge from the criminal justice system.

35. Were any of MADD's standard terms used-

Where any of the terms listed in Question 40 used in the news report?

36. Which of MADD's standard terms were used in the report?

Drunk drivers is the nation's most commonly committed violent crime-MADD's redefinition of drunk driving from a victimless or some how less than violent crime to a violent crime in the same category was assault or murder

That ½ of the nation's traffic fatalities are alcohol related-Using government figures, MADD argues that at least half of the nation's traffic deaths are alcohol related. One of MADD main goals has been to reduce the percentage of alcohol related traffic deaths

That society or the criminal justice system has not treated drunk driving as a real crime-Because of that, society had previously viewed drunk driving, the criminal justice system does not treat drunk driving as being a serious crime. MADD's position is that drunk drivers should be treated as a serious criminal, especially if someone is hurt or injured in an alcohol related traffic incident.

That the individual is responsible for his or hers drunk driving actions-MADD seeks to remove the defense that the alcohol was the cause of the alcohol related traffic incident, not the person who willing consumed alcohol and then decided to drive his or hers automobile.

MADD's Rating the States Program-any mention of the Rating the States Program that MADD periodically produces

Estimated cost to society caused by drunk drivers-Any estimate of the total costs to society caused by drunk drivers. Such estimate would include lost productivity any other finical impact cause by drunk drivers.

37. If an individual drunk driver mentioned in a news report was convicted of drunk driving, was that individual given an opportunity by the court to attend a form of rehabilitation such alcoholism treatment or drunk driving school as an alternative to serving jail time?

Was the convicted drunk driver given an alternative to serving jail time and paying a fine? Examples would include attending drunk driving school or going to an alcohol rehabilitation program like AA.

38. Which alternative to rehabilitation was offered to the convicted drunk driver?

Alcoholic's Anonymous or similar group-A self-help group that is probably based on the 12-step approach used by AA. Participants can continue living in their own homes while regularly attending meetings

Hospital based or non-hospital based alcoholic treatment program-A residential program that include many of the aspect of the AA program along with additional medical treatment

Community service, probation, or public speaking-a convicted drunk driver being sentenced to community service, probation, or pubic speaking in addition to or as an alternative to jail time.

Drunk driving or DUI school A court or private school that is generally used as a treatment/retraining program for first time drunk driving offenders.

Other: Please write down your coder ID number, the news organization, the news report ID number, the Question number, and a brief description on the paper provided.

39. If the news report referred to legislation was being considered by a legislative body or had passed a legislative body, was that legislation presented as toughening or weakening drunk driving laws?

Did the news report present coverage that describes the legislation as toughen or weakening the existing anti-drunk driving laws?

40. Was there a single, specific alcohol-related traffic incident described in the news report?

Was there a single specific alcohol related traffic incident described in the news report. An example would be "Police allege that three people killed by a drunk driver late last night in an accident at the corner of Third and Broad Street.

41. If there was an alcohol-related traffic incident, what was the primary or dominant descriptive term used to describe the incident?

Which was the primary word from the list that was used to describe a specific alcohol-related traffic incident.

42. Did an organization or individual propose a ban, restriction, or regulation of advertising of alcoholic beverages?

Yes, all media-a ban, etc that would impact both print and electronic media

Yes, broadcast only-a ban that would affect only broadcast media

Yes, print only

No ban proposed

43. Was there an attempt by an individual or organization to encourage television programming executives to change how drunk driver are presenting in entertainment programming?

44. Did an individual or organization argue that anti-drunk driving organization such as MADD should more actively use the media to present their message to the public?

45. Using your own standards of interest, how would you classify this news report?

46. Would you consider this report to be sufficiently unique, meaningful, insightful, or to have made an unusual point so that it should be considered in my study about drunk driving coverage by the media?

51. Was the word accident used to describe a specific alcohol related traffic incident or when discussing public policy issues such as legislative agendas that deal with some aspect of the drunk driving issue?

The use of accident only needs to refer to some aspect of the drunk driving issue. That reference could be to a specific drunk driving incident or to the legislative process.

52. Were terms such as “alcohol-related” or “drunk driving related” or other similar descriptive terms used to describe “accident”?

53. If there was an individual drunk driver identified in the news report, was that individual mentioned in only one news report or was that individual mentioned in multiple news reports?

Using the list that you have compiled of the name of identified drunk drivers, was that individual mentioned in more than one report. If so, answer multiple. If not, answer single. If no drunk driver was mentioned, go to the next question.

54. If there was an individual drunk driver identified in the news report, was that individual identified either as being a member of a professional or collegiate sports team? Include coaches, players, and team management.

If a drunk driver was identified by name and their occupation was given in the news report, was the identified drunk driver a member of a professional or collegiate sports organization. Included in this category are all college sports teams, including both major and minor sports teams such as hockey, rowing, softball, and other lesser known sports. All professional sports are included, including football, basketball, hockey, baseball, horseracing, boxing, automobile racing, golf, and any other sports where the athlete is paid of their performance.

55. If there was an individual drunk driver identified in the news report, was that news reports included on the sports page? Include coaches, players, and team management.

Was the news report printed on the sports page or somewhere else in the newspaper? If you are not sure, ask for a photocopy of the original page where the report was published.

56. In the news report, was a descriptive term that indicated the percentage of traffic deaths caused by alcohol-influenced drivers used? There could be either a direct reference of a given percentage (at least 40%) or information could be given (315 out of 600 traffic death are alcohol-related) that would allow you to calculate the percentage. The reference could refer to a public policy issue or to an actual drunk driving incident.

Was a specific percentage of traffic fatalities in an alcohol related driving incident relative to the total number of traffic fatalities. This percentage needs to be at least 40%. A specific percentage can be given. For example, “more than 50% of all traffic death involved drunk drivers in the United States during 1988.” Also included in this category is a news report where enough information is included so that you can determine the percentage of traffic death. For example, “Of the 600 people killed in New York state in 1988, 300 of those fatalities occurred in alcohol related traffic incidents.”

57. Was MADD or Mothers Against Drunk Driving mentioned in the news report?

Was MADD or Mothers Against Drunk Driving specifically mentioned in the news report. This reference could be just a mention of the organization's name or a mention of an individual who was a representative of MADD.

Appendix C

Mothers Against Drunk Driving: Basic Membership Statistics						
YEAR	STAFF	MEMBERS	CHAPTERS LOCAL/ REGIONAL GROUPS	STATES GROUPS	BUDGET	REPORTED NEWS LETTER PUBLICATION AND CIRCULATION
1980	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	4	NA	30	5	NA	NA
1982					NA	NA
1983	6	NA	12	8	NA	NA
1984	16	20,000	91	31	NA	NA
1985	20	26,000	251		NA	3 TIMES A YEAR, NO CIRCULATION GIVEN
1986	33	600,000	320	46	NA	QUARTERLY NEWSLETTER, NO CIRCULATION GIVEN
1987	30	600,000	375	47	NA	QUARTERLY NEWSLETTER, NO CIRCULATION GIVEN
1988	30	600,000	389	48	NA	QUARTERLY NEWSLETTER, NO CIRCULATION GIVEN

1989	30	600,000	383	47	7,900,000	PERIODIC NEWSLETTER, NO CIRCULATION GIVEN
1990	40	1,000,000	400	50	\$13,000,000	PERIODIC NEWSLETTER, NO CIRCULATION GIVEN
1991	40	1,000,000	400	50	13,000,000	PERIODIC NEWSLETTER, NO CIRCULATION GIVEN
1992	260	2,800,000	404	48	38,200,000	<i>MADD IN ACTION</i> QUARTERLY NEWS LETTER, 355,000 CIRCULATION, NO ADS
1993	325	3,000,000	406	47	49,000,000	<i>MADD IN ACTION</i> QUARTERLY NEWS LETTER, 350,000 CIRCULATION, NO ADS
1994	430	3,200,000	430	47	53,000,000	<i>MADD IN ACTION</i> QUARTERLY NEWS LETTER, 210,000 CIRCULATION, NO ADS
1995	360	3,200,000	430	47	53,000,000	<i>MADD IN ACTION</i> QUARTERLY NEWS LETTER, 210,000 CIRCULATION, NO ADS

1996	313	3,200,000	430	47	53,000,000	<i>MADD IN ACTION</i> BIENNIAL NEWS LETTER, 150,000 CIRCULATION, NO ADS
1997	313	3,200,000	430	47	53,000,000	<i>MADD IN ACTION</i> BIENNIAL NEWS LETTER, 150,000 CIRCULATION, NO ADS
1998	360	3,200,000	430	47	53,000,000	<i>MADD IN ACTION</i> BIENNIAL NEWS LETTER, 210,000 CIRCULATION, NO ADS
1999	317	3,200,000	430	47	53,000,000	<i>MADD IN ACTION</i> BIENNIAL NEWS LETTER, 150,000 CIRCULATION, NO ADS

Source: *Encyclopedia of Associations*, Gale Publications, Detroit, MI.
NA: Not Available

Appendix D

Reporters Interviewed, Coverage Assignment and Frequency of Reports

Reporter	Coverage Assignment	Frequency of Reports
Reporter A	A police and court reporter who covered one of the surrounding counties	16 or more reports
Reporter B	A police and court reporter who covered one of the surrounding counties	Between 10 and 15 reports
Reporter C	A reporter who covered a state legislature	Nine or fewer reports
Reporter D	A national reporter who covered a region of the United States	Nine or fewer reports
Reporter E	A police and court reporter who covered one of the surrounding counties	Nine or fewer reports
Reporter F	A senior legal reporter	Nine or fewer reports
Reporter G	A reporter who covered a state legislature	Between 10 and 15 reports
Reporter H	A reporter who covered a state legislature	Nine or fewer reports

Appendix E

Alcohol Related Traffic Fatalities

Rates per 100 million Vehicle Miles Traveled and 100,000 Population, Registered Vehicles, and Licensed Drivers; 1977 -1990

	100 Million Vehicle Miles Traveled	100,000 Population	100,000 Registered Vehicles	100,000 Licensed Drivers
1977	1.31	8.05	11.71	13.41
1978	1.30	8.41	11.93	13.66
1979	1.33	9.20	12.70	14.15
1980	1.40	9.52	12.81	14.46
1981	1.33	9.01	12.46	13.96
1982	1.17	8.04	11.27	12.39
1983	1.08	7.63	10.53	11.57
1984	1.08	7.83	10.77	11.92
1985	1.02	7.55	10.19	11.50
1986	1.09	8.30	11.05	12.57
1987	1.04	8.18	10.80	12.31
1988	.95	7.85	10.26	11.85
1989	.87	7.40	9.59	11.10
1990	.85	7.35	9.48	10.94

Source: Potential Life Lost and Other Trends in Alcohol-Related Fatal Traffic Crashes: 1977-1987, from *Alcohol Health and Research World*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, 63-68 and Alcohol Involvement in Fatal Traffic Crashes in the United States: 1979-90 from *Addiction* (1994) 89, 227-231

Appendix F

Survey of Journalists Who Covered Drunk Driving, 1969 to 1990

1. Do you remember any specific drunk driving reports that you wrote?
2. To the best of your understanding, what were the goals of Mothers Against Drunk Driving?
3. Did MADD's presentation of the drunk driving story present a journalistically interesting news story? If so, why was MADD's story interesting to you as a journalist? Was this representation more compelling than other "general interest" news reports? If so, why as it more interesting? What elements made MADD's story stand out from other general interest news stories?
4. Did you develop an ongoing relationship with a representative of MADD or other anti drunk driving organizations during your coverage of this story? Please describe the relationship and the purpose that it served for you as a journalist. Did that person serve as a news source that you called on or did he/she seek to initiate news stories about drunk driving? What position did that individual hold with MADD? How long was the reporter/source relationship maintained?
5. Did you develop an ongoing relationship with a victim of a drunk driver as a result of covering a news event? If so, how did that relationship begin; did that individual serve as a news source, did the relationship continue after the original news event: and what other affect upon your work as a journalist did that individual have? Please include a brief description of that individual and events that made the individual newsworthy.
6. Was it easier for you to "sell" a news report about some aspect of drunk driving to your editor than other general interest news reports? If so, what elements of the drunk driving story contributed to your increased ability to sell the drunk driving story? Did the ability to personalize the news report by using a drunk driving victim improve your ability to sale the story to your editors?
7. Did your editor seem to be more interested in the story of the drunk driver as compared to many other general interest news stories? If so, what elements of the drunk driving story gained the most attention of your editor? Did your editor seem to be more

interested in personalizing the story or using official sources? Did you editor mention any personal involvement, such as having a family member who had been involved in a drunk driving incident?

8. In your coverage of drunk driving, did you ever personalize your news reports by focusing on a victim or victim's family? If so, why did you choose to do so, and what elements composed the story? Did the victim/victim's family continue to serve as a news source after the original story was completed?
9. Did you ever personalize a drunk driving related news story by focusing on the drunk driver? Was there ever a situation where you considered writing a story focusing on the drunk driver's personal story but chose not to write such a story but chose not to write the story?
10. To the best of your knowledge, did any of your news reports ever included an alternatives to the use of the criminal justice system to control drunk driving, such as alcohol treatment, safer cars, or improved emergency health care. If so, why were such elements included I your reporting? If not, why were such elements not included in your reporting?
11. How long have (did) you work (ed) for *The Washington Post* or *The New York Times*?
12. How long have (did) you worked as a journalist?
13. During 1969 to 1990, did you have any specific beats that would focus on the drunk driving story (crime, local state, or federal government, etc)?

Appendix G

Verbal Consent Script

I am Walter Low from the University of Georgia-Athens. I am a doctoral candidate from the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication. I am conducting research titled: "Collective Action and News Report Framing: The Interaction of Social Movements and News Organizations" and would like to know more about any interaction between you and anti drunk driving organizations such as MADD during your coverage of the drunk driving issue. This interview should take less than ten minutes.

This research will help develop a greater understanding of reporter/news source interaction.

I have a series of questions that I would like to ask you about your coverage of drunk driving.

Do you have any questions?

Let me assure you that any information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. In the final research product, I will disguise your identity by referring to you as a reporter from either The New York Times or The Washington Post without using your name or any identifying information. If that association might lead to your identification, I will identify you as being a reporter from one of the newspapers that are included in this analysis without identifying the specific news organization for which you work. I will not associate your response to a question directly with any of your work product in such a manner that your identity will be revealed. I will tape record your interview, will keep those tapes under my control, and will destroy those tapes ON OR BEFORE AUGUST 31, 2006. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may discontinue our interaction at any time or skip any question you don't want to answer.

Do you agree to participate?

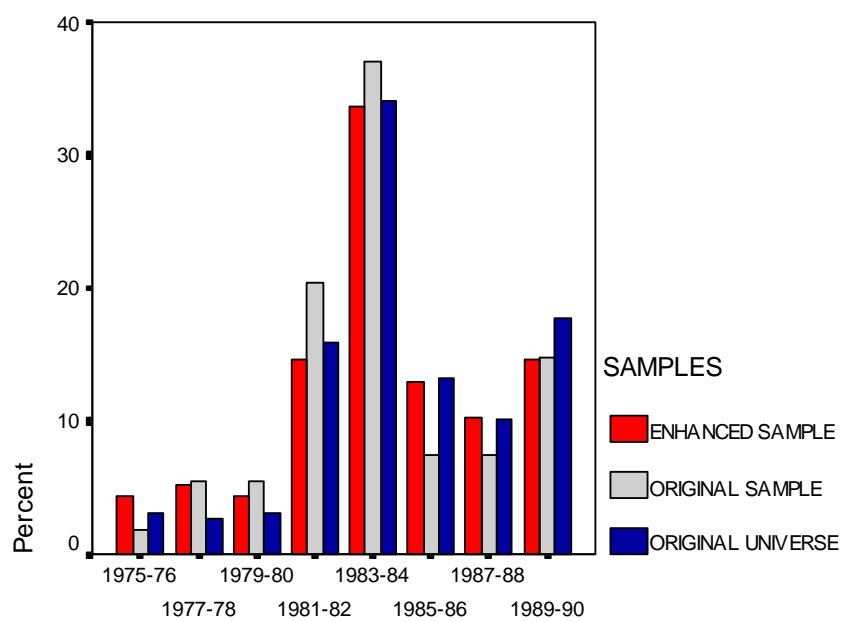
[If yes, continue]

[If not, say "Thank you for your time, good bye"]

If you want to contact me later for any reason, my phone number is (734) 996-3721 and my email address is walter_low@hotmail.com.

Appendix H

Supporting Tables and Figures



Two Year Groups

Figure 3
Frequency Comparison
Original Sample, Enhanced Sample, Universe

Table 21

Frequency Comparison
Original Broadcast Sample, Broadcast Universe,
Enhanced Broadcast Sample
1975-1990

	ORIGINAL BROADCAST SAMPLE		BROADCAST UNIVERSE		ENHANCED BROADCAST SAMPLE	
1975-76	1.9*	(1)**	3.1	(7)	4.3	(5)
1977-78	5.6	(3)	2.7	(6)	5.2	(6)
1979-80	5.6	(3)	3.1	(7)	4.3	(5)
1981-82	20.4	(11)	15.9	(36)	14.7	(17)
1983-84	37.0	(20)	34.1	(77)	33.6	(39)
1985-86	7.4	(4)	13.3	(30)	12.9	(15)
1987-88	7.4	(4)	10.2	(23)	10.3	(12)
1989-90	14.8	(8)	17.7	(40)	14.7	(17)
Total	100.0	(54)	100.1	(226)	100.0	(116)

$\chi^2 = 6.90$, 14 d. f., $p \leq 1.00$, the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 22

Washington Post and New York Times
Print: Accident Used In News Report
1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total
Yes	36.7*	(81)**	38.1	(259)	37.8 (340)
No	63.3	(140)	61.9	(420)	62.2 (560)
Total	100.0	(221)	100.0	(679)	100.0 (900)

$\chi^2 = 0.04$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 1.00$, the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 23

Washington Post and New York Times
 Accident Drunk Driving Related
 1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total	
Yes	25.3*	(56)**	28.9	(196)	28.0	(252)
No	74.7	(175)	71.1	(483)	72.0	(648)
Total	100.0	(221)	100.0	(679)	100.0	(900)

$X^2 = 0.33$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 1.00$, the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 24

ABC, CBS, and NBC
 Broadcast: Accident Used In Report
 1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total	
Yes	28.9*	(11)**	40	(40)	37.0	(51)
No	71.1	(27)	60	(60)	63.0	(87)
Total	100.0	(38)	100.0	(100)	100.0	(138)

$X^2 = 2.72$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.10$, the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 25

ABC, CBS, and NBC
 Broadcast : Media event/Multiple Reports about a Single Drunk Driver
 1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total	
Single Report	31.25*	(5)**	36.67	(12)	37.8	(17)
Multiple Reports	68.75	(11)	63.33	(17)	62.2	(28)
Total	100.0	(16)	100.0	(29)	100.0	(45)

$X^2 = 0.65$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 1.00$, the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 26

ABC, CBS, and NBC
Broadcast: Drunk Driver Occupation
1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total	
College Or	12.5*	(2)**	6.9	(2)	8.9	(4)
Professional Athlete						
Other Occupation	87.5	(14)	93.1	(27)	91.1	(41)
Total	100.0	(16)	100.0	(29)	100.0	(45)

$\chi^2 = 1.79$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.20$, the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number news reports

Table 27

Washington Post and New York Times
Print: Mothers Against Drunk Driving Mention by Two-year groups
1981 to 1990

	1981-82		1983-84		1985-86		1987-88		1989-90		Total	
Yes	13.2*	(15)**	15.7	(31)	15.9	(21)	19.2	(25)	11.3	(12)	15.3	(104)
No	86.8	(99)	84.3	(166)	84.1	(111)	80.8	(105)	88.7	(94)	84.7	(575)
Total	100	(114)	100	(197)	100	(132)	100	(130)	100	(106)	100.0	(679)

$\chi^2 = 2.80$, 4 d. f., $p \leq 1.00$, the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 28

Washington Post and New York Times
Print: Accident/Other Descriptive
1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total	
Accident	66.7*	(16)**	64.0	(94)	64.3	(110)
Non-Accident	33.3	(8)	36.0	(53)	35.7	(61)
Total	100.0	(24)	100.0	(147)	100.0	(171)

$\chi^2 = 0.16$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 1.00$, the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 29

Washington Post and New York Times
 Alcohol Related Accident, Crash
 1969-1990

	1969-80	1981-90	Total
Accident	24.0* (53)**	23.9 (162)	23.9 (215)
Crash	3.6 (8)	3.7 (25)	3.7 (33)
Both	1.4 (3)	5.0 (34)	4.1 (37)
Neither	71.0 (157)	67.5 (458)	68.3 (615)
Total	100.0 (221)	100.1 (679)	100.0 (900)

$\chi^2 = 2.11$, 3 d. f., $p \leq 1.00$, the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 30

ABC, CBS, and NBC
 Broadcast: Use of 50% of All Traffic Fatalities are Alcohol Related
 1969-1990

	1969-80	1981-90	Total
Yes	18.4* (7)**	23.0 (23)	21.7 (30)
No	81.6 (31)	77.0 (77)	78.3 (108)
Total	100.0 (38)	100.0 (100)	100.0 (138)

$\chi^2 = 0.64$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 1.00$ the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 31

ABC, CBS, and NBC
Broadcast: Accident, Crash, Both
1969-1990

	1969-80		1981-90		Total	
Accident	21.1*	(8)**	31.0	(31)	28.3	(39)
Crash	0	(0)	3.0	(3)	2.2	(3)
Both	2.6	(1)	3.0	(3)	2.9	(4)
Neither Used	76.3	(29)	63.0	(63)	66.6	(92)
Total	100.0	(38)	100.0	(100)	100.0	(138)

$\chi^2 = 6.18$, 3 d. f., $p \leq 0.20$, the distribution is not significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 32

Washington Post and *New York Times*
Drunk Drivers Identified by Occupation: Sports and Others
1969-1990

	1961-1980		1981-1990	Total
Sports DD	13.8*	(12)**	35.4 (96)	(108)
Non-Sports DD	86.2	(75)	64.6 (175)	(250)
Total	100	(87)	100 (271)	(358)

$\chi^2 = 12.6$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.001$ the distribution is significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Table 33

Washington Post and New York Times
 Professional or Collegiate Athletes Identified on Sports Page
 1969-1990

	1961-1980	1981-1990	Total
Sports DD	83* (10)**	94.8 (91)	(101)
Non-Sports DD	17 (2)	5.2 (5)	(7)
Total	100 (12)	100 (96)	(108)

$\chi^2 = 7.06$, 1 d. f., $p \leq 0.01$ the distribution is significant.

* percentage of news reports

** number of news reports

Appendix I

Intercoder Reliability: Scott's pi

Primary Drunk Driving Theme	.72
Use of Accident in a News Report	.79
Alcohol Related Descriptive used with Accident	.86
One Drunk Driver Named in Multiple News Reports	.95
Drunk Driver Occupation/Sports	.91
50% of all Traffic Fatalities are Alcohol Related	.96
MADD Mentioned	.96
MADD's Goals Mentioned	.73
Accident, Crash, Both, Neither	.78

Appendix J

Story Length Averages

Type of Report	Print: Length in Words	Broadcast Length in Seconds
All Reports	520	118
Reports that Identified a Specific Drunk Driver	352	94
Reports that Identified an Athlete as a Drunk Driver	318	60*
Reports that Identified a Single Drunk Driver	297	85
Reports that Identified a Multiple Drunk Driver	410	99
Police/Crime Reports	376	94
Non-Police/Crime Reports	641	147
Police/Crime Reports pre-MADD-era	356	55
Police/Crime Reports MADD-era	388	69
Non-Police/Crime Reports pre-MADD-era	593	115
Non-Police/Crime Reports MADD-era	652	159

* Only Four Reports