

# CANNABIS REFERENDUM 2020



## Introduction

This analysis looks at 281 New Zealand-based media articles and opinion pieces as they appeared online during the cannabis referendum campaign period between May and October 2020.

The objective was to assess the extent to which the set of articles and op-eds, as a whole, provided balanced coverage of both sides of debate – consistent with the New Zealand Media Council's first principle of "accuracy, fairness and balance."

All the articles obtained were based on the list provided by *NZ Politics Daily*, a comprehensive, non-partisan list of articles, columns, and analysis relating to New Zealand politics and government, produced by the Democracy Project at Victoria University Wellington. This list was used to maintain the neutrality of the analysis and to avoid any accusation of searching for articles that leaned to one side or the other of the debate.

There were 203 news items and 78 opinion pieces.

Accuracy, fairness and balance was assessed across a variety of measures: the headline used, the number of people quoted within each piece arguing one or other side of the referendum question, and the proportion of content arguing each side of the campaign issues. Experts who quoted research or data were considered to be neutral. Any observed imbalance in the content or coverage across the set of news items and opinion pieces is interpreted as evidence of overall bias in reporting on the referendum question.

The report was commissioned by Family First New Zealand.

The analysis has been audited by an Emeritus Professor who specialises in research methods and statistics.

# Analysis

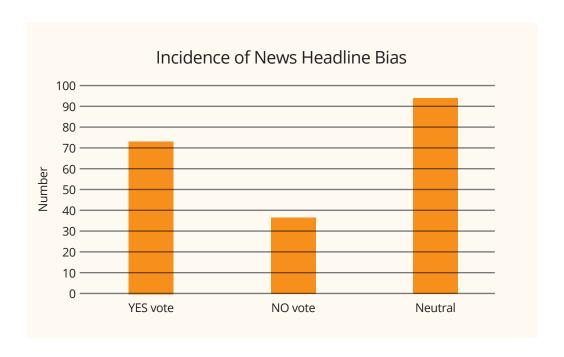
#### 1. Headlines – News Articles

Many readers do not have time to read the entire article, and in fact may only read the headline. The choice of headlines has potential for bias to the extent that, overall, they favour one or other side of the referendum question.

In the event, news article headlines were found to be strongly biased towards the YES side of the cannabis referendum: YES (73) NO (36) Neutral (94).

More than a third (36%) of all headlines promoted the YES position, while only 18% promoted the NO position.

This means that the overall headline bias towards the YES position was double that of the NO position.



#### 2. Comments From Advocates - News Articles

Advocates promoting the YES position were quoted twice as often as NO advocates.

126 of the 203 articles did not quote someone from the NO campaign, compared to only 64 articles not quoting someone from the YES campaign.

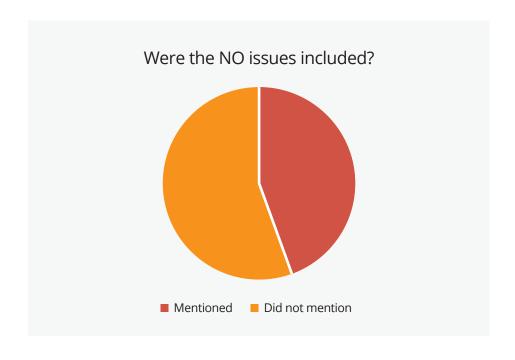
Quotes from NO advocates were typically published at the bottom of the story, compared to quotes from YES advocates which were more likely to lead a given story.

Table 1: Number of times "YES" "NO" and "Neutral" positions quoted across all articles

PEOPLE QUOTED	YES	NO	NEUTRAL
None quoted	64	126	118
1 person quoted	88	58	71
2 people quoted	31	15	10
3 or more quoted	20	4	3
Total	203	203	203
Average	1.07	0.49	0.51

Based on this analysis, a total of 100 NO advocates was quoted, whereas a total of 218 YES advocates was quoted across the 203 articles published.

The 14 news articles, the paragraphs citing NO concerns (e.g. increased adolescent use) were without an accompanying quote from advocates. When combined with stories that included NO quotes, 44% of all news stories acknowledged the NO campaign.



#### 3. Overall Bias In News Articles

The overall bias was a subjective indicator based on all the elements measured and reflecting the indices surveyed.

Table 2: Overall bias indicators for news articles

BIAS INDICATOR	YES ARTICLES (NUMBER)	NO ARTICLES (NUMBER)
100% Bias	67	13
50/50 Balanced	60	60
Share of coverage	66%	34%

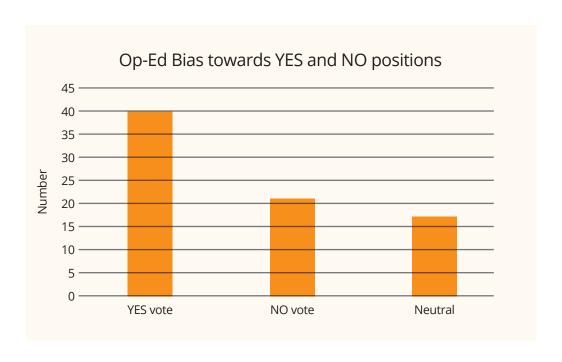
33% of all articles were entirely biased towards YES arguments and discussion, whilst only 6% of articles were entirely biased towards NO arguments and discussion.

Put simply, YES stories were twice as biased as NO stories on average (66% vs 34%).

#### 4. Op-Eds

78 opinion-editorials were published during the campaign period. Much like the news stories, a significant bias emerged from the analysis.

51% of all Op-Eds were YES-biased while only 27% presented a NO position.



#### 5. Reporter And News Outlet Bias

Spinoff and Stuff both tied as the most biased outlet (72% of all discussion biased towards YES position), but Newshub's significantly higher coverage of 61 articles with an average YES-bias of 69% made it the most biased media outlet throughout the overall referendum period.

OUTLET	YES AVG	NO AVG	NUMBER OF ARTICLES
Spinoff	72%	28%	5
Stuff	72%	26%	39
Newshub	69%	31%	61
NZ Herald	68%	32%	20
TVNZ	62%	38%	23
RNZ	59%	41%	33
Newsroom	52%	48%	14
ODT	46%	54%	7

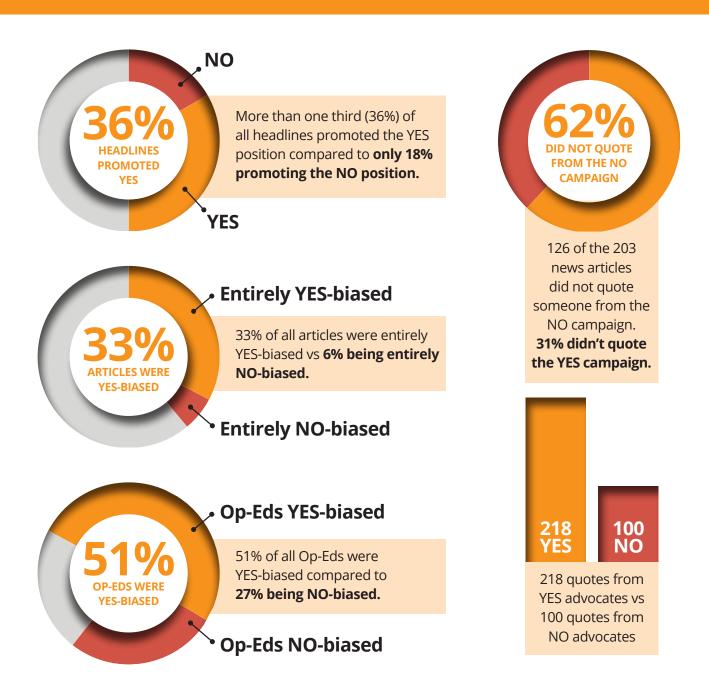
Of reporters who published three or more articles on the Cannabis referendum, Hannah Kronast from Newshub was the most biased reporter towards the YES campaign (84% devoted to YES discussion versus 16% devoted to NO discussion) whereas John Gibb from the Otago Daily Times and Mark Quinlivan from Newshub were the only NO-biased reporters.

REPORTER	OUTLET	PROPORTION OF YES VERSUS NO DISCUSSION	NUMBER OF ARTICLES
Hannah Kronast	Newshub	84% / 16%	3
Nina Hindmarsh	Stuff	82% / 18%	5
Matt Burrows	Newshub	81% / 19%	8
Dan Satherley	Newshub	79% / 21%	13
Lana Andelane	Newshub	76% / 24%	4
Joel MacManus	Stuff	76% / 24%	10
Anuja Nadkarn	Stuff	75% / 25%	3

Derek Cheng	NZ Herald	70% / 30%	9
Scott Palmer	Newshub	67% / 33%	4
Tracy Neal	RNZ	59% / 41%	3
Ben Strang	RNZ	56% / 43%	9
Zane Small	Newshub	55% / 45%	4
Farah Hancock	Newsroom	52% / 48%	5
Anna Bracewell	Newshub	43% / 56%	3
John Gibb	ODT	34% / 66%	3
Mark Quinlivan	Newshub	24% / 76%	4

The list above relates to news articles. This report does acknowledge that radio broadcasters Mike Hosking and Kate Hawkesby from Newstalk ZB were strongly in favour of a NO-vote, with four and three opinion-editorials recorded respectively. However, these were clearly identified as opinion-editorials, and did not attempt to masquerade as news articles.

### Conclusion



More than a third (36%) of all headlines promoted the YES position, while only 18% promoted the NO position. Advocates promoting the YES position were quoted twice as often as NO advocates. 126 of the 203 articles did not quote someone from the NO campaign, compared to only 64 articles not quoting someone from the YES campaign. While the NO position was mentioned in 44% of stories, it was typically deep in the story or a very small focus of the overall article. 51% of all Op-Eds were YES-biased while only 27% presented a NO position.

In headlines, quotes and overall bias, the YES position was, on average, over-represented in media coverage by a factor of at least 2 to 1.

There can be no doubt that the YES position received a heavily biased share of the media coverage during the campaign period.

# List of Media Articles and Opinion Pieces

Date	Author	Media outlet	URL
4 May		Radio NZ News	https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/415670/lower-thc-limit-needed-under-proposed-cannabis-regime-drug-foundation
	Dan Satherley and Hayley Jacobsen	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/05/ proposed-cannabis-legislation-strikes-really-good- balance-NOrml.html
	Collette Devlin	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/121373149/ government-reveals-cannabis-referendum- legalisation-details
		Radio NZ News	https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/415566/govt-reveals-final-cannabis-legislation-to-be-voted-on-in-referendum
	Anna Bracewell- Worrall	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/05/what-kiwis-can-and-can-t-do-if-cannabis-is-legalised.html
		Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/121375843/ to-legalise-or-not-to-legalise
	Derek Cheng	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/reeferendum-dont-like-weed-why-that-shouldnt-be-a-factor-in-how-you-vote/CLMNKKHWWK3AB5IF6HPBJ7IT2M/
	Alex Braae	Spinoff	https://thespinoff.co.nz/politics/01-05-2020/heres-what-well-be-voting-on-in-the-cannabis-referendum/
11 May	Emma Clark	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/05/cannabis-referendum-explained-what-kiwis-will-vote-for-or-against.html
	Michelle Dickinson	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/michelle-dickinson-how-will-we-measure-cannabis-intoxication-if-legalised/CRAS52FJKI7CHJDUTJ5SM4JCAU/
	Emma Clark	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2020/05/opinion-i-have-fibromyalgia-this-is-why-i-need-cannabis-to-be-legalised.html
12 May	Michael J Armstrong	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/opinion/300009605/cannabis-legislation-good-but-room-for-improvement
19 May	John Gibb	Otago Daily Times	https://www.odt.co.nz/news/dunedin/campus/ university-of-otago/heavy-drug-users-risk-life-long- damage-study
	Michael Neilson	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/smoking-cannabis-linked-to-bronchitis-and-bong-lung-new-zealand-researchers-say/BQXCX2EG37BLV7G6DCULF3FNSU/
		TVNZ 1 News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/bong-lung-cannabis-bad-lungs-but-in-different-way-tobacco-nz-study-finds

	Rachel Thomas	Radio NZ News	https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/416918/heavy-cannabis-smokers-can-have-badly-damaged-lungs-for-life-study
22 May	Brendon Egan	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/121581610/cannabis-study-provides-glimpse-into-how-new-zealand-may-vote-in-referendum
		TVNZ 1 News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/new-study-finds-middle-aged-kiwis-more-likely-oppose-cannabis-law-change
	Jamie Ensor	Newshub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2020/05/cannabis-more-middle-aged-kiwis-opposed-to-legalisation-than-in-favour-survey.html
	Emma Russell	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/new-zealanders-reluctant-to-talk-to-their-doctor-about-medicinal-cannabis-study-finds/3KG6VUKXPBFSLPZZEWZX23KZM4/
	Ananish Chaudhuri	NewsRoom	https://www.newsroom.co.nz/ ideasroom/2020/05/22/1183047/changing-your- mind-on-cannabis
27 May		Radio NZ News	https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/417550/ cannabis-crop-could-contribute-490m-a-year-to- government-coffers
	Thomas Manch	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/121627780/national-leader-todd-muller-signals-cannabis-legislation-will-have-his-support-if-new-zealand-votes-YES
2 Jun	Joel MacManus	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/300025476/ former-pm-police-investigator-among-kiwis-backing- cannabis-legalisation-campaign
	Nicholas Jones	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/cannabis-referendum-helen-clark-urges-kiwis-to-vote-YES-on-legalising-personal-use-of-drug/4HBKZ7ADDX5E7WLLGV7TZ7LPMM/
3 Jun	Hannah Kronast	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2020/06/high-profile-kiwis-advocating-for-cannabis-legislation-change.html
4 Jun		TVNZ 1 News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/ legalising-cannabis-opportunity-regulate-drug- authorities-have-very-little-control-over-law-expert
8 Jun		Radio NZ News	https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/ saturday/audio/2018749540/how-does-cannabis-use- affect-new-zealanders-health
	John Gibb	Otago Daily Times	https://www.odt.co.nz/news/dunedin/campus/ university-of-otago/cannabis-study-puts-health-first
	Dan Satherley and Zac Fleming	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2020/06/cannabis-referendum-study-finds-most-kiwis-have-tried-it-without-negative-effects.html
10 Jun	Mike Hosking	Newstalk ZB	https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/on-air/mike- hosking-breakfast/video/mikes-minute-we-need- transparency-in-referendum-debate/
	Joseph Boden	Spinoff	https://thespinoff.co.nz/politics/10-06-2020/what-40-years-following-thousands-of-nz-people-tells-us-about-cannabis-harm/

12 Jun		TVNZ 1 News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/ complaints-pile-up-following-drug-foundations-vote- YES-cannabis-campaign
16 Jun	Mark Quinlivan	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/06/cannabis-referendum-legalisation-would-be-a-disaster-for-new-zealand-ex-detective.html
17 Jun	Rebecca Reider	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2020/06/opinion-why-medicinal-cannabis-patients-are-desperate-for-a-YES-vote-in-the-referendum.html
18 Jun	Mike Hosking	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/mike-hosking- were-being-played-for-fools-over-the-weed-vote/ RFDAFYVZ46AC2SANNVCL5EZ36M/
22 Jun	Tim McKinnel	E Tangata	https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/cannabis-and-race/
30 Jun	Benedict Collins	TVNZ 1 News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/majority-kiwis-still-against-legalising-cannabis-according-latest-1-news-colmar-brunton-poll
	Marta Rychert and Chris Wilkins	The Conversation	https://theconversation.com/reforming-cannabis- laws-is-a-complex-challenge-but-new-zealands- history-of-drug-reform-holds-important- lessons-141113
1 Jul		TVNZ 1 News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/ government-accuses-big-american-anti-cannabis- group-interfering-in-nz-politics-v1
2 Jul		NewsTalk ZB	https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/on-air/heather-du-plessis-allan-drive/audio/andrew-little-justice-minister-doesnt-want-international-organisations-weighing-in-on-cannabis-referendum/
		TVNZ 1 News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/drug-foundation-told-make-change-advert-backing-YES-vote-in-cannabis-referendum
		Radio NZ News	https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/420281/drug- foundation-complaints-rejected-by-advertising- standards-authority
	Scott Palmer	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/07/ new-survey-shows-nearly-three-quarters-of-m-ori- support-legalising-cannabis.html
		NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/snoop-doggs-message-to-new-zealand-over-cannabis-referendum/5GC2F24IBTVXD4DI22IPRS5U64/
3 Jul		Radio NZ News	https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/420347/say-nope-to-dope-campaign-denies-powerful-us-group-is-interfering
	Mike Hosking	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/mike-hosking-cannabis-debate-blows-government-credibility-sky-high/5OA2G6YFUHW5DG2673BL2TMXOI/
		NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2020/07/a-deep-dive-into-nz-s-relationship-with-cannabis.html
8 Jul	Derek Cheng	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/legal- cannabis-has-potential-to-reduce-harm-but- many-unknowns-pms-chief-science-adviser/ LXOA5ND6RJYWEFXPPEWJGRKMYY/

	Derek Cheng	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/reducing- harm-systemic-racism-and-overseas- comparisons-the-experts-on-legalising-cannabis/ HEHICP75EYKQAQB3JTAMEXDA5Y/
		TVNZ 1 News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/content/tvnz/onenews/ story/2020/07/07/cannibis.html
		Radio NZ News	https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/420695/ legalising-cannabis-may-reduce-biased-enforcement- of-maori-chief-science-advisor
9 Jul	Matt Burrows	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/07/cannabis-referendum-what-is-it-when-is-it-where-each-party-and-the-public-stands.html
	Lana Andelane	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/07/cannabis-referendum-how-legal-regulation-of-cannabis-can-benefit-new-zealand.html
		TVNZ 1 News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/ support-cannabis-referendum-up-but-majority-still- narrow-new-poll
	Joel MacManus	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/122070314/cannabis-referendum-poll-shows-YES-vote-leading-by-5-points
	Joel MacManus	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/cannabis- referendum/122068610/cannabis-policing-worst- waste-of-taxpayer-money-former-pm-helen-clark- says
	Vita Molyneux	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/07/police-hunting-down-casual-cannabis-users-is-worst-waste-of-taxpayer-money-says-former-prime-minister-helen-clark.html
	Derek Cheng	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/cannabis-referendum-marijuana-NOt-so-bad-for-you-wont-turn-your-hair-green/UG54Y4G4AU6ZWTNMFI7PHICUIQ/
	Mike Yardley	NewsTalk ZB	https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/on-air/mike- hosking-breakfast/opinion/mike-yardley-cannabis- uncertainty-is-a-cop-out/
10 Jul		TVNZ 1 News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/content/tvnz/onenews/ story/2020/07/09/political-panel.html
13 Jul	Stuart Jeanne Bramhall	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/ opinion/122086368/the-five-reasons-why-kiwis- should-vote-YES-in-the-cannabis-referendum
	Ryan Osbaldiston	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/ opinion/122082490/cannabis-referendum-think- marijuana-is-harmless-think-again
	Danielle Clent	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/122107639/to-legalise-is-to-normalise-auckland-catholic-schools-say-no-sign-raises-eyebrows
	Lana Andelane	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2020/07/cannabis-referendum-auckland-s-st-paul-s-college-appears-to-encourage-voters-to-say-no-to-legalising-cannabis.html
		NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/to-legalise-is-to- normalise-ponsonby-schools-cannabis-message- raises-eyebrows/7EVTXBDO5W7QTNRGMAIBPV3C5M/

14 Jul		NewsTalk ZB	https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/on-air/heather-du-plessis-allan-drive/audio/chloe-swarbrick-on-whether-the-cannabis-referendum-information-is-subjective/
	Jessica Tyson	TeAo Maori TV	https://www.teaomaori.news/swarbrick-says-cannabis-law-will-benefit-maori
16 Jul	Khylee Quince	NewsRoom	https://www.newsroom.co.nz/cannabis-why-we-dont-need-a-halfway-house
17 Jul	Kevin Dew	Spinoff	https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/16-07-2020/a-YES-vote-will-likely-put-green-fairies-out-of-a-job-and-thats-ok/
	Bronson Perich	TeAo Maori TV	https://www.teaomaori.news/marijuana-companies-could-target-south-auckland-simeon-brown
23 Jul		TVNZ One News	https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/drug-expert-concerned-potency-cost-cannabis-if-legalisation-bill-passes
24 Jul	Joel MacManus	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/cannabis-referendum/122135279/cannabis-referendum-what-are-we-voting-on-in-the-cannabis-legalisation-and-control-referendum
	Joel MacManus	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/cannabis-referendum/122141917/cannabis-referendum-who-is-behind-the-campaigns-fighting-for-your-vote
	Jackson Thomas	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/cannabis-referendum/300053870/cannabis-referendum-cbd-oil-companies-set-up-in-nz-as-potential-gold-rush-looms
	Bronson Perich	TeAo Maori TV	https://www.teaomaori.news/cannabis-rights-are-about-rangatiratangatop-leader
	Joe Boden	Otago Daily Times	https://www.odt.co.nz/opinion/opinion-well-science-informs-policy-advice
27 Jul	Alexa Cook	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/07/cannabis-referendum-why-the-construction-industry-is-worried-weed-will-be-legalised.html
29 Jul	Anuja Nadkarn	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/cannabis-referendum/122186613/cannabis-referendum-could-i-smoke-weed-at-work-and-other-faqs
	Heather du Plessis Allan	Newstalk ZB	https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/on-air/heather-du- plessis-allan-drive/audio/blair-scotland-legalising- cannabis-will-have-little-impact-on-the-workplace/
31 Jul	Madeleine Holden	Spinoff	https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/31-07-2020/think-were-no-longer-criminalising-people-for-using-cannabis-think-again/
3 Aug	Farah Hancock	NewsRoom	https://www.newsroom.co.nz/explainer-cannabis- referendum
	Muriel Newman	Star News	https://www.odt.co.nz/star-news/star-opinion/two-referenda-euthanasia-and-recreational-use-cannabis
	Mary Cannon	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/mary-cannon-cannabis-is-harmful-for-young-adults-and-teens/BP2UOLRJI2DGCTQFNYCHJNBT2Q/
	Nicholas and Anne Nixon	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/cannabis-referendum/122203579/cannabis-referendum-a-few-puffs-of-cannabis-led-our-son-to-drug-addiction

	Jack Tame	NewsTalk ZB	https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/on-air/saturday- morning-with-jack-tame/opinion/jack-tame-why-is- booze-ok-but-cannabis-isnt/
4 Aug	Nina Hindmarsh	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/cannabis-referendum/122247529/cannabis-referendum-how-legalisation-could-change-access-for-medicinal-cannabis-patients
	Kate Hawkesby	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/kate-hawkesby-legalising-cannabis-why-would-we-be-so-dumb/AIU344LIWGWBERONIFKXFRT4RQ/
5 Aug	Alice Neville	Spinoff	https://thespinoff.co.nz/politics/05-08-2020/legalise-cannabis-referendum-questions/
6 Aug	Matt Burrows	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/08/cannabis-referendum-andrew-little-auckland-university-researchers-trade-barbs-over-nz-government-s-unrealistic-voting-material.html
7 Aug	Nina Hindmarsh	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/cannabis-referendum/122197081/cannabis-referendum-how-nzs-exillicit-growers-are-poised-to-transform-the-proposed-legal-market
	Katie Harris	NZ Herald	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/medicinal-cannabis- saved-my-sons-life-tv-presenter-katy-thomas/ CGA3SWMR4OLXLVIHZHS2ORWXVM/
10 Aug	Matt Burrows	NewsHub	https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/medicinal-cannabis- saved-my-sons-life-tv-presenter-katy-thomas/ CGA3SWMR4OLXLVIHZHS2ORWXVM/
		NewsHub Nation	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/08/cannabis-referendum-chloe-swarbrick-and-nick-smith-get-fired-up-over-cannabis.html
	Daisy Hudson	Otago Daily Times	https://www.odt.co.nz/news/decision-2020/debate-legality-polarising
	Cherie Sivignon	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/cannabis- referendum/122387437/cannabis-referendum- justice-minister-andrew-little-rebuffs-offer-of-toke- on-the-street
	Peter Griffin	Stuff	https://www.stuff.co.nz/science/300076434/science-and-the-nz-cannabis-and-euthanasia-referendums
11 Aug	Dan Satherley	NewsHub	https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2020/08/helen-clark-compares-cannabis-prohibition-to-prostitution-ban.html
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