COVERING MASS SHOOTINGS
Journalists' perceptions of coverage and factors influencing attitudes

Nicole Smith Dahmen, Jesse Abdenour, Karen McIntyre, and **Krystal E. Noga-Styron**

*Using data from a national survey of US newspaper journalists (*N = *1318), this study examines attitudes toward news coverage of mass shootings. Following Shoemaker and Reese's hierarchical model, the analysis also considers how individual characteristics, journalistic practices, and organizational factors influence these attitudes. Participants generally agreed that coverage had become routine. Journalists were largely supportive of coverage of perpetrators and were ambivalent about acknowledging a relationship between media coverage and a contagion, or "copycat," effect. A participant's age was generally the strongest predictor of attitudes toward media reporting on mass shootings. Findings also indicate differences in attitude according to job title, role perception, and whether or not a journalist had covered a mass shooting. A majority of respondents appeared to favor traditional, "neutral" approaches to coverage of mass shootings; however, journalists also wanted to see more comprehensive reporting, including coverage of solutions and community resilience.*

KEYWORDS hierarchy of influences; journalism; mass shootings; quantitative; role functions; survey

Introduction

Mass shootings are a particularly American problem. An analysis of 171 countries across the globe found that between 1966 and 2012, a third of all mass shootings took place in the United States (Lankford 2016b). In addition, mass shootings are becoming more frequent in the United States (Cohen, Azrael, and Miller 2014). As such, US journalists are tasked with covering mass shootings on a regular basis; and, indeed, this type of coverage generates a great deal of news media attention (Kissner 2016). Given the rise in mass shootings and the intense media coverage, this research examines the opinions of US news workers regarding media coverage of mass shootings.

Certain journalists and scholars suggest that the formulaic nature of mass shooting coverage is problematic. Even former US President Barack Obama lamented the rote coverage of such tragic events, saying America had become "numb" and that reporting on mass shootings had become "routine" (Obama 2015). According to *Newsweek* reporter Polly Mosendz (2015), "The reporting is routine. It's so routine that we have an entire assembly line in place, complete with prewritten and predictable stories." The journalistic challenge, according to Turkewitz (2016), is in conveying "the magnitude of each tragedy to a nation that has heard this story before." In a study of how the news media cover mass shootings, Muschert and Carr (2006) found that reporters follow a "similar pattern," focusing on the

Journalism Practice, 2017
https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2017.1326832

same themes in the same order during the week after a mass shooting. Routine reporting can make coverage easier for audiences to ignore and forget, and can contribute to "compassion fatigue," which Moeller (1999) defines as a dulled sensitivity to crisis. Under this condition, these stories are no longer disturbing or shocking—they are the norm.

Research also indicates a connection between media coverage, "fame-seeking" perpetrators (Lankford 2016a), and subsequent mass shootings (Follman 2015), leading some journalists to question their role in covering these stories (Gourarie 2016). The widespread news coverage and intense attention given to these acts can produce a "contagion," or copycat effect, much in the same way that a highly publicized suicide can lead to a rash of suicides (Carey 2016). A recent study found that 30 percent of mass killings were possibly inspired by previous mass killings, with sensational and detailed media coverage being a possible factor for contagion (Towers et al. 2015). As a result of research suggesting that some would-be mass killers seek fame through media attention (Lankford 2016a) and the potential for media coverage to create a contagion effect (Carey 2016), there is growing debate regarding the extent to which the perpetrator should be named, pictured, and discussed in news media coverage (McBride 2015; Peters 2015; Tompkins 2014).

These topics raise critical questions for media scholars: How can journalists responsibly cover mass shootings without falling into a mechanical pattern of routinization? And, how can reporters balance the moral imperatives of seeking truth and minimizing harm? (Society of Professional Journalists 2014). The current paper considers one aspect of this critical and timely topic: the opinions of journalists regarding news media coverage of mass shootings. Using the hierarchy of influences framework (Shoemaker and Reese 2014), the study also examines which factors are most influential in predicting journalists' attitudes toward news media coverage of mass shootings, including: individual characteristics, routines and practices, and organizational attributes. Data for this study come from a national survey of more than 1300 US daily newspaper workers.

Mass Shootings, News Coverage, and the Contagion Effect

While there are various definitions of what constitutes a "mass shooting," it is generally accepted that mass shootings occur in public places, are random and seemingly indiscriminate, and result in the death of four or more victims, not including the perpetrator (Follman, Aronsen, and Pan 2016). The often intense media scrutiny accompanying mass shootings (Kissner 2016) could be seen in April 2007 after a gunman killed 32 people on the Virginia Tech campus. Every major news outlet sent crews to the scene, creating what Kellner (2008) referred to as "one of the most highly-saturated media sites of all time." Known as "parachute journalism," estimates indicate that more than 600 reporters descended on Blacksburg, Virginia, bringing nearly five acres of satellite trucks to the scene (Bush 2007).

Despite the volume of coverage, mass shooting reports often follow the same pattern. In June 2015, 49 people were killed when a man opened fire inside an Orlando, Florida nightclub. Afterward, *New York Times* reporter Julie Turkewitz (2016) bemoaned the ritualistic reporting that accompanies such events:

> I've covered four mass shootings in the last eight months. Seventy-five people lost their lives in those massacres, and another 92 were injured … No one wants to spend their year covering a series of massacres. And yet, here we are: the shootings, the reporters'

> questions, the memorials full of fading carnations, all forming a new American ritual, one that is increasingly knitted into our cultural narrative.

Academic research has found evidence of this routine reporting. Muschert and Carr (2006) found that mass shooting coverage peaks between two and four days following each incident, with reporting disappearing from the news agenda within a month. A study of news framing of the 2012 Aurora, Colorado, movie theater shooting that left 12 people dead and 70 people injured found that both national and local newspapers "virtually stopped covering" the incident after 18 days (Holody and Daniel 2017, 86).

Mass shooting coverage characteristics have implications for audiences; the way in which stories are framed can influence how the public thinks about news topics (Entman 1993; McCombs 2004). Examining coverage of three mass shootings, McGinty et al. (2014, 406) found that "dangerous people" (those with severe mental illness) were more likely than "dangerous weapons" (guns) to be cited as a cause. Park, Holody, and Zhang (2012) found that coverage of perpetrators can lead to misinformation and stereotypes. Immediately following several school shootings, the media focused on individuals, community, and society importance, but over time, coverage shifted entirely from the individual level to the societal level (Muschert and Carr 2006). Conversely, research by Holody and Daniel (2017) found that news coverage of the Aurora shooting focused more on individuals than society. Looking at differences between local and national news coverage, Holody and Daniel (2017) showed that local newspapers tended to focus on victims, while national newspapers focused on the perpetrator. Schildkraut and Muschert (2014) argue that media framing of the Sandy Hook school shooting in 2012 that left 26 dead re-shaped the typical narrative: initial coverage dominated by a discourse between "gun control" and "gun ownership," with coverage of the victims being secondary.

Further, the intense media coverage of mass shootings may breed cynicism, which can foster a contagion effect (James 2012). Helfgott's (2008, 385) research suggests that some school shooters have "mimicked or altered their behavior based on media stories of actual or fictional killers." In their study on contagion in mass killings and school shootings, Towers et al. (2015) found evidence that mass shootings happen in clusters and that previous shootings can lead to subsequent acts. In addition, researchers have found that the risk of subsequent shootings rises significantly and remains elevated for about 13 days following a mass shooting that receives national or international news attention (Zarembo 2016). According to Surette's (2015) copycat model, repeated exposure to a crime provides the media consumer with the basic knowledge of how to commit a subsequent crime and possibly the motivation to do so. One of the motives behind committing a copycat act is notoriety (Surette 2015). Zarembo (2016) writes that perpetrators "inhabit the same publicity-obsessed culture as everybody else. Killing offers the prospect of becoming a household name."

Regarding news reporting on mass shootings, Lankford (2016a, 124) suggests that "even when it [news media coverage] is done responsibly, criticizes their [perpetrators'] behavior, and avoids the most salacious details," coverage still has the effect of giving fame-seeking mass killers "exactly what they want." Consequently, the media have been blamed for escalating death tolls (Zarembo 2016). As details emerged about the Orlando shooting, audiences learned that the lone perpetrator stopped to check Facebook for news of the incident during his three-hour rampage, prompting the *Los Angeles Times* to ask, "Are the media complicit in mass shootings?" (Zarembo 2016).

As mass shootings become more prolific, some law enforcement officials, government officials, and journalists are choosing not to name the perpetrator. After the Aurora movie theater shooting, Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper referred to the gunman only as "Suspect A" (Zarembo 2016). During a news conference following the mass shooting at Umpqua Community College in Roseburg, Oregon that left nine dead, Douglas County Sheriff John Hanlin withheld the name of the perpetrator and urged news outlets to do the same (Alteir 2015). Likewise, Federal Bureau of Investigation director James Comey did not use the Orlando perpetrator's name, saying, "Part of what motivates sick people to do this kind of thing is some twisted notion of fame or glory, and I don't want to be part of that for the sake of the victims and their families and so that other twisted minds don't think that this is a path to fame and recognition" (as cited in McEvers 2016). CNN's Anderson Cooper said he would not broadcast the Orlando perpetrator's photograph or name (Zarembo 2016).

In an NPR interview, Zeynep Tufekci, a media and technology scholar (as quoted in McEvers 2016), argued that merely naming or showing a photograph of the perpetrator once is not the issue; the real problem is that news media continuously loop the name, the face, and the manifestos of these perpetrators. Tufekci proposed that the news media should cover mass shootings the same way they cover suicides (McEvers 2016). According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (1994), the following should be avoided in news coverage of suicides: simplistic explanations; repetitive, ongoing, or excessive reporting; sensational coverage; "how-to" descriptions; glorification; and a focus on community expressions of grief. Instead, the CDC (1994) recommends having news coverage focus on help and support available in the community, tips and information about how to identify people who are at risk, and/or information about risk factors. According to Tufekci (as quoted in McEvers 2016), the adoption of these practices when covering mass shootings may help reduce the risk of a contagion effect.

Hierarchy of Influences

A great deal of journalism research has shown that news is not produced in isolation and is therefore shaped by several elements, large and small. Shoemaker and Reese's (2014) hierarchical model points to five levels of influence that can affect the news production process: individual-level factors, professional routines and practices, organizational characteristics, institutions interacting with media entities, and the larger social system. Journalists' perceptions about coverage of mass shootings are situated primarily at the individual level, but the hierarchical model dictates that perceptions can be affected by factors at all five levels (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Thus, this study examines not only those perceptions, but also the ways in which they can be affected by individual characteristics (professional roles and demographics), routines (primary coverage topics, job titles, and experience covering a shooting), and organizational factors (size of news outlet).

The roles that journalists see for themselves are thought of as general indicators of their professional values, the way they approach their jobs, and the content they produce (Cassidy 2005; Willnat and Weaver 2014). Weaver and Wilhoit (1996, xi) assert that "if who American journalists are influences, shapes and biases the news, we should care very much about the current inventory of this species." The "American Journalist" studies from the past five decades (Weaver et al. 2007) determined that across all media, journalists generally fall into one of four professional categories, or role functions: the

Disseminator (values a detached, objective approach), the Interpretive (interprets and analyzes news events), the Adversarial (has a more combative view of institutions), and the Populist Mobilizer (champions the involvement of "ordinary" people and advocates for solutions).

In 2016, McIntyre, Dahmen, and Abdenour extended this body of research by surveying US newspaper journalists about their professional roles, adding five new items to Weaver et al.'s (2007) standard battery of 15 role conceptions. These five new roles measured attitudes toward contextual journalism—socially responsible stories that go beyond the immediacy of everyday news. Factor analysis revealed five role functions unique to the current data-set, four of which were somewhat different from Weaver et al.'s (2007) traditional functions: the Contextualist (contributes to society's well-being while highlighting societal threats and opportunities, acts in a socially responsible way, and strives to accurately portray the world), the Intellectual (values national, international, and intellectual/cultural coverage), the Interpretive/Disseminator (believes in investigating government and analyzing complex problems, and transmitting credible stories to the public quickly), and the Advocate/Entertainer (values setting the political agenda and pointing to solutions while providing entertainment). The fifth function, the Adversarial (takes an adversarial stance toward business and government), was identical to Weaver et al.'s (2007) function of the same name. Further analysis revealed that the Contextualist and Interpretive/Disseminator functions were the most valued among daily print journalists (McIntyre, Dahmen, and Abdenour 2016).

Role functions have been helpful in determining attitudes and perceptions among journalists. For instance, Chan, Pan, and Lee (2004) found greater job satisfaction among Chinese reporters who identified with the Interpretive function, and Pihl-Thingvad (2014) determined that Danish journalists who embraced the Adversarial function were more committed to their jobs. Role perceptions can also predict how journalists view ethical matters relating to their jobs. Beam, Weaver, and Brownlee (2009) ascertained that reporters who identified with the Interpretive function favored more "ethically aggressive" news-gathering tactics such as paying for confidential information and using hidden microphones or cameras. The same study showed that Disseminators were less likely to be in favor of such tactics.

Demographic characteristics, meanwhile, such as age, race, and gender have been shown to affect perceptions, journalistic approach, and even news content (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Gender has been associated with certain role functions (Wu, Weaver, and Johnson 1996) and attitudes about role functions (Cassidy 2008). Compared to males, female journalists have been shown to favor stories that: have typically "soft" news qualities, are more people-oriented, and demonstrate depth and sensitivity (Beam and Di Cicco 2010; Christmas 1997; van Zoonen 1998). Beam (2008) found that older journalists highly valued "hard news" topics such as politics and crime, while younger journalists placed more value on "soft news" topics such as entertainment and community interests. Meanwhile, Knobloch-Westerwick, Appiah, and Alter (2008) showed that a journalist's race can affect the stories he or she chooses to publish or read.

In addition, several studies indicate that a journalist's job title (e.g., editor, columnist) can affect attitudes about news work. Those in management positions, such as editors, have been shown to have different perceptions about their work environment, organizational goals, news values, and job satisfaction, compared to "rank-and-file" journalists (Beam 2006; Gade 2004). News managers and their employees can also differ when it comes to selecting what news to cover and how it should be covered (Berkowitz 1993;

Higgins-Dobney and Sussman 2013; McManus 1994). At the same time, the prescribed routines that come with a primary coverage topic, or "beat," can affect a journalist's perceptions, the reality that he or she sees, and how that reality is portrayed (McCluskey 2008; Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Meyers (1992) concluded that farm reporters' adherence to traditional beat routines caused them to miss important stories, thus affecting the ideological diversity of their newspapers. McManus (1994) and Kaniss (1991) showed that "general assignment" television reporters, who do not have a specific beat, tended to provide less depth and background information than journalists on specific beats.

Organizational traits can also affect news content and play a large part in determining how journalists think about their jobs (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Organizational size has been positively linked to job satisfaction (Demers 1994) and perceived influence within a news organization (Gade 2008). Journalists at larger news outlets are more likely to favor an aggressive watchdog role (Weaver et al. 2007), an activist editorial role (Akhavan-Majid and Boudreau 1995, 864), and are more likely to value "editorial courage" and "editorial independence" when selecting stories (Gladney 1990, 67–68).

Research Questions

This research builds on the preceding theory and literature to understand more fully how news professionals working at US daily newspapers in 2016 view: media coverage of mass shootings, their roles in covering mass shootings, and the ways in which that coverage can be improved. Due to the lack of academic investigation into journalists' attitudes toward mass shootings, research questions are posed in lieu of hypotheses:

RQ1: How do US daily newspaper journalists perceive the current state of news media coverage of mass shootings?

RQ2: How do US daily newspaper journalists perceive news media coverage of the perpetrators of mass shootings?

RQ3: How do US daily newspaper journalists perceive news media coverage of the victims/survivors of mass shootings?

RQ4: How do US daily newspaper journalists think news media coverage of mass shootings can be improved?

RQ5: How do US daily newspaper journalists' job titles and primary coverage topics (beats) relate to attitudes toward news media coverage of mass shootings?

RQ6: Which factors at the individual, routines, and organizational levels are most influential in predicting US daily newspaper journalists' attitudes toward news media coverage of mass shootings?

Method

Data were collected from a multiple-contact survey, as recommended by Dillman, Smyth, and Christian (2009): a questionnaire was emailed, followed by two reminder

emails, each sent one week apart. Associated university Institutional Review Board approval was obtained, and data were collected in early 2016. The study's population of reporters and editors at US daily newspapers was derived from the Editor & Publisher (2015) Data Book. When selecting newspapers, only outlets with a circulation of 10,000 or greater were included because they were likely to have full-time staffs with more news production experience (Molyneux 2014). This yielded 637 (out of 1331) newspapers.

Researchers conducted a manual search of each newspaper's website to locate staff lists, then manually compiled journalists' names, titles, and email addresses. All editors and reporters (with the exception of sports staff) were included in the sample, as well as columnists, photographers, and video staff. Publishers, production managers, Web developers, copy editors, and page designers were excluded because their jobs were not likely to involve newsgathering. Most websites provided the names, titles, and email addresses of their staff; however, many larger newspapers did not.

From the websites, 9297 journalists were identified. Researchers emailed a request for participation to each journalist with a Qualtrics online survey link included. A total of 273 email addresses were invalid, so the final sample consisted of 9024 journalists, of which 1404 responded. Several respondents were eliminated because they spent less than three minutes on the questionnaire, failed to answer a substantial number of questions, failed to give consent, or requested not to participate following survey submission. Most email recipients did not open the email; of the 3495 journalists who opened the survey, 38 percent (1318) returned a completed, valid questionnaire. Thus, the survey achieved an overall 15 percent response rate.

Measures

The questionnaire, developed by the researchers based on relevant literature, measured journalists' attitudes toward mass shooting coverage with questions relating to current practices in news media coverage (Table 1). These items measured agreement using a scale from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 5 = "strongly agree." For the purposes of dimension reduction, 12 items measuring current practices were subjected to a principal components analysis with Varimax rotation, a method useful for examining exploratory concepts that are not believed to be highly correlated (Basilevsky 1994; Brown 2009; Dess and Beard 1984; Kambhatla and Leen 1997). This analysis suggested that the items formed three dimensions. The strongest dimension, "Perpetrator Coverage," included three items measuring respondents' level of agreement with statements that: a photo of a mass shooting perpetrator should be included in stories, the perpetrator should be named, and the perpetrator's statements, photos, videos, and/or manifestos should be included ($\alpha = 0.82$). These three variables were summed and averaged to form a combined variable (mean = 3.82, SD = 0.78). The second-strongest dimension, "Ineffective Media," included six items asking if: the media do a good job of covering mass shootings (reverse-coded), reporters tend to "parachute" in when covering mass shootings, this type of news coverage has become routine, coverage tends to glamorize the perpetrator at the expense of the victims, coverage should be more comprehensive, and coverage tends to be sensational ($\alpha = 0.62$). These six variables were summed and averaged, forming a combined variable (mean = 3.24, SD = 0.53). The third dimension from factor analysis, "Victim/Survivor Coverage," included three items asking whether news media should: tell stories about the recovery of mass shooting survivors, cover a community's

TABLE 1
Survey items measuring journalists' agreement with statements on mass shooting coverage

	Mean	SD
Covering mass shootings		
Generally, the news media do a good job of covering mass shootings.	3.37	0.85
News media coverage of mass shootings is typically sensational.	3.17	1.03
Reporters tend to "parachute" in when they cover mass shootings.	3.92	0.72
News media coverage of mass shootings has become routine.	3.59	0.96
The manner in which the news media cover mass shootings is an ethical issue.	3.91	0.87
News media coverage of mass shootings should be more comprehensive.	3.55	0.86
Covering perpetrators		
There is a connection between news coverage of mass shootings and copycat acts.	3.04	0.89
News media coverage of mass shootings tends to glamorize the perpetrator at the expense of the victims.	2.56	1.03
The alleged shooter should be named in stories about mass shootings.	4.09	0.86
A photo of the alleged shooter should be included in stories about mass shootings.	3.93	0.91
Statements, photos, videos, and/or manifestos created by the alleged shooter should be published in the news media.	3.44	0.96
Covering victims and survivors		
News media should cover community resilience in the aftermath of a mass shooting.	3.95	0.68
The news media should tell stories about the recovery of the survivors of mass shootings.	4.23	0.61
The news media should cover the funerals of the victims of mass shootings.	3.55	0.94

Mean values represent a five-point scale ranging from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 5 = "strongly agree."

resilience after a mass shooting, and cover funerals for victims of mass shootings ($\alpha = 0.56$). These three variables were summed and averaged, forming a combined variable (mean = 3.91, SD = 0.55). The aforementioned 1–5 agreement scale was also used to measure journalists' belief in the connection between coverage of mass shootings and copycat acts (the "contagion" effect), and the belief that coverage of mass shootings is an ethical issue.

In addition, respondents were asked if any of the following could improve mass shooting news coverage: covering stories about solutions, covering stories about survivors, and continuing to cover mass shootings for a longer time period (not just immediately after the event). Journalists were also asked if they had experience covering a mass shooting. The survey concluded with demographic and job information, including age, race, gender, education level, job title, and primary coverage topic (beat). For further analyses, job title responses were condensed into a five-category variable (reporter/writer, editor, photographer/video, columnist, or social media/community engagement) and a dummy variable (editor or non-editor). Responses to the primary topic question were condensed into a four-category variable, including hard news (breaking news, metro, politics, education, crime/courts, or economy/business), soft news (health, technology, features/lifestyle, entertainment, sports, community), investigative/watchdog, and general assignment. Race (minority or non-minority), gender (female or non-female), education (bachelor's degree or higher or no bachelor's degree), and experience covering a shooting (yes or no) were converted into dummy variables. Organizational size was operationalized as newspaper circulation, which is commonly used to measure the size of print outlets (see, e.g., Gade 2008; Gladney 1990). Using an ordinal scale, respondents were asked to indicate whether their

newspapers' circulations were "below 10,000," "10,001–25,000," "25,001–50,000," "50,001–100,000," "100,001–500,000," "500,001–1,000,000," or "more than 1,000,000."

The aforementioned factor analysis of 20 role items produced five role functions: the Contextualist (mean = 4.46, SD = 0.52), Interpretive/Disseminator (mean = 4.54, SD = 0.45), Intellectual (mean = 4.04, SD = 0.63), Adversarial (mean = 2.74, SD = 0.86), and Advocate/Entertainer (mean = 3.43; SD = 0.61). Items defining each function were summed and averaged to form role function variables. Higher means indicated greater support of the function (for more information on this process, see McIntyre, Dahmen, and Abdenour 2016).

Most survey items contained minimal missing data (less than 5 percent). For variables with greater than 5 percent missing data, independent sample *t*-tests suggested that data were missing at random (Tabachnick and Fidell 2013). Therefore, linear interpolation was used as an appropriate method for replacing missing data.

Findings

Survey participants were largely middle aged (mean = 43.74, SD = 14.25), educated (more than 90 percent had a bachelor's or graduate degree), male (60 percent), and white (89.4 percent). These demographics were proportionately similar to that of daily newspaper journalists in Willnat and Weaver's (2014) "American Journalist" survey. The current sample largely consisted of experienced news workers, having worked in the business for an average of 20.38 years (SD = 13.28). Three-fourths of respondents were either reporters/writers (49.8 percent) or editors (25.6 percent). Another 14.5 percent were photographers or videographers. The remaining participants worked as columnists (2.4 percent) or in digital/social media and community engagement (6.8 percent); less than 1 percent did not indicate a job title. About half (50.5 percent) of respondents reported working at news organizations with circulations between 10,000 and 50,000, 18.7 percent reported between 50,001 and 100,000, and 24.7 percent reported circulations greater than 100,000. The remaining 6.1 percent either estimated their circulations to be below 10,000 (likely an incorrect estimate because only newspapers listed with circulations of 10,000 or more were included in the sample) or said they were not sure of their company's circulation figures. More than half of journalists (50.5 percent) worked on hard news beats; 28.8 percent were on soft news beats. Investigative/watchdog reporters made up 10.9 percent of the sample, and 6.1 percent were general assignment journalists. The remaining respondents (3.6 percent) did not indicate a beat.

RQ1 asked about journalists' perceptions of the current state of mass shooting coverage; Table 1 shows that respondents were slightly inclined to agree that the media do a "good job" of covering mass shootings (mean = 3.37, SD = 0.85), but this was not a strong sentiment. Journalists, by a slight margin, agreed that reporting of mass shootings is "sensational" (mean = 3.17, SD = 1.03); they more strongly agreed that journalists "parachute" in (mean = 3.92, SD = 0.72) and that coverage has become routine (mean = 3.59, SD = 0.96). Respondents largely agreed that the manner in which the news media cover mass shootings is an ethical issue (mean = 3.91, SD = 0.87) and that coverage should be more comprehensive (mean = 3.55, SD = 0.86).

RQ2 asked what journalists thought about covering mass shooting perpetrators. Seen in Table 1, participants were, for the most part, ambivalent about a connection between news media coverage of mass shootings and the contagion effect (mean = 3.04, SD =

0.89). They also moderately disagreed that news media coverage of mass shootings tends to glamorize the perpetrator at the expense of the victims (mean = 2.56, SD = 1.03). Participants were strongly supportive of naming the perpetrator (mean = 4.09, SD = 0.86) and including the perpetrator's photo (mean = 3.93, SD = 0.91). Journalists were more tepid about the perpetrator's statements, videos, and/or manifestos, but still leaned toward agreeing that they should be published (mean = 3.44, SD = 0.96).

RQ3 asked about respondents' attitudes toward coverage of victims and survivors. Journalists strongly supported stories addressing community resilience in the aftermath of mass shootings (mean = 3.95, SD = 0.68) and the recovery of survivors (mean = 4.23, SD = 0.61). For the most part, participants supported covering the funerals of victims (mean = 3.55, SD = 0.94), a typical aspect of reporting on mass shootings (Schildkraut 2014).

RQ4 asked how journalists thought mass shooting coverage could be improved. A strong majority agreed coverage could be improved by: continuing to report long after the incident (79 percent), reporting on potential solutions (77 percent), and covering stories about survivors (72 percent).

RQ5 asked how journalists' job titles and beats related to perceptions of coverage. Table 2 shows results from several one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) of attitudes toward reporting on mass shootings, with journalists grouped by job title. For the dependent variable Ineffective Media (indicators of dissatisfaction with the news media's coverage of mass shootings), a Least Significant Difference (LSD) *post-hoc* test showed that editors had a significantly more positive view of mass shooting coverage than did reporters and photographers.

Regarding perpetrator coverage, *post-hoc* tests showed that editors were significantly more supportive of this type of coverage than reporters, photographers, and social media/community engagement practitioners; additionally, photographers were less supportive of covering the perpetrator than were columnists and reporters (Table 2). A connection between coverage of mass shootings and copycat acts was similarly divisive. Columnists indicated the strongest acknowledgement of a contagion effect—significantly stronger than editors, photographers, and social/engagement workers. Similarly, reporters acknowledged a contagion effect significantly more than editors, photographers, and social/engagement workers. There were no significant differences between job titles regarding attitudes toward victim/survivor coverage and mass shooting coverage as an ethical issue.

Table 3 shows the results from ANOVAs for the same five dependent variables measuring attitudes toward mass shooting coverage, this time with journalists grouped by primary topic. Participants were sharply divided as to the current state of mass shooting coverage (Ineffective Media); LSD *post-hoc* tests showed that those on soft news beats were significantly more positive about coverage than those on hard news beats and general assignment reporters. Additionally, investigative/watchdog reporters were significantly more supportive of the current state of mass shooting coverage compared to general assignment reporters.

Post-hoc tests showed clear differences between hard news and soft news reporters with respect to both a contagion effect and the question of whether mass shooting coverage is an ethical issue. In both cases, those covering hard news put significantly more stock in these ideas than soft news reporters (Table 3). On the topic of coverage being an ethical issue, general assignment reporters had significantly more supportive attitudes than soft news reporters. There were no significant differences between beats when considering attitudes toward coverage of perpetrators or victims/survivors.

TABLE 2
One-way analyses of variance of journalists' perceptions by job title

	Reporter/writer	Editor	Photographer/videographer	Columnist	Social media/community engagement	df	*F*
Ineffective Media**	3.28 (0.54)	3.15 (0.50)	3.29 (0.49)	3.25 (0.58)	3.18 (0.59)	[4, 1302]	4.14
Perpetrator Coverage***	3.79 (0.80)	3.95 (0.72)	3.65 (0.79)	4.00 (0.63)	3.76 (0.78)	[4, 1302]	5.35
Victim/Survivor Coverage	3.89 (0.56)	3.97 (0.53)	3.90 (0.51)	3.95 (0.54)	3.90 (0.59)	[4, 1301]	1.28
Contagion Effect**	3.10 (0.85)	2.97 (0.88)	2.95 (0.94)	3.32 (0.91)	2.87 (0.97)	[4, 1302]	3.46
Ethical Issue	3.93 (0.85)	3.93 (0.81)	3.76 (0.97)	3.97 (0.75)	3.98 (0.92)	[4, 1302]	1.69

Standard deviations are given in parentheses. Degrees of freedom: [between groups, within groups].
Differences between means significant at $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

TABLE 3
One-way analyses of variance of journalists' perceptions by primary news topic

	Hard news	Investigative/ watchdog	Soft news	General assignment	df	*F*
Ineffective Media***	3.28 (0.54)	3.20 (0.45)	3.16 (0.53)	3.36 (0.54)	[3, 1267]	5.99
Perpetrator Coverage	3.76 (0.78)	3.85 (0.77)	3.88 (0.75)	3.80 (0.99)	[3, 1267]	1.98
Victim/Survivor Coverage	3.90 (0.54)	3.89 (0.58)	3.91 (0.54)	3.97 (0.62)	[3, 1267]	0.43
Contagion Effect**	3.11 (0.85)	3.03 (0.93)	2.92 (0.90)	2.96 (0.94)	[3, 1267]	4.01
Ethical Issue**	3.98 (0.84)	3.83 (0.85)	3.79 (0.90)	4.06 (0.83)	[3, 1267]	5.37

Standard deviations are given in parentheses. Degrees of freedom: [between groups, within groups]. Differences between means significant at $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

RQ6 addressed the predictive power of factors at the individual, routines, and organizational levels in influencing journalists' attitudes toward coverage of mass shootings. Hierarchical multiple regressions were used to determine journalists' attitudes toward five attitudinal variables: Ineffective Media, Perpetrator Coverage, Victim/Survivor Coverage, Contagion Effect, and Ethical Issue. For each analysis, the first block of predictors was composed of six demographic/background variables: age, race (1 = minority), education (1 = bachelor's degree or higher), gender (1 = female), job title (1 = editor), and covered shooting (1 = experience covering a mass shooting). The five role functions (Contextualist, Intellectual, Interpretive/Disseminator, Adversarial, and Advocate/Entertainer) comprised the second block of predictors. The third block contained one organizational-level variable: circulation size. Secondary analyses showed little multicollinearity among predictors; the lowest tolerance score for any of the predictors was 0.66, and the highest Variance Inflation Factor score was 1.52. Standardized partial coefficients (beta values—β) for each final regression model are listed in Table 4.

As a whole, journalists' demographic/background characteristics had the most predictive power in the regressions, accounting for 7.5 percent of the variance in attitudes toward Ineffective Media and 3.8 percent of the variance in attitudes toward Perpetrator Coverage (Table 4). However, the role functions to which journalists subscribed held the most explanatory power (4.5 percent) for attitudes toward Victim/Survivor Coverage and mass shooting coverage as an Ethical Issue (3.4 percent).

Regarding perceived dissatisfaction with news coverage of mass shootings (Ineffective Media), age was the strongest predictor: older journalists thought media were more effective ($\beta = -0.238$). Belonging to a racial minority group had the opposite effect: nonwhite respondents held a significantly lower opinion of the way in which reporters cover mass shootings ($\beta = 0.057$). Circulation size had the second-strongest effect: working for a larger outlet predicted a more positive perception of mass shooting coverage ($\beta = -0.104$).

Age had the most powerful effect on attitudes toward Perpetrator Coverage—older journalists strongly supported coverage of perpetrators ($\beta = 0.136$). Subscribing to the Interpretive/Disseminator function predicted a favorable attitude toward Perpetrator Coverage ($\beta = 0.131$), as did having experience covering a mass shooting ($\beta = 0.068$).

TABLE 4
Multiple hierarchical regressions predicting newspaper journalists' attitudes toward mass shooting coverage issues

	Ineffective Media	Perpetrator Coverage	Victim/ Survivor Coverage	Contagion Effect	Ethical Issue
Demographics/background					
Age	−0.238***	0.136***	−0.024	0.035	−0.130***
Race (1 = minority)	0.057*	0.013	0.007	−0.003	−0.017
Gender (1 = female)	−0.033	−0.046	0.043	0.025	−0.033
Education (1 = bachelor's degree or higher)	−0.050	−0.014	−0.020	−0.027	0.000
Job title (1 = editor)	−0.033	0.055	0.040	−0.043	0.035
Covered shooting (1 = yes)	0.000	0.068*	0.095**	−0.034	0.036
R^2	(0.075)	(0.038)	(0.020)	(0.005)	(0.019)
Role functions					
Contextualist	0.051	−0.004	0.124***	0.005	0.127***
Intellectual	0.028	0.006	0.013	0.048	0.057
Interpretive/Disseminator	−0.004	0.131***	0.043	−0.030	−0.001
Adversarial	0.035	0.022	−0.003	−0.007	0.053
Advocate/Entertainer	−0.044	−0.037	0.101**	0.012	0.039
R^2	(0.005)	(0.017)	(0.045)	(0.003)	(0.034)
Organizational factors					
Newspaper circulation	−0.104***	−0.004	0.043	−0.009	−0.044
R^2	(0.010)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.002)
Cumulative R^2	(0.090)	(0.055)	(0.067)	(0.008)	(0.055)

Values are standardized partial regression coefficients (β) for the final model with explained variance given in parentheses.
*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$.

Regarding Victim/Survivor Coverage, being a Contextualist had the strongest effect on perceptions. The Contextualist ($\beta = 0.124$) and Advocate/Entertainer ($\beta = 0.101$) functions were significantly predictive of belief in covering victims and survivors. Additionally, experience covering a mass shooting was a positive predictor of Victim/Survivor Coverage support ($\beta = 0.095$).

There were no significant effects for individual predictors of attitudes toward a Contagion Effect, but two significant relationships emerged in the regression predicting the Ethical Issue concept. Age had the largest effect on this perception, followed closely by the Contextualist function. Being a younger journalist predicted stronger belief in the idea of mass shooting coverage being an ethical issue ($\beta = -0.130$). Contextualists could also be expected to believe more strongly in this idea ($\beta = 0.127$).

Discussion and Conclusion

This research included the first known comprehensive survey examining how US journalists think about coverage of mass shootings and how they think coverage can be improved. Journalists in the study moderately agreed that coverage of mass shootings has become routine, but they also somewhat agreed that the media do a "good job" of covering mass shootings. Participants showed moderate support for more comprehensive

coverage, with most agreeing that the manner in which mass shootings are covered is an ethical issue. Despite research showing a connection between news media coverage and a contagion effect (Carey 2016; Towers et al. 2015), journalists were largely ambivalent about such a connection. Participants were also supportive of the way in which perpetrators of mass shootings are typically covered, such as the inclusion of a photo of the perpetrator and publishing the perpetrator's statements, videos, and/or manifestos—with strongest support for naming the perpetrator. Journalists expressed strong support for stories about the recovery of survivors and community resilience in the aftermath of shootings. While there was a strong belief that coverage could be improved through long-term reporting on survivors and potential solutions, the data as a whole do not suggest that journalists agreed with Zarembo's (2016) assertion that reporters should focus on victims and not perpetrators.

In accounting for variation in attitudes, journalists' job titles and beats appeared influential. Particularly interesting were the differences in outlook between those whose jobs might require covering mass shootings on scene and those whose jobs likely would not. Editors, who probably do not often to go to scenes where mass shootings occur, were more satisfied with the current state of mass shooting coverage than both reporters and photographers. It is not necessarily surprising that high-ranking editors were hesitant to criticize their own decisions. In addition, editors were also more supportive of perpetrator coverage than all other types of news workers. Photographers, meanwhile, were less supportive of covering a perpetrator than were columnists and reporters.

Interestingly, results showed that hard news and general assignment reporters—who are likely the ones covering mass shootings—were less likely to believe that the media cover these events effectively, when compared to soft news reporters—who generally do not cover mass shootings. Hard news reporters more strongly acknowledged the contagion effect and were more likely to think that this kind of coverage is an ethical issue, compared to soft news reporters. Columnists showed greater acknowledgement of contagion than journalists with most other job titles, perhaps because columnists cover mass shootings (and gun violence in general) with a more broad-based approach beyond the basic facts of the breaking news. In addition, general assignment reporters were more pessimistic about the media's performance compared to investigative journalists—who likely do not cover mass shootings as breaking news—and were more supportive of the idea that reporting on mass shootings is an ethical issue.

However, regression results showed that direct exposure to mass shootings did not predict a more negative attitude toward the current state of media coverage of mass shootings. In fact, experience covering a mass shooting predicted stronger support for coverage of perpetrators and victims/survivors. Results suggest a complex relationship between previous experience covering a mass shooting and perceptions of this type of reporting. Thus, a valuable direction for future research would be an examination of journalists who have witnessed these events up-close.

Age proved to be the most powerful predictor of attitudes toward three of the five coverage concepts—more powerful than job title, role function, or organizational size. Among the three blocks of predictive factors, demographic and background variables explained the most overall variance in attitudes. Older journalists held a more favorable opinion of the state of mass shooting coverage, more strongly supported coverage of perpetrators, and were less receptive to the idea that mass shooting coverage is an ethical issue. Non-white respondents were more likely to be critical of mass shooting coverage.

Considering organizational attributes, journalists at larger newspapers generally thought that the media were doing a "good job" covering mass shootings. Perhaps this is because conflict reporting is a more accepted practice in larger cities, where these journalists tend to live (Berkowitz 2007; Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien 1980). Additionally, Jeffres et al. (2011) showed that citizens in larger cities (of which journalists at large newspapers are often a part) are more reliant on news media, and thus might have more faith in news reporting overall. Interestingly, job role (editor or non-editor) did not significantly predict perceptions, once role functions and organizational size were accounted for. This suggests that when it comes to coverage of highly charged topics like mass shootings, the way in which journalists envision their roles can be more influential than job description.

Indeed, role functions were the most powerful predictors of two ideas: that mass shooting victims and survivors should be covered and that mass shooting coverage is an ethical issue. Specifically, journalists who subscribed to Contextualist values strongly believed that coverage of mass shootings was an ethical issue and strongly supported coverage of victims and survivors. The fact that Contextualists viewed mass shooting coverage as an ethical issue should be expected, given their focus on social responsibility and their commitment to responsible reporting (these journalists look to contribute to society's well-being and accurately portray the world, while acting in a socially responsible way). Contextual reporters also strive to go beyond "just the facts" to report a deeper, more complete story, which is consistent with their support of coverage of victims and survivors—stories that often come long after breaking news. The results of this research suggest that Contextualists play an important role in thinking about how vital societal issues should be covered; future research into their perceptions and journalistic approach is warranted.

Survey findings also revealed that subscribing to Interpretive/Disseminator values indicated a favorable attitude toward covering mass shooting perpetrators. Meanwhile, Advocate/Entertainers were more supportive of victim coverage, perhaps adhering to their advocacy role in championing victims (these journalists look for solutions to society's problems and strive to set the political agenda).

The study's findings contribute to literature on the hierarchical model (Shoemaker and Reese 2014) by indicating that individual-level influences, including age and journalistic role, have a stronger effect on how journalists approach mass shooting coverage than routines- or organizational-level influences. This result somewhat contradicts previous research suggesting that "larger" constraints are often more influential on news processes than those at the individual level (Shoemaker and Reese 2014; Weaver et al. 2007). However, it should be noted that the way journalists think they *ought* to do their work does not always indicate how they *actually* do their work, and larger factors may more heavily influence news content (Holton, Lewis, and Coddington 2016; Tandoc, Hellmueller, and Vos 2013). Additionally, several potentially significant organizational and institutional influences, such as ownership structure and intermedia competition, were beyond the scope of this study and could be a worthwhile direction for future research in this area.

Despite its contributions, this study has limitations. The sample was not random, and journalists chose whether to participate. Additionally, respondents' perceptions include possible bias, which is inherent in all survey measurement. Given the sample participants, it is expected that respondents would have a generally "pro-media" slant: a tendency to express more agreement towards media-positive statements and more disagreement towards media-critical statements. In addition, some of the biggest newspapers (e.g.,

USA Today and *The New York Times*) were not included because they did not provide staff contacts on their websites. It should also be noted that there is overlap between journalistic roles, and most news workers embrace more than one function (Weaver et al. 2007). Finally, the reliability measurements of two summed variables (Ineffective Media, Victim/Survivor Coverage) were below the traditional standard of $\alpha = 0.70$ (Nunnally 1978), but factor analysis suggested that these were two distinct conceptual dimensions; thus, they were used.

The journalists surveyed in this study generally supported coverage on a societal level that focused on community resilience in the aftermath of mass shootings. While literature indicates that, over time, reporting shifts from individual victims to societal implications (Muschert and Carr 2006), our survey respondents supported stories about the recovery of survivors as a way to improve coverage. Research has shown that most mass shooting coverage occurs in the immediate aftermath of the incident (McGinty et al. 2014) and then falls off the media agenda within a month (Holody and Daniel 2017; Muschert and Carr 2006). However, an overwhelming majority of participants in our study believed that coverage should continue for a longer period after the event takes place. In particular, journalists thought that coverage of mass shootings could be improved if it included potential solutions to the problem.

On the other hand, this study showed that traditional libertarian journalistic ideas are still prevalent regarding mass shooting coverage: respondents generally supported a free flow of information with the implication that citizens will use that information to make responsible choices (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm 1956). Most journalists were in favor of perpetrator coverage and did not believe it glamorized suspected perpetrators. They also largely did not acknowledge a connection between coverage and a contagion effect, which is not necessarily surprising. Most news workers likely do not want to believe that their work contributes to further carnage and suffering, despite evidence showing that fame-seeking mass shooters and a contagion effect do, in fact, exist (Carey 2016; Follman 2015; Lankford 2016a; Towers et al. 2015). Accordingly, journalists' perceptions of their own coverage may ultimately be less important than the actual effects of that coverage.

The contradictions in this study indicate tension in the profession, between those who favor a more progressive approach and those who hold more traditional journalistic ideas. Though participants in this study appeared to support a more contextual and solutions-based approach to their work, many of those same journalists seemed to be skeptical as to how their stories might affect audiences. Further, those with more power (editors) were generally satisfied with the way mass shootings are currently covered, compared to "rank-and-file" journalists. Therefore, findings indicate that any change from the routine cycle of formulaic mass shooting coverage may be slow in coming.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

REFERENCES

Akhavan-Majid, Roya, and Timothy Boudreau. 1995. "Chain Ownership, Organizational Size, and Editorial Role Perceptions." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 72 (4): 863–873.

Alteir, Nuran. 2015. "'You Will Never Hear Me Say His Name,' Sheriff Says of Roseburg School Shooter." *The Oregonian*, October 1. http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2015/10/douglas_county_sheriff_you_wil.html.

Basilevsky, Alexander. 1994. *Statistical Factor Analysis and Related Methods Theory and Applications*. New York: Wiley. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/book/10.1002/9780470316894.

Beam, Randal A. 2006. "Organizational Goals and Priorities and the Job Satisfaction of US. Journalists." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 83 (1): 169–185.

Beam, Randal A. 2008. "The Social Characteristics of U.S. Journalists and Their "Best Work"." *Journalism Practice* 2 (1): 1–14.

Beam, Randal A., and Damon T. Di Cicco. 2010. "When Women Run the Newsroom: Management Change, Gender, and the News." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 87 (2): 393–411.

Beam, Randal A., David H. Weaver, and Bonnie J. Brownlee. 2009. "Changes in Professionalism of U.S. Journalists in the Turbulent Twenty-First Century." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 86 (2): 277–298.

Berkowitz, Dan. 1993. "Work Roles and News Selection in Local TV: Examining the Business-Journalism Dialectic." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 37 (1): 67–81.

Berkowitz, Dan. 2007. "Professional Views, Community News: Investigative Reporting in Small US Dailies." *Journalism* 8 (5): 551–558. http://doi.org/10.1177/1464884907081051.

Brown, James D. 2009. "Choosing the Right Type of Rotation in PCA and EFA." *Shiken: JALT Testing & Evaluation SIG Newsletter* 13 (3): 20–25.

Bush, Michael. 2007. "Virginia Tech Creates Comms Team in Wake of Tragedy." *PR Week*, April 23. http://www.prweek.com/article/1257926/virginia-tech-creates-comms-team-wake-tragedy.

Carey, Benedict. 2016. "Mass Killings May Have Created Contagion, Feeding on Itself." *The New York Times*, July 26. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/27/science/mass-killings-contagion-copycat.html?smid=tw-nytimesscience&smtyp=cur&_r=0.

Cassidy, William P. 2005. "Variations on a Theme: The Professional Role Conceptions of Print and Online Newspaper Journalists." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 82 (2): 264–280.

Cassidy, William P. 2008. "Traditional in Different Degrees: The Professional Role Conceptions of Male and Female Newspaper Journalists." *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 16 (2): 105–117.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 1994. *Suicide Contagion and the Reporting of Suicide: Recommendations From a National Workshop*. Atlanta: U.S. Government.

Chan, Joseph Man, Zhongdang Pan, and Francis L. F. Lee. 2004. "Professional Aspirations and Job Satisfaction: Chinese Journalists at a Time of Change in the Media." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 81 (2): 254–273.

Christmas, Linda. 1997. *Chaps of Both Sexes? Women Decision-Makers in Newspapers: Do They Make a Difference?* London: BT Forum/Women in Journalism.

Cohen, Amy, Deborah Azrael, and Matthew Miller. 2014. "Rate of Mass Shootings Has Tripled Since 2011, Harvard Research Shows." *Mother Jones*, October 15. http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2014/10/mass-shootings-increasing-harvard-research.

Demers, David Pearce. 1994. "Effect of Organizational Size on Job Satisfaction of Top Editors at U.S. Dailies." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 71 (4): 914–925.

Dess, Gregory G., and Donald W. Beard. 1984. "Dimensions of Organizational Task Environments." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 29 (1): 52–73.

Dillman, Don A., Jolene D. Smyth, and Leah Melani Christian. 2009. *Internet, Mail, and Mixed-Mode Surveys: The Tailored Design Method*. 3rd ed. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons.

Editor & Publisher. 2015. *Newspaper Data Book*. Irvine, CA: Duncan McIntosh Company.

Entman, Robert M. 1993. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43 (4): 51–58.

Follman, Mark. 2015. "Inside the Race to Stop the Next Mass Shooter: A Growing Legion of Cops, Psychologists, and Community Leaders are Working Together to Stem the Bloodshed." *Mother Jones*. http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2015/09/mass-shootings-threat-assessment-shooter-fbi-columbine.

Follman, Mark, Gavin Aronsen, and Deanna Pan. 2016. "A Guide to Mass Shootings in America." *Mother Jones*, September 24. http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2012/07/mass-shootings-map.

Gade, Peter J. 2004. "Newspapers and Organizational Development: Management and Journalist Perceptions of Newsroom Cultural Change." *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 6 (1): 3–55.

Gade, Peter J. 2008. "Journalism Guardians in a Time of Great Change: Newspaper Editors' Perceived Influence in Integrated News Organizations." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 85 (2): 371–392.

Gladney, George A. 1990. "Newspaper Excellence: How Editors of Small & Large Papers Judge Quality." *Newspaper Research Journal* 11 (2): 58–72.

Gourarie, Chava. 2016. "The Fundamental Dilemma of Covering the Orlando Shooting." *Columbia Journalism Review*, June 14. http://www.cjr.org/criticism/unanswered_questions.php?utm_content=buffer046b7&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer.

Helfgott, Jacqueline B. (2008). *Criminal Behavior: Theories, Typologies, and Criminal Justice*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Higgins-Dobney, Carey L., and Gerald Sussman. 2013. "The Growth of TV News, The Demise of the Journalism Profession." *Media, Culture & Society* 35 (7): 847–863.

Holody, Kyle J., and Emory S. Daniel. 2017. "Attributes and Frames of the Aurora Shootings: National and Local News Coverage Differences." *Journalism Practice* 11 (1): 80–100.

Holton, Avery E., Seth C. Lewis, and Mark Coddington. 2016. "Interacting with Audiences: Journalistic Role Conceptions, Reciprocity, and Perceptions About Participation." *Journalism Studies* 17 (7): 849–859. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2016.1165139.

James, Bill. 2012. *Popular Crime: Reflections on the Celebration of Violence*. New York: Scrinber.

Jeffres, Leo, Edward Horowitz, Cheryl C. Bracken, Guowei Jian, Kimberly A. Neuendorf, and Sukki Yoon. 2011. "Structural Pluralism and the Community Context: How and When Does the Environment Matter?" *Mass Communication & Society* 14 (6): 787–815.

Kambhatla, Nandakishore, and Todd K. Leen. 1997. "Dimension Reduction by Local Principal Component Analysis." *Neural Computation* 9 (7): 1493–1516.

Kaniss, Phyllis. 1991. *Making Local News*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kellner, Douglas. 2008. "Media Spectacle and the "Massacre at Virginia Tech'." In *There is a Gunman on Campus: Tragedy and Terror at Virginia Tech*, edited by Ben Agger and Timothy W. Luke, 29–54. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Kissner, Jason. 2016. "Are Active Shootings Temporally Contagious? An Empirical Assessment." *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology* 31 (1): 48–58.

Knobloch-Westerwick, Silvia, Osei Appiah, and Scott Alter. 2008. "News Selection Patterns as a Function of Race: The Discerning Minority and the Indiscriminating Majority." *Media Psychology* 11 (3): 400–417.

Lankford, Adam. 2016a. "Fame-Seeking Rampage Shooters: Initial Findings and Empirical Predictions." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 27: 122–129.

Lankford, Adam. 2016b. "Public Mass Shooters and Firearms: A Cross-National Study of 171 Countries." *Violence and Victims* 31 (2): 187–199.

McBride, Kelly. 2015. "Why It's Important to Name the Shooter." *Poynter Institute*, October 2. http://www.poynter.org/news/mediawire/376494/why-its-important-to-name-the-shooter/.

McCluskey, Michael. 2008. "Reporter Beat and Content Differences in Environmental Stories." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 85 (1): 83–98.

McCombs, Maxwell. 2004. *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

McEvers, Kelly. 2016. "Don't Say Their Name: Media Struggles with Reporting on Orlando Gunman." *NPR*, June 15. http://www.npr.org/2016/06/15/482206165/dont-say-their-name-media-struggles-with-reporting-on-orlando-gunman.

McGinty, Emma E., Daniel W. Webster, Marian Jarlenski, and Colleen L. Barry. 2014. "News Media Framing of Serious Mental Illness and Gun Violence in the United States, 1997–2012." *American Journal of Public Health* 104 (3), 406–413.

McIntyre, Karen, Nicole Smith Dahmen, and Jesse Abdenour. 2016. "The Contextualist Function: U.S. Newspaper Journalists Value Social Responsibility." *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*. doi:10.1177/1464884916683553.

McManus, John H. 1994. *Market-Driven Journalism: Let the Citizen Beware?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Meyers, Marian. 1992. "Reporters and Beats: The Making of Oppositional News." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 9 (1): 75–90.

Moeller, Susan D. 1999. *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War and Death*. New York: Routledge.

Molyneux, Logan. 2014. "Reporters' Smartphone Use Improves Quality of Work." *Newspaper Research Journal* 35 (4): 83–97.

Mosendz, Polly. 2015. "What It's Like to Report on Mass Shootings Routinely." *Medium*, October 1. https://medium.com/keep-learning-keep-growing/what-it-s-like-to-report-on-mass-shootings-routinely-b8d173610839.

Muschert, Glenn W., and Dawn Carr. 2006. "Media Salience and Frame Changing Across Events: Coverage of Nine School Shootings, 1997–2001." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 83 (4): 747–766.

Nunnally, Jum. 1978. *Psychometric Theory*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Obama, Barack. 2015. "Statement by the President on the Shootings at Umpqua Community College, Roseburg, Oregon." https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/10/01/statement-president-shootings-umpqua-community-college-roseburg-oregon.

Park, Sung-Yeon, Kyle J. Holody, and Xiaoqun Zhang. 2012. "Race in Media Coverage of School Shootings: A Parallel Application of Framing Theory and Attribute Agenda Setting." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 89 (3): 475–494.

Peters, Justin. 2015. "It Doesn't Matter "What He Wanted.' Chris Harper Mercer Murdered 9 People and We Need to Name Him." *Slate*, December 2. http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/

2015/10/02/chris_harper_mercer_murdered_10_people_and_we_need_to_name_him_no_matter.html.

Pihl-Thingvad, Signe. 2014. "Professional Ideals and Daily Practice in Journalism." *Journalism* 16 (3): 392–411.

Schildkraut, Jaclyn. 2014. "Mass Murder and the Mass Media: An Examination of the Media Discourse on U.S. Rampage Shootings 2000–2012." PhD diss., Texas State University.

Schildkraut, Jaclyn, and Glenn W. Muschert. 2014. "Media Salience and the Framing of Mass Murder in Schools: A Comparison of the Columbine and Sandy Hook Massacres." *Homicide Studies* 18 (1): 23–43.

Shoemaker, Pamela J., and Stephen D. Reese. 2014. *Mediating the Message in the 21st Century: A Media Sociology Perspective*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge.

Siebert, Fred S., Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm. 1956. *Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Society of Professional Journalists. 2014. "Code of Ethics." http://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp.

Surette, Ray. 2015. *Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice: Images, Realities, and Policies*. Stamford, CT: Cengage Learning.

Tabachnick, Barbara, and Linda S. Fidell. 2013. *Using Multivariate Statistics*. 6th ed. Boston: Pearson Education.

Tandoc, Edson C. Jr., Lea Hellmueller, and Tim P. Vos. 2013. "Mind the Gap: Between Journalistic Role Conception and Role Enactment." *Journalism Practice* 7 (5): 539–554. doi:10.1080/17512786.2012.726503.

Tichenor, Phillip J., George A. Donohue, and Clarice N. Olien. 1980. *Community Conflict & The Press*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Tompkins, Al. 2014. "Will Withholding Shooters' Names and Photos Reduce Violence?" *Poynter*, June 11. http://www.poynter.org/2014/will-withholding-shooters-names-and-photos-reduce-violence/255270/.

Towers, Sherry, Andres Gomez-Lievano, Maryam Khan, Anuj Mubayi, Carlos Castillo-Chavez, and Joshua Yukich. 2015. "Contagion in Mass Killings and School Shootings." *PLoS ONE* 10 (7): e0117259.

Turkewitz, Julie. 2016. "What It's Like To Cover Mass Shootings—One After the Other." *The New York Times*, June 30. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/30/insider/repeating-a-delicate-reporting-routine-after-four-mass-shootings.html?action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=timesinsider&region=c-column-bottom-span-region&_r=2.

van Zoonen, Liesbet. 1998. "One of the Girls? The Changing Gender of Journalism." In *News, Gender and Power*, edited by Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston, and Stuart Allan, 33–46. New York: Routledge.

Weaver, David H., Randal A. Beam, Bonnie J. Brownlee, Paul S. Voakes, and G. Cleveland Wilhoit. 2007. *The American Journalist in the 21st Century: U.S. News People at the Dawn of a New Millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Weaver, David H., and G. Cleveland Wilhoit. 1996. *The American Journalist in the 1990s: U.S. News People at the End of an Era*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Willnat, Lars, and David H. Weaver. 2014. *The American Journalist in the Digital Age*. http://larswillnat.com/journalist2013/.

Wu, Wei, David Weaver, and Owen V. Johnson. 1996. "Professional Roles of Russian and U.S. Journalists: A Comparative Study." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 73 (3): 534–548.

Zarembo, Alan. 2016. "Are the Media Complicit in Mass Shootings?" *L.A. Times*, June 18. http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-orlando-shooting-media-20160618-snap-story.html.

Nicole Smith Dahmen (author to whom correspondence should be addressed), School of Journalism and Communication, University of Oregon, USA. E-mail: ndahmen@uoregon.edu

Jesse Abdenour, School of Journalism and Communication, University of Oregon, USA. E-mail: jabdenou@uoregon.edu

Karen McIntyre, Richard T. Robertson School of Media and Culture, Virginia Commonwealth University, USA. E-mail: kemcintyre@vcu.edu

Krystal E. Noga-Styron, Professor of Law and Justice, Central Washington University, USA. E-mail: nogak@cwu.edu