

ATTRIBUTES AND FRAMES OF THE AURORA SHOOTINGS

National and local news coverage differences

Kyle J. Holody and **Emory S. Daniel**

The present study examined frames and second-level agenda-setting attributes used by national and local newspapers to cover the 2012 Aurora, Colorado shootings. Unlike research examining coverage of school shootings, this study examined a mass shooting that did not occur at a school. Both newspaper types published a similar number of articles—though national articles tended to be longer—and virtually stopped coverage after 18 days. While previous coverage tended to focus on shootings' societal implications, Aurora coverage focused more on individuals involved in the time immediately surrounding the shootings. National papers focused on the gunman, while the local press tended to focus on victims. Mass shootings in general tend to be salient news items, but the present study further shows news outlets may now focus on incidents' specifics instead of common characteristics they might share, perhaps because audiences have an existing understanding of them. The shootings were framed in terms of gun control; national newspapers used this frame more often than did local newspapers. Both newspaper types tended to discuss gun control as directly related to the Aurora shootings, rather than as a societal or continuing need. Results offer further evidence that second-level agenda-setting and framing are distinct concepts.

KEYWORDS attribute agenda-setting; content analysis; framing; local; mass shootings; national; newspaper

Introduction

The present study examined differences in attribute agenda-setting and framing between national and local newspaper coverage of the 2012 Aurora, Colorado shootings, during which 12 people were killed and 70 injured by a lone shooter in the Century 16 movie theater during a midnight showing of *The Dark Knight Rises*. Unlike with many mass shootings, the Aurora shootings did not take place on a school campus and the shooter neither was killed nor committed suicide following the shootings. In this case, the shooter was later found guilty and sentenced to 12 life sentences plus 3318 years in prison (O'Neill 2015). Previous research shows smaller newspapers tend to follow reporting trends found in national news coverage (Gans 1979; Harry 2001; Trumbo 1996) in terms of what issues to cover and how to cover them. However, few studies have examined differences in coverage between levels of newspapers for issues or events that began within a local paper's proximity before reaching national prominence. The present study thus adds to understanding of a little-researched context in which agenda-setting and framing occur.

Journalism Practice, 2017

Vol. 11, No. 1, 80–100, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2015.1121786>

© 2016 Taylor & Francis

Most media research on mass shootings has examined news coverage of events occurring at a school or university (e.g., Hawdon, Agnich, and Ryan 2014; Hawdon, Oksanen, and Räsänen 2012; Muschert and Sumiala 2012; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013), with the only exception being Chuang's (2012) examination of coverage of the 2009 immigration center shootings in Binghamton, New York. Previous studies examined how the victims' or shooter's attributes were framed or emphasized following the Virginia Tech shootings (Holody, Park, and Zhang 2013; Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012; Schildkraut 2012); how general attributes of the Columbine, Virginia Tech, and other shootings were emphasized and framed (Chyi and McCombs 2004; Kwon and Moon 2009; Muschert 2007a, 2009; Muschert and Carr 2006; Seate et al. 2012), and how emotional images were used to frame the Virginia Tech and Kent State shootings (Fahmy and Roedl 2010; Hoerl 2009); however, Chuang (2012) argued non-school shootings receive little academic research because of how high profile the Virginia Tech shootings were. As such, examining coverage of the Aurora shootings also adds to understanding of a little-researched event type (non-school mass shootings) and how agenda-setting and framing occurs in such coverage; it also answers Muschert's (2007b, 74) need "to broaden the focus of media research to include a wider variety of shootings."

Literature Review

The present study was specifically concerned with how newspapers utilized second-level *agenda-setting attributes* (Chyi and McCombs 2004) and *frames* (Entman 1991, 2007) in their coverage of the Aurora shootings. Understanding how this event's attributes were made salient and how it was framed are especially important considering (1) few people have first-hand experience with mass shootings and thus rely on news coverage to understand them (Birkland and Lawrence 2009; Chermak 1995; Muschert 2007a) and (2) coverage has been shown to influence or relate to news audiences' understanding of and reactions to complex issues or events (Boomgaarden and de Vreese 2007; Chen et al. 2014; Hawdon, Oksanen, and Räsänen 2012; Kupchik and Bracy 2009; Muschert and Carr 2006), especially if framed with positive or negative valence (de Vreese and Boomgaarden 2003). Fallahi and Lesik (2009) found vicarious exposure to the Virginia Tech shootings via news coverage was related to increased stress felt by students at other universities. Further, Chen et al. (2014) found racial and mental illness stereotypes in public opinion following the Virginia Tech and Columbine shootings that were similar to stereotypes and racialization found in coverage of the Virginia Tech shootings (Holody, Park, and Zhang 2013; Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012). Together, these demonstrate a connection between how mass shootings are presented via news coverage and how they are understood by the public.

Agenda-setting and Framing Theories

The basic tenets of agenda-setting and framing are, respectively, that salience in news coverage leads issues to become salient in public opinion and that how those issues are presented in news coverage influences how people understand them (Scheufele 2000). At the risk of oversimplifying a complex history of research (Borah 2011; D'Angelo 2002; McCombs 2014; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007; Shah, Domke, and Wackman 1996), Park, Holody, and Zhang (2012) argued there are roughly three research camps examining the relationship between agenda-setting and framing. The first, represented

by McCombs and colleagues, has traditionally suggested framing is equivalent to second-level agenda-setting, or the salience of issue attributes (Maher 2001; McCombs and Ghanem 2001), although McCombs (2014) recently acknowledged the relationship between the concepts is not always so clear. The second, represented by Entman (e.g., 1991, 2007), conversely suggests first-level and second-level agenda-setting, respectively, represent the first (problem definition) and latter three (causal analysis, moral judgment, remedy promotion) functions of framing. The third, looser camp suggests the theories concern similar concepts, and thus can be used in conjunction, but are fundamentally different from one another (Borah 2011; Cappella and Jamieson 1997; Reese 2007; Scheufele 2000; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007; de Vreese 2005b).

In response to this ongoing debate, Chyi and McCombs (2004) offered *space* and *time* as general concepts that can be applied to coverage of specific news issues or events and yet also allow comparison across different studies. While Chyi and McCombs developed these as elements of framing—and they have been identified as such by Muschert and colleagues (e.g., Muschert and Carr 2006; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013¹)—Park, Holody, and Zhang (2012) offered evidence that space and time reflect second-level agenda-setting attributes instead. The present study offers further evidence that the concepts *attribute* and *frame* are distinct, or perhaps represent, respectively, Iyengar's (1991; Iyengar and Kinder 1987) concepts of *thematic* frames—ways of understanding general news events or issues, such as “conflict” or “economic consequences” of gun control (Neuman, Just, and Crigler 1992; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000; de Vreese 2005a)—and *episodic* frames—ways of understanding that apply only to distinct events or issues, such as framing a specific shooting in terms of gun control or race. The present study treats *space* and *time* as attributes, while exploring the separate frame *gun control*, commonly found in news coverage of mass shootings (Altheide 2009; Lawrence and Birkland 2004; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013).

Attribute Agenda-setting

While first-level agenda-setting suggests issues or events emphasized as important in news coverage tend to be considered important by the public (McCombs and Bell 1996), second-level (attribute) agenda-setting suggests particular aspects of issues or events can also be emphasized (Entman 2007; Ghanem 1997; Weaver 2007). The *space* and *time* attributes conceptually fit within second-level agenda-setting. As developed by Chyi and McCombs (2004), then refined by Muschert and Carr (2006) and Park, Holody, and Zhang (2012), *space* has five levels. A news article utilizes the *individual* level if it primarily focuses on individuals involved in a news event, *community* if on the community where the event occurred, *regional* if on the surrounding metropolitan area or state, *societal* if on the event's national significance, or *international* if it defines the event from an international perspective. *Time* has three levels. A news article utilizes *past* if it focuses on events prior to the event or *future* if on events that may occur. Chyi and McCombs (2004) further explained *present* is a focus on the main event, and acknowledged most news articles will utilize this level. The present study also examined Vu, Guo, and McCombs's (2014) third-level (network) agenda-setting, which suggests different issues and attributes may be transferred simultaneously from or between news media (and to audiences), by examining how the two attributes space and time were utilized in conjunction by the national and local papers.

Framing and Gun Control

Framing is defined as selecting “some aspects of a perceived reality and [making] them more salient in a communicating text” (Entman 1993, 52). A news frame is the “central organizing idea for news content that supplies context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (Tankard 2001, 100). Frames create contexts or perspectives from which issues or events can be understood (Borah 2011; Cappella and Jamieson 1997) and organize complex ideas in meaningful ways (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Gans 1979; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). McCombs and Bell (1996) found highly salient issues or events (such as a tragedy) tend to stay in the public eye longer than others, and Chyi and McCombs (2004, 22) suggested news coverage of such events uses a variety of frames to keep them “fresh and alive” for the length of their news cycles. Because the coverage of events related to a tragedy is highly salient in both national and local media, journalists at these two levels may frame a mass shooting differently to convey its relevance to different audiences (Hansen and Hansen 2011). This idea runs counter to the tradition of news media covering events using a small number of frames, similar across all coverage (Scheufele 2000).

Lawrence and Birkland (2004) and Muschert (2007a) found *gun control* to be among the most used frames to describe the Columbine shootings, alongside *violent popular culture* and *mental illness*. The present study was specifically concerned with gun control because it was found in previous research to have been used heavily *in* (Altheide 2009; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013) and related to effects of (Lawrence and Birkland 2004; Seate et al. 2012) news coverage of multiple previous shootings. Indeed, Schildkraut and Muschert (2013) called for further exploration of this frame following analysis of coverage of the 2012 Sandy Hook shootings. Related to this frame is the common tendency in coverage to assign blame, either to individuals or to societal problems overall, for why a mass shooting occurs; among the most common societal-level targets of blame in the United States is the need to create, alter, or enforce gun control legislation (Jervis and McAuliff 2012; Joslyn and Haider-Markel 2013; Schildkraut and Hernandez 2014; Welsh 2012). Further, some media critics (e.g., Winter 2015) suggest this frame was intentionally avoided in coverage of the 2015 North Charleston shootings, perhaps illustrating the importance of understanding how this frame has been used.

National Versus Local Coverage

Holody, Park, and Zhang (2013) suggested the local newspaper covering the Virginia Tech shootings might have offered more coverage than national papers because its journalists had better access to sources in the community, or sources may have been more willing to be interviewed by local journalists first (e.g., Holt and Major 2010; Vang 2007). Further, the local paper’s readership likely had closer connections to the shootings than did national audiences, whose attention was drawn sooner to other important news stories (Brosius and Kepplinger 1995; Downs 1972; Gamson 1996; Garner 1996; Hawdon, Agnich, and Ryan 2014; McQuail 2005; Zhu 1992). Ghanem (1996) offered evidence the salience afforded to a news event by audiences is affected by the psychological “distance” they feel towards it; differences in the papers’ reporting likely reflected this difference in audiences.

The vast majority of framing literature has focused on describing the most common frame(s) in individual news articles, rather than on comparing frames used by different media types. A few recent studies examined news coverage of the same event cross-culturally or cross-nationally (Chattopadhyay 2013; Dai and Hyun 2010; DeFoster 2010; Kwon and Moon 2009; Lin 2012; Nitz et al. 2009), but these focused on coverage of internationally salient news issues or events. To date, only a few studies (e.g., Hawdon, Agnich, and Ryan 2014; Holody, Park, and Zhang 2013; Holt and Major 2010) have examined differing coverage in national and local news media, each finding differences in how much coverage and what frames were used by the two types (for differences between elite and non-elite newspapers, see Carpenter 2007). As such, examination of differences between local (i.e., from the city or county in which an event occurred) and national coverage is still in need of refinement.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

In all previous research on news coverage of mass shootings, *societal* was the most common level for space and *present* for time (Chyi and McCombs 2004; Muschert and Carr 2006; Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013). However, although Muschert's (2007a) analysis of coverage of the Columbine shootings did not intentionally utilize Chyi and McCombs's (2004) attribute concepts, its findings suggested coverage emphasized the *individual* level of space most often, specifically mentioning victims' personal identities, deaths, and memorial services (Schildkraut and Muschert 2013). Further, Schildkraut and Muschert's analysis of coverage of the Sandy Hook shootings predicted *victims* will be the focus in coverage of any future mass shootings because the US public now has an existing understanding of mass shootings. Previous research also suggests national and local newspapers cover certain news topics differently (DiStaso 2012; Holody, Park, and Zhang 2013; Holt and Major 2010), and may do so especially when local news events gain national attention. Based on these previous findings, the following hypotheses were tested:

H1a: The *individual* level of the space attribute will be used most often in newspaper coverage overall.

H1b: The *space* attribute will be utilized differently by national and local newspapers.

H2: When the individual level of the space attribute is used in newspaper coverage overall, *victims* will be mentioned more often than the gunman or celebrities/noteworthy people.

H3a: The *present* level of the time attribute will be used most often in newspaper coverage overall.

H3b: The *time* attribute will be utilized differently by national and national newspapers.

The *gun control* frame was examined in the present study based on its consistent presence in coverage of previous shootings and the potential policy impact it can have (Altheide 2009; Lawrence and Birkland 2004; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013; Seate et al. 2012). Frames can be examined based on *prominence*, such as being included in an article's headline or first paragraph, or being utilized in multiple articles (Kioussis 2004; Mannheim

1987; McCombs 2005; Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012; Trumbo 1995). de Vreese and Boomgaarden (2003) found valence afforded to frames can influence how audience members understand the topic being framed. Based on these previous findings and the potential impact of the frame, the following research questions were asked:

RQ1: Were there differences in how *prominently* the gun control frame was used by national and local newspapers?

RQ2: Were there differences in what *valence* was afforded to the gun control frame by national and local newspapers?

Methods

Population and Sampling

The major purpose of the current study was to compare newspaper coverage of the Aurora shootings at the national and local levels. Following Chyi and McCombs (2004), Park, Holody, and Zhang (2012), and others, the unit of analysis was each newspaper article published within 30 days following the incident (July 20, 2012 to August 19, 2012), found by searching the Lexis-Nexis database for keywords "Aurora" and "James Holmes." Following Holody, Park, and Zhang (2013), the census of articles from the *New York Times* ($N = 69$) and *USA Today* ($N = 48$) represented national coverage ($N = 117$). The census of articles from the *Aurora Sentinel* website ($N = 56$), including those from the Associated Press ($N = 50$), represented local coverage ($N = 106$). Associated Press articles were included and treated as "local" articles based on the local paper publishing them in the same locations and with the same prominence as their own, original articles. From the initial pool, articles were screened to determine whether they centered on or were written as a consequence of the shootings. These decisions were made as part of the coding process and were thus included in intercoder reliability tests. After removing articles that did not feature the incident centrally (e.g., a movie review briefly acknowledging the shootings was considered as treating the shootings as *not central*), the final number of articles analyzed was 93 for the national newspapers (*New York Times*, $N = 55$; *USA Today*, $N = 38$) and 105 for the *Aurora Sentinel* ($N = 55$; Associated Press, $N = 50$).

Coding Procedure and Categories

Two researchers coded the sample after multiple intercoder reliability training sessions and tests. By analyzing a random sample of 10 percent of all the articles, the coders achieved Krippendorff's α reliability estimates of 0.89 or higher for all coding categories. Each article was analyzed for its *publication*, *publication date*, and *length in words*, as well as its level of *space* and *time* using the criteria described in the literature review. To address Muschert's (2007a) request to examine the *individual* level of space most often, this attribute was also coded for whether the individual most often referred to was the *victims or families*, *gunman*, or *celebrities/noteworthy figures* (such as President Obama, Christopher Nolan, or Christian Bale), and if victims were discussed using descriptions of their *identities or personal details*, their *deaths*, their *memorial services*, or *special issues* (such as a victim's stated stances on gun control). Finally, based on previous research (Altheide 2009; Lawrence and Birkland 2004; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013), each article

was further coded for the presence/absence of a *gun control* frame, as well as the frame's *valence* and *prominence*. See Table 1 for descriptions and examples of coding categories.

Results²

Preliminary Analysis: Volume and Pattern

The mean number of words in articles produced by the local newspaper (*Aurora Sentinel* = 604.42, *SD* = 568.396; Associated Press = 498.94, *SD* = 456.451) was 554.19 (*SD* = 518.378), and the mean number of words produced by the national newspapers (*New York Times* = 792.24, *SD* = 387.693; *USA Today* = 571.03, *SD* = 247.912) was 701.85 (*SD* = 353.404). National papers on average printed more words per article; $t(196) = 2.312$, $p = 0.022$, $r = -0.163$. Both the national and local papers virtually stopped covering the shootings after the 18th day (see Figure 1), which was in contrast to findings of extended news coverage of the Columbine and Sandy Hook (Schildkraut and Muschert 2013) shootings, but similar to the shortened national coverage of the Virginia Tech shootings (Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012; Schildkraut 2012).

Attributes Results

H1a stated the *individual* level of the space attribute will be used most often in newspaper coverage overall, and was supported. H1b stated the *space* attribute will be utilized differently by the national and local newspapers, and was supported. National papers most often used the individual and societal levels (each in 43.0 percent of all articles), followed by community (7.5 percent), international (4.3 percent), and regional (2.2 percent). The local paper most often used the individual level (43.8 percent), followed by community (40.0 percent), societal (8.6 percent), regional (6.7 percent), and international (1.0 percent). This is in contrast to coverage of the Columbine; other, less famous; Virginia Tech; and Sandy Hook shootings, which each used the societal level most often. This reflects Schildkraut and Muschert's (2013) prediction that news coverage will now most likely focus on individuals involved in mass shootings rather than their causes or other "larger" ideas.

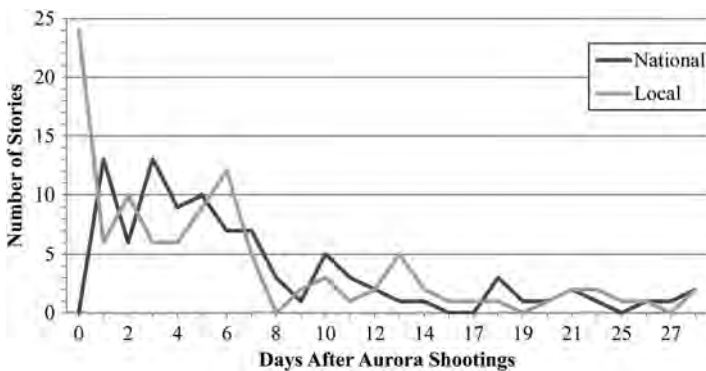


FIGURE 1

Thirty-day coverage of the Aurora shootings in national and local newspapers

TABLE 1

Coding categories

Attribute	Level	Description	Examples
Space	Individual	Focus on gunman, victims, family members, or celebrities/noteworthy people	Victims (fatalities or injuries) identified, Holmes
	Community	Focus on town where the crime took place or on spokesperson for the town, county, or area	Century 16 movie theater; Aurora, CO; Arapahoe, Adams, and Douglas counties in Colorado
	Regional	Focus on metropolitan area, state, or region where the crime took place	Columbine, Littleton, or Denver, CO
	Societal	Focus nationwide: other towns, cities, or states	Washington, DC; New York; Hollywood (city or industry)
	International	Focus on other countries or the interaction between countries	South Korea
If space: individual	Gunman	Focus on gunman	Holmes
	Victims or families	Focus on victims or families	Those killed or injured
	Celebrities or noteworthy people	Focus on individual celebrities or noteworthy people	Christian Bale, Christopher Nolan, President Barack Obama
	Descriptions	Identified or described, physically or personality	
If individual: victims	Death	Death detailed, such as when/where they were shot or died	
	Memorial	Memorial services identified or described	
	Special issues	Race, religion, gun control stance, or protests at memorials	
Time	Past	Focus on previous events with no direct linkage to key event, such as previous school shootings or gunman's unrelated personal history	Columbine incident; a victim's hobby/passion
	Present	Focus on the events surrounding the key event (recent past or immediate future), or current social phenomena or obituaries	Holmes's gun purchases; fundraising for victims
	Future	Focus on long-term effects of the key event, including suggestions for solutions, prevention, or actions to be taken	Gun control; production of violent movies

(Continued)

TABLE 1
(Continued)

Attribute	Level	Description	Examples
Gun control frame valence	Negative	Gun control is presented negatively or guns are presented positively	Less gun control could have prevented event; armed victims could have protected themselves
	Neutral	Gun control is discussed without valence, or equal space is given to negative and positive frames	Criminals can still access guns, but legal gun owners are not criminals
	Positive	Gun control is presented positively or guns are presented negatively	More gun control could have prevented event; shooter would not have had access to guns
Frame prominence	In headline		
	In first paragraph text or quotes		
	In body text or quotes, after first paragraph		

H2 stated that, when the individual level of the space attribute is used in newspaper coverage overall, *victims* will be mentioned more often than the gunman or celebrities/noteworthy people. This was not supported for the national papers, but was for the local. Of the 40 national articles utilizing the space attribute at the individual level, 45.0 percent focused on the gunman, 37.5 percent on celebrities/other noteworthy people, and 17.5 percent on the victims or their families. Of the 46 local articles utilizing the space attribute at the individual level, 43.5 percent focused on the victims or their families, 30.4 percent on the gunman, and 26.1 percent on celebrities/other noteworthy people. Thus, only the local newspaper reflected Schildkraut and Muschert’s (2013) prediction that victims will be focused on most often in news coverage.

Further inspection of the *victims* element revealed that, of the seven national articles focusing on the victims (7.5 percent of all national articles), 57.1 percent focused on describing their deaths, 28.6 percent their memorial services, 14.3 percent special issues, and 0 percent their identities or personal details. Of the 21 local articles focusing on the victims (20.0 percent of all local articles), 38.1 percent focused on describing their deaths, 33.3 percent their identities or personal details, 23.8 percent their memorial services, and 4.8 percent special issues. Too few national articles focused on victims to make meaningful conclusions about this element, but results for the local paper do support the expectation that the victims will most often be described based on their deaths or their personal details (Muschert 2007a; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013).

H3a stated the *present* level of the time attribute will be used most often in newspaper coverage overall, and was supported. H3b also stated the *time* attribute will be utilized differently by the national and local newspapers, and was supported. National newspapers most often used the time attribute at the present level (69.9 percent), followed by past (16.1 percent) and future (14.0 percent), whereas the local newspaper most often used present (70.5 percent), followed by future (24.8 percent) and past (4.8 percent). Coverage of the Columbine shootings most often used the present level, followed by past. Coverage of other, less famous and the Virginia Tech shootings most often used the present level, followed by future. Coverage of the Sandy Hook shootings most often used the present level,

then past and future equally. While all coverage most often used the present level, as predicted by Chyi and McCombs (2004), the present study's findings for national papers were most similar to news coverage of Columbine and Sandy Hook, while the local paper was more similar to coverage of Virginia Tech and other shootings.

Attributes Combined

Network agenda-setting (Vu, Guo, and McCombs 2014) was examined by combining space and time, to determine which *combination* was used most often and if there were differences between the newspaper types. When the space and time attributes were combined, national papers most often used the combination of individual/present (in 39.8 percent of all national articles), followed by societal/present (29.0 percent) and individual/past (9.7 percent). The local paper most often used the combination of individual/present (32.4 percent), followed by community/present (29.5 percent) and community/future (10.5 percent). The most notable difference between the present study's findings and news coverage of previous shootings is that individual/present was used most often by the two paper types, rather than societal/present.

Frame Results

RQ1 asked if there were differences in how *prominently* the gun control frame was used by national and local newspapers. Although the local newspaper featured the frame more prominently, differences in how prominently the frame was used were not meaningfully different. Of the 42 national articles featuring the gun control frame (46.2 percent of all national articles), 57.1 percent featured it in the body and 42.90 percent in the headline or first paragraph. Of the 12 local articles featuring the gun control frame (11.4 percent of all local articles), 58.3 percent featured it in the headline or first paragraph and 41.7 percent in the body.

RQ2 asked if there were differences in what *valence* was afforded to the gun control frame by the national and local newspapers. Again, differences were not meaningfully different, although a slightly greater percentage of local articles used the frame negatively. Of the national articles featuring the gun control frame, 51.2 percent were positive (considering greater control or fewer guns as a good thing), 41.9 percent were neutral (having no opinion on gun control or giving equal space to opposing sides), and 7.0 percent were negative (considering less control or more guns as a good thing). Of the local articles featuring the gun control frame, 50.0 percent were neutral, 33.3 percent were positive, and 16.7 percent were negative.

The relationship between the prominence and valence of the gun control frame is notable. For national articles: 100 percent of negative frames were in the headline or first paragraph, 58.8 percent of neutral frames were in the body text, and 63.6 percent of positive frames were in the body text. For local articles: 100 percent of negative frames were in the headline or first paragraph, 66.7 percent of neutral frames were in the body text, and 75.0 percent of positive frames were in the headline or first paragraph. This suggests that, when the newspapers treated gun control negatively in relation to the shootings, they more often made that argument prominently, but did so perhaps less prominently when treating gun control positively.

Attributes and Frame Combined

Further exploration of network agenda-setting occurred by combining the valence of the gun control frame, the space attribute, and the time attribute. National newspapers most often mentioned gun control as it relates to the *societal* (76.7 percent of mentions) level of space and the *present* (69.8 percent) level of time, and did so while using the frame most often *neutrally* or *positively*. The local newspaper most often mentioned gun control in relation to the *individual* (50.0 percent) or *societal* (33.3 percent) levels of space and the *future* (50.0 percent) or *present* (41.7 percent) levels of time, and did so while using the frame *neutrally* or *positively*. Thus, the national paper, when mentioning gun control, treated it as a societal-level problem that could have perhaps prevented the shootings if gun laws were stricter. The local paper discussed gun control at a more individual level, but also discussed it as something that could prevent future shootings from occurring. The local paper also utilized gun control in slightly more complex ways. While negative use of gun control was more often featured prominently, the frame overall was most often presented positively.

Discussion

Attributes

Chyi and McCombs's (2004) attributes were useful constructs for examining second-level agenda-setting, as the present evidence shows they can be used to examine coverage of multiple, similar events and their use in coverage of such events is not static over time. While it is true most coverage of a single event, even from different news media, tends to use a small number of similar frames (Scheufele 2000), that coverage can change and evolve when newer, similar events occur.

Following Muschert's (2007a) suggestion to examine more closely how news coverage portrays individuals involved in mass shootings, the present study revealed articles about the Aurora shootings used the *individual* level of space more or as often as they did *societal*. This is unlike coverage for previous mass shootings (Chyi and McCombs 2004; Muschert and Carr 2006; Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013), which featured *societal* most frequently, and thus supports Schildkraut and Muschert's (2013) prediction that coverage from now on will most likely focus on individuals involved in shootings because US audiences already have an existing understanding of shootings in general (e.g., they are related to gun control, mental illness, violent popular culture, race, etc.) and can now direct their attention to the particulars of a distinct shooting (i.e., specific details about victims or perpetrators). Coverage following mass shootings tends to discuss victims collectively rather than individually, in part so that affected communities can share in their victimhood and recovery (Ryan and Hawdon 2008). This tendency is especially true for school shootings, in which victims share at least the characteristic of having ties to the school. In Aurora, such a connection between victims did not exist, which may explain why coverage utilized the individual level more often.

While results support Schildkraut and Muschert's (2013) prediction about the individual level of space, there was not full support for their more specific prediction that the focus of news coverage will primarily be on mass shooting *victims*. National newspapers most often focused on the gunman or celebrities/other relevant noteworthy people, while the local paper focused on victims or their families. This indicates the focus on victims in

coverage of the Sandy Hook shootings may have been dependent on the newspapers Schildkraut and Muschert analyzed and the particular circumstances of the shootings (e.g., whereas one victim in Aurora was a child, the majority of victims at Sandy Hook were children). Additionally, when the national papers did focus on Aurora victims, they described the victims' deaths, identified when their memorials occurred, and discussed any relevant special issues. Unlike the local paper (which also described the victims in these three ways), the national did not discuss the victims based on their *identities or personal details*. In other words, the local paper focused on the victims more often, and provided a fuller picture of who they were.

There are at least four explanations for why the national papers focused less on the victims. First, their coverage focused just as often on US society as it did any individuals, perhaps reflecting the wider perspective from which their readers experienced the shootings. The local paper's readership likely included people who knew or cared for the victims, and the paper undoubtedly covered the victims more as a result. Second, the local paper's content was online and thus available to the national audience, meaning there was already a source for information about the victims for anyone interested. Third, the perpetrator of this mass shooting survived, so coverage could be sustained through the individual's trial and sentencing (O'Neill 2015). Fourth, but most likely in the context of this particular shooting, coverage of the victims and their families stopped occurring in national papers because they stopped consenting to be interviewed. Indeed, a vocal number of victims' families intentionally refused interviews to any news outlet that covered the shooter more than the victims (NoNotoriety.com; Ingold 2015; Stelter 2015).

Although similar in how often they used the individual level of the space attribute, the newspaper types were dissimilar in how they utilized its other levels. Such differences were perhaps unsurprising, however, given the audiences for either paper type (Brosius and Kepplinger 1995; Downs 1972; Gamson 1996; Garner 1996; Ghanem 1996; Hawdon, Agnich, and Ryan 2014; McQuail 2005; Zhu 1992). The local paper more often used the *community* level because its readers were and would continue to be in close proximity to the shootings (DiStaso 2012; Supa and Zoch 2009). Early in the news cycle, it was not known if the shooter had planned any other carnage or booby traps (Flaccus 2012), and thus the surrounding community's overall safety status was unknown and therefore newsworthy. National audiences were less likely to be directly affected and more likely to consider the shootings from a more detached perspective; thus, national papers utilized the *societal* level as often as they did the *individual*. Though not often, both newspaper types also used the *regional* and *international* levels of the space attribute, which were virtually absent in coverage of all previous shootings except Virginia Tech and Sandy Hook (Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013).

These results show the different levels of Chyi and McCombs's *space* attribute can be utilized broadly to make comparisons between multiple, perhaps even disparate news events, similar in use to Iyengar's (1991; Iyengar and Kinder 1987) thematic frames. However, the construct can also be broken down further into context-specific meaningful categories, similar in use to Iyengar's episodic frames. While understanding broadly how often news media utilize the individual level rather than societal can be interesting and meaningful, for it shows *that* these levels of the space attribute are made salient in different ways, this does not provide the full picture of *how* the space and time attributes are utilized in news coverage. The present study thus provides a fuller understanding of second-level agenda-setting, showing in line with previous research that the theory allows macro-level

comparisons of coverage but also that the theory allows for more specific and particular examinations than has been previously shown.

While the newspapers examined in the present study differed in their use of the space attribute compared to coverage of previous shootings (Chyi and McCombs 2004; Muschert and Carr 2006; Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013), both followed expectations in terms of the time attribute. Namely news coverage of shootings tends to focus on the *present* level of time, rather than discussing what led to the shootings or what may occur as a result of them. The national newspapers used the *past* second-most often, and were thus only similar to Columbine coverage. While focus on the *present* level is not unexpected, as news coverage is designed to explain what happened during an event, the shift in coverage back to the *past* level is of note. This, and the varying use of the *space* attribute, is perhaps explained by the fact that mass shootings are no longer “the unknown” (DiStaso 2012; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013; Supa and Zoch 2009) for journalists or audiences. Rather than more generally discussing ways to prevent similar events from occurring, journalists may have focused on what circumstances led to these specific shootings. The local paper’s second-most common focus on *future* is likely explained by its proximity to the shootings (Ghanem 1996) and interest in what the future holds for its overall community.

Unlike the most common attribute combination of *societal/present* in news coverage of all previous shootings (Chyi and McCombs 2004; Muschert and Carr 2006; Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013), coverage of the Aurora shootings utilized *individual/present* most often. The Aurora coverage may have focused more on the person responsible for or people affected by the shootings because general frames of reference for mass shootings were already established by Columbine and Virginia Tech coverage (Chuang 2012; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013). Similar to Iyengar’s (1991; Iyengar and Kinder 1987) findings about thematic and episodic frames, while news coverage of catastrophes tends to treat victims as a collective (Ryan and Hawdon 2008), there is also a tendency to individualize the *causes* of those catastrophes. For example, the perpetrator of the Aurora shootings was discussed in greater detail than other issues that could have led to the crime (e.g., ineffective gun control). To borrow these framing terms, victims were perhaps treated thematically so that audiences could share in their fear, sorrow, victimhood, and recovery. The perpetrator was perhaps treated episodically so that audiences could avoid blaming or feeling responsible for ongoing societal problems and instead lay blame entirely on the shooter (e.g., Holmqvist 2009; Mathieu 1993).

The national newspapers used *societal/present* (the most common combination for all previous shootings) second-most often and *individual/past* third-most often. The local newspapers used both *community/present* (the second-most used combination for all other previous shootings except Sandy Hook) and *community/future* second-most frequently (Chyi and McCombs 2004; Muschert and Carr 2006; Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012; Schildkraut and Muschert 2013). These differences can be explained by the fact that the two paper types have different audiences (Hansen and Hansen 2011). Readers of the national papers would likely be more concerned about how the shootings have affected and will affect the nation overall than with a community they have no direct experience with. The papers’ differing use of level combinations is likely explained by the tendency of news organizations to cover a story from perspectives best matching their readers’ (Holody, Park, and Zhang 2013; Muschert 2007a).

As discussed above, a vocal number of victims and family members who were affected by the Aurora shootings organized together (NoNotoriety.com) with the intention of affecting news coverage of mass shootings (Ingold 2015; Stelter 2015). The group discourages using perpetrators' names or likenesses in news coverage of mass shootings except at the beginning of their news cycles, and is also against publishing or broadcasting any statements or photos made by perpetrators. The group suggests refusing to provide recognition or infamy to perpetrators will discourage copycat crimes, but also because these recommendations are in line with the tenets of good taste (i.e., it is morally better to focus on victims rather than their killers) and can help survivors and victims' loved ones through their healing and mourning.

Frame

A large percentage of the national articles framed the shootings as an issue of gun control, and most of these positively supported the argument better gun control could have prevented these shootings or can prevent shootings in the future. Despite using the frame positively more often than negatively, national articles most often used the frame positively in their body text and negatively in their headline. This suggests the fewer articles considering gun control as a negative made this point more prominently. A much smaller percentage of local articles linked the shootings to gun control, and the majority of those did so neutrally. This difference runs counter to the notion local papers are less likely to remain unbiased than national papers (Grotta, Larkin, and DePlois 1975; Lacy, Fico, and Simon 1991). It is likely the local paper remained unbiased on the issue of gun control simply because it defined the shootings via that frame far less often than did the national papers and because the national newspapers focused on the shootings more often from a societal level. Combined, these results are similar to those found by Lawrence and Birkland (2004) and Schildkraut (2012). Even when gun control was not the driving force or perspective in an article, journalists still considered the issue important enough to link it to the shootings.

Attributes and Frame Combined

Although Lawrence and Birkland's (2004) analysis of news coverage revealed gun control was an important perspective in coverage of the Columbine shootings, no previous studies have examined *how* gun control is framed in coverage of mass shootings, especially in regard to how that framing is used with the space and time attributes. National papers discussed gun control as it relates to society at large, but only in the present time frame immediately around the Aurora shootings. The local paper, on the other hand, discussed gun control in a wider variety of ways: as it relates to the individual *and* society and how it relates to future *and* the present events. These findings further suggest second-level agenda-setting attributes are indeed distinct from frames, even while they are compatible concepts with which to study media coverage (Park, Holody, and Zhang 2012). While frames provide overall perspectives from which to consider a news event (e.g., mass shootings are an issue of gun control), attributes highlight what distinct elements of a news story are most applicable or relevant to its audiences.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

As with all research, the present study had limitations. Only newspaper coverage within 30 days of the Aurora shootings was examined, based on Chyi and McCombs's (2004) previous findings about the news cycle for similar events (Downs 1972). It is not known if and for how long coverage of the shootings occurred after this time frame, especially when the salient Sandy Hook shootings occurred just a few months later (Schildkraut and Muschert 2013). It is also not known if news coverage via other media (e.g., local versus national television news, or blogs versus traditional news media) would differ from the sample utilized here. While Fallahi and Lesik (2009) have found exposure to coverage about mass shoots is vicariously linked to increased stress felt by media audiences and Chen et al. (2014) found people do hold stereotypes similar to those found in news coverage analyzed by Holody, Park, and Zhang (2013), future research should examine if effects do indeed occur because of exposure to coverage emphasizing certain attributes or frames.

Although the present study was concerned with examining how the Aurora shootings were covered by different newspaper types in terms of the *space* and *time* attributes and the *gun control* frame, it is worthwhile for future studies to examine other frames, such as *violent popular culture* found by Lawrence and Birkland (2004) or *mental illness* found by Muschert (2007a) in Columbine coverage. News audiences are limited to the frames and attributes provided to them for how to understand such a complex event and the issues that stem from it. If news coverage relies on too few perspectives or is not entirely accurate at reflecting the reality of a complex issue or event, it is possible public opinion and understanding, and even actual policy (Birkland and Lawrence 2009; Joslyn and Haider-Markel 2013; Schildkraut and Hernandez 2014; Soraghan 2000), is built upon incomplete or inaccurate information. Journalists should be cognizant of the potential effects of how they cover mass shootings, both in terms of preventing potential copycats and in terms of treating shooting victims with the respect they deserve. It is also important to note mass shootings have varying qualities, such as locations and ages of victims. It is possible coverage of shootings more similar to the one at Sandy Hook Elementary, for example, would feature different attributes and frames. Unfortunately, mass shootings, such as the 2015 North Charleston and San Bernardino shootings, continue to occur and introduce new issues (Winter 2015). Because of this, further exploration is needed to fully understand this very important line of inquiry.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

NOTES

1. Schildkraut and Muschert (2013) also identified "themes" in newspaper coverage of the Sandy Hook mass shootings, which perhaps other researchers would have identified as frames.
2. Results are compared to Chyi and McCombs's (2004) findings about news coverage of the Columbine shootings, Muschert and Carr's (2006) findings about multiple other shootings, Park, Holody, and Zhang's (2012) findings about the Virginia Tech shootings, and

Schildkraut and Muschert's (2013) findings about the Sandy Hook shootings. These citations are not repeated in this section unless necessary, to avoid redundancy.

REFERENCES

- Altheide, David. L. 2009. "The Columbine Shootings and the Discourse of Fear." *American Behavioral Scientist* 52 (10): 1354–1370.
- Birkland, Thomas A., and Regina G. Lawrence. 2009. "Media Framing and Policy Change after Columbine." *American Behavioral Scientist* 52 (10): 1405–1425.
- Boomgaarden, Hajo G., and Claes H. de Vreese. 2007. "Dramatic Real-world Events and Public Opinion Dynamics: Media Coverage and Its Impact on Public Reactions to an Assassination." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 19 (3): 354–366.
- Borah, Porismita. 2011. "Conceptual Issues in Framing Theory: A Systematic Examination of a Decade's Literature." *Journal of Communication* 61 (2): 246–263.
- Brosius, Hans-Bernd, and Mathias Hans Kepplinger. 1995. "Killer and Victim Issues: Issue Competition in the Agenda-Setting Process of German Television." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 7 (3): 211–231.
- Cappella, Joseph N., and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 1997. *Spiral of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Carpenter, Serena. 2007. "U.S. Elite and Non-elite Newspapers' Portrayal of the Iraq War: A Comparison of Frames and Source Use." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 84 (4): 761–776.
- Chattopadhyay, Sumana. 2013. "Framing 3/11 Online: A Comparative Analysis of the News Coverage of the 2012 Japan Disaster by CNN.com and Asahi.com." *China Media Research* 9 (1): 38–48.
- Chen, Charlene Y., Valerie Purdie-Vaughns, Jo C. Phelan, Gary Yu, and Lawrence H. Yang. 2014. "Racial and Mental Illness Stereotypes and Discrimination: An Identity-based Analysis of the Virginia Tech and Columbine Shootings." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 21 (2): 279–287.
- Chermak, Steven M. 1995. *Victims in the News: Crime and the American News Media*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Chuang, Angie. 2012. "Representations of Foreign versus (Asian) American Identity in a Mass-Shooting Case: Newspaper Coverage of the 2009 Binghamton Massacre." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 89 (2): 244–260.
- Chyi, Hsiang Iris, and Maxwell E. McCombs. 2004. "Media Salience and the Process of Framing: Coverage of the Columbine School Shootings." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81 (1): 22–35.
- Dai, Jia, and Kideuk Hyun. 2010. "Global Risk, Domestic Framing: Coverage of the North Korean Nuclear Test by US, Chinese, and South Korean News Agencies." *Asian Journal of Communication* 20 (3): 299–317.
- D'Angelo, Paul. 2002. "News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program: A Response to Entman." *Journal of Communication* 52 (4): 870–888.
- DeFoster, Ruth. 2010. "American Gun Culture, School Shootings, and a 'Frontier Mentality': An Ideological Analysis of British Editorial Pages in the Decade After Columbine." *Communication, Culture and Critique* 3 (4): 466–484.

- DiStaso, Marcia W. 2012. "The Annual Earnings Press Release's Dual Role: An Examination of Relationships with Local and National Media Coverage and Reputation." *Journal of Public Relations Research* 24 (2): 123–143.
- Downs, Anthony. 1972. "Up and Down with Ecology: The Issue-attention Cycle." *Public Interest* 28: 38–50.
- Entman, Robert M. 1991. "Symposium Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents." *Journal of Communication* 41 (4): 6–27.
- Entman, Robert M. 1993. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43 (3): 51–58.
- Entman, Robert M. 2007. "Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power." *Journal of Communication* 57 (1): 163–173.
- Fahmy, Shahira, and Sara J. Roedl. 2010. "Lessons from Virginia Tech: Exploring Disparities and Commonalities Between Visual Coverage in U.S. Newspapers and Victims' Families' Perceptions." *Visual Communication Quarterly* 17 (2): 91–107.
- Fallahi, Carolyn R., and Sally A. Lesik. 2009. "The Effects of Vicarious Exposure to the Recent Massacre at Virginia Tech." *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* 1 (3): 220–230.
- Flaccus, Gillian. 2012. "Bomb Squads Disarm Traps at Aurora Suspect's Apt." *Aurora Sentinel*, July 21. <http://www.aurorasentinel.com/news/bomb-squads-disarm-traps-at-aurora-suspects-apt/>
- Gamson, William. 1996. "Media Discourse as a Framing Resource." In *The Psychology of Political Communication*, edited by Ann N. Crigler, 111–132. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Gamson, William A., and Andre Modigliani. 1989. "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach." *American Journal of Sociology* 95 (1): 1–37.
- Gans, Herbert J. 1979. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*. New York, NY: Pantheon.
- Garner, Ana C. 1996. "The Cost of Fighting Mother Nature: News Coverage of the 1993 Midwest Floods." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 20 (1): 83–98.
- Ghanem, Salma Ismail. 1996. "Media Coverage of Crime and Public Opinion: An Exploration of the Second Level of Agenda Setting." (unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX.
- Ghanem, Salma Ismail. 1997. "Filling in the Tapestry: The Second Level of Agenda Setting." In *Communication and Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual Frontiers in Agenda-Setting Theory*, edited by Maxwell E. McCombs, Donald L. Shaw, and David Weaver, 3–14. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Grotta, Gerald, Ernest L. Larkin, and Barbara DePlois. 1975. "How Readers Perceive and Use a Small Daily Newspaper." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 52 (4): 711–715.
- Hansen, Elizabeth, and Gary Hansen. 2011. "Newspaper Improves Reader Satisfaction by Refocusing on Local Issues." *Newspaper Research Journal* 32 (1): 98–106.
- Harry, Joseph. 2001. "Covering Conflict: A Structural-Pluralist Analysis of How a Small-Town and a Big-City Newspaper Reported an Environmental Controversy." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 78 (3): 419–436.
- Hawdon, James, Laura E. Agnich, and John Ryan. 2014. "Media Framing of a Tragedy: A Content Analysis of Print Media Coverage of the Virginia Tech Tragedy." *Traumatology* 20 (3): 199–208.
- Hawdon, James, Atte Oksanen, and Pekka Räsänen. 2012. "Media Coverage and Solidarity after Tragedies: The Reporting of School Shootings in Two Nations." *Comparative Sociology* 11 (6): 1–30.

- Hoerl, Kristen. 2009. "Commemorating the Kent State Tragedy through Victims' Trauma in Television News Coverage, 1990–2000." *The Communication Review* 12 (2): 107–131.
- Holmqvist, Mikael. 2009. "Medicalization of Unemployment: Individualizing Social Issues as Personal Problems in the Swedish Welfare State." *Work, Employment and Society* 23 (3): 405–421.
- Holody, Kyle J., Sung-Yeon Park, and Xiaoqun Zhang. 2013. "Racialization of the Virginia Tech Shootings: A Comparison of Local and National Newspapers." *Journalism Studies* 14 (4): 568–583.
- Holt, Lanier, and Lesa Major. 2010. "Frame and Blame: An Analysis of How National and Local Newspapers Framed the Jena Six Controversy." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 87 (3 and 4): 582–597.
- Ingold, John. 2015. "As Trial Nears, Debate Grows over Naming the Aurora Theater Shooter." *The Denver Post*, February 9. http://www.denverpost.com/news/ci_27488346/trial-nears-debate-grows-over-naming-aurora-theater.
- Iyengar, Shanto. 1991. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Jervis, Rick, and John McAuliff. 2012. "Colo. Rampage Adds Fuel to Gun-control Debate." *USA Today*, July 25. <http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/story/2012-07-24/aurora-gun-control-debate/56465980/1>.
- Joslyn, Mark R., and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2013. "The Politics of Causes: Mass Shootings and the Cases of the Virginia Tech and Tucson Tragedies." *Social Science Quarterly* 94 (2): 410–423.
- Kiousis, Spiro. 2004. "Explicating Media Salience: A Factor Analysis of *New York Times* Issue Coverage During the 2000 U.S. Presidential Election." *Journal of Communication* 54 (1): 71–87.
- Kupchik, Aaron, and Nicole Bracy. 2009. "The News Media on School Crime and Violence: Constructing Dangerousness and Fueling Fear." *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 7 (2): 136–155.
- Kwon, Kyounghee Hazel, and Shin-Il Moon. 2009. "The Bad Guy is One of Us: Framing Comparison between the US and Korean Newspapers and Blogs about the Virginia Tech Shooting." *Asian Journal of Communication* 19 (3): 270–288.
- Lacy, Stephen, Frederick Fico, and Todd Simon. 1991. "Fairness and Balance in the Prestige Press." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 68 (3): 363–370.
- Lawrence, Regina G., and Thomas A. Birkland. 2004. "Guns, Hollywood, and School Safety: Defining the School-Shooting Problem across Public Arenas." *Social Science Quarterly* 85 (5): 1193–1207.
- Lin, Trisha T. 2012. "Cross-Platform Framing and Cross-Cultural Adaptation: Examining Elephant Conservation in Thailand." *Environmental Communication* 6 (2): 193–211.
- Maher, Michael. 2001. "Framing: An Emerging Paradigm or a Phase of Agenda Setting?" In *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, edited by Stephen D. Reese and Oscar H. Gandy, 83–94. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Manheim, Jarol. 1987. "A Model of Agenda Dynamics." In *Communication Yearbook 10*, edited by Margaret J. McLaughlin, 499–516. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Mathieu, Arline. 1993. "The Medicalization of Homelessness and the Theater of Repression." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 7: 170–184.
- McCombs, Maxwell E. 2005. "A Look at Agenda-setting: Past, Present and Future." *Journalism Studies* 6 (4): 543–557.

- McCombs, Maxwell E. 2014. *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. 2nd ed. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- McCombs, Maxwell E., and Tamara Bell. 1996. "The Agenda-setting Role of Mass Communication." In *An Integrated Approach to Communication Theory and Research*, edited by Don W. Stacks and Michael B. Salwen, 93–110. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- McCombs, Maxwell E., and Salma Ismail Ghanem. 2001. "The Convergence of Agenda Setting and Framing." In *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, 67–82. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- McQuail, Denis. 2005. *Mass Communication Theory*. 5th ed. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Muschart, Glen. 2007a. "The Columbine Victims and the Myth of the Juvenile Superpredator." *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 5 (4): 351–366.
- Muschart, Glenn. 2007b. "Research in School Shootings." *Sociology Compass* 1 (1): 60–80.
- Muschart, Glenn W. 2009. "Frame-changing in the Media Coverage of a School Shooting: The Rise of Columbine as a National Concern." *The Social Science Journal* 46 (1): 164–170.
- Muschart, Glenn W., and Dawn Carr. 2006. "Media Salience and Frame Changing Across Events: Coverage of Nine School Shootings, 1997–2001." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 83 (4): 747–766.
- Muschart, Glenn W., and Johanna Sumiala. 2012. *School Shootings: Mediatized Violence in a Global Age*. Bradford, UK: Emerald.
- Neuman, W. Russell, Marion R. Just, and Ann Crigler. 1992. *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Nitz, Michael, Oyvind Ihlen, Jessyna Egge, and Stacy Sobolik. 2009. "Transatlantic Perspectives on the U.S. 2004 Election: The Case of Norway." *Nordicom Review* 30 (1): 113–129.
- O'Neill, Ann. 2015. "Theater Shooter Holmes Gets 12 Life Sentences, Plus 3,318 Years." *CNN.com*, August 27. <http://www.cnn.com/2015/08/26/us/james-holmes-aurora-massacre-sentencing/index.html>.
- 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 and Mass Communication Quarterly* 89 (3): 475–494.
- Reese, Stephen D. 2007. "The Framing Project: A Bridging Model for Media Research Revisited." *Journal of Communication* 57 (1): 148–154.
- Ryan, John, and James Hawdon. 2008. "From Individual to Community: The 'Framing' of 4–16 and the Display of Social Solidarity." *Traumatology* 14 (1): 43–51.
- Scheufele, Dietram A. 2000. "Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication." *Mass Communication and Society* 3 (2 and 3): 297–316.
- Scheufele, Dietram A., and David Tewksbury. 2007. "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models." *Journal of Communication* 57 (1): 9–20.
- Schildkraut, Jaclyn. 2012. "Media and Massacre: A Comparative Analysis of the Reporting of the 2007 Virginia Tech Shootings." *Fast Capitalism*. http://www.uta.edu/huma/agger/fastcapitalism/9_1/schildkraut9_1.html.
- Schildkraut, Jaclyn, and Tiffany Cox Hernandez. 2014. "Laws that Bit the Bullet: A Review of Legislative Responses to School Shootings." *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 39 (2): 358–374.
- Schildkraut, Jaclyn, and Glenn Muschart. 2013. "Violent Media, Guns, and Mental Illness: The Three Ring Circus of Causal Factors for School Massacres, as Related in Media Discourse." *Fast Capitalism*. http://www.uta.edu/huma/agger/fastcapitalism/10_1/schildkraut10_1.html.

- Seate, Anita Atwell, Elizabeth L. Cohen, Yuki Fujioka, and Cynthia Hoffner. 2012. "Exploring Gun Ownership as a Social Identity to Understanding the Perceived Media Influence of the Virginia Tech News Coverage on Attitudes toward Gun Control Policy." *Communication Research Reports* 29 (2): 130–139.
- Semetko, Holli, and Patti Valkenburg. 2000. "Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News." *Journal of Communication* 50 (2): 93–109.
- Shah, Dhavan, David Domke, and Daniel Wackman. 1996. "'To Thine Own Self Be True': Values, Framing, and Voter Decision-Making Strategies." *Communication Research* 23 (5): 509–560.
- Soraghan, Mike. 2000. "Colorado after Columbine: The Gun Debate." *The Free Library*. [http://www.thefreelibrary.com/COLORADO AFTER COLUMBINE THE GUN DEBATE.-a063840684](http://www.thefreelibrary.com/COLORADO+AFTER+COLUMBINE+THE+GUN+DEBATE.-a063840684).
- Stelter, B. 2015. "Victims' Parents Want 'No Notoriety' for Mass Shooters." *CNN*, January 25. <http://www.cnn.com/videos/tv/2015/01/25/victims-parents-want-no-notoriety-for-mass-shooters.cnn>.
- Supa, Dustin, and Lynn Zoch. 2009. "Maximizing Media Relations Through a Better Understanding of the Public Relations-Journalist Relationship: A Quantitative Analysis of Changes Over the Past 23 Years." *Public Relations Journal* 3 (4): 1–28.
- Tankard, James. 2001. "The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing." In *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, 95–106. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Trumbo, Craig. 1995. "Longitudinal Modeling of Public Issues: An Application of the Agenda-Setting Process to the Issue of Global Warming." *Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs* 152: 1–57.
- Trumbo, Craig. 1996. "Constructing Climate Change: Claims and Frames in US News Coverage of an Environmental Issue." *Public Understanding of Science* 5 (3): 269–283.
- Vang, Jan. 2007. "The Spatial Organization of the News Industry: Questioning Assumptions about Knowledge Externalities for Clustering of Creative Industries." *Innovation: Management, Policy and Practice* 9 (1): 14–27.
- de Vreese, Claes H. 2005a. "News Framing: Theory and Typology." *Information Design Journal* 13 (1): 51–62.
- de Vreese, Claes H. 2005b. "The Spiral of Cynicism Reconsidered." *European Journal of Communication* 20 (3): 283–301.
- de Vreese, Claes H., and Hajo Boomgaarden. 2003. "Valenced News Frames and Public Support for the EU." *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research* 28 (4): 361–81.
- Vu, Hong Tein, Lei Guo, and Maxwell E. McCombs. 2014. "Exploring 'the World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads': A Network Agenda-Setting Study." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 91 (4): 669–686.
- Weaver, David H. 2007. "Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing, and Priming." *Journal of Communication* 57: 142–147.
- Welsh, Teresa. 2012. "Should the Colorado Theater Shooting Spur More Gun Control? A Fatal Shooting at a Movie Theater in Colorado Raises Questions about Tighter Gun Control Laws." *US News*, July 20. <http://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2012/07/20/should-the-colorado-theater-shooting-spur-more-gun-control>.
- Winter, Jessica. 2015. "Giving Up on Gun Control: Mass Shootings Used to Inspire at National Conversation on Guns. Now We Find Something Else to Talk about." *Slate*. June 24. http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2015/06/gun_control_debate_we_re_not_having_one_after_charleston_and_we_haven_t.html.

Zhu, Jian-Hua. 1992. "Issue Competition and Attention Distraction: A Zero-Sum Theory of Agenda-Setting." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 69 (4): 825–836.

Kyle J. Holody (author to whom correspondence should be addressed), Department of Communication, Languages and Cultures, Coastal Carolina University, USA. E-mail: kholody@coastal.edu

Emory S. Daniel, Department of Communication, North Dakota State University, USA. E-mail: emory.daniel@my.ndsu.edu

Copyright of Journalism Practice is the property of Routledge and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.