

Article Title	Labeling Theory	Anomie Theory
Gun Spree at Columbine High	"trench coat mafia"	"Urgent need for concerted action by Congress, state legislators, and gun manufacturers..."
Though Far from Colorado, One High school is Feeling a Sense of the Terror	"Jocks, brains, burnouts, and goths, the black-clad demimonde to which Mr. Harris and Mr. Dylan apparently belonged."	"Now you have to worry even more, who you can and can't be friends with"
Letter to the Editor 3-No title	"trench coat mafia"	
	"potential troublemakers"	
A Principal's Grief		"I saw fire alarms had gone off, kids exiting the building, teachers helping kids out of the building"
		"Why were the 15 killed? Why? Life is so unfair."
2 Are Suspects; Delay Caused By Explosives	"members of a self-styled group of loners and outcasts"	"the incident set off a national bout of soul searching and debates over...guns or by the violent images on television and in video games"
	"trench coat mafia"	"I can't even imagine walking into that school right now...I don't think I ever want to set foot in there again"
	"popular students whom they referred to as jocks"	"many parents say they moved to enroll their students in good and safe public schools, grief and shock were pervasive"
	"largest school massacre by students in the country's history"	"repercussions were felt far beyond Colorado"
The Scourge of School Violence	"two troubled, suicidal killers"	"School Security"; "Early Intervention"; "Gun Control"
	"troubled students"	
Authorities Find a Large Bomb in Building	"trench coat mafia"	
	"trench-coat-clad student"	
	"extension of a long-running feud that members of the trench coat mafia had with more popular cliques at the school, known as jocks and preps"	

	"the trench coat group could act as bullies, the jocks sometimes referring to members of the other group with derogatory homosexual terms and the outcast group sometimes invoking Nazi terminology"	
Portrait of Outcasts Seeking to Stand Out	"outcasts"	
	"long black coats and hung with a clique of middle class suburban teenagers"	
	"a little weird"	
Students on the Fringe Found a way to Stand Out	"trench coat mafia"	
	"their tongues were dripping with hatred for racial minorities and athletes"	
	"The members of the group kept mostly to themselves, listening to German rock music..."	
	"bizarre style...popular Gothic look"	
	"nerds, geeks, and dweebs trying to find some place to fit in"	
	"They were outcasts."	
The Stresses of Youth, The Strains of Its Music		"editorial page writes wondered how two young men with such floridly grisly tastes could proceed unnoticed by parents or peers"
		"hopes parents will look harder at the culture their children consume"
Students Planned Attack For a Year, Diary Reveals	"trench coat mafia"	"parents should have known"
		"In Denver and other cities around the country, school superintendents have banned the wearing of black trench coats to school"
A 'Suicide Mission'	"the deadliest school massacre in the nation's history"	"one teacher came in and basically told us to run for our lives"
	"trench coat mafia"	"I thought I was going to die. I really didn't think I was going to make it. We would hear shots, then we heard crying. We had no clue what was going on."
	"misfits"	"You should be safe at school. This should be a safe place."

	"long black coats and Gothic look"	"This is a cultural virus...We have to ask ourselves what kind of children we are raising"
	"nerds, geeks and dweebs trying to find a place to fit in"	"Blood was going all over...I just can't believe it is happening at my school"
Society of Outcasts Began with a \$99 Black Coat	"ragtag groups of outcasts for years"	
	"one of the deadliest school massacres in American history"	
	"If they're different, why wouldn't we look at them as weird?"	
The Trouble with Look for Signs of Trouble	"anti-social"	"The boy stalking victims through a video dungeon in the game Doom...might as well be the next person to shoot up a school in some polished American suburb"
	"unpopular types, never the jocks or the student body leaders"	"What many schools want is a metal detector for personality"
	"outcast clique"	"I worry about this every day when I send my kids off to school"
Can it Happen Here? Across U.S., Schools Wonder		"outward signals of distress over the killings...schools around the country turned inward today with an intensity inspired by no previous school mayhem, seeking solace and answers and assurance"
		"Do I have to look in the faces of my friends and see potential murderers?"
Good Grades, Good Teams and Some Bad Feelings	"the jocks and preps, who rile the roost to stoners, skaters, freaks and, yes, the trench coat mafia"	"I thought we lived in a bubble"
		"Metal detectors? No one even thought about installing them at Columbine"
Theme Song on the Internet: The Pain of Social Ostracism	"social ostracism"	"maybe it will make people rethink before they opened their mouth next time"
	"outsiders"	"Until this culture actually learns to stop the out of control behavior that is accepted by jock culture you will see a lot more outcasts with guns"
	"freaks"	
	"they were not 'cool different', they were racists"	

Violence by Youths: Looking for Answers	"the worst school shooting in modern time"	"We teach our kids 'Thou shall not kill,' and then we let them play hours of the most violent video games"
	"Alienated youths"	
	"pitting students known as the trench coat mafia against the athletes – Goths versus Jocks"	
	"dysfunctional individuals"	
	"emotional train wrecks"	
Sketch of Killers: Contradictions and Confusion	"bright young man"	
	"trench coat mafia"	
	"quiet, shy teenagers"	
	"nut case"	
	"very articulate and intelligent"	
Sounds From a Massacre: ' Oh God, Kids, Stay Down'	"a nice guy"	"part of the problem was the easy availability of guns"
		"they would feel fear or revulsion to go back to the building"
A Gap in the Curriculum		"Reduce violence in the media"; "Control Guns"; "Put armed guards in schools"; "Put metal detectors at school entrances"; "Prevent children from exchanging ghoulish thoughts on the Internet"; "Reduce cliques among students"; "Parents need to be more accountable"; "Public schools need to uphold the principles of good citizenship"
With Abundance of Confusions and Few Facts, Nonstop Coverage	"trench coat mafia"	
	"sick people"	
	"social outcasts"	

Appendix A: Application of Sociological Theories: *New York Times* - Columbine Shooting

Article Title	Labeling Theory	Anomie Theory
Horror at Virginia Tech, Then the Hard Questions		"College students around the country are shocked and horrified"
-Letter to the Editor		"I, for one, am worried about the possible increases in danger that threaten future college students"
Deadly Rampage and No Loss for Words	"narcissistic"	
	"senseless death-as-usual"	
Eight Years After Columbine	"unstable or criminally minded individual"	"it will be important to ascertain whether there were any hints of the tragedy to come and what be done to head off such horrors in the future"
For School, Several Ties to Shooting		"It's as though we're getting a reputation for being that school where all this violence happens"

		"Mostly, people are confused. It seems like a lot of bad things to happen in one place"
For Rampage Killers, Familiar Descriptions, 'Troubled' and 'Loner,' but No Profile	"troubled"	
	"loner"	
	"there's a suicidal ideal and a homicidal ideal"	
	"'charlatans' and 'rich kids' on campus"	
	"Asian"	
Drumbeat of Shots, Broken by Pauses to Reload	"humiliated, mortified and enraged"	"the tension level on campus was still running high"
		"Countless lives could have been saved if they had informed the student body of the first shooting."
		"She became frantic...the teacher in me was panicking, and the mother in me was panicking"
University Explains the Return of Troubled Student	"troubled"	
	"suicidal"	
Amid the Chaos of Deaths, a Minister Attends to Those Who Are Grieving		"They were repeating the cried of the students, they were telling me that the students were saying, 'I'm going to die, I'm going to die.' That's the kind of thing that keeps you up at night."
Anger of Killer Was on Exhibit in His Writings in University's English Department	"violent"	
	"abnormal in his behavior or affect"	
	"kinda weird quiet kid who never talks"	
	"angry"	
Officials Knew Troubled State of Killer in '05	"troubled"	
	"sullen and aggressive"	
	"depressed"	
	"intimidating"	
	"very arrogant"	
32 Shot Dead in Virginia; Worst U.S. Gun Rampage	"disaffected"	"Schools should be places of sanctuary and safety and learning. When that sanctuary is violated, the impact is felt in every American classroom and every American community."
	"normal looking kid, Asian, but he had on a boy scout outfit"	"I would like to know why the university did not immediately shut down"
		"an e-mail warning was sent, saying a gunman was 'loose on campus'"
Another Young Man Who Was Angry and Lonely, but Unarmed	"angry"	
	"lonely"	
	"bizarre"	

	"threatening"	
Police Questioned Man in First Attack While Second Unfolded	"a South Korean immigrant"	"My parents are actually worried about retaliation against Asians"
	"psychological problems"	
Online, Students Say 'Reach Out to Loners'	"vindictive victim/And coincidentally Korean"	
	"a sad soul"	
The Portrait of a Gunman, and of a Society	"Instead of reaching out, those closest to him labeled him strange. Instead of intervening, they dismissed him and ignored him"	"As a Korean-American, I never thought or imagined that this type of crime could be done by a Korean"
-Letters to the Editor	"young, desperate, angry, isolated and miserable"	
Korean-Americans Brace for Problems in Wake of Killings	"stereotypical Asian loner"	"stay home as much as possible and to not tell anyone that I was Korean."
		"Across the nation, Koreans have braced for harassment"
		"the stereotypical Asian loner becomes a killer"
		"The Korean-American community is really concerned"
		"As a member of the Korean-American community, I'm a little embarrassed and a little ashamed."
		"As a Korean, I apologize."
		"When the news media said it was an Asian, we prayed, we prayed, 'Not Korean, not Korean.'"
		"he had received reports of hateful comments aimed at Koreans being posted on Facebook and various blog sites"
Unsettled Day on Campuses Around U.S.	"crazed person with a gun"	"after the shooting at Virginia Tech on Monday, nerves were on edge at universities nationwide."
When The Group Is Wise	"indifferent to every small act of human kindness, any effort to connect"	
Package Forced NBC to Make Tough Decisions	"threats and gibberish"	
Laws Limit Colleges' Options When a Student is Mentally Ill	"a history of mental health problems"	
Inside Room 207, Students Panicked at Rampage and Then Held Off Gunman's Return	"South Korean student"	
	"very calm, very determined, very methodical in his killing"	
	"there has to be something terribly wrong with you to do something like that in the first place"	

The Killer in the Lecture Hall	"deranged murderer"	"Most of the broad social 'lessons' we are being told we must learn from the Virginia Tech shootings have little to do with what allowed the horrors to occur."
	"potentially dangerous"	
A Volatile Young Man, Humiliation and a Gun	"volatile"	
	"riddled with shame"	
	"bitterly misogynistic"	
	"suffering from depression"	

Appendix B: Application of Sociological Theories: *New York Times* –VA Tech Shooting

Article Title	Labeling Theory	Anomie Theory
Gun Massacres 20 Children at School in Connecticut; 28 Dead, Including Killer(A1, cont. A16)	"the nation's second-deadliest school shooting, exceeded only by the Virginia Tech massacres, in which a gunman killed 32 people and then himself"	
Nation's Pain is Renewed, and Difficult Questions Are Asked Once More (A18)	"the second deadliest school shooting in the country's history"	"Why does it happen? What can be done to stop it?"
	"mass killers had histories with mental illness, with warning signs missed by people who knew them and...psychological deterioration left unaddressed by the country's mental health system"	"events like the Sandy Hook killings trigger fundamental fears"
		"there was new talk of the need to be vigilant"
A Gunman, Recalled as Intelligent and Shy, Who Left Few Footprints in Life (A1 cont. A18)	"one of the deadliest school shootings in the nation's history"	
	"He was a socially awkward kid...He always had issues. He was kind of a loner." (comment from former classmate)	
"Who Would do this to Our Poor Little Babies" (A1 cont. A17)		"Who Would do this to Our Poor Little Babies"
Obama's Cautious Call for Action Sets Stage to Revive Gun Debate (A19)		"Mr. Obama advocated gun laws days after the shooting in Aurora on July 20, but he did not break ground in proposing legislation."
Newtown, Conn., and Guns in America – Letters to the Editor (A22)		"the gun lobby, timid politicians, and the Supreme Court continue to aid and abet rampant gun violence"
		"killings have become an epidemic, a cancer in the soul of American life"
		"time has come for Mr.Obama to take the guns out of the hands of mindless killers"

		"Second Amendment proponents have dominated our gun control discussion for far too long"
A Tragedy of Silence		"When, and how, will this end?"
		"We must reinstate the assault weapon ban."
Act of Heroism (A1cont.A27)		"a place where children supposed to be safe"
The Nation Heads Back to School With New Worries About Safety (A1 cont. A16)		"In Boston, the public schools have asked the police to step up visits to elementary schools"
Pro-Gun on Capitol Hill Signal Openness to New Restrictions (A1 cont. A32)		"mass shootings have promoted waves of grief and resolve to take action, only to fade in relatively short order"
Computer in Connecticut Gunman's Home Yields No Data, Investigators Say (A30)		"In some places, armed officers greeted students amid tighter safety procedures, and education officials rethought their security policies"
What Drives Suicidal Mass Killers (A35)	"the presence of mental illness can inflame these beliefs, leading perpetrators to have irrational and exaggerated perceptions of their own victimization"	
Mourning, Outrage and Questions – Letters to the Editor (A34)	"Why would the mother of a <u>mentally unstable son</u> teach him how to shoot? Why would she have unsecured guns accessible to him?...why did she need those in the first place?"	"we must identify, as early as possible, those children most in need of psychological intervention"
	"What about the stigma attached to mental illness and its damaging consequence?"	"we should be regularly screening our children for signs of psychological instability"
	"time to de-stigmatize mental illness"	
Silent Since Shootings, N.R.A. Could Face Challenge to Political Power (A31)	"the second deadliest school shooting in United States history"	
Schools Across the Nation Look Again at Safety Measures Once Dismissed (A32)		"Around the country, about 28,300 schools-just under one-third of all public schools already have armed security staff on campus"
The Yawning Loophole in the Gun Laws (A34)		"the law does not cover private sales of guns, including transactions by 'occasional sellers' at gun shows and flea markets, in what has become a gaping loophole..."

Appendix C: Application of Sociological Theories: *New York Times* – Sandy Hook Shooting

Article Title	Labeling Theory	Anomie Theory
Video, poems foretold of doom	"devilish look"	
	"often joked about death"	
	"intimidators"	
A diary of devastation	"nerd"	
Plans for high school and students unclear		"It's weird thinking that this happened at our school. I'll come back, but I think a lot of people will leave."
Park an oasis for mourning	"two monsters"	
	"selfish"	
Moments of true courage in a time of sheer terror		"Coors Field and McNichols Sports arena are unexpectedly silent"
To heal our souls	"mindless, senseless violence"	
Shooter told friend: 'Get out of here'	"brooding outcasts"	
	"victims"	
	"filled with hate"	
	"racist"	
Other towns wonder		"Could our school be next?"
		"this is the ultimate commentary on how much we seem to accept and even promote violence in our society"
Carnage puts spotlight on Trench Coat Mafia	"Junior terrorists"	
	"different"	
	"young storm troopers"	
Bombs, guns used in murderous attacks	"revenge time on jocks for making us outcasts"	
Parents, educators draw blame		"parents need to do a better job of recognizing when their children have problems"
Metro-area schools lock doors, tighten security		"elementary and middle schools in the immediate area were locked down"
		"we're taking all necessary precautions that we can within our resources"
Comfortable suburbs harbor troubled teens	"weaker and crippled"	
	"racist"	
	"fascist"	
Hate calls, threats target 'goth' youths	"Goth"	
	"outcasts"	
	"teased"	
	"white supremacist"	
Investigators seek clues in 15 deaths	"mocked"	
	"outcasts"	

Teens struggle to understand		"it's supposed to be the happiest time of my life"
Rifle found in student's car at Kiowa High		"eerie coincidence...informed that a student may or may not have a gun or access to a gun"
State lawmakers retreat, withdraw gun legislation		"nobody's going to be able to discuss it rationally"
Arm the teachers		"think about what might have happened if the teachers had been armed"
Area schools tighten security, ban trench coats		"schools...ban trench coats"
Mystery how team players became loners	"loners"	
	"bashful, ordinary"	
	"quiet boy"	
	"anger-management"	
	"very articulate and intelligent"	
	"depressed"	
	"very bright young man who is likely to succeed in life"	
"motivated"		
Goth-fashion crackdown seen by some as fascism	"neo-Nazis"	"a student at Englewood high school was ticketed Thursday for wearing a leather collar and leather bracelets with spikes to school"
Copycat threats spook schools across nation		"copycat threats spook schools across the nation"
School life hard for misfit kids	"misfit"	
	"loner"	
	"miserable"	
	"selfish"	
Manson concert called off		"the concert by controversial rock star Marilyn Manson slated for next week at Red Rocks Amphitheatre has been cancelled in the wake of the Columbine High School tragedy"
3 arrested at rampage say 'people in black' persecuted		"three teenagers in black jackets arrested...they had nothing to do with the shooting or the Trench Coat Mafia"
Germany lured Harris	"persecuted"	
	"racist"	
Teens lost in empty homes, communities		"people ask, why is this happening in schools?"

Appendix D: Application of Sociological Theories: *The Denver Post*

Article Title	Labeling Theory	Anomie Theory
Students React		"on campus, chaos and confusion"
Alumni never felt unsafe		"the thought of this happening would never cross your mind"
Campus Security		"'What if' now looms large over colleges, universities"
		"some question decision not to secure campus"
The Killer: Who was he?	"loner"	"I wanna watch him bleed like the way he made us kids bleed"
	"disturbed classmates"	
Demand High for Hokie Brand		"Area merchants scramble to help customers convey their sympathy and support"
Responsibility for Safety		"potential for suing university"
Cho had characteristics of killer	"misogynistic"	
	"loner"	
Experts: Autism not the cause	"Cho may have had disorder, but alone would not lead to his rampage"	
Shootings at Virginia Tech Elicit Readers' Responses		"Why would you forbid students from leaving the only building known to be the location of the earlier shooting?"
Conflicting gun laws let Cho buy	"23-year old mentally ill senior"	
Tech tragedy has implications for dealing with mentally ill		"...add fuel to the debate over the role the state bears in dealing with mental illness"
A list of "little incidents"	"aggressive"	
	"psychiatric clinic"	
	"odd"	
Crime scene also a sacred site		"mourners have turned Norris Hall into a shrine"
Tech tragedy on Sunday talk shows		"Cho's gun purchases focus of debate"
From Blacksburg to Bulgarian TV		"VCU junior's report on Tech killings air in her native country"

Appendix E: Application of Sociological Theories: *Richmond Times-Dispatch*

Article Title	Labeling Theory	Anomie Theory
Mental Health: Finding and Offering Help (A5)		Part of the newspaper's "Resources for Troubled Times"
A Gunman bent on Carnage (A1)	"worst shooting at a primary school in U.S. History"	
Common Grief, Shared Pain (A1)		"I never thought this would happen here"

School	"Friday's massacre might be the largest school shooting of young children in the world"	
Around the World, Grief, Anger, Compassion	"one of the worst mass shootings in the United States in decades"	"We heard after Columbine that it was too soon to talk about gun laws. We heard it after Virginia Tech. After Tucson and Aurora and Oak Creek...This is a national tragedy and it demands a national response."
School Shootings	"The worst school massacres in U.S. history"	The article lists all the school shootings that have happened dating back to 1927.
Horror in Newtown- Editorial	"It is far too easy in America for a sick mind to find a gun and use it"	"gun violence is a constant companion of the residents of Connecticut's cities"
		"We don't know when, but it can't end unless people demand it and leaders act"
The Problem is Mental Health- Letter to the Editor		"harder to confront mental health issues we have in this country"
Explaining a Tragedy		"So how are parents supposed to explain the shooting to their children"
Gunman Went Room To Room In A Methodical Massacre	"second largest mass killing"	"played graphically violent computer video games"
Profile Emerges, But Motive Still Elusive	"He was a loner"	
The Victims	"worst massacre at a primary school in the country's history"	
This Time, Maybe the Children Will Lead Us		"This has to be the time when we rise up as a civilized society and say enough"
		"need to eliminate automatic weapons"
		"This tragedy underscores the urgency of getting rid of gun bans in school zones"
Shootings Ratchet Up Security Concerns Elsewhere (A8)		"reviewing their security systems and fielding calls from parents worried about their children's safety"
		"the killings in Newton will 'change the conversations' about safety"
Shooter Described As A Loner	"loner"	
	"the deadliest rampage at an elementary school in U.S. history"	
	"investigators believe Adam Lanza's isolation and social awkwardness were consistent with Asperger's syndrome" (later disproven)	
'What Has Gone So Wrong?'		'How can we believe in a good, loving God that allows such innocent suffer? Such evil?'

Nation Joins Connecticut In Our Grief – Taken from other newspapers		"Two deadly shootings in one week point to a glaring need for sober, unrelenting conversations about gun control"
		"Now such things seem to happen with numbing regularity"
		"Societal attitudes toward violence, reflected in video games and movies and music, may be factors"
Police Presence At Schools in State Will be Increased (A1 cont. A11)		"classes across Connecticut Monday will see police officers in and around their schools"
		"Armed guards and searches at the door work."
Obama Offers Comfort, Vows to Address Gun Violence (A1)	"one of the worst mass shootings in the nation's history"	
Unknown	"description of the awkward loner who's socially disconnected—you'd have to screen hundreds of people"	
	"distinguish between kids who simply don't have many friends and those who have been rejected-both categories often covered by the label of 'loner'"	
Editorial (A13)	"They are eccentrics, loners, odd ducks"	"Do you really want to arm elementary school teachers?"
No More Semi-Automatics – Letter to the Editor (A13)		"Do I have to fear for my safety at work as well? What sort of country do we live in..."
Letters to the Editor		"Need Panic Button"
		"Police At Every School"
		"Arm Teachers"
		"Give Up The Guns"
		"Mental Health System Can't Fix This"
Geneticist Joins Search for Possible Motive	"Criminal and deranged"	

Appendix F: Application of Sociological Theories: *The Hartford Courant*

Shooter(s)

Shooting	Name	Mental Status	Physical Appearance	Personal/Family History	Status in the community	Community
						Comments
Columbine	155	25	22	67	51	23
VA Tech	80	33	46	42	3	17
Sandy Hook	82	14	16	27	4	16

Victims

Shooting	Name	Victim Number Reference	Physical Appearance	Personal/Family History	Status in the community	Community Comments
Columbine	24	31	9	16	7	14
VA Tech	39	23	25	30	33	35
Sandy Hook	116	37	40	44	47	38

Appendix G: *New York Times* - Shooter vs. Victim Coverage

The Denver Post – Columbine High School Shooters

Name Mention	Mental Status	Physical Appearance	Personal/Family History	Status in the community	Community
					Comments
299	14	67	49	44	48

Victims

Name Mention	Victim Number Reference	Physical Appearance	Personal/Family History	Status in the community	Community Comments
144	36	33	77	25	73

Appendix H: Local Newspapers Shooter vs. Victim Coverage

Richmond Times-Dispatch – Virginia Tech University Shooter

Name Mention	Mental Status	Physical Appearance	Personal/Family History	Status in the community	Community
					Comments
183	12	34	13	5	21

Victims

Name Mention	Victim Number Reference	Physical Appearance	Personal/Family History	Status in the community	Community Comments
54	33	43	42	29	36

Hartford Courant – Sandy Hook Elementary School
Shooter

Name Mention	Mental Status	Physical Appearance	Personal/Family History	Status in the community	Community
					Comments
110	23	4	48	8	24

Victims

Name Mention	Victim Number Reference	Physical Appearance	Personal/Family History	Status in the community	Community Comments
495	95	33	278	211	61

Appendix H: Local Newspapers Shooter vs. Victim Coverage (continued)

Appendix I: Photos – Conflict and Gatekeeping Theory.
Columbine HS Shooting:

The Denver Post



Virginia Tech Shooting:

The Richmond Times



Appendix I: Photos – Conflict and Gatekeeping Theory (continued)
Sandy Hook Shooting:

The New York Times



JESSICA HILL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A woman waiting to hear news about her sister, a teacher at Sandy Hook Elementary.



ERIC THAYER/REUTERS

Reporters and photographers surrounded a woman who placed flowers outside the school where 20 students were killed.

Appendix I: Photos – Conflict and Gatekeeping Theory (continued)
Sandy Hook (cont.):

The Hartford Courant



JOHN WOIKE | WOIKE@COURANT.COM

VERONIQUE POZNER, the mother of Noah Pozner, is escorted to her car by a friend after his funeral Monday.