APPENDIX

Appendix A: Newspaper Quotes on Student Advocates

A1: Victims

- Responses to trauma take different forms, and a handful of students are channeling their grief
 into activism. In interviews with 12 students, most said their activism was a coping strategy;
 others called it a response to the reality of what they'd experienced. (Grinberg, 2018)
- Six Parkland survivors agreed to share with CNN their progress during the weeks since the shooting. They have been using their cellphones to capture their thoughts and moments from their lives. What emerged are intimate portraits of strength, solidarity, grief, defiance and a sense of determination to turn pain into change. (Ryan, 2018)
- If Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School were like any other school, its students and staff wouldn't be balancing their academic lives with the public ones they never asked for. But the day 19-year-old Nikolas Cruz barged into his former school with a Smith & Wesson M&P 15, they were pulled through a prism of identities: They became survivors, advocates, activists, leaders, mourners, celebrities, political figures and pariahs. (Willingham & Gallagher, 2018)
- In the weeks after the shooting, as Stoneman Douglas senior Hannah Karcinell bounced among funerals and protests, she channeled her grief through activism. (Grinberg, 2019)

A2: Youth power

- Some on the left were hopeful that the unsullied voices of teenagers, cutting through the usual tussle over whether gun control advocates were politicizing a tragedy, would move previously unbudgeable lawmakers. (Turkewitz & Yee, 2018)
- What makes teenagers amazing or infuriating, if you're in an argument with one is they
 don't know what they're not supposed to be able to do. They haven't learned that being smart
 means being cynical about what you can accomplish. They haven't been hard-wired with
 platitudes and euphemisms. They haven't internalized a list of questions that are too naïve or
 impolite to ask. (Poniewozik, 2018)
- And perhaps most dramatically, the We-Call-B.S. teenagers of Florida have injected a
 passionate new energy into a stale debate, organizing demonstrations, flooding the
 Statehouse in Tallahassee, composing songs, creating protest signs, confronting politicians
 and taking to TV airwaves with an intensity and composure and power rarely seen in recent
 years. (Baker & Shear, 2018)
- The first major coordinated action of the student-led movement for gun control marshaled the same elements that had defined it ever since the Parkland shooting: eloquent young voices, equipped with symbolism and social media savvy, riding a resolve as yet untouched by cynicism. (Yee & Blinder, 2018)

A3: Youth deficit

"You sicken me," said one child on CBS. "President Trump, you control the House of Representatives, you control the Senate, and you control the executive [branch]. You haven't taken a single bill for mental health care or gun control and passed it. And that's pathetic. We've seen a government shutdown, we've seen tax reform, but nothing to save our children's lives. Are you kidding me? You think now is the time to focus on the past and not the future to prevent the death of thousands of other children?" President Trump does not control the House

- or the Senate. It's too bad the CBS host did not correct the young man. Maybe CBS didn't know any better, either. (Starnes, 2018)
- [Ingraham]: The AR-15 is not an automatic weapon, but if you are not familiar with guns or you don't know -- that's what kind of people think and believed, and I feel bad for a lot of these kids because -- I didn't know anything about this when I was 15 and 16-years-old. I just didn't know. (Ingraham, 2018)
- The ideas sound good at first glance and are certainly well-meaning. But in reality, the policies being proposed will either have no effect or even cause harm. (Lott, 2018b)
- "This is the problem with political theater lacking substance," Ingraham said. "Lots of people show up and they applaud for Lin-Manuel [Miranda] and Amy Schumer, but what are they marching for? To repeal the Second Amendment? To ban weapons they can't even define? The truth is, they don't really know." (Fox News, 2018b)
- This sort of millennial generation who is self-obsessed and who wants recognition. And this is
 especially true in those who feel marginalized and swept aside and are looking for some kind
 of voice. (Francis, 2018)

A4: Co-opted movement

- So when you hear the youngsters spouting off about how the NRA should be destroyed and how NRA members are child killers -- take a deep breath and understand they have been brainwashed by government-funded indoctrination camps - pardon me - public schools. And now CNN and MSNBC are using the kids as political pawns. (Starnes, 2018)
- Indiana parent activist Heather Crossin tells Breitbart News the student walkouts are an example that the "radical left has stooped to a new low with this latest stunt of using minors to fight their battles." "Asking them to disrupt learning time, during the regular school day, to make a political statement is unconscionable," she adds. "It shows what little regard national organizers actually have for the students whose individual schools they hope to destabilize or for the adults who are charged with running them." (Berry, 2018a)
- "The Whitney Houston song about letting the children lead the way wasn't actually had operating paradigm for life.....," Hughes wrote. "And when the truth don't line up with your bullshit narrative just hold your breath and stamp your feet and refused to except it.... then take multiple days off of school playing hooky at the expense of 16 of your classmates blood....!.... it might be funny if it wasn't so pathetic and disgusting." (Hawkins, 2018b)
- But as Breitbart News reported, the rally first planned by high school students was quickly hijacked by the left and gun control groups, transforming it into a turn out-the-liberal-vote event. Breitbart News also reported that very few teens actually attended the D.C. event. (Starr, 2018a)

Appendix B: Newspaper Quotes on School Shootings

B1: Gun control

• After Trump spoke, a sophomore at the Parkland school stated the obvious in an interview with CNN. "There's no reason that a kid 19 years old that's been investigated already, and not even a year ago, being able to purchase an AR-15," said Isabella Gomez. The gun used in Florida is similar to the kind of rapid-firing weapons used to mow down first graders in Newtown, club-goers in Orlando, civil servants in San Bernardino, and music-lovers in Las

Vegas. In our country, a nation with a gun homicide rate 49 times higher than other wealthy countries, lunatics have easy and legal access to these guns. (Egan, 2018)

- According to a petition on the event's website, March for Our Lives has three primary demands:
 - 1. Pass a law to ban the assault weapons frequently used to carry out mass shootings
 - 2. Stop the sale of high-capacity magazines, restricting the amount of ammunition
 - 3. Close loopholes in America's background checks and implement laws that require background checks on every gun purchase, including those that occur online or at gun shows (Andone, 2018b)
- "I understand how people feel that this is what it's leading to with the availability of guns. Having said that, I'm looking specifically at the use of 'Never Again' to promote gun control. The problem with that is that the Jews were kind of not allowed to have arms. They were stripped of arms and therefore could not fight back." (Hayward, 2018)
- Gun control advocates like to think this is a magic solution that would have prevented Wednesday's massacre. The proposed background check laws wouldn't have prevented the attack in Florida, nor any other mass public shooting that's happened in the 21st century. (Lott, 2018a)

B2: Special interest groups

- The law, known as the Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School Public Safety Act, tightens gun control in several ways, and also allows some teachers to be armed. The National Rifle Association opposed a provision of the law that raises the minimum age to purchase a firearm from 18 to 21. It immediately filed a federal lawsuit against Florida, saying the age mandate violates the Second and 14th Amendments to the Constitution. (Karimi & Yan, 2018)
- And the N.R.A. pressed lawmakers, including the president, to give priority to the interests of gun owners. (Kramer & Harlan, 2019)
- So instead of making these preventable failures the primary narrative of this tragic event, the media have instead manufactured a Potemkin Villain in the form of the NRA, a civil rights group that is in no way responsible for Wednesday's massacre. (Nolte, 2018a)
- But like the March for Our Lives protest last month and the first National School Walkout on March 14, the anti-gun walkout protest is being pushed and funded by Michael Bloomberg's Everytown for Gun Safety, which spawned the Students Demand Action group that participated on Friday. (Starr, 2018b)
- Using the tragic facts above, our media could actually do some good. (Imagine that: the media doing good). Using actual journalism and their various platforms, these fatal mistakes could be properly investigated and exposed and focused on, accountability could be meted out, and this might result in stopping other school shootings. (Nolte, 2018a)

B3: Government failures

- "It's a midterm year and it's time to take action," Hogg said. "I don't care if you're a Democrat.
 I don't care if you're a Republican. Stand up for what you believe in. Let's make some compromises and save some children's lives." (Andone, 2018a)
- But at the federal level, any momentum for change was quickly stymied by partisan gridlock.
 Republican leaders in Congress remained silent as their Democratic colleagues called, once again, for changes in the wake of a mass shooting. The White House flip-flopped on promises to raise the minimum age to purchase rifles and to enforce universal background checks. (Kramer & Harlan, 2019)

• Runcie defends the PROMISE policy that drove down the number of minority student arrests and suspensions in his school district by allowing threatening and even violent behaviors to go unreported. In a column at the Sun Sentinel, Runcie – who once worked for President Barack Obama's education secretary Arne Duncan in Chicago – mocks the attention paid to the Obama-era Dear Colleague letter that coerced school districts into adopting the policy as a means to supposedly end the "school-to-prison pipeline" for minority students. [...] Nevertheless, the Broward County superintendent would prefer the focus to be on "easy access to guns" as the reason Cruz was able to obtain his firearm. (Berry, 2018b)

B4: School security

- "As I'm recovering and taking my online courses, that's when I'd like to take the chance to travel, and speak to large audiences, spread my message, speak to lawmakers, attend rallies, be everywhere I need to be so that people can hear me clearly," she said. For security, she wants "simple mechanisms we've had for ages, like bulletproof windows and metal detectors, and live-footage security cameras" feeding video to the sheriff's department, and more security officers on school grounds. (Hanna, 2018)
- Last month, the school district reassigned three Stoneman Douglas assistant principals and a
 security specialist as a result of the commission investigation, which identified a number of
 security failures, beginning with a pedestrian gate left open and unsupervised that allowed the
 accused gunman, a former student who should not have been on campus, to walk into the
 school. (Mazzei, 2018b)
- With the government proving again and again that they cannot protect our children, with the
 obscene push to disarm us turning into a 24/7 propaganda crusade if I had school-aged
 kids, I would be pulling them out of any gun-free environment to either home school them or
 place them in a private school that cares enough to offer adequate protection. (Nolte, 2018b)
- INGRAHAM: The focus should be on school security. The soft targets that are so vulnerable today. Arming staff who are well-trained, getting authorities on the state, local and federal level to see the obvious warning signs and act on them. (Ingraham, 2018)
- The revelation about the school deputy's failure to act came as President Trump floated the
 possibility of paying teachers a "bonus" to carry concealed firearms, stressing
 both the importance of school security and the strengthening of some gun laws in wake of the
 Parkland tragedy. (Fox News, 2018a)
- Defenseless teachers were simply gunned down with their students in Parkland. And
 the Florida Education Association (FEA), a teachers union, wants to maintain the status quo
 by keeping teachers unarmed. FEA spokeswoman Joni Branch said, "Teachers should not be
 acting as armed security guards. The majority of our members don't want to be armed they
 know it would be impractical and dangerous." Branch did not explain why teachers would be
 dangerous with guns as there are no instances of an armed teacher harming a student (or
 students) in any of the states where armed teachers are allowed. (Hawkins, 2018c)

B5: Mental health

"The main focus of all of us is to go and speak to our elected officials ... and hopefully create change so that this won't ever happen again to any other student, to any other family," said Hoth, a senior. "No one should ever have to go through this type of experience again. No one should have their lives taken this way when it can be something that's easily preventable through common-sense gun control and mental health care that's essential to everybody." (Grinberg et al., 2018)

- Other members of his party echoed Mr. Trump's sentiments. In a brief news conference, Speaker Paul D. Ryan said that "there may be some mental health issues with this shooting," adding that it was not the time to jump to conclusions about tightening gun laws. (Rogers, 2018)
- "Trump addressed the nation, describing the massacre as a "scene of terrible violence, hatred, and evil." He vowed to work with state and local leaders to help "secure our schools and tackle the difficult issue of mental health." (Farber, 2018)
- Kashuv said he supports the bill because it is preventative and not reactive. "I've always been outspoken," he said. "But I saw there wasn't a conservative Second Amendment supporter being represented." Meanwhile, his self-funded preventative app -- designed to allow emotionally struggling or bullied students to get help -- is in the final stages of production. (Parke, 2018)
- And we need to focus on mental health issues and not make every time there is a shooting to make it be about guns and gun control. (Francis, 2018)

B6: Local officials

- The scrutiny after the mass shooting at a high school in Parkland, Fla., immediately fell on law
 enforcement's failures to heed warnings about the confessed gunman's troubling behavior and
 prevent him from carrying out his deadly rampage. (Mazzei, 2018a).
- In the year leading up to the Feb. 14 rampage that left 17 people dead at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School, suspect Nikolas Cruz asked to return to a special education campus, but school officials "fumbled his request," the Sun-Sentinel reported, citing an independent review commissioned by the Broward County public school system. (Lieu, 2018)
- Stand with Parkland, a group formed by families of the victims, condemned the Broward County School Board earlier this month, saying the board was indecisive in implementing security measures and in following up on independent investigations. On August 28, five of the nine embattled members of the Broward County School Board are up for re-election. Among those looking to take their seats are Lori Alhadeff and Ryan Petty. Alhadeff's daughter Alyssa and Petty's daughter Alaina were both killed in the Parkland shooting. (Willingham & Gallagher, 2018)
- So let me set the record straight. If you want to blame someone for last week's massacre -blame Nikolas Cruz, the monster who opened fire inside a gun-free zone. Blame the FBI for
 failing to stop the attack despite specific warnings. Blame the Broward County Sheriff and the
 mental health workers and the school district for turning a blind eye to a walking time bomb.
 (Starnes, 2018)