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April 16, 2014

A Tale of Two Murders A Case Study of Media Coverage of Two 2013 Homicides in Atlanta

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2014

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An abstract of a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences of Emory University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Bachelor of Arts

Department of Journalism

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Abstract

A Tale of Two Murders: A Case Study of Media Coverage of Two 2013 Homicides in Atlanta By Bryan Cronan

In May 2013, two men were killed within the same week and just blocks away from one another in East Atlanta Village. The death of one of those men, Patrick Cotrona, became one of the biggest crime stories last year. Media outlets congregated in East Atlanta Village to try and understand who Cotrona was and why he was the victim of an apparent random killing. The death of the other man, Henry Omar Reeves, received only fleeting news coverage. Even in stories about a string of violent crimes in the East Atlanta community around that time, Reeves's name was only mentioned briefly. The goal of this project was to find out more about Reeves's death and determine if the lack of coverage represented a larger trend in the way Atlanta's media outlets covered homicides in 2013. The bulk of the thesis is a magazine-style article based on research that draws on a number of methodologies, including quantitative analysis of coverage by local newspapers and TV stations, compilation of a homicide database for 2013 based on police records obtained through Open Records Act requests, in-person interviews with family members of the murder victims, and interviews with local media practitioners.

This thesis focuses on Cotrona and Reeves and how their murders, and the corresponding media coverage, represent the larger issues surrounding homicide coverage by local media outlets.

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Introduction

There were 84 homicides reported by the Atlanta Police Department in the City of Atlanta during 2013. As an avid consumer of local news, it seemed to me that one of those homicides, the May shooting of East Atlanta Village resident Patrick Cotrona, garnered more coverage than any other. To substantiate that perception, I conducted a quantitative analysis of media coverage for all 84 deaths. Then I looked closely at the coverage of a homicide that took place within a week of Cotrona's and just a few blocks away—the fatal shooting of Henry Omar Reeves. The Emory University Journalism Program's requirement for an honors thesis is to write a publishable article, and the body of this thesis is a magazine article that compares the two deaths. The article is intended for publication in a local magazine such as *Atlanta* magazine, which has committed to publishing the story in a future issue. Disclaimer: I was a breaking news intern at *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* in 2013, during some of the period covered in the article. I also worked as a fact-checker for *Atlanta* magazine in 2012. These two media outlets are mentioned in the article that is the body of this thesis.

Research Methods

This was a multi-phased research project that employed a number of research methods. First, to compile the details on the homicides that occurred in the City of Atlanta in 2013, I submitted a request to the Atlanta Police Department under the Open Records Act. Via this method, I obtained the incident reports for all homicides in 2013. With these records, I created a database that categorized the homicides by a number of factors, such as age, gender, race, location, and method of death. These reports also contain a basic narrative of the incident as written by police. By obtaining the incident reports, I was able to have on hand the exact documents that would have been readily available to reporters at the time of each homicide. The database was fact-checked against the official FBI Uniform Crime Report, produced by the Atlanta Police Department. (See the complete database in Appendix B.)

I then searched through hundreds of articles for coverage of each of the homicides. I looked for coverage in the major local newspaper, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, the alternative newsweekly *Creative Loafing*, and major local television stations: WSBTV, Fox 5 Atlanta, 11Alive, and CBS 46.

For newspaper coverage, I documented the number of words devoted to each case on the newspaper's website—ajc.com. In addition, I documented the number of words devoted to each case in the newspaper's print edition, which I searched via the LexisNexis database. For print reports, I looked at placement of the stories, such as A-1, B-1, etc.

For television coverage, I documented the number of words devoted to each case online at each TV station's website. Then I looked at the number of minutes devoted to each case by the

local TV stations. For *Creative Loafing*, I looked at the number of words published on the weekly's website.

I counted the number of words on every story involving a named victim, including stories about any subsequent arrests made in the cases.

Through this analysis, I was able to confirm that Cotrona's death received more coverage than any other homicide that occurred in the City of Atlanta in 2013. I also was able to confirm that Cotrona's death received substantially more coverage than that of Reeves. This confirmed my decision to focus on a case study of these two murders for the article.

With the data in place, I then reported that case study article as a magazine reporter would. This included: interviewing family members of the two victims, interviewing community leaders, interviewing media executives and interviewing Atlanta Police Department representatives. I obtained additional police records about the two cases via Open Records requests, from the Police Department and from court records, which I accessed by going to the Fulton and DeKalb County courthouses. In early April 2014, I attended the bond hearing for Patrick Hinton, who was charged for Reeves's murder in February 2014. I also attended a January 2014 media event in which the family of Patrick Cotrona unveiled billboards soliciting tips in the case—which as of this writing remains unsolved.

The resulting article appears on the following pages.

A note about attribution: in magazine writing, the common practice is to submit an article with fact-check information included with the final draft. Unlike academic articles, these pieces do not run with footnotes in print, but footnotes or endnotes are often used to assist fact-

checkers. That is the format used in this document. The article is written using Chicago style, not AP, because that is the preferred style of the intended magazine for publication.

Article

A Tale of Two Murders A Case Study of Media Coverage of Two 2013 Homicides in Atlanta

Henry Omar Reeves and Patrick Cotrona were both young men loved by their families. They both lived in East Atlanta. They were both fatally shot during robberies that occurred one week apart. They both died on the scene, just blocks from each other. So why have you only heard one of their names in the news?

By Bryan Cronan

His name was Henry Omar Reeves. Everyone called him Omar or O. He lived in his family's home on Metropolitan Avenue in East Atlanta and helped to take care of his grandmother, making sure she ate and that she went to her doctors' appointments.²

Just before midnight on Saturday, May 18, 2013, the pit bull lover headed home after walking his new puppy.³ As Reeves approached the family's home, someone began shooting, hitting Reeves, who returned fire with his own gun. ⁴ The person who fired, evidently from Reeves's porch, got away. Reeves, who was shot in the chest, was lying in the street when police and EMS workers arrived. Less than two weeks before his twenty-eighth birthday, Omar Reeves, who was African-American, was dead from his wounds.

Henry Reeves, Omar's dad, was at brunch the next morning with friends from church celebrating his late-in-life baptism. The message light on his phone kept blinking, and when he

¹ Interview with Henry Reeves ² Joint interview with Reeves's parents, Marjorie Cotton-Reeves and Henry Reeves

³ Interview with referenced above

⁴ Interview with referenced above

⁵ Atlanta Police Department Incident Reports

finally excused himself from the table to return his niece's call, he found out that his son had been killed. If felt like my world caved in. He was my only son, Henry Reeves said. I was in a daze, I don't know what was going on.



Henry Omar Reeves. Used with permission of Marjorie Cotton-Reeves

Omar's mother, flying back to the United States from China where she had been teaching English, found out when her plane landed in Portland, Oregon.⁷ "I felt disbelief. It was like my friend told me the moon fell out of the sky," Marjorie Cotton-Reeves said. "It wasn't real in my head. I couldn't cry because I said 'that hasn't happened.""

After the shooting some of Reeves's friends put up a small memorial of flowers and balloons across from the family's home.⁸

"His name was Patrick Cotrona."

One week later, on the evening of Saturday, May 25, 2013, Patrick Cotrona, who was white, was walking with two friends down May Avenue, on their way to the Midway Pub in East

⁶ Interview with Henry Reeves

⁷ Interview with Cotton-Reeves

⁸ Interview with Cotton-Reeves

Atlanta. As they walked, three men approached and asked them for money. As Cotrona reached to pull his wallet from his pocket, one of the approaching trio shot him in the abdomen. ¹⁰ One of Cotrona's friends sprayed the shooter with mace, and was then shot in the leg as the suspect ran away. 11 His friends watched over him, waiting for police and emergency workers to arrive. Patrick Cotrona died in the ambulance en route to the hospital.



Patrick Cotrona. Used with the permission of Kate Krumm.

Two days later, Cotrona's sister Kate Krumm created a cardboard sign that her husband hung on a utility pole on the corner of May Avenue. The sign read: "His name was Patrick Cotrona. He's my brother and a kind and loving son and uncle and friend. He went to Georgia Tech. He loved video games and beer. He was a computer engineer and East Atlanta homeowner, and he was murdered. Shot down."12

⁹ Interview with Krumm ¹⁰ Interview with Krumm ¹¹ Interview with Krumm

¹² Ben Gray photo

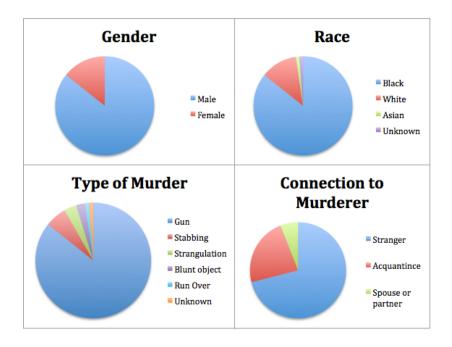


The memorial sign for Patrick Cotrona was written by Kate Krumm. Used with permission of Atlanta magazine.

The memorial made for an emotionally compelling visual, and the story of Cotrona's death—apparently shot at random while walking in his own neighborhood and minding his own business—offered a heart-clenching narrative. Photos of Krumm's sign were widely shared on social media sites. Every major media outlet in Atlanta covered the Cotrona story, and it became one of the biggest stories of the year. In the weeks following Cotrona's death—during which southeast Atlanta also saw a rash of armed robberies and break-ins—Mayor Kasim Reed held three town hall meetings. In response to community outrage, the Atlanta Police Department added more cops to Zone 6, which includes East Atlanta, where Patrick Cotrona and Omar Reeves both lived and where they both were killed. City leaders promised to take a harder look at crime in the area.

But in all the media coverage of crime during May and June of 2013, the name Henry Omar Reeves rarely appeared. My analysis of media coverage of homicides in Atlanta for 2013, showed that, during 2013, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* devoted more than 3,100 words to the Cotrona story and just 300 to that of Reeves. Fox 5 Atlanta published more than 1,100 words on its website and dedicated more than 19 minutes of video to the murder of Cotrona. The station did not publish any text online about Reeves. *Atlanta* magazine sent a blogger to cover the vigil

for Cotrona, and mentioned Reeves only in passing in a subsequent blog post on media coverage of the murders.¹³ Of the 84 homicide cases that were reported in the City of Atlanta in 2013, Cotrona's garnered more media coverage than any other.¹⁴



Homicide Victim Statistics for 2013 in Atlanta. Sources: Atlanta Police Department Incident Reports and FBI Uniform Crime Reports for the City of Atlanta 2013.

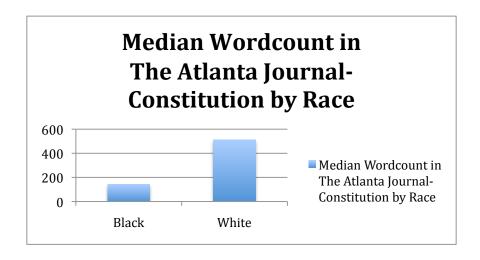
The easy conclusion (and one suggested in *Atlanta* magazine's blog post from the summer of 2013) is that the variation in coverage could be attributable to racial bias. And my analysis documents a distinct discrepancy in coverage of murders along racial lines. Of the 10 white homicide victims in Atlanta during 2013, only five were covered by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Of the five covered, the median number of words was 511. Of the 72 African-American homicide victims in Atlanta during the same time period, the paper covered 58 (79 percent), though the median number of words was 142.

¹³ All of this came from my research. I searched for their names online and then did a word count of the stories.

¹⁴ See Excel Document for word counts and details

"As I'm sure you know, there's a belief among critics that the [main stream media] intentionally under-covers crimes against black people and over-covers crimes against whites, especially attractive young women. That simply isn't true," Charles Gay, deputy managing editor of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, said in an email when asked to respond to the word-count medians. "I've never been in a news meeting in which a reporter or editor said, 'This deserves more/less coverage because the victim was white/non-white.' While I won't argue that we always get the balance right, I could point to plenty of crimes against minorities we have given extensive treatment: the Jorelys Rivera murder [of a Hispanic girl] from a few years ago comes immediately to mind. And the overwhelming majority of the deaths we have written about in connection with [Division of Family and Children Services] have been minority children."

Gay also stressed that the newspaper's breaking news team, which covers crime in the City of Atlanta, is composed of racially and ethnically diverse staff members.



Median wordcount in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* for homicide victims by race. Source: the database of homicide reports and media coverage.

"He looks like what white people are afraid of."

As she read and watched all the coverage about Patrick Cotrona, the absence of stories about her son Omar's death angered Cotton-Reeves; she felt her son—and other young African-American men like him—did not get adequate media coverage. He looks like what most white people are afraid of. He didn't warrant them looking at him as a victim, Cotton-Reeves told me when we met at her home in late February 2014. She recalled that, in the summer of 2013, while attending a town hall with Atlanta Police Chief George Turner and other neighborhood leaders, she got so upset that her son—and other young black men like Omar—were not treated as victims in media accounts; she stood up and yelled: Nobody cares until a white person gets shot."

In many ways, the questions of racial bias are not surprising when they are considered in the context of the neighborhood where the two murders occurred. East Atlanta, like other communities in the city, has been transitioning, as younger professionals, most of them white, have moved into areas that traditionally had been populated by older, working-class Atlantans, most of them black. Under the best of circumstances, these changing demographics can cause some friction. The two deaths—and the spike in violent crime in East Atlanta in mid 2013—could have exacerbated that tension.

The disparity in the coverage between Cotrona's death and that of Reeves's was not lost on Mary Yetter, either. Yetter, who is white and has lived in East Atlanta for seven years, said of the media coverage, "Certain people's deaths were treated [by the media] as more important than other people's deaths. The other people who had tragedies didn't get the same treatment," said Yetter, who now is the president of the East Atlanta Community Association, said of the

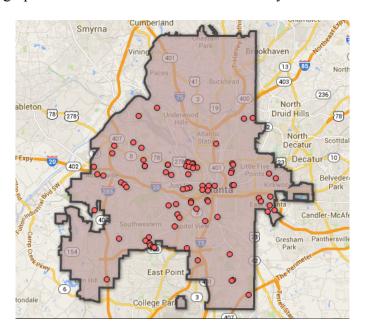
¹⁵ Interview with Cotton-Reeves

¹⁶ Interview with Cotton-Reeves

difference in media coverage between Cotrona and Reeves. 17

Kevin Spigener, Yetter's predecessor, led the community association last summer, when concerns about violent crime were at a peak. While homicide totals for the City of Atlanta as a whole continue to decline, to rates lower than they have been for decades. 18 the number of murders in Zone 6 increased, from eight in 2012 to fourteen in 2013.¹⁹

It is worth noting, that while the number of homicides in Zone 6 increased in 2013, that area was by no means the area that experienced the most violent crime in Atlanta. The Atlanta Police Department's Zone 1—which includes English Avenue and Bankhead—reported the most homicides last year—thirty. The map below, created from the database of homicide records that I compiled, shows the geographic distribution of homicides in the city of Atlanta in 2013.



Map of homicides in Atlanta by Bryan Cronan created using Google Fusion Tables and information from the City of **Atlanta Geographic Information System**

Spigener, the former East Atlanta neighborhood association leader, says that while the

17 Interview with Yetter
 18 Report, number of murders, 1960 to present, Atlanta Police Department

¹⁹ Atlanta Police Department FBI UCR document for December 2013

murders brought people in the community together, the media coverage was divisive because part of the community felt marginalized. But ultimately, he told me, he believed that it was the circumstances around the death of the two victims—not race—that influenced media coverage. "For the community [Reeves' death] was easier to swallow because we didn't feel it was random. But Cotrona's was, and it hit closer to home," Spigener said. 20 He said the community members believed Reeves knew his killers.

The knee jerk reaction is to attribute the disparity in coverage to a simple matter of racial and class bias. Cotrona was a white Georgia Tech grad who worked as a video game programmer. 21 Reeves, although he grew up in a middle class family, was a black college dropout and unemployed at the time of his death.

But reporting on one case over another could reflect something else—reluctance to pursue stories that require deep reporting into events that are more complex than the simple "wrong place, wrong time" narrative of Cotrona's death. The circumstances of Reeves's death were a little less straightforward. He was alone when shot, so unlike Cotrona there were not firsthand witnesses to relay the events. It was not clear from the initial police reports if he knew the shooter.

And, most significantly, as any reporter who did a quick check on Reeves would see, he had four arrest records. Obviously, a record does not imply guilt. But it takes work to find out exactly what the records mean. In order to learn the Reeves story, a reporter would have to dig up those arrest records, find out what the outcome was in each of the four cases, and triple check reports over multiple years. As I learned—through weeks of reporting—Reeves never was convicted of any crimes.

²⁰ Interview with Spigener²¹ Interview with Kate Krumm

Cotrona's death was deemed newsworthy because it was an outlier—a man shot walking home by total strangers in a robbery gone wrong and just blocks away from his home. Reeves's death, on the other hand, is representative of a larger trend. If Cotrona's murder was an anomaly, Reeves's represented events that occur regularly in Atlanta. Of the 84 homicides in the City of Atlanta in 2013, 62—or 74 percent—of the victims were black men, the majority of them young, and the majority killed by gunshot. Cotrona's story has all the ingredients of a compelling breaking-news story. Reeves's story, on the other hand, represents something else, a bigger picture public safety issue in the city of Atlanta. His is an archetype for the typical murder that takes place in Atlanta. But telling that archetypical story requires more effort.

To report the story of Reeves's death, I had to file multiple Open Records Requests with the City of Atlanta, which cost money and took weeks. I wrote letters to the police department asking for information on Reeves. I had to contact Reeves's family members and members of the community who knew him. A newsroom editor might not want to put that much time and money into getting one story.

"In the way media covers crime you have a good guy and a bad guy, and if you have anything in between, where it is not necessarily as cut and dry, it's not as interesting I guess," said Péralte Paul,²² an East Atlanta resident and former *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* staffer, who at the time was the editor of the East Atlanta Patch community news website. Paul said he tried to reach Cotton-Reeves at the time of Reeves's murder to add her perspective to his reporting, but was not able to reach her, although she says she was never contacted.

"Looking back, the Reeves murder probably deserved more coverage."

Here is what I learned digging into the story of Henry Omar Reeves.

²² Interview with Paul

Reeves had had four run-ins with the police when he was younger. 23 He was first arrested in 2004 for receiving a stolen vehicle. According to his parents, Reeves's car was stolen, so he filed a police report. When he found the abandoned car a few days later, he did not tell police. "His father told him to report it found," Cotton-Reeves said. "But in his own wisdom he didn't." Police pulled Reeves over and arrested him—for possession of what turned out to be his own car. The Fulton County District Attorney's Office declined to prosecute the case.

In 2005, Reeves, who was 19-years-old at the time, was stopped by police who saw him drinking malt liquor on a street corner. When police checked his pockets, they found \$10 worth of marijuana and \$250 worth of cocaine. Reeves was ordered to take drug classes as part of Pre-Trial Intervention program.²⁴ The case was not prosecuted.

Reeves was arrested again in 2007 for aggravated assault. According to court documents, Reeves was with a man named Calvin Washington when Washington shot another man, James Hindsman. Washington was sentenced to five years probation, but the case against Reeves wasn't prosecuted because there wasn't enough evidence connecting him to the shooting.²⁵

The final arrest took place on June 5, 2008, when police approached a black SUV because four men were seen smoking inside the vehicle, according to the police report. The police reported that they thought they smelled marijuana, although what the men turned out to be smoking were Swisher Sweets cigars. The absence of marijuana was confirmed when a drugsniffing police dog was brought to go over the SUV. But while authorities found no evidence of drugs, they did find a stolen handgun in the SUV's glove compartment. Also inside the car was

 ²³ Interview with Cotton-Reeves
 ²⁴ Court Case Disposition
 ²⁵ Court Case Disposition

Reeves, who said the handgun was his. While the exact details of the court case remain unclear, what is known for certain is that the case also wasn't prosecuted.²⁶

Is it possible that media outlets have a bias not to cover the deaths of victims who have criminal histories? Or in the case of Omar Reeves, have records for arrests that were later dropped? Cotton-Reeves said that her son had some "shady" friends, but that he wasn't a bad person. "All I see is my child," Cotton-Reeves said. "He should have been treated as a victim, someone who came to an unfortunate end. He wasn't a hooligan. That's how they perceived him, but that's not who he was."²⁷

Sitting in Cotton-Reeves's living room with her and her ex-husband in the winter of 2014, I saw photos of Reeves encircling the room. In the center of the coffee table was a blue urn that contained their son's ashes. As we sat, the family remembered the good times with their son. Henry Reeves told me about a ski trip he and his son took to the mountains in New Zealand. Cotton-Reeves reminisced about her son's love of Space Camp, soccer and baseball. After graduating from Grady High School in 2003, Reeves went to North Carolina A&T State University, but left after one semester because he had a difficult time making the transition to college. He went to ITT, a technical college, for a semester, but left after the 2007 arrest. Going through his things after the murder, his mom found paper work that indicated he was trying to go back to school.²⁸ At the time of his murder Reeves didn't have a job.

Henry Omar Reeves's case dispositionInterview with Cotton-Reeves

²⁸ Joint interview with Reeves's parents, Marjorie Cotton-Reeves and Henry Reeves



Photos of a young Henry Omar Reeves used with permission by Marjorie Cotton-Reeves

"Looking back on it, the Reeves murder probably deserved more coverage than it got at the time," said Gay. "The Cotrona case was unusual and newsworthy in a few ways: coming on the heels of other murders in East Atlanta, it touched a nerve in the community; rewards were offered; billboards looking for the killers were put up; the mayor mentioned it in a speech. To my knowledge, none of that happened in the Reeves case." Jan Leach, Director of the Media Law Center for Ethics and Access at Kent State University, said it was these events that gave media outlets something to cover and gave the story depth. She added, "The right thing to do is to treat every death as a story, but economically you can't cover everything." Fox 5 News, WSBTV, 11 Alive, and CBS 46 executives did not respond to repeated requests for comment made by phone and email between January and March 2014.

Of course, one of those murders that preceded Cotrona's was that of Reeves. Marjorie Cotton-Reeves remembers that just down the street from her home, where the Reeves family

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²⁹ Email Interview with Gay

³⁰ Interview with Leach

grieved the loss of Omar, it seemed that every media outlet in town congregated on May Avenue in front of the memorial to Patrick Cotrona.³¹

It wasn't only the Reeves family that was upset by how local media cover homicides. After Cotrona was slain, his family viewed and read the initial coverage and felt the brother and son they knew was not being adequately represented, referred to in news accounts simply as "a man" or "the victim." Hence, the sign on the telephone pole—an attempt to turn the "victim" into a flesh-and-blood person. "My dad said, 'That's my son," recalls Krumm who was visiting family in Tennessee when her brother was killed. "The anonymity of it—he was my brother. He was a pretty amazing guy."32

Krumm, who works in public relations for Home Depot, wrote a letter to media outlets and used social media sites to spread the word about her brother's murder. She said that when people heard about the story it resonated with them because it was a reminder that if such a crime could befall her brother, it could befall anyone.³³

"Had I not hung that sign, there wouldn't have been an East Atlanta Village vigil. I don't know if it would have gone past the first story," she said. "It is easy to say that the murder got media attention for xyz, but my family is putting in a lot of work."³⁴

On January 16, 2014, eight months after the anniversary of Cotrona's death, Krumm attended a ceremony unveiling billboards around the city advertising a reward for any tip leading to the arrest of the person who shot her brother. Major media outlets stood on the sidewalk listening to updates on Cotrona's story. *Atlanta* magazine assigned me to cover the event.

³¹ Interview with Cotton-Reeves 32 Interview with Krumm

³⁴ Interview with Krumm

Cotton-Reeves she didn't reach out to the media after her son's death because it wasn't a part of her thoughts. "I just wanted to get my head around [Reeves's death]." But, she said, she would have talked to media outlets if they contacted her.

But, as this story goes to press for an issue to be published a year after Cotrona's death, there has emerged another significant difference in the cases, one that may explain why the Cotrona case may continue to draw media attention and the Reeves case does not—Cotrona's case remains unsolved, while police believe they have found the murderers in Reeves's case.

In the Courtroom

On April 2, 2014, I sat behind Reeves's parents in the DeKalb County Courthouse listening to the bond hearing for Patrick Hinton, 20, who had been arrested in March for the murder and armed robbery of Reeves. According to the DeKalb County District Attorney's Office, Hinton and Isaac McCollough, 25, who had also been arrested, sat and waited "hours" on Reeves's porch for the chance to rob him, according to McCollough's testimony. According to the prosecutor, the pair had heard that Reeves would have marijuana on him, and they wanted it. When Reeves arrived home, the pair confronted him. To defend himself, Reeves pulled out his gun and shot, all the bullets hitting his own house. McCollough then shot Reeves and accidentally shot Hinton, who was treated for his wounds at the same hospital where Reeves was pronounced dead. According to McCollough's testimony, neither he nor Hinton knew Reeves. At the hearing, both Hinton and McCollough were denied bond.³⁶

³⁵ Interview with Cotton-Reeves

³⁶ Patrick Hinton's bond hearing

Sitting in the courtroom 15 feet from her son's alleged killer, Cotton-Reeves looked shaken. She said that to her, it has seemed for almost a year, her son himself was on trial, somehow blamed for his own death. During an interview just a day after McCollough's arrest, Cotton-Reeves told me, "Personally, it's only been in the last month that I've been able to accept it and stopped crying."

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Report: Murders by Year, 1960 to Present, Atlanta Police Department

Spigener, Kevin. Personal interview. 21 Feb. 2014. Former president of the East Atlanta Community Association

Stevens, Alexis. "Homicide suspect's arrest 'doesn't bring my son back'." *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* 22 Feb. 2014: n. pag. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Web. 31 Mar. 2014. http://www.ajc.com/news/news/homicide-suspects-arrest-doesnt-bring-my-son-back/ndYBJ/.

Yetter, Mary. Personal interview. 9 Feb. 2014. Current president of the East Atlanta Community Association

APPENDIX A: 2013 Homicides in Atlanta interactive map

Map 1.

 $\frac{\text{https://www.google.com/fusiontables/embedviz?q=select+col2+from+1gRVnF5fPhsxvHOe1QxQVXTqduRBCmavzmwaE5s0f+where+col4+in+('Murders'%2C+'City+of+Atlanta')&viz=MAP\&h=false\&lat=33.75951189424698\&lng=84.3485788410278\&t=1\&z=10\&l=col2\&y=2\&tmplt=2\&hml=KML$

Map 2.

 $\frac{\text{https://www.google.com/fusiontables/embedviz?q=select+col2+from+1gRVnF5fPhsxvHOe1QxQVXTqduRBCmavzmwaE5s0f+where+col4+in+('Murders'%2C+'Neighborhoods')&viz=MAP\&h=false&lat=33.75951189424698&lng=84.3485788410278&t=1&z=10&l=col2&y=2&tmplt=2&hml=KML$

Map 3.

 $\frac{\text{https://www.google.com/fusiontables/embedviz?q=select+col2+from+1gRVnF5fPhsxvHOe1QxQVXTqduRBCmavzmwaE5s0f+where+col4+in+('Police+Zones'%2C+'Murders')&viz=MAP&h=false&lat=33.75951189424698&lng=84.3485788410278&t=1&z=10&l=col2&y=2&tmplt=2&hml=KML$

Appendix B: Database: Homicide Reports and Media Coverage

Below is a database of the 84 homicides in Atlanta in 2013. Included in the database is the date of the homicide, address of the homicide, demographic information of the victim, what the police believe happened, and the amount of words the homicide received in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *Creative Loafing*, Fox 5, WSB, 11 Alive, and CBS 46.

Date	Location	Name	Den	nogra	phics	APD Narrative	AJC	Fox 5	CL	WSB	11 Alive	CBS
			Rac	e, Ger	nder		Words	τv		TV Words	Words	46
			Age				Page	Words		Mins	Mins	Words
							Named	Mins				Mins
1-Jan	1383 Epworth Ave.	Jared Marquez	В	М	19	At 9:15, Billings was shot in the stomach	96	62	0	571	90	74
	SW	Billings				after a verbal altercation.	5B	5:05		1:51		
							Yes					
	880 Rock St. NW	Elijah Edmondson	W	М	23	Edmondson was shot around 2:27 p.m. Jessi	74	0	0	0	0	0
						Jade Mrochko was injured in a car	N/A					
						accident after Edmondson was shot.	No					
11-Jan	2191 Campbellton	Henry Williams	В	М	52	Newman died at Grady a few days	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Rd. SW	Newman				later.	N/A					
							No					
	644 Joseph E Lowery	Wayne R. Thomas	В	М	57	As an on-duty police officer stopped at a	141	0	0	0	0	0
	Blvd NW					stoplight, she was hailed down by people	N/A					
						saying, "He is stabbing him." Thomas was	No					
						taken to the hospital where he died from						
						the injuries.						
	455 North Ave NE	Unknown	В	М		An unknown victim was shot and killed	154	0	0	173	0	0
						during shootout.	N/A			0		
							No					
	806 Ralph David	Anton Johnson	В	М	39	Johnson was found shot inside Celebrity	259	136	0	0	108	385/ 1:54
	Abernathy Blvd SW					Status Tattoos. He and another man were	5B	0			0	
						shot after altercation with a suspect.	Yes					
20-Jan	213 Fairburn	Lorenzo Q.	В	М	21	Smith was found shot in the breezeway of an	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Rd NW	Smith				apartment complex. At the time, there were no leads.	N/A No	:26		0:35		
	505 James P. Brawley Dr. NW	Wilton Muirhead- Smith	В	М	17	A witness said he ran when he heard gunshot wounds and came back to see his friend shot.	204 5B Yes	247 2:17	0	0	72	128
11-Feb	2758 Emerald Ct. SW	Melanie McQueen- Moultrie	В	F	35	McQueen-Moultrie was shot inside her car. Witnesses told police she was talking to her husband when they heard gunshots.	376 5B Yes	253 1:23	0	183	192	169/ 2:13, 1:59, 2:04
	459 James P Brawley Dr. NW	Linda Madison	В	F	56	Madison's roommate reported that she was not breathing in her room. A Grady unit came and pronounced her dead. It seemed she might have died of an overdose.	0 N/A No	0	0	0	0	0
14-Feb	487 Lindsey St. NW	unknown	W	М	43	Body found in a car near a boarded and vacant house.	0 N/A No	0	0	0	0	0
17-Feb	1061 Fair St. SW	Everette Roussaw	В	M	51	Roussaw was stabbed. A female suspect confessed on scene to the murder.	0 N/A No	0	0	0	0	0
21-Feb	3041 Landrum Dr. SW	Mario Durrell Shaw	В	M	32	Shaw was found dead in an apartment dining room.	77 N/A No	0	0	0	81 0:37	0
22-Feb	2328 St. James Dr. NW	Taurean Jerome Reeves	В	М	29	Police found Reeves's body after they were tipped off that he was killed. The body was wrapped in a blanket and plastic sheeting.	159 5B Yes	0	0	0	0	0
17-Mar	941 Ashby Grove SW	Joe Green	В	М	38	Green was shot. There were no leads nor witnesses to the shooting.	187 N/A Yes	0	0	0	111	118
29-Mar	985 Oakland Dr. SW	Howell James Barron	В	M	39	Barron was found inside his car with a gunshot in his shoulder.	187 5B Yes	0			71	58
29-Mar	1186 Ira St.	Dontacus Sylvester	В	М	32	Rosser was found dead on the sidewalk	76	98	0	72	0	0

	SW	Rosser				with multiple gunshots to the head and body.	7B Yes	0		0		
4-Apr	701 S. Grand Ave. NW	Jimmy Rushin	В	M	30	When police arrived to the apartment, they fond Rushin dead just inside the door.	110 N/A No	0	0	0	0	99
9-Apr	2980 Delmar Ln. NW	Garrett Dunlap	В	M	24	Police found Dunlap outside of an apartment complex.	158 5B Yes	56	0	0	99	0
12-Apr	2380 Metropolitan PKWY SE	Linda B Jarrard	W	F	60	Jarrard was found inside a hotel room bathtub with a sheet that had been set on fire.	0 N/A No	0	0	0	0	0
17-Apr	561 Holly St. NW	Shonneshia S. Tucker	В	F	20	Tucker and Pitts were found dead outside of a home with multiple gun wounds. Police obtained search warrants for a man witnesses identified as the murderer.	79 N/A No	324 2:24	0	507 4:07	88	599/ 3:21
17-Apr	561 Holly St. NW	Derrick J. Pitts	В	M	28	Tucker and Pitts were found dead outside of a home with multiple gun wounds. Police obtained search warrants for a man witnesses identified as the murderer.	79 2B Yes	324 2:24	0	507 4:07	88	599/3: 21
26-Apr	2253 Marietta Blvd NW	Ronald Clark	W	M	57	Suspects told police that a black male was hitting Clark with a hammer inside of Clark's van. Clark eventually died at Grady Memorial Hospital from a gunshot wound in the stomach.	511	584 4:01	0	328	0	436/ 5:35
7-May	2431 Lowe St. NW	Jerrick A. Jackson	В	М	47	According to Jackson's wife, the couple was returning home from a restaurant. When they got out of the car, several men surrounded them with guns drawn. The victims were robbed and then ordered into the house. Once inside, Jackson began to fight with the suspects. That is	2,545 3B/5B/ 3B Yes	810 2:20	0	1,168	1339/ 2:32	1767/4 :12/12 45

						when one of the robbers shot and killed Jackson. Jackson was the younger brother of Bishop Wiley Jackson.						
8-May	2001 Sylvan Rd. SW	Wava Lee Benton	В	M	30	Witness saw Benton being chased around an apartment complex being shot at by a suspect. Benton fell to the ground from a gunshot. The suspect went over to Benton and shot him several more times and then ran away.	155 5B Yes	62	0	0	105	78
	1283 Metropolitan Ave. SE	Henry Omar Reeves	В	М	27	Around midnight, police officers found Reeves dead in the street.	321 N/A Yes	0	0	66	0	62
	1342 May Ave. SE	Patrick Leo Cotrona	W	M	33	Cotrona was walking home from a bar with two friends when suspects approached and asked for money. When Cotrona reached for his wallet, he was shot. Marcus Edmond Peden, who was walking with Cotrona, was also shot in the leg.	3,141 1B/1B 1A/1A/1 A 1B Yes	1,178 19:26	112	2,872	481 7:43	1,431 18:32
	574 Cooper St. SW	Drexel Lamar Berry	В	M	24	Police found Berry in the street with multiple gunshot wounds. Berry had run from where he was shot to Pryor Street. He was taken the hospital and later died from his injuries.	143 5B Yes	0	0	158	98	69
1-Jun	Missing Details	Missing Details	В	М	19	Incident report not provided by APD	0 N/A No	0	0	0	0	0
1-Jun	Missing Details	Missing Details	В	М	26	Incident report not provided by APD						
7-Jun	643 Gillette Ave. SW	Edward Campbell	В	M	36	Police found the victim with gunshot wounds, but there were no witnesses.	0 N/A No	86 :46	0	68	62 0	186 1:27
9-Jun	2011 Lenox Rd. NE	Augusta Cohen	W	F	84	Cohen was stabbed by her husband, Lester Cohen, in an	0	0	0	0	0	0

						attempted murder- suicide. Lester Cohen was found unconscious beside the bed. He was taken to Piedmont Hospital.	N/A No					
13-Jun	850 Parsons St. NW	Joe Clifford Gibbs	В	M	24	Gibbs was a Morehouse College student who was just about to graduate. On the night of his murder, he was sitting in his car near campus when he was shot multiple times.	1,511 2B/3B Yes	893 3:11	38	182 1:54	237 0:45	0
17-Jun	1881 Myrtle Dr. SW	Mary L Oliver	В	F	76	Two persons stabbed at that address - found male victim, taken to Grady, inside apt - Mary Oliver - dead on the scene suspect on the street - kitchen knives - Mr. Otis - attacked on elevator	696 3B Yes	345 4:58	0	0	368 2:12	255 4:24
22-Jun	3255 Kingston Rd. NW	Ashley James Brown	В	М	35	Brown was shot in a Cadillac Escalade, which then hit the side of a home.	370	83 1:27	0	237 1:41	158	196 2:03
28-Jun	635 Jett St. NW	Jeffrey Douglas	В	М	50	A man named Deck robbed Jeff Douglas. He then shot Jeffery Douglas, Jeff's dad.	116 N/A No	0	0	80	116	0
2-Jul	1627 Van Vleck Ave. SE	Artayvier C. Miller	В	F	30	Miller was found dead in a home record studio. Witnesses told police that a masked black male came into the home and shot Miller.	118 N/A No	214 1:58	0	133	114 0:55	167 2:35
5-Jul	7 Harlan Road	unknown	В	М	20	The unidentified body was found inside a home. There was a substantial amount of marijuana on the kitchen table.	112 N/A No	0	0	0	0	0
6-Jul	1984 Wellbourne Dr. NE	Kenneth Edward Bevis	w	М	59	Police found Bevis dead on the floor of an apartment.	104 N/A Yes	69	0	112	0	96
14-Jul	540 Windsor St SW	Armondo Dyon Dukes	В	М	18	According to the U.S. Marshals Service, Dukes was an innocent bystander who was killed by crossfire.	115 N/A Yes	78 0	0	125 0	0	203

15-Jul	2591 Etheridge Dr. NE	Markeith Lamar Williams	В	М	19	A grandfather shot victim while defending grandson - males	102 5B	0	0	85 0	0	68 0
						were fighting with grandson	Yes					
16-Jul	241 Forsyth St. NE	unknown	В	М		Large fight outside of the Magic City club -	220	0	0	319	153	203
	0					several shot - one fatally	N/A				0:19	1:44
							No					
16-Jul	3787 Martin Luther King	Anthony Hollis	В	М	29	Hollis was killed in a double shooting	120	0	0	0	85	0
	Jr. Dr. NW					around 10 p.m.	N/A				0	
							Yes	_				
22-Jul	389 Greencove	Lorenzo Hawthorne	В	М	20	Hawthorne found shot in the street.	105	0	0	0	73	0
	Ln SE						N/A				0	
4.4					0.7		Yes					
1-Aug	Missing Details	Missing Details	В	M	37	Incident report not provided by APD; details of homicide confirmed via FBI reports						
1-Aug	Missing Details	Missing Details	В	М	25	Incident report not provided by APD;						
	Botano	Botano				details of homicide confirmed via FBI reports						
3-Aug	3015 Jonesboro	Mario Lenard	В	М	44	Adams was shot and killed at Pure gas	83	0	0	250	0	115
	Rd. SE	Adams				station.	N/A			1:55		
							No					
5-Aug	1299 White St. SW	Joshua Jackson	В	М	20	Witnesses told police that Jackson was	133	0	0	100	112	153
						killed by a longtime friend during an	N/A				0:14	1:38
						argument.	Yes					
12-Aug	74 Northside Dr. SW	Kenneth Andre Davis	В	М	32	Davis, of Baltimore, was found shot at a	138	0	0	208	0	200
						gas station.						1:33
12-Aug	65 Alabama St. SW	Mychal Mallick Fair	В	М	23	Fair and two friends got into arguments	1,356	171	224	770	133	479
						with with another group of men. As the	3B	2:02		2:51	1:49	5:14
						group was leaving, Fair was shot and killed. Fair's family	Yes					
						sued the mall for not providing adequate security.						
17-Aug	3612 Ginnis	Xavier Marques	В	М	21	Police found Shavers with a gunshot to his	165	97	0	0	35	111

	Rd. SW	Shivers				chest. Another man, Nicholas Sanders, was shot but not killed. Sanders was later charged with murder and aggravated assault.	5B Yes (but spelled wrong)	0			0	0
29-Aug	1975 Alison Ct. SW	Olando Tyree Young	В	M	20	Police found Young dead in an apartment building.	159 N/A Yes	0	0	0	0	0
30-Aug	1044 Hank Aaron Dr. SE	Toddler (redacted)	В	М	1	The toddler's father shot him with an air rifle.	635 1B/7B Yes	283 4:14	0	312 1:55	318 1:58	303 3:52
1-Sep	1032 Eisenhower Ct. SE	Josephine Jones	W	F	65	Apparent murder- suicide. Jones's body was found along with that of Richard Farr, W M 60. Both had been shot. Might have died in late August.	0 N/A No	0	0	0	0	0
3-Sep	1604 Dekalb Ave NE	Frank Strickland	В	М	47	Strickland's body was found in a sleeping bag along DeKalb Avenue.	71 N/A No	0	0	0	84 0:47	244 1:30
8-Sep	3450 N. Camp Creek PKWY SW	Unknown	В	М		found in trunk of burned vehicle	507 5B/3B No	60 1:54	0	109	68	60
13-Sep	834 Clifton RD. SE	William Carter	W	М	30	shot by female who said she was being raped	588 2B Yes	180 1:45	0	277	0	98
22-Sep	424 Wabash Ave. NE	Derrick Lee Benning	В	М	20	Benning was found shot near Wabash Park.	77 N/A Yes	0	0	0	0	0
28-Sep	217 Walker St. SW	Joe Benjamin Frierson	В	M	37	Witnesses heard a gunshot and saw a large group of people run away. Frierson was found shot on the ground. Frierson taught social studies at M.L. King High School.	373 2B Yes	0	0	408 2:59	346 1:52	0

5-Oct	579 Boulevard NE	Leon Carr	В	М	34	Carr was found dead on the sidewalk. Police believe Carr was shot by Brandon Dean after an argument.	247 5B Yes	0	0	0	0	96 0
8-Oct	885 Flat Shoals Ave. SE	Charlese Brooks	В	F	34	Brooks's family told police that she was shot trying to break up a fight between two other women.	784 7B/5B Yes	478 4:30	0	330 2:23	0	0
12-Oct	1717 Centra Villa Dr. SW	Marquez Artist Middleton	В	М	18		0 N/A No	0	0	0	0	0
14-Oct	2980 Jonesboro Rd. SE	Danta Hayes	В	М	32	Hayes was shot at an apartment complex on Jonesboro Road, but police found him by the road a quarter mile away.	128 5B Yes	136 2:05	0	122	0	246 1:53
20-Oct	1941 Myrtle Dr. SW	Reginald Huff	В	М	27	Huff was shot on April 24, 2011, but he wasn't pronounced dead until October 20, 2013.						
22-Oct	99 Spring St. SW	Todd Burks	В	М	28	Burks was found dead in front of the location.	285 N/A Yes	47	0	0	0	40 1:53
27-Oct	1511 Olympian Way SW	Marcus D. Farmer	В	М	49	Farmer was found dead on the sidewalk with multiple gunshot wounds.	91 5B Yes	82 1:32	0	0	0	130 1:32
29-Oct	3194 Donald Lee Hollowell PWKY NW		В	M	32	Peek was found dead in the driver seat of a car at a Shell gas station. Witnesses told police that Peek was in the car talking to two males, when they heard several gunshots. The suspects fled the scene.	142 5B Yes	0	0	0	91	38
1-Nov	1935 Allison Ct. SW	Jerrod T. Ford	В	М	23	Ford was found dead outside an apartment complex.	0 N/A No	0	0	268	0	56 1:19
1-Nov	Missing Details	Missing Details	В	М	24	Incident report not provided by APD; details confirmed via	0	0	0	0	0	0

						FBI report						
2-Nov	516 Norfolk St. NW	Samuel Montez	В	М	22	Police believe Gantt was shot in relation to	78	370	17	92	0	66
	O. 1111	Gantt				a dispute at "Da Office" nightclub	2B	4:52		0		0
							Yes					
6-Nov	1411 Lavender Dr.	Dan Wang	Α	М	54	unknown age - gunshot wounds -	178	68	0	119	70	56
	NW					deceased on scene on injuries - approached	N/A	1:23		0	0	0
						by unknown male with gun	Yes					
8-Nov	882 Fox Street NW	Stanley Tucker	W	М	51		0	0	0	0	0	0
	Oli Cet 1444	Tucker					N/A					
							No					
20-Nov	1200 Peachtree	Bridgette Holt	В	F	47		354	312	184	180 1:04	267	364
	St. NW						1B	6:47			0:30	1:27
							Yes					
21-Nov	2258 Gary Court	Timothy Franklyn	В	М	37	heard person injured- wooded area behind	139	100 2:31	0	314	255	0
		Jackson				residence Grady said they were dead -	5B			2:23	1:46	
						projectiles near where found	Yes					
21-Nov	2258 Gary Court	James E. Johnson	В	М	56		139	100	0	314/	255	0
	Court	301113011					5B	2:31		2:23	1:46	
							Yes					
25-Nov	1165 Arlington	Khaseim Walton	В	М	30	shot and killed in car with female passenger	139	0	0	0	0	129
	Ave. SW					man passenger	N/A					0
							Yes					
26-Nov	768 Dalvigney St.	Charnette Brown	В	F	43	Brown was on her way to work when she was	0	0	0	0	0	0
	NW					approached by a man, who witnesses say	N/A					
						she had a prior relationship with. The	No					
						man produced a gun and shot the victim.						
1-Dec	497 Gartrell St. SE	Marilyn Taylor-	В	F	53	was run over by Alex Mason, who was	464	226	0	436 4:10	160	156
	- Ci. CL	Redding				driving a PT Cruiser	3B	6:55		7.10	1:31	1:41
							Yes					
9-Dec	49 Boulevard SE #490	Rirecrasa Colzie	В	М	38		116	59	0	114	109	98
	02 " 100	COLLIO					N/A	0:18		0	0	1:11

							Yes					
18-Dec	3660 M.L. King Jr. Dr. SW	Devoy Hamilton	В	М	46	shot and killed during apparent robbery	68 5B No	0	0	38 0	0	0
20-Dec	603 James P. Brawley Dr.	Antwan D. Clay	В	M	27		58 N/A No	0	0	0	0	0
22-Dec	437 Lindsey Dr. SE	Kendrick Lewis	В	М	46	armed robbery with a gun	0 N/A No	0	0	0	0	0
26-Dec	225 Rogers St. NE	Xavier Arnold	В	М	21	armed robbery - out with friends taking graffitti - died later	1700 3B/1B 2B/7B 3B Yes	750 17:57	241	1096 8:02	633 3:43	573 6:06
30-Dec	1575 Joseph E. Boone Blvd. NW	Amin Bouchelagh em	U	М	40	Amin non-responsive, dead on scene - Brooks had wound	522 N/A Yes	0	0	223 0:48	78 0:44	1:48