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HOMICIDE IN THE HEADLINES: AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEWSPAPER
REPORTING OF BALTIMORE HOMICIDES OF 2010

by

JACLYN V. SCHILDKRAUT
B.S. University of Central Florida, 2009

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Sociology
in the College of Sciences
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ABSTRACT

Baltimore is notorious for its recent and storied history of crime. The current study examines the treatment of homicide victims in Baltimore newspapers. In 2010, 222 homicides occurred in Baltimore, according to the city's homicide map. One hundred and sixty-five were discussed in *The Baltimore Sun*, the city's most-circulated paper. Based on the inclusion or exclusion of particular cases and the manner in which cases were discussed, conclusions can be drawn about the media's perception of a case's newsworthiness. Specifically, cases with particular details that varied significantly from a "normal" homicide were found to be most newsworthy, determined in part by analyzing the frequency of reporting, placement of coverage within the newspaper, and word count allocated to the discussion of crime.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I also thank Justin Fenton of *The Baltimore Sun* for providing me a candid interview on his role in reporting the homicides in Baltimore and how his publication determines newsworthiness amongst the victims.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Crime has been a staple in modern day media since as early as the 1800s (Surette 1998). Crime is featured on the local television news, is splashed across front-page headlines in the daily newspaper, and appears online at the click of a mouse. As the media evolved, so too has the way in which crime is reported. In the late 1800s, specialized columns and police beat reporters were introduced to feed a growing interest in crime-related stories (Surette 1998). A study by Maguire, Sandage, and Weatherby (1999) found that across news media in more modern times, crime and violence account for up to 50% of coverage.

Researching how crime is portrayed in the media is important due to the effect such reporting has on society. The manner in which crime is portrayed in the media influences public opinion, and subsequently public opinion influences public policy with respect to crime and criminals. Recent studies have focused on identifying different factors that can lead to a crime story's newsworthiness in the media. Some studies have examined the characteristics such as gender and race of homicide victims and offenders in news stories to see if these characteristics influence newsworthiness (see Gruenewald, Pizarro, and Chermak 2009; Johnstone, Hawkins, and Michener 1994; Paulsen 2003; Sorensen, Manz, and Berk 1998). This form of research has been termed "media distortion analysis" by Gruenewald et. al. (2009:264). A media distortion

analysis is focused on the variables that determine which stories receive media coverage and which do not (Gruenewald et. al. 2009).

An interview with *The Baltimore Sun's* lead crime reporter, Justin Fenton, indicates that the factors considered to be an attribute of a newsworthy victim may vary across papers. He posits that with a highly Black population of homicide victims, the majority of whom are male, race and gender are not criteria for newsworthiness (Fenton 2011). As a reporter, one of the first measures he takes is to check the court records once a murder victim is identified (Fenton 2011). He proposes that victims with a long rap sheet, especially including more recent charges, will yield less interest as a story than victims with little to no criminal history, citing that in many instances, homicides in Baltimore are a case of "criminals killing criminals" and that these cases do not generally engage the interest of the public (Fenton 2011). He also suggests that the locations of the crime (more specifically the city neighborhood in which it occurs) and community outreach (such as rallies and community meetings) are also triggers that make him want to delve deeper into a case (Fenton 2011). Interestingly, Fenton (2011) clarifies that at his paper, it is not the editors who make the decision as to what stories are covered, though the editors may sometimes point out an interesting case or angle. Rather, he and his fellow writers determine what stories are published based on what comes across the beat (Fenton 2011).

The present study examines news reporting of homicides in *The Baltimore Sun* that occurred in Baltimore, Maryland between January 1 and December 31, 2010 to

determine the impact “newsworthiness” has on the reporting of the cases. This study is unique because as noted by Fenton (2011), a large majority of the homicide victims (83%) are black males; meaning characteristics of newsworthiness found to be significant in previous studies (e.g., Johnstone et. al. 1994 or Paulsen 2003), such as being White or female, no longer apply. Because of this, other factors that influence newsworthiness are explored. Additionally, the reporting on homicide victims and their cases is analyzed to uncover what factors contribute to any particular victim’s newsworthiness.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Homicide Reporting

The media devote much more attention to homicide than to property crimes, even though property crimes are much more common (Meyers 1997; Paulsen 2003; Pritchard 1985). Homicide stories have a unique appeal to audiences simply because of the (often lurid) nature of the crime. Homicides tend to be more “high-impact” stories, meaning that they will generate more interest than a less serious but more common crime such as robbery or vandalism. Still, homicides occur often enough that in most metropolitan or urban areas a new story can be told each day (Gruenewald et. al. 2009; Johnstone et. al. 1994). In many major cities, including Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, reporters may have multiple homicides in a single day, which then forces them to assign a value of newsworthiness to a story to determine which get printed and which are left on the newsroom’s floor (Johnstone et. al. 1994). An overabundance of crime will empower news personnel to determine, based on their (or their editors’) sense of newsworthiness, which crimes are covered and which crimes are ignored (Gruenewald et. al. 2009; Pritchard and Hughes 1997; Surette 1998). In many instances, a large number of crimes are never reported in the newspapers (Pritchard and Hughes 1997); even homicides will go unreported if they are entirely banal and deemed “not newsworthy.” Lundman (2003) also notes that in addition to deciding whether or not a

story is reported, journalists and their editors must also decide how often and how prominently a homicide should be reported.

Newsworthiness

The nature of newsworthiness has been much debated among scholars and journalists alike, as it is an extremely subjective concept. Different media outlets will find stories to have varying amounts of newsworthiness based on a bevy of factors, not limited to their target audience and journalistic style. Newsworthiness has been described by Surette (1998) as “the criteria by which news producers choose which of all known events are to be presented to the public as news events” (p. 60).

Newsworthiness may also be attributed to the “human interest” value a story has (Johnstone et. al. 1994). Meyers (1997) also suggests that “newsworthiness . . . [or the] qualities journalists believe make an event worth reporting...has never been easy to define. There are no hard-and-fast rules about what constitutes the news, and reporters and editors themselves are often vague about how they separate what to cover from what to ignore within the vast pool of occurrences that could, potentially, be news” (p. 18).

Not all homicides will receive media attention (Johnstone et. al. 1994), and those that do will receive varying amounts of coverage (Gruenewald et. al. 2009; Meyers 1997). These varying ranges of coverage can be found in the frequency of reporting as well as placement of the story within the newspaper. Some homicides are front-page

stories that are covered extensively (Gruenewald et. al. 2009). Other homicides may receive a couple of sentences or a paragraph, while some will receive no coverage at all (Gruenewald et. al. 2009).

Homicides will likely be considered newsworthy when they are unusual or contain elements that are out of the ordinary (Gruenewald et. al. 2009; Meyers 1997). In many urban areas, victims of homicide are disproportionately African American (Meyers 1997). As such, many journalists may not consider these victims to be especially newsworthy, though some will receive coverage (Pritchard 1985). Other studies suggest that elements such as the involvement of White victims (e.g., Johnstone et. al. 1994; Lundman 2003; Paulsen 2003; Pritchard and Hughes 1997; Sorensen et. al. 1998), vulnerable victims (e.g., Johnstone et. al. 1994; Paulsen 2003; Pritchard and Hughes 1997; Sorensen et. al. 1998), multiple victims (e.g., Johnstone et. al. 1994; Paulsen 2003; Sorensen et. al. 1998), and whether the murder occurs in a wealthier neighborhood (e.g., Johnstone et. al. 1994; Paulsen 2003; Sorensen et. al. 1998) influence the assessed newsworthiness of a particular killing. Pritchard and Hughes (1997) also suggest that crimes involving a violation of cultural norms, such as the killing of an elderly person or a child, would also be viewed as more newsworthy.

Media Framing

Media framing clearly goes hand-in-hand with the concept of newsworthiness. Though a clear-cut definition of media framing has yet to be widely accepted, Entman

(1993) proposes that “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (p. 52). Regardless of newsworthiness, stories are still reported in a manner that will captivate and entertain the intended audience (Jewkes 2004). Rarely is a story reported with just the facts of a case presented in an accurate depiction of what really has taken place (Jewkes 2004). In order to understand the role of media and how these stories are framed, Jewkes (2004) suggests that “we have to conclude that media images are *not* reality; they are a *version* of reality that is culturally determined and dependent on two related factors. First, the mediated picture of ‘reality’ is shaped by the production processes of news organizations and the structural determinants of news making, any or all of which may influence the image of crime, criminals, and the criminal justice system in the minds of the public. ... The second factor that shapes news production concerns the assumptions media professionals make about their audience” (p. 37, italics in original). These assumptions, as Jewkes (2004) posits, tie back into the importance of newsworthiness and how this concept interplays with the public appeal of a story and the level of public interest in a particular case.

Jewkes (2004) suggests that media framing is shaped around news values including threshold, predictability, simplification, individualism, sex, celebrity or high-status persons, proximity, violence, spectacle or graphic imagery, and children (p. 40). The threshold of a story is a factor which indicates whether a story will be newsworthy

based on a perceived level of importance of the topic (Jewkes 2004). A story has a better chance of being considered newsworthy if it is rare, unexpected, and unpredictable. Yet at the same it time should be able to be reported in a brief, simplified, and compartmentalized manner so as not to overwhelm the consumer (Jewkes 2004).

Individualism, which Jewkes (2004) suggests can be connected directly with simplification and risk, can provide a framework for understanding an offender as a loner or the consumer as an individual experiencing the story. The frame of sex can pave way for a discourse about gender and power struggles with respect to homicide victims and offenders, and cases involving children are considered to automatically reach a level of newsworthiness not otherwise guaranteed (Jewkes 2004). Jewkes (2004) also suggests that a story is instantly more newsworthy when it encompasses a celebrity or highly public individual. And finally, violence provides graphic imagery that guarantees high ratings (Jewkes 2004).

Johnstone et. al. (1994) also suggest that the problem with framing a story towards a “human interest” approach is that the reality of the story may be taken out of context and ultimately treated as fiction. The trend to report based on what will sell papers frames the incidences on an individual rather than social level. As such, reports can yield a skewed impression that certain populations are at a greater risk of victimization based on sociodemographic factors than they actually are. Biased reporting also can suggest that certain groups are more important than others based on the volume of coverage or lack thereof that they receive. This type of reporting can

distort the public opinion of homicide by ignoring economic or social contributions to the problem at hand. Johnstone (1994) and his colleagues suggest a more responsible policy on crime reporting; by which media report based on facts rather than fiction or sensationalism that will sell the story.

CHAPTER 3: HOMICIDE IN BALTIMORE

Baltimore is the largest city by population in Maryland and is spread over approximately 80 square miles with a population density of over 8,000 people per square mile (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). The city population is 53.4% female and 46.6% male (U.S. Census Bureau 2009). The racial composition is 64.3% Black, 31.6% White, 1.7% Hispanic or Latino, 1.5% Asian, and 0.3% American Indians or Alaska Natives (U.S. Census Bureau 2009). People reporting to be two or more races comprise the final 1.5% of the city's population (U.S. Census Bureau 2009).

According to data compiled by the U.S. Census Bureau and reported by the FBI (2010) in their preliminary Uniform Crime Report for 2009, the population of Baltimore was listed as 638,755 citizens. In 2009, there were 238 homicides within the city limits (U.S. Department of Justice 2010). This means that for every 100,000 citizens in Baltimore, there were 37.26 homicides in 2009. Homicide makes up a very small percentage of the total number of violent crimes within the city (or within any city). In 2009, it was estimated that there were 9,664 violent crimes committed; so only 2.5% of the violent crimes were homicides. In comparison, homicide accounted for 1.2% of all violent crimes nationally. For the year 2010, 222 Baltimore murders have occurred (The Baltimore Sun 2010). Figure 1 represents a breakdown of the homicides by the month in which the bodies were recovered as reported by *The Baltimore Sun* (2010) and *The Baltimore City Paper's "Murder Ink"* column (Ditkoff 2010).

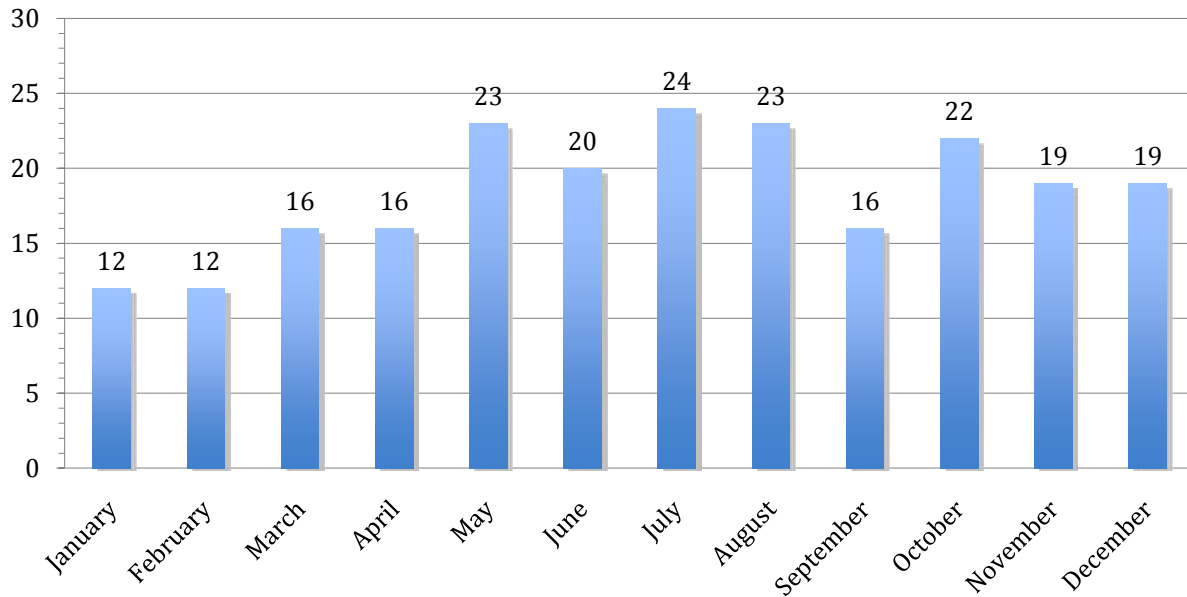


Figure 1: 2010 Baltimore Homicides by Month

In comparison to 2009, the homicide totals in the months of May, July, August, and October were higher by three to eight murders. March and June saw very little change with a slight decrease of one less murder in 2010 compared to 2009. The remaining months saw a more significant change from 2009 to 2010, with a decrease of three homicides in February all the way to nine homicides in January.

Table 1: Distribution of the Causes of Death Among 2010 Homicide Victims

	Percent
Shooting	76.6
Stabbing	10.3
Blunt Force	9.5
Asphyxiation	1.8
Other / Unknown	1.8
TOTAL	100.0

In 2009, the main cause of death was firearms (195 victims or 81.9%). Of the homicides that occurred in 2010, firearms have been the weapons of choice. Guns contributed to approximately 77% of deaths as illustrated in Table 1.

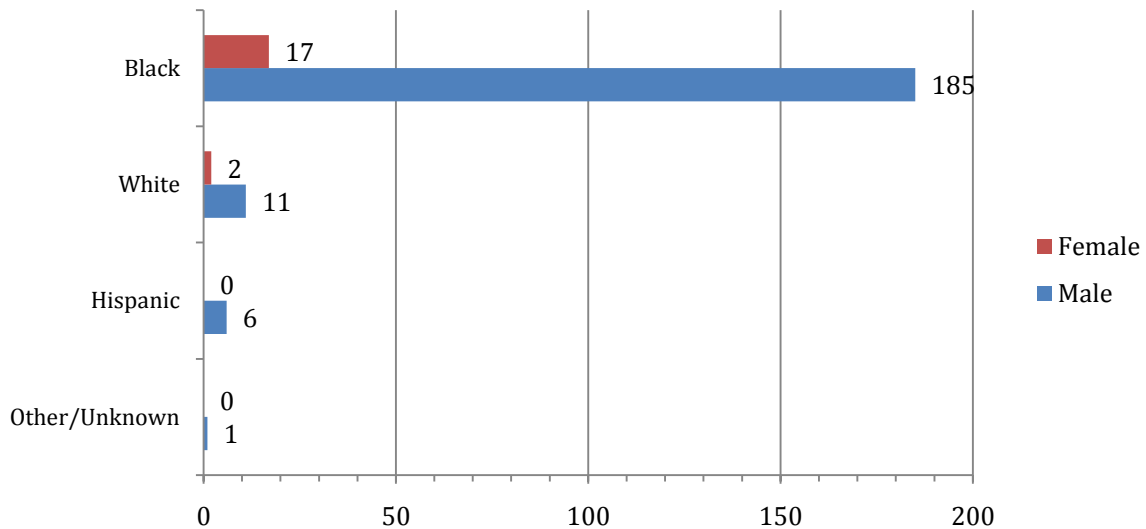


Figure 2: Distribution of Gender and Race Among 2010 Homicide Victims

Figure 2 shows the race and gender of the homicide victims. A staggering 83% of victims were African-American males. White males accounted for approximately 5% and Hispanic males for fewer than 3% of the homicides in Baltimore. African-American females comprised just over 8% of victims, with the remaining 1% of victims being White females. As a whole, males comprised nearly 91% of the victim population. Furthermore, White and Hispanic victims were only a small percentage of the total at approximately 6% and 3% respectively, while the overwhelming majority of victims, 91%, were African-American.

The racial composition of homicide victims in the United States is observably different from those in Baltimore. In 2009, there were 13,636 homicide victims nationally (U.S. Department of Justice 2010). Males accounted for 10,496 victims or 77% of the murdered population. This is further broken down by race with 4,599 (44%) of males being categorized as White. Black males represented 5,561 (53%) of the victims with the remaining 3% being classified as unknown or other races. Female victims were divided inversely between Blacks (994 victims or 32%) and Whites (1,966 victims or 63%), with victims categorized as other or unknown also representing a small sampling of victims.

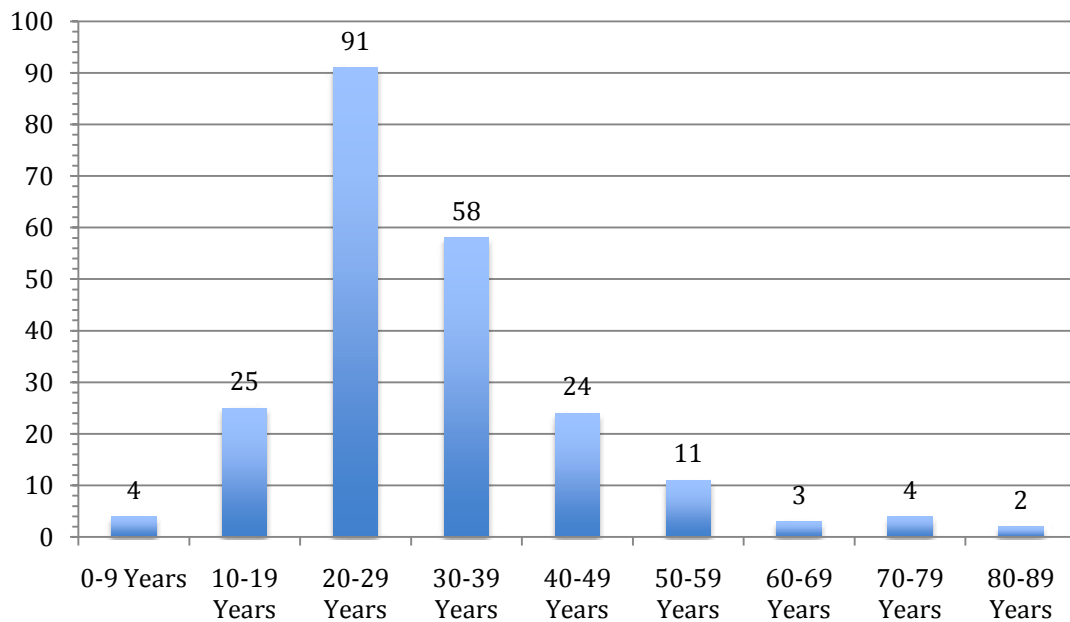


Figure 3: Distribution of Age Among 2010 Homicide Victims

Age is another demographic to consider when examining the dataset. Of the 222 victims reported, their ages ranged from one year old¹ to 84 years old. The highest concentration of victims is in the range of 20-29 years old, which accounts for approximately 41% of the population. The victims in the present study have a mean age of 31.05 years and a median age of 29 years. In comparison, the homicide victims nationwide in 2009 had a mean age of 32.64 years with a median age of approximately 31 years. These demographics are important to the study to help prove (or disprove) that such factors can or will influence newsworthiness.

¹ Infant victims including Rajahnthon Haynie, Micha Crane, and Khloe Lewis were just months old at the time of their murders. They are classified as one-year of age for the purpose of this analysis as all ages were recorded in whole integers.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

The aforementioned data were compiled using *The Baltimore Sun's* online crime map which is assembled using data from the Baltimore Police Department. *The Baltimore Sun* was selected, as it is the main newspaper for the region. To access these data a search was conducted for all homicides occurring in the year 2010. There were 222 murders found, and the results were indicated with pins on an interactive map of Baltimore (see Figure 4). Each of the markers was then visited and all of the relevant information on the homicide was compiled, including the victim's name, age, gender, and race, as well as the date the body was discovered and the cause of death (shooting, stabbing, asphyxiation, blunt force, or other).

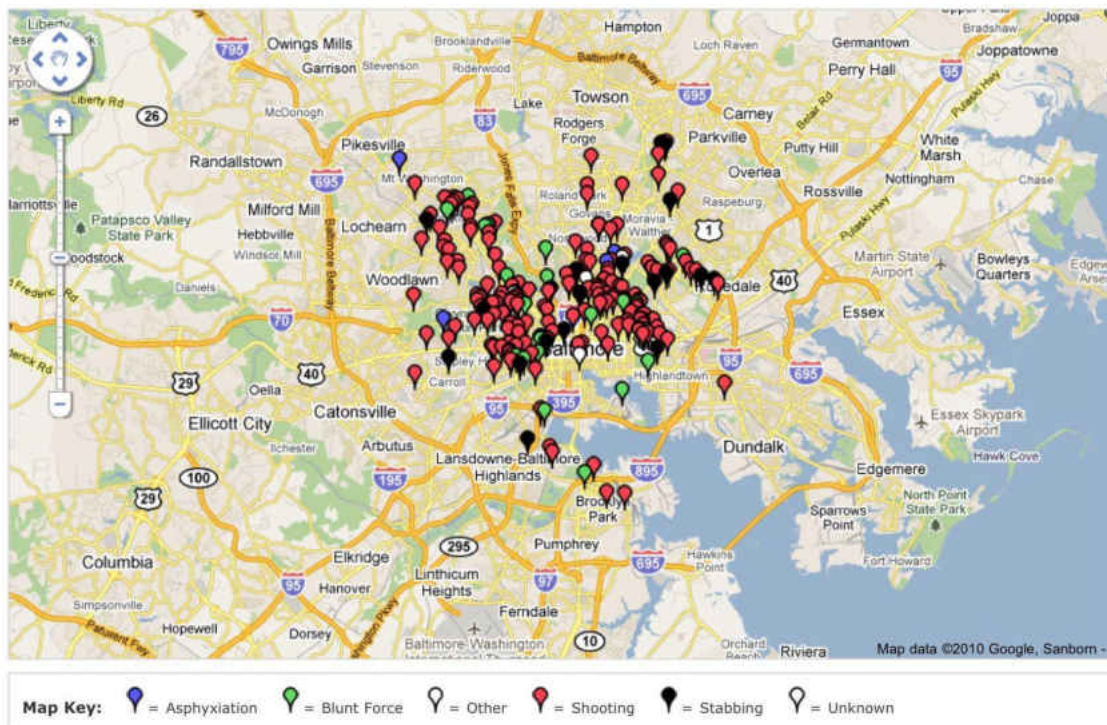


Figure 4: *The Baltimore Sun* Interactive Crime Map, 2010 Homicide Data Displayed

(© *The Baltimore Sun*, used with permission; http://essentials.baltimoresun.com/micro_sun/homicides)

Cases that could not be identified on the Sun's crime map were ultimately identified through *The Baltimore City's Paper's* "Murder Ink" column. After data on the demographic characteristics of victims were recorded, *The Baltimore Sun's*² online newspaper archive was searched for each victim's name. The victim's name was selected as the searchable variable as it is independent and individual to each case, barring any overlap in names (i.e. Charles Bowman). In the event of an overlap of identical names, the date the article was published and the victim's age was used to link an article with a particular victim. Article attributes such as the date of publication, section of publication, page number of print, and article word count were also recorded. Victims who had multiple articles published about them were also noted. Opinion columns such as editorials and obituaries were omitted from the set of articles as were any articles published after January 15, 2011. This cutoff date was selected to allow homicides that occurred in the final weeks of 2010 to be covered in the media. Each relevant article pertaining to a case was retained for later analysis.

² *The Baltimore Sun* has a circulation rate of over 1.1 million readers on a weekly basis that covers approximately 51% of the designated market area (Scarborough Research 2008).

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF VICTIM NEWSWORTHINESS

For homicides occurring in 2010, 201 articles were published that discussed the 222 homicides. Additionally, 42 of these articles discussed multiple homicide victims based on their proximity in timing with one another. This full set of articles about Baltimore homicides contained 130,322 words. An initial examination of word counts across types of homicide articles can begin to tell the story of how the media reports on homicide. For example, of the 130,322 words, only 93,353 words (72%) were dedicated to reporting news stories related to the victims' murders. Further information about article placement is discussed later in this chapter.

Frequency of Reporting on A Victim's Murder

Once the overall victim dataset was compiled, it was then split into several subsets based on the number of articles associated with the victims in the dataset. The first subset included the victims who were not noted in any article within the paper. In the set, nearly 26% of the victims did not receive a mention in a single article. The remaining 74% had at least one mention in an article in *The Sun*. As this new subset represents the majority of the victims, the set was split again into those victims who received only one mention and those who received two or more references. Ultimately the dataset was split into three subsets for analysis.

Table 2: Distribution of the Frequency of References for Murder Victims In *The Sun*

	<i>All Victims</i>		<i>Multiple References</i>	
	n	Percent	n	Percent
Received no mention in any article	57	25.68	--	--
Received a single mention in only one article	126	56.76	--	--
Received multiple mentions across multiple articles	39	17.56	--	--
<i>Received mention in 2 articles</i>	24	10.81	24	61.54
<i>Received mention in 3 articles</i>	4	1.80	4	10.26
<i>Received mention in 4 articles</i>	3	1.35	3	7.69
<i>Received mention in 5 articles</i>	3	1.35	3	7.69
<i>Received mention in 6-10 articles</i>	3	1.35	3	7.69
<i>Received mention in 11-15 articles</i>	0	0.00	0	0.00
<i>Received mention in 16 or more articles</i>	2	0.90	2	5.13

Of the victims that were referenced in *The Baltimore Sun* newspaper, just over 76% were found in only one article, while the remaining 24% were noted in multiple articles. Victims with their names in two articles accounted for just over 61% of those with multiple articles and nearly 15% of the number of articles on published victims. There was an equal distribution of victims who received mention in 4, 5, or 6-10 articles. These groups each represented nearly 8% of multi-referenced victims but just under 2% each of all victims in the dataset. Victims with references in 16 or more articles comprised approximately 1% of the total data set and just over 5% of the multiple-reported victim set.

Article Placement In The Newspaper

All of the articles that referenced one or more of the homicide victims were printed in the local section of *The Baltimore Sun*, which is the leading section. This is also referenced to readers by the letter 'A.' In total, there were 201 articles published referencing Baltimore's 2010 homicide victims. In analyzing only the initially reported articles, which would include the articles for victims who were referenced in a single article and the first article for those who were referenced across multiple articles, there were 127 articles in the sample set.

Of the remaining articles, over 17% made front-page news, thus suggesting a higher level of newsworthiness (several of these cases will be discussed later). However, the majority of the articles initially reporting these homicides were placed on the fourth and sixth pages. These pages featured regular columns or sections titled "Around the Region" and "Crime Briefs." The "Around the Region" section is a composite of three to six short stories, roughly a paragraph in length, referencing anything from notable births to deaths, lawsuits, and upcoming city events. "Crime Briefs," which were also found on the sixth, seventh, eighth, and tenth pages of the paper (placement of the column can vary by day), is similar in organization to "Around the Region." However, this section focuses more on crime and legal matters such as new cases of criminal and misdemeanor behavior, updates on existing open cases, information on police cases seeking citizen information, and open and newly closed court cases.

Table 3: Distribution of Page and Section Placement for Original Articles

	n	Percent
<i>Page Of Article Publication</i>		
Page 1	35	17.41
Page 2	31	15.42
Page 3	17	8.46
Page 4	44	21.89
Page 5	12	5.97
Page 6	37	18.41
Page 7	7	3.48
Page 8	11	5.47
Page 9	1	0.50
Page 10 or Later	6	2.99
<i>Section of Publication</i>		
Front Page / Lead News	35	17.41
Around The Region	52	25.87
Crime Briefs	20	9.95
Crime Scenes	9	4.48
Untitled Column / General Article	85	42.29

Time Span Between Discovery and Reporting

Newsworthiness may not only be indicated by an article’s placement in the newspaper but also in how much time passed between when a victim’s body was recovered and when their story was printed. Only one story, that of Jamal Thomas (victim # 50), was reported in the paper on the same day the body was discovered. The majority of the murders were initially reported the immediate next day or two days after the body was found. Several victims, including Shaun Henderson (victim # 15), Jonathan Byrd (victim # 58), Randol Buncombe (victim # 163), and Davon Douglas (victim # 202), were not referenced in an article until a month or more after their bodies

were discovered. It is important to note, however, that the time span between when a body is discovered and when it is first reported is conditional upon a number of factors including, but not limited to, victim identification and family notification by police. For victims with multiple stories, their longevity in print lasted anywhere from 2 to 195 days after their deaths were initially reported. Several of the stories that had the longest span of reporting were integrated into the year-end discussion on homicides in the cities and were not covered regularly for the entire period.

Portrayal of Victims

The demographic characteristics of Baltimore's 2010 homicide victims are overwhelmingly skewed towards African-American males between the ages of 20 and 39 years old. As such, demographic factors are no longer the determinant of newsworthiness. To validate such a claim statistically, a Chi-square test was conducted for both race and gender against whether or not a victim was published. Table 4 represents a Chi-square test between victim gender and publication of at least one story about the victim's homicide. With a Chi-square of 0.909, the relationship between these variables indicates that there is no relationship between a victim's gender and whether or not the victim receives coverage. Table 5 replicates this Chi-square test with race in lieu of gender. Though the Chi-square value is lower (0.171), it still indicates that race is also not significant in determining whether or not an article will be published for a victim. The results indicate that there is no statistically significant relationship between

either gender or race and coverage in *The Baltimore Sun*, thus confirming that demographic factors of Baltimore homicide victims are, in fact, not relevant to determining the newsworthiness of a victim.

Table 4: Chi-square Test of Victim Gender and Publication

			Articles Published		Total
			Not Published	Published	
Victim Gender	Male	Count	52	151	203
		Expected Count	52.1	150.9	203.0
	Female	Count	5	14	19
		Expected Count	4.9	14.1	19.0
	Total	Count	57	165	222
		Expected Count	57.0	165.0	222.0

$\chi^2 = 0.909$, n.s.

Table 5: Chi-square Test of Victim Race and Publication

			Articles Published		Total
			Not Published	Published	
Victim Race	Non-Black	Count	8	13	21
		Expected Count	5.4	15.6	21.0
	Black	Count	49	152	201
		Expected Count	50.7	150.3	201.0
	Total	Count	57	165	222
		Expected Count	57.0	165.0	222.0

$\chi^2 = 0.171$, n.s.

In order to determine what makes each victim newsworthy or not newsworthy, the situational factors, which can include information on the victim and the perpetrator(s), the location of the murder, and the actions leading up to and after the killing, are examined. For those victims that appear to be most newsworthy based on an elevated article count as well as selected placement within the paper, the victim's

stories are combed seeking sensational or unusual characteristics that make one murder stand out from the next.

Table 6: Most Newsworthy Victims of 2010

ID	VICTIM	DATE OF HOMICIDE	ARTICLES	WORD COUNT
116	Stephen Pitcairn	July 25, 2010	17	17,340
84	Tyrone Brown	June 5, 2010	18	17,814
174	Brian Stevenson	October 16, 2010	7	5,118
43	Charles Bowman	April 8, 2010	6	4,836
122	Milton Hill	July 30, 2010	6	4,986
29	Donatello Fenner	March 12, 2010	6	3,624
105	John Crowder	July 5, 2010	4	5,072
30	Rajahnthon Haynie	March 14, 2010	5	3,315
153	Jean Davis	September 16, 2010	4	4,306
139	Martin Reyes	August 21, 2010	4	2,922

Table 6 represents the most newsworthy victims of 2010 as reported in *The Baltimore Sun*. These cases were selected as all of the victims received coverage in four or more articles, whereas the majority of the victims who were written about only received mention in one or two articles. Total word count was also recorded as this attribute appears to be much higher among cases considered newsworthy in comparison to those which are not. The following discussion examines each of these cases and their elements of newsworthiness.

Newsworthy Victims

Stephen Pitcairn, Victim # 116

It could be argued that the July 25, 2010 murder of Stephen Pitcairn was the year's most newsworthy story. Initially reported on July 27, 2010, coverage of Pitcairn's murder spanned 16 articles in an 8-day period, with multiple articles appearing on most days. He was also included in the year-end review article published on the final day of the year. Seven articles made front-page news, four articles received placement on the second page of the section, and the majority of the remaining articles found their place on pages three through five. In total, 17,340 words (or just over 13% of all content) were dedicated to telling this victim's story.

Stephen Pitcairn was a 23-year-old medical researcher at Johns Hopkins University where he assisted with breast cancer studies (Fenton 2010e). Originally from Florida, he had traveled across the world to Japan to do research in stem cells and was getting ready to enter medical school with a promising future ahead of him. That tragically ended as he walked towards his apartment and was stopped by a couple demanding money and the iPhone he was talking on. Though he complied, he was stabbed and left for dead. A community resident saw the incident and rushed to Pitcairn's aid, where he stayed until the student passed away. Pitcairn was two days away from his 24th birthday.

This tragedy alone could make this case seem extremely newsworthy. However, it was ultimately a bevy of factors that combined into the "perfect storm" that

catapulted Pitcairn's murder to the top of the list. Unlike the majority of victims in the city, Pitcairn was White. He had never been in trouble and was a "gem" in the Johns Hopkins medical research community. He was associated with a leading medical facility that is perhaps the most well known institution in Baltimore. He lived in an upscale neighborhood in the Charles Village section of the community, once considered one of the safest in Baltimore and where residents pay extra taxes for added security and benefits (Hermann 2010d).

An arrest was made within days of the murder, whereas many cases go unsolved in the city. The suspects had rap sheets that went on for days. This was highlighted in a majority of the articles. However, far more disturbing than charges of robbery or assault and even the lack of punishment for people with histories dating back to the early 1990s because the warrant services are too backlogged, would be the killers very own words. After leaving Pitcairn for dead, the killers, identified as Lavelva Merritt and John Wagner, boasted to witnesses that they had been "hunting to rob" and bragged that they had "hurt" a "White boy" (Hermann 2010e). These statements echoed in article after article.

There was a large outpouring of support and shock from the community. Interviews were included from Pitcairn's own family members in South Florida and a local area resident who had lost her brother in a similar incident. Members of the medical community from Johns Hopkins also provided interviews that discussed the significant contribution Pitcairn had made in his research capacity. One interview

incorporated discussion from the man who had held Pitcairn's hand the night he died. Even candidates in the State Attorney's race put the homicide front and center.³

Pitcairn's murder was a classic example of the "it can happen here" way of thinking. He was someone people could feel sorry for and also relate to, ultimately the classic "newsworthy" victim. As more and more details became available, they became published. More people came forward to share their stories or their opinions. The history of the murderers shared the spotlight with the death of a promising young scholar with his whole life ahead of him. Fresh content could be provided to readers every day, and in some cases in multiple articles a day. It was indeed where all of the possible factors aligned perfectly -- a perfect storm of newsworthiness packaged in a neat series of organized headlines and stories.

Tyrone Brown, Victim # 84

Although one of the middle victims in the dataset, Tyrone Brown's June 5, 2010 murder also received a significant amount of coverage in *The Baltimore Sun*. Including the original story of his murder on June 6, there were 18 articles that referenced his murder, accounting for 17,814 words (approximately 14% of the total words printed for all murder victims). The articles ranged from 493 to 1,888 words in length for a single

³ The 2010 State Attorney's race was an extremely controversial and heated event throughout its duration. The murder of Steven Pitcairn became a prime focus of the race as challenger Gregg Bernstein claimed that incumbent Patricia Jessamy was soft on crime and her lax "get tough" policies enabled Pitcairn's killers to roam free (Fenton, Bishop, and Madigan 2010). Similar claims were made regarding the murder of Milton Hill shortly after.

article, one of the highest word counts for any article published. While the initial report of his murder made front-page news not unlike several other victims of the set, 12 out of the 18 articles published on Brown's murder remained on the first page of the paper. The last article on his murder was published on August 5, which was 61 days after the initial story was published.

So what could make Tyrone Brown seemingly one of the most newsworthy victims of 2010? Brown was a 32-year-old African American male, or in other words, completely typical demographically in Baltimore. Unlike most victims, however, Brown was not a victim of the usual drug-related murder that plagues the city. Brown, an ex-Marine, was out enjoying an evening with his sister and her friend in Baltimore's Mount Vernon entertainment district. As they departed, he allegedly tapped a female passerby on the rear in a joking manner. The passerby's companion, an off-duty police officer of fifteen years named Gahiji Tshamba, exchanged words with Brown as Brown tried to apologize and leave. Tshamba pulled his service handgun and shot at Brown 13 times, hitting him 12 times. Brown was pronounced dead 45 minutes later.

Over the next 16 days, the story unfolded in the headlines as questions were raised regarding police policies for carrying weapons, the offending officer's state of inebriation, and whether the shooting was justified. As more facts became available, it was made known that Brown had his hands up in the air and was unarmed when he was shot. Initial reports incorrectly stated that Brown was hit six times, then nine, and were later corrected to reflect the 12 wounds he suffered in his chest and groin.

Subsequent articles also brought to light that Tshamba had previously been involved in an altercation outside of a bar that led to another man being shot, and that he had also shot an armed robber trying to flee the scene of a crime in another incident years earlier. In the second week of reporting, headlines shifted from exposing the officer's turbulent past to the warrant for his arrest, the hunt to bring him to justice, and Tshamba's act of turning himself in to the authorities. The coverage concluded with one article on Brown's family and friends' tearful good-bye and a city councilwoman's inquisition into gun policies for off-duty officers.

All of the articles labeled Brown as "the ex-Marine." He was a veteran who had fought on our country's behalf in Iraq but died in his own hometown. Several stories referenced his joking and playful nature, which ultimately brought upon the altercation that left him dead. He was a father, an athlete, a war hero, and a friend – roles that would seemingly tug at the heartstrings of a reader. Additionally, when this friendly and outgoing personality was pitted against a rogue officer with a dark past being dredged through the print, it was media gold – a story right out of Hollywood playing out in *The Baltimore Sun's* headlines.

Brian Stevenson, Victim # 174

On October 16, 2010, a member of the right side of the law was murdered. Off-duty detective Brian Stevenson lost his life after he was struck in the head with a piece of concrete on the eve of his 38th birthday. Coverage of his murder initially appeared

two days after the killing and lasted for an additional 30. Though a seemingly newsworthy story, only seven articles were published on the homicide. The first and third articles written made front-page news, while the remaining articles appeared on pages three through eight. In total, over 5,000 words were dedicated to telling the story of the fallen officer.

There are many reasons this particular case could be viewed as newsworthy. An 18-year veteran on the force, Stevenson was known for having a positive and upbeat demeanor, and all of the testimonials only substantiated this. Stevenson had been out having dinner in the Canton area, the majority of which is (for the most part) easily considered one of Baltimore's safest neighborhoods. In fact, Stevenson was the first murder of the year in the community. His killer had a long rap sheet. Stevenson's death came in a time period where another officer also lost his life after his police cruiser struck a fire truck. But perhaps the most newsworthy of topics to be discussed was the circumstances surrounding his death – it was a result of an argument over a parking space.

Charles Bowman, Victim # 43

A Vietnam veteran turned nighttime security guard for a local newspaper, 72-year-old Charles Bowman made front-page news just one day after his April 8, 2010 murder. Bowman was at a local takeout restaurant ordering his usual meal when two

masked men stormed in with the intent to carry out a burglary (Hermann and Anderson 2010). They left with just \$13 and left Bowman with a bullet in his chest, and he died a short time later at Johns Hopkins Hospital. The carryout had been the scene of a shooting the prior year. Additionally, the area where the carryout was located has been experiencing growth and subsequently an increase in crime as a result of the expansion.

Coverage of Bowman's murder lasted for 16 days from the initial report. There were six articles in total plus an obituary⁴ for the fallen man. A total of 4,836 words were printed on the case, spread out with two articles making front-page news, two on the second page, and the remainder in later pages. Coverage of Bowman's murder was split between the need to clean up the area that was experiencing an upsurge in crime and the importance of Bowman to his community. Bowman's community rallied in support of their fallen neighbor, which ultimately led to the capture of his teenage killers. Bowman also appeared to have a different impact on his community, as he had a candlelight vigil held in his honor. Seemingly a case of being in the wrong place at the wrong time, Bowman emerges as a newsworthy victim because the reader could easily relate to him.

⁴ According to Justin Fenton (2011), obituaries in *The Baltimore Sun* are not published by the paper's staff but rather are purchased by family and friends of the deceased. Published obituaries were not included in the article counts for this study.

Milton Hill, Victim # 122

Also a staple in his community, 70-year-old Milton Hill was murdered during a robbery attempt on July 30, 2010. His coverage began the day following his murder and was followed by four additional articles over three days. He also received a mention in the year-end wrap-up article on December 31, 2010. Though the initial report on Hill's murder appeared on the third page of the local section and the majority of coverage received second page placement, it still accounted for nearly 4,500 words.

There were several similarities between the murders of Charles Bowman and Milton Hill. Both were known in their neighborhoods – Bowman for his routine and Hill for his helping hand. Hill had been the local church caretaker, and was always there for his neighbors, whether walking ladies to their car or trimming the church landscaping just because it needed it (Fenton 2010f). Hill's articles featured more discussion from members of his family and community who shared their fond memories of the fallen father and friend. While at least one article for each Bowman and Hill featured discussion on the need to clean up the streets, one main difference between the reportings comes in the case of timing. Not only was Hill murdered in such a close proximity to Pitcairn, but also he was murdered during the State Attorney's race and was used as a vehicle for the candidates to discuss their "Get Tough" policies.

Donatello Fenner, Victim # 29

Though 22-year-old Donatello Fenner's past was anything but blemish-free, it is the dark details surrounding his life and death that may have kept him in print for nearly two-and-a-half weeks after his March 12, 2010 death. Fenner had a long-standing history with the police. He was constantly stopped and subjected to random raids and arrests by the authorities to help try to keep him out of trouble (Hermann 2010a). A suspected leader of a local gang, the Young Gorilla Family (YGF), Fenner was currently out on bail awaiting a March 25 court hearing on an assault charge from November when he was gunned down near an elementary school (Fenton 2010c).

The successive articles chronicling the later arrest of two men in connection with the killing also showed a paradox in Fenner's history. Most of the articles referenced his alleged involvement in the YGF but at the same time referenced Fenner as somewhat of a victim of circumstances, a young man on the wrong path trying to straighten his life out. Two of the articles were essentially character testimonials on Fenner's behalf. One article even featured an interview with his aunt, Shroyal Moore. She discussed how Fenner was trying to help get young children away from the drug trade that permeates Baltimore by encouraging them to go to college (Hermann 2010a). Moore also suggested that Fenner had found God in prison and was trying to become a better man for his three children. The other article is an interview with Leon Henry, a local man who volunteers as a Big Brother for kids in the area, one of whom is Fenner's

cousin (Hermann 2010c). The article discusses Henry's memories of Fenner before his death and his own history that has an eerie echo of Fenner's (Hermann 2010c).

It can be posited that portraying a victim in a "reformed sinner" light will certainly keep readers interested. Over the sixteen days that Fenner was in the news, 3,260 words were dedicated to telling his story. While the first and last articles published on Fenner were found on the third page of the local section, the remaining three articles were found later in the section on pages six through eight. Out of the 222 victims, Fenner appeared to be the only one portrayed as both a monster and a martyr. The multiple dimensions of this case can be credited for making it newsworthy.

John Crowder, Victim # 105

John Crowder was one of the younger victims in the dataset – he was just 17 years old when he was murdered on July 5, 2010. Coverage of his murder spanned four weeks and shared equal billing on both the front and second pages. In total, over 5,000 words were dedicated to reporting the tragic loss of this young man. One article, published July 11, 2010, contained 2,606 words – the most for any single article in the entire study. In a week where there was a murder every single day (July 1 – 7, 2010), Crowder was the only victim to receive more than one article dedicated to his murder and one of the few victims to have all of his stories be recounts of his life and not a platform for social change. In fact, very little word space was used to even discuss the

murder itself, and beyond the fact that the victim was shot, few other details about the case were shared.

Crowder's newsworthiness appears to stem simply from his life story. Though he had a rough upbringing – his mother died when he was 2, his father was absent, and he had two brothers who had been shot – Crowder appeared to anyone who knew him to be making something positive of his life (Linskey 2010). Years earlier, he had been in trouble with the law and found himself at a Dallas-based preparatory school. A year later, the star basketball player moved back to Baltimore to be close to family, where he attended a local Catholic school and was already being scouted by colleges and the pros. However, it was only a matter of time before Crowder returned to the Northeast Baltimore neighborhood he called “the war zone” and was back to his old bad habits. The dedication of space to telling this young man's story has significant importance if for nothing else than as a “cautionary tale for others trying to get away from difficult environments” (Walker 2010).

Rajahnthon Haynie, Victim # 30

The March 14, 2010 murder of infant Rajahnthon Haynie also made front-page news over two consecutive days (his third article, published March 18, 2010, was placed on page 2) and even sparked several editorials. At the time of his murder, Haynie, born January 30, 2010, was less than 3 months old. After the boy's father told police of the

murder and where to find the body, Haynie was found buried in a plastic bag in Druid Hill Park with his head bashed in. The official cause of death was blunt force trauma. His mother, Lakesha, was the prime suspect and soon confessed to the killing.

While the articles each mentioned the infant's death and the facts surrounding the case, much of the coverage focused on the mother and the child welfare system. In two out of the three articles, discussion even shifted away from the case entirely and incorporated this case into an examination of a history of children's deaths at the hands of their parents and how such deaths could have been avoided. Haynie's death became a vehicle for a discussion on policy and prevention, as his death was the eleventh of a child since 2004 as a result of physical abuse (Jones 2010). All three articles also noted the fact that Haynie's mother had lost the parental rights to her four other children dating as far back as 2001.

The newsworthy value of this case is seemingly clear. A defenseless infant just more than two months old was killed at the hands of his own mother. She was to be his caregiver and protector, yet instead she beat in his skull and disposed of his body in a calculated and cold manner. All of the elements for a good story that would incite reactions were in place. While Haynie's death did share some similarities with the murder of Caylee Anthony in Orlando, Florida, it is interesting to note that in comparison to Anthony, Haynie would almost seem an unworthy victim as coverage of his case lasted just three days from the initial report, whereas Anthony's coverage still continues on over two years after the case broke. No continuing coverage on the

progression of the case or the trial of Lakesha Haynie was published. However, in Baltimore, where the median age for a murder victim is 29 years old, and the assailant was typically a male, facts of this case set it apart from the norm, thus making the death of Rajahnthon Haynie more newsworthy.

Jean Davis, Victim # 153

Less than two months after the death of Stephen Pitcairn, the Johns Hopkins community received another jolt into the spotlight with the murder of Jean Davis on September 16, 2010. Davis, a Black female, was the oldest victim in the dataset. She also received the most coverage of any female murdered in 2010. Over just six days after her murder, coverage spanned four articles totaling just over 4,300 words. Three of the four articles made front-page news and exceeded 1,000 words apiece, with the last article on her killing on the second page of the section.

Davis' murder had several characteristics that would make it a seemingly obvious newsworthy case. Days after undergoing surgical treatment for cancer, Davis was shot in the hospital ward by her 50-year-old son Paul Pardus (Fenton, Green, and Hill 2010). Pardus, unhappy with the treatment his mother had received from the doctors and convinced they had caused her paralysis, first shot Davis' lead physician David Cohen before turning the gun on his mother and then ultimately himself (Fenton, Green, and Hill 2010). Cohen survived the shooting. The hospital immediately went on lockdown for nearly three hours until the "all-clear" order was issued.

Homicides in the hospital are quite rare. People are taken to the hospital to get better, not get killed. This idea immediately catapulted this story to the front of the paper for its rarity. Once the newness faded, the paper quickly shifted to an exploration of police response and safety practices at the hospital. Reporters and readers alike appeared to have the same question – how could something like this happen? One such preventative measure discussed was whether or not metal detectors would have prevented the shooting, though as the authors note, they are not typically feasible or practical in hospitals anywhere, Baltimore included (Fenton, Green, and Hill 2010). The final article in the series concluded with the reporting that emergency plans would be reviewed and altered in the wake of Davis’ murder. Though tragic and unnecessary, the murder of Jean Davis appears to have a positive outcome in the end.

Martin Reyes, Victim # 139

Though Hispanic murders represent a miniscule fraction of the overall homicide totals in Baltimore and half of those who were murdered in this group did not receive any coverage in *The Baltimore Sun*, Martin Reyes’ August 21, 2010 murder received coverage spanning for a month after his body was discovered. Even more interesting is that half of the four articles pertaining to his murder were front-page news, with the remaining two articles receiving placement on pages two and four. In total, nearly 3,000 words were dedicated to coverage of his murder and the subsequent response. A point worth noting, Reyes’ body was discovered on the same day as Jose Gonzalez-

Coreas (victim # 138), another Hispanic victim. However, Gonzalez-Coreas received no mention in any article in the paper.

Coverage of Reyes' murder began with the reporting of the capture of his killer – a 19-year old schizophrenic with a history of drug charges and parole violations who “hated ‘Mexicans’” (Calvert 2010). It could be posited that this particular homicide acted as a catalyst for local rallies in the Latin community trying to generate support against violence. Reyes' death was the fifth killing of a Hispanic individual in a span of a month. The first in the string was the murder of Reyes' nephew Juan Hernandez⁵ (victim # 114) on July 24, 2010. In addition to covering the rallies, the second and third articles published on the murder shifted the conversation from a remembrance of the victim and the need for law enforcement in the Latino community to a debate about immigration laws, as many of the area's residents are illegal immigrants (Scharper 2010). Coverage concluded on September 21 with the indictment of Reyes' killer.

Other Newsworthy Victims

A victim should not only be considered newsworthy based on a higher count of articles dedicated to their murders. Several victims who received mention in only one article still found higher and thus better placement and larger word counts in comparison to the majority of other victims with a single article. One such case is the

⁵ Other than a one-line mention in the August 24 and 25 articles about Martin Reyes, victim Juan Hernandez did not receive any dedicated coverage in *The Baltimore Sun*.

March 3, 2010 murder of 29-year-old Kenly Wheeler (victim # 25). Though his murder was not recognized in print until more than two full weeks after his body was discovered, Wheeler's death made front-page news and received nearly 1,000 words in print. Wheeler, who had drug and trespassing charges on his record when he was a juvenile but had cleaned up his act, was murdered on his way to work outside a local elementary school (Hermann 2010b). The attacker made off with \$7, a pack of cigarettes, and a pre-paid cell phone. However, what could be considered newsworthy about this case was not Wheeler himself but rather his killer – who was just 14 years old.

James Ball's February 20, 2010 murder was placed on the second page of the section. Thirty-eight year old Ball (victim # 21) was a security guard shot outside a downtown Baltimore Bank of America in the early morning hours as he tried to mediate a dispute between two parties (Scharper and Hermann 2010). The murder of 27-year-old Adam Couter (victim # 19) did not receive such high placement in the paper as his murder was initially reported on page four in the "Around the Region" section, but he did receive a follow-up story, which was not common. Couter was stabbed in the neck as he tried to protect his aunt while her boyfriend assaulted her over an alleged affair through Facebook (Fenton 2010a).

The February 5, 2010 murder of thirty-year-old Shaun Henderson (victim # 15) did not have such heroic circumstances surrounding it. Though his murder was reported on page two as well, it was not reported until March 11, 2010, thirty-four days

after Henderson was killed. Unlike other cases where arrests had been made, the report on Henderson's murder was seeking information as authorities had yet to determine who had committed the murder. Additionally, it could be suggested that scandal is what made Henderson's case newsworthy. Henderson, a Catholic high school graduate with some college, had been involved in prostitution including pimping out his own girlfriend (Fenton 2010b). After Henderson turned up dead in his Cadillac Escalade, police questioned his girlfriend but ruled her out as a suspect. The case still remains open and no follow-up articles were published.

Local musician Don Rice (victim # 79) was found in his vehicle dead of a gunshot wound to his head on May 31, 2010. His death was initially published June 2, 2010 on the front page as part of an article that covered a string of ten murders in four days (Fenton 2010d). The murders of Kevin Belton (victim # 78), Deandre Leeper (victim # 81), Davon Dorsey (victim # 72), and Timothy Gaskins (victim # 73) were also addressed in this article. However, details provided were exceedingly limited and for Belton and Leeper, no additional coverage on their murders or the circumstances surrounding their deaths was published. An additional piece was published on 59-year-old Rice two days later asking citizens for information leading to an arrest of his killer. In addition to the volume of murders in such a short span of time, these murders may have also made headlines due to their timing – they were all committed over the Memorial Day weekend.

While the circumstances of these cases are all unique, they share a common thread in the fact that they are not typical drug shootings. However, it is atypical or extreme situational factors that make one victim or murderer more newsworthy than the next. The seemingly more sensational the facts of a given case are, the more coverage the victim received in *The Sun*. Additionally, the more newsworthy stories also received better placement within the paper (characteristically making front page news) as well as longer article lengths (thousands compared to hundreds of words).

Unnewsworthy Victims

The most obviously unnewsworthy victims would first be the 57 victims who did not receive a single mention in any newspaper article. Of the victims who were not reported on, five were female and the remainder male. Four of the victims were White, three were Hispanic, and the remainder Black.⁶ The victims ranged in age from 1 to 66, though the greatest concentration of unreported victims (n=29) fell between the ages of 20- to 29-years old, consistent with the overall dataset. Shooting was the cause of death for 47 of the 57 victims (including all three Hispanic victims). For White and female victims, the alternate methods of homicide (blunt force, asphyxiation, or stabbing) were more common.

⁶ Of the unreported Black victims, this is divided with 45 victims being Black males and the remaining five Black victims were female.

When examining the frequency of reporting as a characteristic of victim newsworthiness, it is also important to examine lapses in reporting as criteria for victims being considered unnewsworthy. There are several instances where *The Baltimore Sun* did not report three or more consecutive murders. This first occurred between March 29 and April 7 (three murders). Additional occurrences took place between June 24 and June 27 (three murders), July 17 and July 22 (three murders), and September 3 and September 9 (three murders). The largest block of unreported murders occurred between October 26 and October 31, when six consecutive homicides did not make print. The largest single day occurrence of non-reported homicides was December 18, where three of the five victims discovered that day were not reported.

Why were none of these murders reported? Had the killing of young Black males become so routine that the media could afford to skip a few? Alternately, did these murders just not include any details that were out of the ordinary or would capture a reader's attention? If this was simply the case, then why were all of the other young Black men who were shot reported as they were, even if just referenced in a single article? These questions suggest that newsworthiness is not solely based upon characteristics such as race, age, or gender.

Another indicator of the lack of newsworthiness might be the failure of the case to warrant an article, even if just a paragraph in the "Around the Region" or "Crime Briefs" sections, dedicated solely to their murder and not shared with another victim. Of the 222 victims, roughly 34% had their initial reports published in conjunction with

one or more other murder victims. This occurred over 35 articles, which represents nearly 28% of the total number of initially reported articles reviewed. Single referenced victims, those who only appeared in one article, accounted for 58 of the 75 reports that were shared with another victim. The remaining 17 victims were those who appeared in multiple articles, but their initial reportings were shared with another victim. While the majority of the shared articles typically only mentioned two victims, there were nine separate occasions (published dates May 20, June 1, June 2, July 3, August 18, October 12, October 15, November 6, and December 31) where the story referenced three or more murder victims in a single article.

One case in particular that could be considered an unworthy victim would be that of two-year-old Melonie Hamber (victim # 49). Killed just over a month after Rajahnthon Haynie, their cases shared several similarities. Both children were beaten and subsequently killed by their parents - Hamber's father had admitted to disciplining her with force. Both were too young to defend themselves against an attacker. Yet Hamber, a female victim, received only 155 words on the fourth page of the paper. Haynie had received 1,739 words dedicated to his murder, over eleven times more than Hamber. Killings by women and mothers are more unusual, and therefore more newsworthy, than killings by men and fathers. Interestingly, the December 17 murder of Micha Crane (victim # 211), also received minimal coverage - just 88 words - while the murder of one-year-old Khloe Lewis (victim # 173) did not receive any coverage.

Khloe Lewis was suspected to have been killed by her father, though no arrests were made in either case by the completion date of collection for this study.

As female murders are extremely rare in Baltimore, accounting for just under 9% of victims, and Hamber, Crane, and Lewis are all well below the median age for murder victims, one could posit that this case should have been considered far more newsworthy than it was and should have received better placement, more space dedicated to discussion of the case and the details surrounding it, and additional follow-up as more information became available. One could suggest that these murders came during a time where there were other more newsworthy stories occurring. A search of the archives for April 19, 2010 when Melonie's murder was published finds that front page headlines for the day included "Sustainability Report Finds So-So Progress," "MICA Students Interact With Canvas of Urban Reality," "Pension Fix Draws Speedy Criticism," and "Pets On The March" (The Baltimore Sun 2010). A search for October 13, 2010, the day Khloe Lewis' body was discovered, yields similar headlines. In a city that has a black male murdered nearly every other day on average, there can be no story if no one will come forward to tell it.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

“If it bleeds, it leads.” This idea has seemingly become the cornerstone concept for modern news journalists. However, in a city such as Baltimore where homicide has seemingly become routine, this rule is no longer applicable without modification. In order for a paper to decide which of the 222 murders over a one-year period should be reported or even make headline news, there has to be a determination of whether or not a story is newsworthy, and by association, whether or not the story of a given victim is worthy of being reported.

Prior studies (see Paulsen 2003 or Sorensen et. al. 1998 for examples) have suggested that newsworthiness is determined by variables such as age, race, and gender. Paulsen (2003) found that victims of Hispanic or African American descent are less newsworthy than White victims. His study also suggested that multiple victim cases was the most significant factor in determining newsworthiness; in single victim cases, his findings illustrated that females would receive more coverage than male victims (Paulsen 2003). Additional findings showed that placement of a story is also a factor influenced by newsworthiness – premium placement is given to victims that are “statistically rare” and that crime columns tend to feature those victims which are “statistically normal” (Paulsen 2003:309). Sorensen et. al. (1998) had similar findings. Their study yielded results that suggested that worthy victims were “White, in the youngest or oldest age groups, women, of high socioeconomic status, killed by

strangers” (p. 1514). One correlative found in both studies was that cases where there were multiple victims also yield more coverage by the media regardless of sociodemographic factors.

The present study shows that newsworthiness is not necessarily based on a victim’s age or race or gender as the sample group share overwhelmingly similar demographic characteristics specific to certain cities. What makes a victim worthy or unworthy is ultimately determined by the nuances surrounding their death. These situational factors can be either positive or negative. Innocent children such as Rajahnthon Haynie or Micha Crane who were killed by their parents or those who served our country but were killed by their own like Charles Bowman, Brian Stevenson, and Tyrone Brown can represent victims that are seen through a more positive lens. These victims are viewed as a loss to society and their murders are reported with a sense of remembrance and regret. Other victims like alleged gang leader, Donatello Fenner, or pimp, Shaun Henderson, may be reported from a more negative perspective. Their deaths may seem as a relief of sorts and provide a peace of mind to the citizens of Baltimore that another criminal is off the streets.

It should be noted, as discussed by Justin Fenton (2011) of *The Baltimore Sun*, that newsworthiness (or lack thereof) is not always a case of just selecting victims to report on. In many cases, he notes that as a reporter it is difficult to find sources to get information. The police department may be uncooperative, victim’s families may not want to come forward, or those who may want to talk are unwilling because of fear for

their own lives. Reporters rely on information to help piece together the stories that are splashed across the papers. When they don't receive this, a victim may appear to the outside reader as unworthy or unimportant. When such cooperation and candor are provided, stories have the opportunity to snowball, develop across frames, and be reported over an extended period of time.

Whatever the motive for reporting is, this research has shown that there is no clear-cut model for defining what is or is not newsworthy in relation to homicide. This definition is as diverse as its consumers and as those who supply these consumers. A model focused on socio-demographic factors can prove useful in understanding newsworthiness in cities or localities that have victims of a range of backgrounds (such as Houston, the basis for Paulsen's 2003 study). However, in a city such as Baltimore where the victims are overwhelmingly one race and one gender, such a model will not be useful. As a result, a more universal approach would be a model that considers the context or content of the crime to determine newsworthiness. This approach should consider a sense of an unusual loss. This loss can come in the form of a young life cut short before the victim reaches their full potential or the loss of someone who has made a notable contribution to others or their community. Ultimately, the media conglomerates that feed a society's ever growing need for information will continue to determine newsworthiness until such a model is realized.

**APPENDIX A: TABLE OF 2010 BALTIMORE HOMICIDE VICTIMS
WITH DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Type	Zip
1	Marcal	Walton	33	B	M	1/3/10	Shooting	21215
2	Antonio	Lashley	21	B	M	1/6/10	Shooting	21223
3	Sean	Johnson	41	B	M	1/7/10	Blunt Force	21213
4	Darel	Alston	38	B	M	1/10/10	Shooting	21205
5	Derrick	Taylor	20	B	M	1/10/10	Shooting	21206
6	Darnell	Taylor	48	B	M	1/16/10	Shooting	21216
7	Darius	Goines	19	B	M	1/18/10	Shooting	21201
8	James	Jackson	27	B	M	1/18/10	Stabbing	21201
9	Raymond	Gibson	21	B	M	1/19/10	Shooting	21213
10	Darius	Ray	20	B	M	1/23/10	Stabbing	21234
11	Michael	Manning	35	B	M	1/25/10	Shooting	21218
12	Kevin	Davis	31	B	M	1/29/10	Stabbing	21201
13	John	England	27	B	M	2/1/10	Shooting	21217
14	Juan	Tucker	34	B	M	2/3/10	Shooting	21217
15	Shaun	Henderson	30	B	M	2/5/10	Shooting	21209
16	Damien	Osacoca	24	B	M	2/6/10	Stabbing	21229
17	Rodney	Stephens	38	B	M	2/7/10	Shooting	21216
18	Daron	Howard	21	B	M	2/16/10	Shooting	21215
19	Adam	Couther	27	B	M	2/17/10	Stabbing	21205
20	David	Scott	35	B	M	2/17/10	Shooting	21216
21	James	Ball	38	B	M	2/20/10	Shooting	21202
22	Leonard	Gee	28	B	M	2/21/10	Shooting	21213
23	Timothy	Mason	35	B	M	2/23/10	Stabbing	21216
24	Dejuan	Green	23	B	M	2/26/10	Shooting	21217
25	Lee	McCoy	44	B	M	3/3/10	Blunt Force	21223
26	Kenly	Wheeler	29	B	M	3/3/10	Shooting	21213
27	Alvin	McMiller	23	B	M	3/4/10	Shooting	21206
28	Jamal	Rogers	20	B	M	3/5/10	Shooting	21223
29	Donatello	Fenner	22	B	M	3/12/10	Shooting	21218
30	Rajahnthon	Haynie	1	B	M	3/14/10	Blunt Force	21217
31	Asia	Carter	37	B	M	3/15/10	Shooting	21211
32	Daniel	Dixon	25	B	M	3/15/10	Shooting	21206

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Type	Zip
33	Donte	Gee	25	B	M	3/18/10	Shooting	21213
34	Darron	Dorsey	27	B	M	3/21/10	Shooting	21215
35	Carlos	Williams	50	B	M	3/21/10	Shooting	21218
36	Michael	Holt	20	B	M	3/22/10	Shooting	21213
37	Phillip	Holmes	22	B	M	3/23/10	Shooting	21214
38	Charles	Bowman	16	B	M	3/27/10	Shooting	21213
39	Antonio	Wilson	29	B	M	3/28/10	Shooting	21223
40	Michael	Thomas	27	B	M	3/29/10	Shooting	21207
41	Raymond	Langford Jr.	25	B	M	4/6/10	Shooting	21214
42	Sean	Raseur	40	B	M	4/7/10	Shooting	21212
43	Charles	Bowman	72	B	M	4/8/10	Shooting	21218
44	Damon	Minor	21	B	M	4/10/10	Shooting	21218
45	Nelson	Armstrong	21	B	M	4/11/10	Shooting	21202
46	Anthony	Waller	36	B	M	4/11/10	Shooting	21215
47	Branden	Bowser	23	B	M	4/16/10	Shooting	21218
48	Gavin	Campbell	24	B	M	4/16/10	Shooting	21215
49	Melonie	Hamber	2	B	F	4/17/10	Blunt Force	21213
50	Sean	Johnson	40	B	M	4/18/10	Shooting	21215
51	Jamal	Thomas	30	B	M	4/18/10	Shooting	21213
52	Kevin	Hyslop	33	B	M	4/20/10	Shooting	21217
53	Ramie	Mays	18	B	M	4/25/10	Shooting	21207
54	David	Woods	31	B	M	4/26/10	Shooting	21230
55	Dwayne	Majett	30	B	M	4/27/10	Shooting	21212
56	David	Mitchell	16	B	M	4/29/10	Shooting	21223
57	Andrew	Copeland	16	B	M	5/3/10	Shooting	21223
58	Jonathan	Byrd	29	B	M	5/4/10	Shooting	21223
59	David	Beers	49	W	M	5/5/10	Blunt Force	21223
60	Wayne	Clark	36	W	M	5/5/10	Blunt Force	21225
61	Betsy	Riggin	29	W	F	5/7/10	Asphyxiation	21218
62	Anthony	Crist	42	W	M	5/8/10	Shooting	21205
63	George	Toe	30	B	M	5/8/10	Shooting	21218
64	Jerome	Simmons	34	B	M	5/8/10	Shooting	21218

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Type	Zip
65	Michael	Carroway	39	B	M	5/12/10	Shooting	21215
66	Jerome	Booze Jr.	30	B	M	5/14/10	Shooting	21215
67	Michael	Pryor	32	B	M	5/15/10	Stabbing	21218
68	Mark	Crockett	34	B	M	5/17/10	Shooting	21231
69	Jimmy	Elton	19	B	M	5/20/10	Shooting	21216
70	Jamie	Hilton-Bey	35	B	M	5/20/10	Shooting	21215
71	Donte	Vandiver	19	B	M	5/24/10	Shooting	21205
72	Ronald	Anderson	30	B	M	5/29/10	Shooting	21226
73	Davon	Dorsey	18	B	M	5/29/10	Shooting	21224
74	Timothy	Gaskins	22	B	M	5/29/10	Shooting	21205
75	Damon	Chase	30	B	M	5/30/10	Shooting	21223
76	Michael	Hatch	32	B	M	5/30/10	Shooting	21223
77	Alvin	Martin	28	B	M	5/30/10	Shooting	21223
78	Kevin	Belton	43	B	M	5/31/10	Stabbing	21206
79	Don	Rice	59	B	M	5/31/10	Shooting	21218
80	James	Johnson	19	B	M	6/1/10	Shooting	21217
81	Deandre	Leeper	27	B	M	6/1/10	Shooting	21223
82	Matthew	Martin	31	W	M	6/4/10	Blunt Force	21230
83	Mark	Zimmerman	44	W	M	6/4/10	Stabbing	21206
84	Tyrone	Brown	32	B	M	6/5/10	Shooting	21201
85	Glennie	Reid	83	B	F	6/7/10	Asphyxiation	21229
86	Spencer	Williams	22	B	M	6/11/10	Shooting	21202
87	Avon	Beasley	25	B	M	6/13/10	Shooting	21224
88	Larry	Griffin	25	B	M	6/14/10	Shooting	21225
89	Derrick	Pinkney	33	B	M	6/15/10	Shooting	21217
90	Marquell	Turner	19	B	M	6/19/10	Shooting	21213
91	Daniel	Payne	55	B	M	6/20/10	Shooting	21216
92	Durell	Cartwright	30	B	M	6/21/10	Shooting	21224
93	Tyree	Page	34	B	M	6/23/10	Shooting	21217
94	Wesley	Lashley	29	B	M	6/24/10	Shooting	21214
95	Evando	Minor	23	B	M	6/26/10	Shooting	21224
96	Eric	Williams	28	B	M	6/27/10	Shooting	21223

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Type	Zip
97	Gloria	Harrod	47	B	F	6/28/10	Blunt Force	21215
98	Antwan	Pullen	23	B	M	6/28/10	Shooting	21213
99	Phillip	Bundy	28	B	M	6/29/10	Shooting	21218
100	Renardo	Broom	16	B	M	7/1/10	Shooting	21217
101	Chase	Love	26	B	M	7/2/10	Shooting	21202
102	Raynard	Johnson	24	B	M	7/3/10	Shooting	21217
103	Warren	Mitchell	24	B	M	7/3/10	Shooting	21202
104	Jason	Rogers	30	B	M	7/4/10	Shooting	21205
105	John	Crowder	17	B	M	7/5/10	Shooting	21218
106	Vance	Williams	19	B	M	7/6/10	Shooting	21202
107	Ramah	Reid	26	B	M	7/7/10	Shooting	21215
108	Yolanda	Howard	35	B	F	7/10/10	Shooting	21218
109	John	Sandy	73	W	M	7/13/10	Blunt Force	21211
110	Javon	Perry	27	B	M	7/17/10	Shooting	21215
111	Lonnie	Howie Jr	42	B	M	7/20/10	Stabbing	21223
112	Curtis	Williams	26	B	M	7/22/10	Shooting	21225
113	Jamison	Ford	30	B	M	7/23/10	Shooting	21234
114	Juan	Hernandez	27	H	M	7/24/10	Shooting	21205
115	Justin	Kendrick	24	B	M	7/24/10	Stabbing	21202
116	Stephen	Pitcairn	23	W	M	7/25/10	Stabbing	21218
117	John	Hall	30	B	M	7/25/10	Shooting	21202
118	Corey	Sims	19	B	M	7/27/10	Stabbing	21214
119	Jermaine	Parker	24	B	M	7/27/10	Shooting	21229
120	Steven	Harris	38	B	M	7/29/10	Blunt Force	21215
121	Emmanuel	Thomas	21	B	M	7/29/10	Shooting	21202
122	Milton	Hill	70	B	M	7/30/10	Shooting	21202
123	Shawn	Crawford	36	B	M	7/30/10	Shooting	21215
124	Dionndra	Dugger	20	B	F	8/1/10	Shooting	21215
125	Jerrold	Covel	20	B	M	8/6/10	Shooting	21213
126	Martin	York	45	B	M	8/7/10	Shooting	21223
127	Theodore	Corwin	30	H	M	8/7/10	Blunt Force	21223
128	Christopher	Miller	24	B	M	8/7/10	Stabbing	21217

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Type	Zip
129	Tavon	Caldwell	25	B	M	8/8/10	Shooting	21213
130	Franklin	Spencer	39	B	M	8/11/10	Shooting	21215
131	Shawn	Wright	30	B	M	8/11/10	Shooting	21213
132	Gerald	Gray	35	B	M	8/12/10	Shooting	21213
133	Shelred	Carr	58	B	M	8/12/10	Shooting	21215
134	Andre	Graham	27	B	M	8/13/10	Shooting	21225
135	Westley	Lewis	19	B	M	8/14/10	Shooting	21218
136	Isaiah	Gordon	20	B	M	8/15/10	Shooting	21202
137	Donald	Carter	39	B	M	8/16/10	Shooting	21201
138	Jose	Gonzalez-Coreas	43	H	M	8/21/10	Shooting	21224
139	Martin	Reyes	51	H	M	8/21/10	Blunt Force	21224
140	Contray	Merchant	29	B	M	8/22/10	Blunt Force	21215
141	Albert	Bethea	57	B	M	8/24/10	Blunt Force	21205
142	Carrington	McNutt	23	B	M	8/28/10	Stabbing	21230
143	Louis	Scott	29	B	M	8/30/10	Shooting	21217
144	John	Lemon Jr.	44	B	M	8/30/10	Blunt Force	21215
145	Ankush	Gupta	22	U	M	8/31/10	Other	21201
146	Nathaniel	Santiago	31	B	M	8/31/10	Shooting	21206
147	Datea	Scott-Smith	30	B	F	9/2/10	Shooting	21223
148	Levern	Domneys	20	B	M	9/3/10	Shooting	21217
149	Thomas	Vas	35	W	M	9/7/10	Shooting	21229
150	Marcel	Burton	33	B	M	9/9/10	Shooting	21216
151	Robert	Lockett	48	B	M	9/9/10	Blunt Force	21215
152	Wilie	Johnson	30	B	M	9/13/10	Shooting	21224
153	Jean	Davis	84	B	F	9/16/10	Shooting	21287
154	Cecilia	Mitchell	66	B	F	9/17/10	Blunt Force	21217
155	Isaiah	White	28	B	M	9/19/10	Shooting	21216
156	George	Lewis	25	B	M	9/19/10	Shooting	21218
157	Sean	Cooper	20	B	M	9/22/10	Shooting	21213
158	James	Schools	31	B	M	9/23/10	Shooting	21213
159	Donnie	Martin	38	B	M	9/25/10	Shooting	21216
160	Yassmin	Lindo	36	B	F	9/28/10	Stabbing	21217

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Type	Zip
161	Ardrey	Murphy	28	B	M	9/29/10	Shooting	21206
162	Arthur	Peacock	34	B	M	9/30/10	Shooting	21223
163	Randol	Bumcombe	14	B	F	10/5/10	Shooting	21225
164	Kirk	Carter	22	B	M	10/6/10	Shooting	21230
165	Sterling	Palmer	78	B	M	10/8/10	Stabbing	21213
166	James	Ingram	46	B	M	10/9/10	Shooting	21216
167	Michael	Morrell	51	B	M	10/9/10	Shooting	21215
168	Travis	Lane	19	B	M	10/9/10	Shooting	21218
169	Daryll	Hood	22	B	M	10/9/10	Shooting	21206
170	Dennis	Waddell	33	B	M	10/10/10	Shooting	21216
171	Harvey	McCall	42	B	M	10/11/10	Shooting	21215
172	Sherman	Payne	56	B	M	10/13/10	Shooting	21217
173	Khloe	Lewis	1	B	F	10/13/10	Asphyxiation	21215
174	Brian	Stevenson	37	B	M	10/16/10	Blunt Force	21224
175	Monta	Hunt	25	B	M	10/23/10	Shooting	21223
176	Calvin	McNair	20	B	M	10/23/10	Shooting	21205
177	Durrell	Burroughs	19	B	M	10/25/10	Shooting	21213
178	Mary	Williams	48	B	M	10/25/10	Stabbing	21213
179	William	Spears	63	B	M	10/26/10	Shooting	21217
180	Ronald	Clark	18	B	M	10/26/10	Shooting	21207
181	Alan	Chavis	16	B	M	10/26/10	Shooting	21207
182	Dobia	Wright	46	W	M	10/28/10	Blunt Force	21223
183	Edwin	Green Jr.	43	B	M	10/29/10	Shooting	21216
184	Jovanna	Mitchell	20	B	F	10/31/10	Shooting	21217
185	Andrew	Joyce	23	W	M	11/1/10	Shooting	21216
186	Malcolm	Hill	53	B	M	11/2/10	Shooting	21218
187	Winslow	Thomas	44	B	M	11/3/10	Blunt Force	21230
188	Jerry	Harden	21	B	M	11/4/10	Stabbing	21234
189	Kevin	Anderson	31	B	M	11/4/10	Shooting	21223
190	Derrius	Currie	21	B	M	11/6/10	Shooting	21223
191	Eric	Dozier	25	B	M	11/9/10	Shooting	21218
192	David	Hopkins	19	B	M	11/13/10	Stabbing	21224

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Type	Zip
193	Sherrod	Mason	34	B	M	11/13/10	Shooting	21223
194	Marcus	Brown	20	B	M	11/17/10	Shooting	21217
195	Wilbur	Street	52	B	M	11/18/10	Shooting	21206
196	Jerry	Thomas	29	B	M	11/19/10	Shooting	21216
197	Carlton	Sellman	19	B	M	11/20/10	Shooting	21229
198	Sheron	Jones	28	B	F	11/21/10	Shooting	21202
199	Patrick	Dolan	19	W	M	11/23/10	Stabbing	21213
200	Charles	Burrell	24	B	M	11/23/10	Shooting	21229
201	Derrick	Cross	29	B	M	11/24/10	Blunt Force	21206
202	Davon	Douglas	28	B	M	11/24/10	Stabbing	21223
203	Robin	Patterson	61	B	M	11/26/10	Stabbing	21215
204	Raquan	Campbell	15	B	M	12/1/10	Shooting	21223
205	Troy	Thomas	26	B	M	12/3/10	Shooting	21218
206	Tammy	Madison	45	B	F	12/3/10	Other	21218
207	Dante	Sweeney	22	B	M	12/7/10	Shooting	21238
208	David	Carter	20	B	M	12/8/10	Shooting	21216
209	Travis	Baltimore	24	B	M	12/10/10	Shooting	21215
210	Cherrie	Gammon	25	W	F	12/12/10	Shooting	21216
211	Micha	Crane	1	B	F	12/17/10	Other	21217
212	Ramon	Uceda	26	H	M	12/18/10	Shooting	21224
213	Alethea	Hawkins	38	B	F	12/18/10	Shooting	21205
214	Brian	Taylor	23	B	M	12/18/10	Shooting	21212
215	Ellison	McCall	30	B	M	12/18/10	Asphyxiation	21218
215	Karen	Ferrell	42	B	F	12/18/10	Unknown	21218
217	Juan Carlos	Santos-Hernandez	29	H	M	12/22/10	Shooting	21224
218	Mustafa	Malik	43	B	M	12/22/10	Shooting	21218
219	Isaac	Joyner	14	B	M	12/23/10	Shooting	21216
220	Keith	Robinson	23	B	M	12/25/10	Shooting	21215
221	Raymond	Woodland	20	B	M	12/26/10	Shooting	21223
222	Bernard	Clowney	49	B	M	12/31/10	Shooting	21205

**APPENDIX B: ORIGINAL PRINT STORY CHARACTERISTICS BY
VICTIM**

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
1	Marcal	Walton	33	B	M	1/3/10	1/6/10	3	Local	A 5	330
						1/3/10	1/21/10	18	Local	A 6	593
2	Antonio	Lashley	21	B	M	1/6/10	1/8/10	2	Local	A 10	243
3	Sean	Johnson	41	B	M	1/7/10	1/12/10	5	Local	A 3	277
4	Derrick	Taylor	20	B	M	1/10/10	1/12/10	2	Local	A 3	277
5	Darel	Alston	38	B	M	1/10/10	1/21/10	11	Local	A 6	593
6	Darnell	Taylor	48	B	M	1/16/10	1/18/10	2	Local	A 4	643
7	Darius	Goines	19	B	M	1/18/10	1/20/10	2	Local	A 8	409
8	James	Jackson	27	B	M	1/18/10	1/22/10	4	Local	A 7	795
9	Raymond	Gibson	21	B	M	1/19/10	1/21/10	2	Local	A 4	204
10	Darius	Ray	20	B	M	1/23/10	1/24/10	1	Local	A 6	355
						1/23/10	7/3/10	161	Local	A 1	629
11	Michael	Manning	35	B	M	1/25/10	1/27/10	2	Local	A 8	404
12	Kevin	Davis	31	B	M	1/29/10	1/30/10	1	Local	A 6	340
13	John	England	27	B	M	2/1/10	2/2/10	1	Local	A 3	289
14	Juan	Tucker	34	B	M	2/3/10	2/4/10	1	Local	A 6	105
15	Shaun	Henderson	30	B	M	2/5/10	3/11/10	34	Local	A 2	585
16	Damien	Osacoca	24	B	M	2/6/10	2/10/10	4	Local	A 4	245
17	Rodney	Stephens	38	B	M	2/7/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
18	Daron	Howard	21	B	M	2/16/10	2/17/10	1	Local	A 4	453
19	Adam	Couther	27	B	M	2/17/10	2/18/10	1	Local	A 4	701
						2/17/10	2/20/10	3	Local	A 5	413
20	David	Scott	35	B	M	2/17/10	2/18/10	1	Local	A 4	701
21	James	Ball	38	B	M	2/20/10	2/21/10	1	Local	A 2	417
22	Leonard	Gee	28	B	M	2/21/10	2/26/10	5	Local	A 6	361
23	Timothy	Mason	35	B	M	2/23/10	2/25/10	2	Local	A 6	401
						2/23/10	2/26/10	3	Local	A 6	361
24	Dejuan	Green	23	B	M	2/26/10	3/2/10	4	Local	A 4	447
25	Kenly	Wheeler	29	B	M	3/3/10	3/20/10	17	Local	A 1	954
26	Lee	McCoy	44	B	M	3/3/10	3/6/10	3	Local	A 4	425
27	Alvin	McMiller	23	B	M	3/4/10	3/6/10	2	Local	A 6	349
28	Jamal	Rogers	20	B	M	3/5/10	3/6/10	1	Local	A 6	349

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
29	Donatello	Fenner	22	B	M	3/12/10	3/14/10	2	Local	A 3	291
						3/12/10	3/16/10	4	Local	A 6	313
						3/12/10	3/17/10	5	Local	A 8	1015
						3/12/10	3/28/10	16	Local	A 7	1299
						3/12/10	7/7/10	117	Local	A 12	364
						3/12/10	3/30/10	18	Local	A 3	342
30	Rajahnthon	Haynie	1	B	M	3/14/10	3/16/10	2	Local	A 1	420
						3/14/10	3/17/10	3	Local	A 1	866
						3/14/10	3/18/10	4	Local	A 16	806
						3/14/10	3/18/10	4	Local	A 2	453
						3/14/10	3/21/10	7	Local	A 18	770
31	Daniel	Dixon	25	B	M	3/15/10	3/17/10	2	Local	A 3	217
32	Asia	Carter	37	B	M	3/15/10	3/30/10	15	Local	A 3	342
33	Donte	Gee	25	B	M	3/18/10	3/24/10	6	Local	A 4	226
34	Daron	Dorsey	27	B	M	3/21/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
35	Carlos	Williams	50	B	M	3/21/10	3/22/10	1	Local	A 4	440
36	Michael	Holt	20	B	M	3/22/10	3/24/10	2	Local	A 4	226
37	Phillip	Holmes	22	B	M	3/23/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
38	Charles	Bowman	16	B	M	3/27/10	3/30/10	3	Local	A 4	440
						3/27/10	4/2/10	6	Local	A 6	523
39	Antonio	Wilson	29	B	M	3/28/10	3/30/10	2	Local	A 4	440
40	Michael	Thomas	27	B	M	3/29/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
41	Raymond	Langford Jr.	25	B	M	4/6/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
42	Sean	Raseur	40	B	M	4/7/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
43	Charles	Bowman	72	B	M	4/8/10	4/9/10	1	Local	A 1	1228
						4/8/10	4/11/10	3	Local	A 1	944
						4/8/10	4/15/10	7	Local	A 2	192
						4/8/10	4/18/10	10	Local	A 2	719
						4/8/10	4/23/10	15	Local	A 3	566
						4/8/10	4/25/10	17	Local	A 6	1130
44	Damon	Minor	21	B	M	4/10/10	4/23/10	13	Local	A 3	566
45	Nelson	Armstrong	21	B	M	4/11/10	4/13/10	2	Local	A 4	548

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
46	Anthony	Waller	36	B	M	4/11/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
47	Branden	Bowser	23	B	M	4/16/10	4/23/10	7	Local	A 6	384
48	Gavin	Campbell	24	B	M	4/16/10	4/18/10	2	Local	A 3	393
49	Melonie	Hamber	2	B	F	4/17/10	4/19/10	2	Local	A 4	672
50	Jamal	Thomas	30	B	M	4/18/10	4/18/10	0	Local	A 3	393
51	Sean	Johnson	40	B	M	4/18/10	4/21/10	3	Local	A 4	447
52	Kevin	Hyslop	33	B	M	4/20/10	4/22/10	2	Local	A 5	198
53	Ramie	Mays	18	B	M	4/25/10	4/27/10	2	Local	A 4	222
						4/25/10	4/29/10	4	Local	A 2	592
54	David	Woods	31	B	M	4/26/10	5/8/10	12	Local	A 4	380
55	Dwayne	Majett	30	B	M	4/27/10	4/29/10	2	Local	A 6	637
56	David	Mitchell	16	B	M	4/29/10	5/1/10	2	Local	A 2	438
						4/29/10	11/10/10	195	Local	A 5	733
57	Andrew	Copeland	16	B	M	5/3/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
58	Jonathan	Byrd	29	B	M	5/4/10	6/6/10	33	Local	A 8	484
59	Wayne	Clark	36	W	M	5/5/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
60	David	Beers	49	W	M	5/5/10	5/8/10	3	Local	A 4	380
61	Betsy	Riggin	29	W	F	5/7/10	5/9/10	2	Local	A 2	648
62	George	Toe	30	B	M	5/8/10	5/12/10	4	Local	A 4	201
63	Jerome	Simmons	34	B	M	5/8/10	5/12/10	4	Local	A 4	201
64	Anthony	Crist	42	W	M	5/8/10	5/20/10	12	Local	A 6	370
65	Michael	Carroway	39	B	M	5/12/10	5/20/10	8	Local	A 6	370
						5/12/10	10/1/10	142	Local	A 6	426
66	Jerome	Booze Jr.	30	B	M	5/14/10	5/20/10	6	Local	A 6	370
67	Michael	Pryor	32	B	M	5/15/10	5/20/10	5	Local	A 6	370
						5/15/10	6/3/10	19	Local	A 6	521
68	Mark	Crockett	34	B	M	5/17/10	5/20/10	3	Local	A 6	370
69	Jimmy	Elton	19	B	M	5/20/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
70	Jamie	Hilton-Bey	35	B	M	5/20/10	5/22/10	2	Local	A 5	281
71	Donte	Vandiver	19	B	M	5/24/10	5/26/10	2	-	- -	-
						5/24/10	7/7/10	44	Local	A 6	814
72	Davon	Dorsey	18	B	M	5/29/10	5/31/10	2	Local	A 4	295

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
						5/29/10	6/1/10	3	Local	A 2	830
						5/29/10	6/2/10	4	Local	A 1	834
						5/29/10	6/2/10	4	Local	A 5	1152
						5/29/10	6/5/10	7	Local	A 6	329
73	Timothy	Gaskins	22	B	M	5/29/10	6/2/10	4	Local	A 1	834
						5/29/10	6/5/10	7	Local	A 6	329
74	Ronald	Anderson	30	B	M	5/29/10	5/31/10	2	Local	A 4	295
						5/29/10	6/1/10	3	Local	A 2	830
75	Alvin	Martin	28	B	M	5/30/10	6/1/10	2	Local	A 2	830
76	Damon	Chase	30	B	M	5/30/10	6/1/10	2	Local	A 2	830
77	Michael	Hatch	32	B	M	5/30/10	6/1/10	2	Local	A 2	830
78	Kevin	Belton	43	B	M	5/31/10	6/2/10	2	Local	A 1	834
79	Don	Rice	59	B	M	5/31/10	6/2/10	2	Local	A 1	834
						5/31/10	6/4/10	4	Local	A 2	611
80	James	Johnson	19	B	M	6/1/10	6/3/10	2	Local	A 7	475
81	Deandre	Leeper	27	B	M	6/1/10	6/2/10	1	Local	A 1	834
82	Matthew	Martin	31	W	M	6/4/10	6/5/10	1	Local	A 6	240
						6/4/10	10/26/10	144	Local	A 4	502
83	Mark	Zimmerman	44	W	M	6/4/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
84	Tyrone	Brown	32	B	M	6/5/10	6/6/10	1	Local	A 1	1344
						6/5/10	6/7/10	2	Local	A 1	922
						6/5/10	6/8/10	3	Local	A 1	1017
						6/5/10	6/8/10	3	Local	A 1	960
						6/5/10	6/9/10	4	Local	A 8	946
						6/5/10	6/9/10	4	Local	A 1	1424
						6/5/10	6/10/10	5	Local	A 1	1888
						6/5/10	6/11/10	6	Local	A 1	1272
						6/5/10	6/12/10	7	Local	A 1	1118
						6/5/10	6/13/10	8	Local	A 1	1450
						6/5/10	6/14/10	9	Local	A 1	812
						6/5/10	6/15/10	10	Local	A 1	929
						6/5/10	6/17/10	12	Local	A 2	716

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
						6/5/10	6/17/10	12	Local	A 7	788
						6/5/10	6/22/10	17	Local	A 3	493
						6/5/10	7/3/10	28	Local	A 1	629
						6/5/10	7/13/10	38	Local	A 2	784
						6/5/10	8/5/10	61	Local	A 2	322
85	Glennie	Reid	83	B	F	6/7/10	6/9/10	2	Local	A 2	679
						6/7/10	6/10/10	3	Local	A 6	392
						6/7/10	10/28/10	143	Local	A 6	414
86	Spencer	Williams	22	B	M	6/11/10	6/15/10	4	Local	A 3	303
87	Avon	Beasley	25	B	M	6/13/10	6/15/10	2	Local	A 3	303
88	Larry	Griffin	25	B	M	6/14/10	6/24/10	10	Local	A 5	261
89	Derrick	Pinkney	33	B	M	6/15/10	6/17/10	2	Local	A 7	366
90	Marquell	Turner	19	B	M	6/19/10	6/21/10	2	Local	A 2	500
91	Daniel	Payne	55	B	M	6/20/10	6/24/10	4	Local	A 5	261
92	Durell	Cartwright	30	B	M	6/21/10	6/22/10	1	Local	A 2	1020
93	Tyree	Page	34	B	M	6/23/10	6/25/10	2	Local	A 8	122
94	Wesley	Lashley	29	B	M	6/24/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
95	Evando	Minor	23	B	M	6/26/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
96	Eric	Williams	28	B	M	6/27/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
97	Gloria	Harrod	47	B	F	6/28/10	6/29/10	1	Local	A 5	933
98	Antwan	Pullen	23	B	M	6/28/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
99	Phillip	Bundy	28	B	M	6/29/10	7/2/10	3	Local	A 4	460
100	Renardo	Broom	16	B	M	7/1/10	7/2/10	1	Local	A 4	460
101	Chase	Love	26	B	M	7/2/10	7/3/10	1	Local	A 1	629
102	Raynard	Johnson	24	B	M	7/3/10	7/6/10	3	Local	A 4	378
103	Warren	Mitchell	24	B	M	7/3/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
104	Jason	Rogers	30	B	M	7/4/10	7/5/10	1	Local	A 4	480
105	John	Crowder	17	B	M	7/5/10	7/6/10	1	Local	A 2	524
						7/5/10	7/11/10	6	Local	A 1	2606
						7/5/10	7/25/10	20	Local	A 2	1071
						7/5/10	8/2/10	28	Local	A 1	871
106	Vance	Williams	19	B	M	7/6/10	7/8/10	2	Local	A 7	487

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
107	Ramah	Reid	26	B	M	7/7/10	7/8/10	1	Local	A 7	487
108	Yolanda	Howard	35	B	F	7/10/10	7/11/10	1	Local	A 8	576
109	John	Sandy	73	W	M	7/13/10	7/16/10	3	Local	A 6	316
110	Javon	Perry	27	B	M	7/17/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
111	Lonnie	Howie Jr	42	B	M	7/20/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
112	Curtis	Williams	26	B	M	7/22/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
113	Jamison	Ford	30	U	M	7/23/10	7/25/10	2	Local	A 11	626
114	Juan	Hernandez	27	H	M	7/24/10	7/27/10	3	Local	A 4	290
115	Justin	Kendrick	24	B	M	7/24/10	7/27/10	3	Local	A 4	290
						7/24/10	7/30/10	6	Local	A 7	330
116	Stephen	Pitcairn	23	W	M	7/25/10	7/27/10	2	Local	A 1	850
						7/25/10	7/28/10	3	Local	A 13	323
						7/25/10	7/28/10	3	Local	A 1	1659
						7/25/10	7/28/10	3	Local	A 5	578
						7/25/10	7/29/10	4	Local	A 1	1517
						7/25/10	7/29/10	4	Local	A 8	711
						7/25/10	7/30/10	5	Local	A 2	873
						7/25/10	7/30/10	5	Local	A 1	1039
						7/25/10	7/31/10	6	Local	A 2	571
						7/25/10	8/1/10	7	Local	A 2	823
						7/25/10	8/1/10	7	Local	A 1	2264
						7/25/10	8/1/10	7	Local	A 4	1246
						7/25/10	8/2/10	8	Local	A 1	871
						7/25/10	8/2/10	8	Local	A 3	989
						7/25/10	8/3/10	9	Local	A 2	757
						7/25/10	8/4/10	10	Local	A 3	708
						7/25/10	12/31/10	37	Local	A 1	1561
117	John	Hall	30	B	M	7/25/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
118	Corey	Sims	19	B	M	7/27/10	7/28/10	1	Local	A 4	478
119	Jermaine	Parker	24	B	M	7/27/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
120	Steven	Harris	38	B	M	7/29/10	7/31/10	2	Local	A 4	449
121	Emmanuel	Thomas	21	B	M	7/29/10	8/1/10	3	Local	A 4	1246

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
122	Milton	Hill	70	B	M	7/30/10	7/31/10	1	Local	A 3	398
						7/30/10	8/1/10	2	Local	A 2	823
						7/30/10	8/2/10	3	Local	A 1	871
						7/30/10	8/3/10	4	Local	A 2	757
						7/30/10	8/3/10	4	Local	A 2	576
						7/30/10	12/31/10	37	Local	A 1	1561
123	Shawn	Crawford	36	B	M	7/30/10	7/31/10	1	Local	A 4	449
124	Dionndra	Dugger	20	B	F	8/1/10	8/3/10	2	Local	A 4	835
125	Jerrod	Covel	20	B	M	8/6/10	8/8/10	2	Local	A 3	478
126	Martin	York	45	B	M	8/7/10	8/8/10	1	Local	A 3	478
127	Theodore	Corwin	30	H	M	8/7/10	8/10/10	3	Local	A 6	227
128	Christopher	Miller	24	B	M	8/7/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
129	Tavon	Caldwell	25	B	M	8/8/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
130	Franklin	Spencer	39	B	M	8/11/10	8/18/10	7	Local	A 6	236
						8/11/10	9/20/10	40	Local	A 2	518
131	Shawn	Wright	30	B	M	8/11/10	8/18/10	7	Local	A 6	236
						8/11/10	9/24/10	44	Local	A 3	441
132	Gerald	Gray	35	B	M	8/12/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
133	Shelred	Carr	58	B	M	8/12/10	8/18/10	6	Local	A 6	236
134	Andre	Graham	27	B	M	8/13/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
135	Westley	Lewis	19	B	M	8/14/10	8/18/10	4	Local	A 6	236
136	Isaiah	Gordon	20	B	M	8/15/10	8/18/10	3	Local	A 6	236
137	Donald	Carter	39	B	M	8/16/10	8/18/10	2	Local	A 6	554
138	Jose	Gonzalez-Coreas	43	H	M	8/21/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
139	Martin	Reyes	51	H	M	8/21/10	8/23/10	2	Local	A 2	272
						8/21/10	8/24/10	3	Local	A 1	1248
						8/21/10	8/25/10	4	Local	A 1	987
						8/21/10	9/21/10	31	Local	A 4	415
140	Contray	Merchant	29	B	M	8/22/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
141	Albert	Bethea	57	B	M	8/24/10	8/28/10	4	Local	A 4	615
142	Carrington	McNutt	23	B	M	8/28/10	8/29/10	1	Local	A 2	612
143	Louis	Scott	29	B	M	8/30/10	8/31/10	1	Local	A 4	719

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
144	John	Lemon Jr.	44	B	M	8/30/10		NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED			
145	Ankush	Gupta	22	U	M	8/31/10	9/1/10	1	Local	A 2	746
						8/31/10	9/2/10	2	Local	A 6	237
						8/31/10	9/3/10	3	Local	A 6	475
146	Nathaniel	Santiago	31	B	M	8/31/10	9/1/10	1	Local	A 6	981
147	Datea	Scott-Smith	30	B	F	9/2/10	9/4/10	2	Local	A 4	605
148	Levern	Domneys	20	B	M	9/3/10		NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED			
149	Thomas	Vas	35	W	M	9/7/10		NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED			
150	Marcel	Burton	33	B	M	9/9/10		NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED			
151	Robert	Lockett	48	B	M	9/9/10	9/12/10	3	Local	A 8	350
152	Wilie	Johnson	30	B	M	9/13/10		NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED			
153	Jean	Davis	84	B	F	9/16/10	9/17/10	1	Local	A 1	1520
						9/16/10	9/18/10	2	Local	A 1	1129
						9/16/10	9/18/10	2	Local	A 1	1318
						9/16/10	9/22/10	6	Local	A 2	339
154	Cecilia	Mitchell	66	B	F	9/17/10		NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED			
155	Isaiah	White	28	B	M	9/19/10	9/20/10	1	Local	A 4	415
156	George	Lewis	25	B	M	9/19/10	9/21/10	2	Local	A 4	415
157	Sean	Cooper	20	B	M	9/22/10		NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED			
158	James	Schools	31	B	M	9/23/10	9/24/10	1	Local	A 3	441
159	Donnie	Martin	38	B	M	9/25/10	9/28/10	3	Local	A 5	773
160	Yassmin	Lindo	36	B	F	9/28/10	10/7/10	9	Local	A 4	458
161	Ardrey	Murphy	28	B	M	9/29/10	10/1/10	2	Local	A 6	319
162	Arthur	Peacock	34	B	M	9/30/10	10/10/10	10	Local	A 9	611
						9/30/10	11/10/10	41	Local	A 5	733
163	Randol	Bumcombe	14	B	F	10/5/10	12/31/10	87	Local	A 1	1561
164	Kirk	Carter	22	B	M	10/6/10	10/15/10	9	Local	A 4	413
165	Sterling	Palmer	78	B	M	10/8/10	10/9/10	1	Local	A 4	427
						10/8/10	10/12/10	4	Local	A 2	1463
						10/8/10	10/13/10	5	Local	A 6	769
166	James	Ingram	46	B	M	10/9/10	10/12/10	3	Local	A 2	1463
						10/9/10	11/26/10	48	Local	A 4	824

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
167	Michael	Morrell	51	B	M	10/9/10	10/15/10	6	Local	A 4	413
168	Travis	Lane	19	B	M	10/9/10	10/12/10	3	Local	A 2	1463
						10/9/10	12/4/10	56	Local	A 6	453
169	Daryll	Hood	22	B	M	10/9/10	10/11/10	2	Local	A 4	491
						10/9/10	10/12/10	3	Local	A 2	1463
						10/9/10	12/4/10	56	Local	A 6	453
170	Dennis	Waddell	33	B	M	10/10/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
171	Harvey	McCall	42	B	M	10/11/10	10/15/10	4	Local	A 4	413
172	Sherman	Payne	56	B	M	10/13/10	10/15/10	2	Local	A 6	130
173	Khloe	Lewis	1	B	F	10/13/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
174	Brian	Stevenson	37	B	M	10/16/10	10/18/10	2	Local	A 1	1161
						10/16/10	10/19/10	3	Local	A 3	906
						10/16/10	10/21/10	5	Local	A 1	1148
						10/16/10	10/21/10	5	Local	A 8	649
						10/16/10	10/22/10	6	Local	A 6	889
						10/16/10	11/17/10	32	Local	A 4	365
175	Monta	Hunt	25	B	M	10/23/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
176	Calvin	McNair	20	B	M	10/23/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
177	Durrell	Burroughs	19	B	M	10/25/10	10/27/10	2	Local	A 1	1219
178	Mary	Williams	48	B	M	10/25/10	10/27/10	2	Local	A 1	1219
						10/25/10	10/30/10	5	Local	A 4	675
179	William	Spears	63	B	M	10/26/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
180	Ronald	Clark	18	B	M	10/26/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
181	Alan	Chavis	16	B	M	10/26/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
182	Dobia	Wright	46	W	M	10/28/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
183	Edwin	Green Jr.	43	B	M	10/29/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
184	Jovanna	Mitchell	20	B	F	10/31/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
185	Andrew	Joyce	23	W	M	11/1/10	11/2/10	1	Local	A 3	644
186	Malcolm	Hill	53	B	M	11/2/10	11/6/10	4	Local	A 3	226
187	Winslow	Thomas	44	B	M	11/3/10	11/6/10	3	Local	A 3	226
188	Jerry	Harden	21	B	M	11/4/10	11/6/10	2	Local	A 3	226
189	Kevin	Anderson	31	B	M	11/4/10	11/6/10	2	Local	A 3	226

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
190	Derrius	Currie	21	B	M	11/6/10	11/9/10	3	Local	A 4	775
						11/6/10	11/10/10	4	Local	A 5	733
191	Eric	Dozier	25	B	M	11/9/10	11/12/10	3	Local	A 6	762
192	David	Hopkins	19	B	M	11/13/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
193	Sherrod	Mason	34	B	M	11/13/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
194	Marcus	Brown	20	B	M	11/17/10	11/19/10	2	Local	A 6	328
195	Wilbur	Street	52	B	M	11/18/10	11/23/10	5	Local	A 4	1006
196	Jerry	Thomas	29	B	M	11/19/10	11/22/10	3	Local	A 4	445
197	Carlton	Sellman	19	B	M	11/20/10	11/22/10	2	Local	A 4	445
						11/20/10	11/24/10	4	Local	A 5	415
198	Sheron	Jones	28	B	F	11/21/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
199	Patrick	Dolan	19	W	M	11/23/10	12/4/10	11	Local	A 1	1216
200	Charles	Burrell	24	B	M	11/23/10	11/24/10	1	Local	A 5	415
201	Derrick	Cross	29	B	M	11/24/10	11/25/10	1	Local	A 6	439
202	Davon	Douglas	28	B	M	11/24/10	12/31/10	37	Local	A 1	1561
203	Robin	Patterson	61	B	M	11/26/10	11/27/10	1	Local	A 4	606
204	Raquan	Campbell	15	B	M	12/1/10	12/3/10	2	Local	A 8	585
205	Troy	Thomas	26	B	M	12/3/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
206	Tammy	Madison	45	B	F	12/3/10	12/8/10	5	Local	A 5	281
207	Dante	Sweeney	22	B	M	12/7/10	12/9/10	2	Local	A 4	452
208	David	Carter	20	B	M	12/8/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
209	Travis	Baltimore	24	B	M	12/10/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
210	Cherrie	Gammon	25	W	F	12/12/10	12/15/10	3	Local	A 6	736
211	Micha	Crane	1	B	F	12/17/10	12/21/10	4	Local	A 4	517
212	Ramon	Uceda	26	H	M	12/18/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
213	Alethea	Hawkins	38	B	F	12/18/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
214	Brian	Taylor	23	B	M	12/18/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
215	Ellison	McCall	30	B	M	12/18/10	12/21/10	3	Local	A 4	517
						12/18/10	12/22/10	4	Local	A 2	486
215	Karen	Ferrell	42	B	F	12/18/10	12/20/10	2	Local	A 6	132
217	Juan Carlos	Santos-Hernandez	29	H	M	12/22/10			NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED		
218	Mustafa	Malik	43	B	M	12/22/10	12/24/10	2	Local	A 4	444

Victim ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Race	Gender	Found Date	Publication Date	Time Lapse	Section	Pg #	Article Words
219	Isaac	Joyner	14	B	M	12/23/10					NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED
220	Keith	Robinson	23	B	M	12/25/10					NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED
221	Raymond	Woodland	20	B	M	12/26/10	12/28/10	2	Local	A 2	679
222	Bernard	Clowney	50	B	M	12/31/10					NO ARTICLES PUBLISHED

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