LOCK YOUR WINDOWS: WOMEN'S RESPONSES TO SERIAL RAPE IN A
COLLEGE TOWN

by

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Abstract

Studies on fear of crime demonstrate that fear of rape controls women's lives by altering emotions and behavior, though how women construct rape discourse through social networks has not been examined. Further, studies tend to dismiss stranger rape because of its rarity compared to acquaintance rape, but this study argues that research must begin where women are. This study looks to women's voices to articulate how they talk about fear of rape; specifically, it examines responses to a serial rapist at work in a college town. Framed by feminist methodology, this study establishes the influence of fear on women's lives and the role of women's social networks in disseminating information, constructing strategies, and changing behavior as it relates to a local serial rapist. The study utilizes a multi-method approach to quantify levels of fear in the community and to document qualitatively women's responses to knowledge about the serial rapist. Two surveys, content analysis of local newspapers, and interviews support this research. In particular, group interviews conducted in two environments – campus face-to-face groups and online virtual groups – provide opportunities for young women to voice concerns and report behavioral changes related to the serial rapes. The research demonstrates that women are concerned about insufficient information from formal sources and want more accurate reporting. Women depend heavily on informal networks for information, but it is often incomplete and/or inaccurate and may actually intensify fear. As documented in earlier research, women focus on stranger rape to the neglect of the more common acquaintance rape and tend to strategize in individual terms rather than recognize structural issues. A major finding of this research is that young women actually perceive a change in their own identity as they try to manage fear of rape. However, women's social networks and, in particular, the increasingly popular online networks, provide a forum from which to try out strategies, build collective discourse, and, in turn, develop greater group consciousness among young women. From the experiences of women in this study, several policy implications are offered for managing fear, including education about the more likely threat of acquaintance rape.

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Dedication

I dedicate this research to my mother who taught me from a young age to be a strong and independent woman. Ever since I was a little girl and you changed the lyrics to "Maybe I Know," I always felt your encouragement to believe in myself.

CHAPTER 1 - Introduction and Theoretical Framework

"There will never be equality until women can leave their windows open on a warm, breezy Saturday night." **– Student Center staff member**

The fear of crime regulates the lives of women on a daily basis. Women are constantly aware of themselves and their surroundings in a way that is unparalleled among men. For most women, the fear of crime is much more specific than what early research indicated. For women, the fear of crime is the fear of rape; more specifically, the fear of stranger rape. Society teaches women from a young age that they must protect themselves from strangers and take special precaution not to get themselves in a dangerous situation. The identification of certain places and behavior as dangerous results in the daily regulation and control of women's lives, emotions, and behavior. In the small college town of Manhattan, Kansas, a man preys on these very fears. The above quote by a staff member at a student services office responds to a common refrain uttered by women in this study – "Lock your windows." This thesis addresses fear of a relatively rare event – serial rape – that nevertheless limits young women's freedom and challenges their very sense of self. This chapter introduces the case study and local context, then provides an integrated theoretical framework for analyzing the impact of a serial rapist on young women's lives.

Kansas State University is the second largest university in Kansas with a student population of 23,141 (K-State Registrar's Office 2006) and resides in the center of Manhattan. Within this small college community, a serial rapist preys on young female residents. His identity is unknown and there exists only a basic description of what he looks like. Officials and media outlets have released little systematic information to the public about him and his crimes, but a wealth of detail circulates within the community. Despite the lack of formally released information, the community of women in Manhattan has taken it upon themselves to inform each other of what they know about the serial rapist. This research aims to determine how the presence of the serial rapist has affected this community of women, how information disseminates throughout the

community, both formally and informally, and how various sources affect the fear and behavior of college-aged women in Manhattan, Kansas.

The serial rapist has been operating in Manhattan, Kansas, since October 1, 2000, attacking at least six women. Local newspaper articles state that these rapes are distinguishable from other stranger rapes (Elliott 2006; Shrimplin 2007a; Shrimplin 2007b), though what specifically distinguishes these rapes remains unknown to the general public. The rapes have been committed within approximately a half-mile of each other by a man who enters apartments or homes of his victims. The serial rapist targets young women in the 18-25 age range, entering their homes and attacking them in the middle of the night while they are alone. There is no sign of forced entry, and he may stalk the victims before attacking them. The suspect's description is a white male in his late twenties to early thirties, between 5' 9" and 6' 0", about 180 pounds, with broad shoulders and a medium build. He dresses in all black clothing consisting of a dark ski mask, long-sleeve black T-shirt, black leather gloves, black pants, and black boots. The suspect blindfolds his victims and in at least one instance has raped a woman at gunpoint. The most recent rape linked to the serial rapist occurred on September 5, 2005. The local police also believe that the serial rapist may have attacked another woman in October 2005, but the woman successfully beat off her attacker with a baseball bat.

Information outlined here constitutes the most recent releases by the Riley County Police Department (RCPD), the local city newspaper *The Manhattan Mercury*, and the college newspaper the *Kansas State Collegian*. Informal networks circulate more information regarding the serial rapist, and, although the knowledge gathered from these networks may not be factual, their effect on the community is important all the same. Knowledge distributed through social networks influences the fear and behavior of women in the community regardless of its legitimacy. Community speculation surrounds the case, and discourse includes the serial rapist himself, his actions and techniques, and even his actual existence.

Discussions regarding the serial rapist's existence in Manhattan, Kansas, began long before the RCPD formally acknowledged his presence in the community. Women in the community informed one another and disseminated information that they gathered. Such community discourse includes speculation that the serial rapist is former military or

police because he may rappel from roofs of three-story apartment buildings onto third-floor balconies. The rapist is also rumored to have videotaped his crimes and forced the women to shower before he leaves. Despite the possibility that such information is false due to the informal sources, the knowledge affects behavior and fear of the young women, perhaps to an even stronger degree because it is being spread through women's social networks.

Scant research addresses how knowledge about serial rapists is constructed and disseminated. However, one study in particular provides a starting framework within which to generally characterize the work of a serial rapist. Research conducted by LeBeau (1987) differentiates apprehended serial rapists from "open unknown" rapists by creating three categories based on the number of rapes committed by a person before apprehension. Single rapists commit one rape before apprehension while series rapists commit at least two rapes before apprehension by the police. For open unknown rapists, "the number of rapes committed by the same person is unknown because a specific suspect has not been identified and/or apprehended; thus, the case remains open" (LeBeau 1987:314). The offender at the center of this study is a serial rapist as identified by the RCPD; however, he also falls into the category of the open offender in LeBeau's study since the police have yet to apprehend him. The purpose of LeBeau's study is to identify what characteristics differentiate apprehended and at-large rapists. Findings indicate that open rapists and serial rapists usually attack women who are strangers to them. Further, LeBeau suggests that when the serial rapist eventually attacks a woman known to him, he is frequently soon apprehended and thus his attacking a non-stranger is the cause for his movement from the "open unknown" category to the apprehended serial rapist category. The serial rapist in Manhattan, Kansas, has supposedly only attacked women who are strangers to him.

Another important characteristic identified by LeBeau (1987) of serial rapists and open rapists is that the majority of the time they utilize a "blitz" attack in which they illegally enter the home of the victim, or they kidnap and attack the victim. In both categories the blitz attack was utilized approximately 75% of the time. According to LeBeau, "one-half of all open rapes were the result of the illegal entry of residence

method" (1987: 319). All of the known rapes attributed to the Manhattan serial rapist were blitz attacks committed by illegally entering the victims' homes.

Finally, one distinguishing category between the serial rapist and open rapist is that serial rapists are more geographically focused than open rapists are. This finding offers hope to the residents of Manhattan, Kansas, that the capture of the serial rapist will be soon as all of his known rapes have been committed within approximately one-half mile of each other. LeBeau's (1987) research provides an understanding of how the serial rapist who has yet to be apprehended operates. Perhaps most important to this research is the understanding of what characteristics allow the Manhattan serial rapist to remain not apprehended and what characteristics may lead to his apprehension. LeBeau's research may educate the public on serial rapists and potentially alleviate frustration with the serial rapist remaining at-large. However, virtually no research addresses how young women themselves construct knowledge about a serial rapist. The current study addresses this gap in the literature by evaluating both formal and informal sources of knowledge about a local serial rapist who remains at-large, how such information affects young women's attitudes and fear of crime, and ultimately how it affects their behavior and controls their lives.

The following section outlines existing theoretical frameworks that help organize this inquiry. The purpose is to integrate major theories and concepts to include the importance of gendering processes and social control mechanisms such as fear of crime and fear of rape. In addition, perspectives addressing college culture, social networks, and media information systems provide a basis for understanding the college environment and how media and social networks influence young women in particular. The section leads with an overview of social constructionist perspectives of gender, which includes both interactionist and structural concepts of gendering processes. I refer to this body of perspectives as contemporary gender theory. Implicit in contemporary gender theory is the issue of power, and I include social control as a structural manifestation of power over women and the feminine. Next, I incorporate ideas from fear of crime research, including the precept that fear of rape is used to curtail women's freedom. Finally, theories of college culture, social networks, and media influence narrow the focus of the theory, providing concepts useful to analyzing the case study that

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constitutes the focus of this research. The theories represented in the following section collectively frame this study, providing tools to understand how young women's lives are controlled by engaging in a particular kind of doing gender through fear discourse and how these processes function within the college environment and more specifically through young women's social networks.

Gender Theory and Social Control

In order to understand how women are vulnerable to the fear of rape, it is critical to understand gender as a system of power and differentiation. Gender as a social construction influences social actors as a master status; it affects every other aspect of social life. Gender is likely to be especially salient in addressing a significant determinant of young women's attitudes and behavior about an issue as critical as a working serial rapist who appears to target this group. The concept of gender as different from sex has taken on many forms throughout feminist research. Sex differences focused on biological distinctions, while sex role theory looked to socialization and expectations of society for men and women to perform. While generally it is acceptable to acknowledge that there are certain expectations for men and women, the sex roles literature focused on the learning aspect but lacked attention to the constant maintenance necessary for a master status and the inclusion of power as endemic to gender construction. Contemporary gender theory asserts that it is imperative to understand gender as a product of both interaction and structure. Gender differences exist because of not only interaction and expectations for interaction, but also because of a power differential between men and women. The importance of power is essential to discussing gender as a concept.

Sexual politics contribute to the continuing oppression of women and the inability to change the current state of gender. Connell (1987) argues that revolutionaries created distinctions between citizens, ultimately defining men as economically and socially independent and as active citizens worthy of participating in politics. Women became defined as dependent women and not as individuals but simply as women, a 'less-than' category relative to men. Thus women were forced out of inclusion in the political realm. This history of non-inclusion resulted in the vast power differential facing women and

men today. Women throughout the years have found it exceedingly difficult to break through the boundaries of power mostly controlled by men. Although some women have succeeded to enter politics, become CEOs, or earn significant paychecks, compared to men they are few and far between. Currently women make up 16.1% of Congress, less than 1% are CEOs of Fortune 500 companies (Catalyst Women 2006), and make 77 cents for every dollar earned by their male counterparts (Joyce 2006). Although women have begun to cross these boundaries, they have been unable to completely break the barriers and seize power for themselves.

Sexual politics have become exceedingly important to the realm of understanding gender and how gender differences have been maintained. Scott (1999) creates the concept of fantasy as the identification of politics as the man's realm. Before the revolutions in Europe women often held roles of immense power in politics, but through the writings of the revolutionaries, politics became the realm of men. This fantasy that only men are capable and deserving of political involvement has had dire consequences for women. "The political empowerment of men does not rest on claims to superior experience…, skills, or qualifications…, but rather on sexual difference" (Scott 1999: 83). Through the creation of politics as strictly a man's world, politics began to seek the control of women's lives and bodies. Fantasy plays an integral role in sexual politics. The creation of politics as a man's realm is based on the fantasy of men only being capable of such activities. In addition, fantasy also indicates the desire for rights that can never fully be satisfied (Scott 1999). Fantasy plays a role in both the creation of a realistic political situation (such as the creation of male-only politics) as well as the desired ideal political results (such as unachievable rights).

Sexual or gender politics are far deeper than the simple creation of politics as a man's realm. Gender politics plays a role in the daily lives of women. It is not simply about the right to vote or the wage gap; gender politics is both structural and personal. Connell states, "There is a gender politics in our most intimate relationships and decisions" (2002: 137). Many gender issues have become political, such as rape, health, abortion, sexuality, and so forth. It is impossible for women to avoid gender politics in a society where women's sexuality is scrutinized in a way unmatched for men (Russell 1975). The sexual double standard persists to control women's lives by limiting their

sexuality and allowing freedom to men by permitting their sexual exploration (Russell 1975). Russell argues, "A sexually active male can see himself as decent while seeing the females with whom he has sex as bad" (1975: 25). The decisions of women regarding their own sexuality demonstrate Connell's concept of gender politics as intimate.

The major dilemma, though, is that if concepts of gender change, it will upset the structural forces, but also the self-identity, daily habits, and understanding of relationships for women (Connell 2002). Altering gender would result in many welcome changes, but the idea can be uncomfortable when one realizes just how much would change. Personal politics can be difficult, but empowering as well when women raise group consciousness (Connell 2002). This is the aim of the women's liberation movement. When women come together with an understanding of gender and what it means to be a woman, they find strength and courage in each other to continue to strive for change. This may be especially true in women's social networks, which provide a way for women to BE women and recognize their commonalities.

At the heart of gender theory is the idea that gender is not simply something that we inherently are, but instead is a socially constructed categorization in which we all participate. West and Zimmerman (1987) also emphasize that gender is a "situated doing" in which women and men are constantly participating. Gender is something that we all do in many given situations. Women do gender when they interact with others, when they make decisions about where to go or what to do, when they look for work, or when they look for places to live. Thus, gender is not only socially constructed but also structurally created. The gendered requirements for women are constructed in such a way that they are continuously channeled into a place where women are at the fringes of power and resources.

By creating a climate through which women must do their gender or face dire consequences, women often become the objects of social control. A woman who does not portray the constructed ideals of femininity is labeled literally and figuratively speaking by society (West and Zimmerman 1987). The woman faces social consequences from those around her if she does not adequately do her gender. Often doing gender creates a double bind for women. For example, if a woman is too

emotional then she is considered weak, but if she shows no emotion, she is considered icy. If a woman "gets raped," then she is held accountable, perhaps because, curiously, she was not dependent enough on a man. This constant double bind keeps women in a place where they are continuously watching their behavior to be sure that they are appropriately doing their gender so they do not have to face the social consequences of being an outsider. Appropriately doing femininity requires women to work certain jobs, dress in certain ways, behave in certain ways, display their emotions in a certain way, and live a certain way. If women do not do what they are supposed to do, they are punished (West and Zimmerman 1987). Further, to understand how women do gender, intersectionality should be included. Women of different races, socioeconomic status, sexuality, and so forth have different experiences, and these characteristics cannot be separated from one another. One must look at each woman's standpoint to understand how her experiences are unique regarding the issue examined.

Foucault (1977) argues that social control is not necessarily commanded from the top down. Those who are in power above them such as government officials, their bosses, or their parents do not solely control women. Foucault (1977) argues that control comes from all sides. Women are controlled by those above them, but also by their peers, and by those below them. The continuous checks and balances of doing gender keep women in their place. It is not just those who have power over them that influence women to do their gender; it is also their friends who encourage them in social situations, it is the public who judge a woman's clothing when she passes them, it is the mother who teachers her daughter how to apply makeup the way she should. The community blames the woman who was attacked by a stranger at night while running in the park. She should not have been there. She is a woman and parks are dangerous places for women at night. She should have known better, so the story (and fantasy) goes.

To Foucault (1977), social control of the soul is the most egregious violation of human rights. Women continuing to do gender through behavior is essentially social control of the body, which to Foucault is acceptable because one can still resist mentally. The social control of the soul, however, is an atrocity because it controls the very essence of a person and leaves no opportunity to resist. The control of the soul includes the

control of emotions and thoughts. Thus, using the fear of crime as a means for social control of women is attempting to control not only their bodies, but their souls as well. This "doing fear" is accomplished through many sources, including men, the public, media, officials, and women's networks. The next section addresses the fear of crime and how women are subject to social control.

Fear of Crime as Social Control

The extensive body of fear of crime research demonstrates the gendered nature of fear in that women exhibit the highest levels and participate in more self-protective behavior. Much of fear of crime research does not look at the deep gendering of the process of fear and instead focuses on the distinctions between men and women. Feminist research on fear of crime extends previous research by demonstrating how masculinity and femininity manifest different fears for men and women. For women, the fear of crime is mostly the fear of rape.

Fear of Crime

Fear of crime has been a hot topic in the field of criminology for many years. As Garofalo contends:

> We can define fear as an emotional reaction characterized by a sense of danger and anxiety. We restrict our definition to the sense of danger and anxiety produced by the threat of physical harm. Furthermore, to constitute fear of crime, the fear must be elicited by perceived cues in the environment that relate to some aspect of crime for the person (1981:840).

The fear of crime is limited to physical harm because the fear of physical harm is much different from the fear of property crime. The intensity or nature of the fear of attack is far different from the fear of forgetting to lock a bicycle.

Fear of crime is a complex concept. Many factors both influence fear of crime and result from the fear of crime. A model presented by Garofalo (1981) presents the main components of the fear of crime as follows: position in social space, information about crime, image of crime, risk assessment, fear of crime, individual responses, and social outcomes. Each of these components heavily influences the other and is dependent on each other. Many early fear of crime theorists focus on the fear of crime for an entire

population without fully examining the social implications for increased fear of crime for women. Many who have studied the topic recognize that women are most fearful but seek explanations other than those presented by feminist theorists.

Research conducted by Liska, Lawrence, and Sanchirico (1982) defines fear of crime as a social fact rather than an individual characteristic. They examine levels of fear of crime based on structural characteristics of the city in which people live. By defining fear of crime based on variables such as personal and property crime rates, racial composition of the city, and proportion of crime which is interracial, differences among people are of lesser importance. Many theorists have sought to provide general explanations for fear of crime rather than explain why fear of crime is exceedingly high for particular populations.

Many fear of crime theorists have presented the importance of particular cues for invoking fear of crime (Garofalo 1981; Warr 1990). While some choose for their definition of cues to be vague such as Garofalo, others such as Warr choose to develop the concept of cues and specifically define them. Warr creates "three central cues that evoke fear of victimization" (1990: 891). The first of the central cues is that of the unknown. People become more fearful of victimization when they are in unfamiliar environments. This idea of "novelty" being the central cue of fear also includes new people presented in a person's familiar territory. The second cue is the "dark." Darkness is a place where even a person familiar with the area can become frightened. Often, when walking in the dark, a person will quickly scan their surroundings, avoiding other people and searching for quick exits just in case. The third cue is the issue of "others" or rather lack thereof. Being alone is frightening for many people and causes fear of victimization to increase. People often believe that there is safety in numbers and if they are with others then they are safe. The "others" cue is difficult to test and often results in an inconclusive outcome since the presence of "others" can be frightening or perceived as dangerous as well. Warr's test, however, shows very strongly that dark and novelty are significant cues for triggering fear of crime. These cues serve as basic triggers for immediate feelings of fear among people and can help demonstrate where people are afraid.

The overall body of fear of crime research demonstrates that there is a large focus on the cause and consequences of fear of crime on people. There are many ways to compare levels of fear of crime across individual characteristics such as sex, age, or gender, and structural characteristics such as the city of residence. Causes of fear of crime are measured through knowledge, experience, and actual versus anticipated fear. As Garofalo (1981) demonstrates, using his complicated model that presents the theory of fear of crime, the field is enormous and consists of many different components. However, truly understanding the fear of crime of women means one must examine the causes and consequences of the fear of crime for women as gendered individuals.

Most of the general research in the field of crime does not specifically consider fear of crime as a means of the social control of women. The lack of awareness of this problem is evident in Garofalo's (1981) piece which summarizes the field of fear of crime and discusses the body of research:

> Given current realities in the United States, complete elimination of the fear of crime is not only impossible but probably undesirable. Fear is functional to the extent that it leads people to take reasonable precautions"… The complete absence of fear is dysfunctional because the individual is not motivated to take reasonable cautionary measures, such as avoiding the possibility of being alone at night in obviously dangerous places (856).

Garofalo argues that fear of crime is functional and a necessity to a certain extent in society because it leads to the "reasonable" precautions necessary to protect oneself from victimization. What Garofalo does not address is the skew of fear of crime towards women, and that women must engage in many more "reasonable precautions" than their male counterparts do. Feminist criminologists demonstrate that fear of crime is different for women and in particular used as a means for the informal social control of women's lives (Brownmiller 1975; Ferraro 1996; Madriz 1997a, 1997b; Russell 1975; Stanko 1995).

Women and Fear of Rape

Feminist fear of crime research examines the causes of increased fear of crime for women as it relates to their oppressed position in society. It has been accepted by most criminologists who study fear of crime that women have a much higher rate of fear than any other group of people. Many acknowledge that the fear of crime for women is mostly the fear of rape. Much research determines that women are mostly afraid of rape; what feminist research demonstrates is that women are afraid of men and that this fear is a result of the gender power differential.

Feminists acknowledge the paradoxical relationship between women's increased fear and actual victimization rates. In general, women are much more likely to be afraid of victimization than males, but young males are most likely to be victimized, yet express the least amount of fear (Stanko 1995). Some argue that the paradox exists because women are most afraid of rape, and rape is overwhelmingly committed against women (Ferraro 1996). Ferraro identified rape as a "master offense" for a woman which increases her fear for all crimes in general. Ferraro argues that the fear of rape crosses over into other crime categories when discussing fear of crime for women. Thus, women's heightened fear of crime for all crimes is largely the result of the fear of the "rape shadow" (Ferraro 1996).

Instilling fear in women of sexual violence by strangers in particular creates an atmosphere where women are required to participate in certain behavior. If women do not follow the rules they must face consequences. These rules limit the daily lives of women such that they are not afforded the same freedom as their male counterparts are. Women are not allowed to make use of public space as men are. If women choose to violate the expected behavior for responding to the intended fear of crime, women must be held accountable for violating such unofficial rules. The issue is that fear of crime is overwhelmingly a female problem, and all women are expected to be fearful and to respond accordingly. Stanko argues, "The reality of sexual violence… is a core component of being female" (1995:50). The fear of crime has moved beyond a simple emotion and has become a part of doing gender for women. Rader (2005) demonstrates how women do gender and do fear by creating a combined concept of "doing gendered fear." Rader defines doing gendered fear as, "Doing fear within a gendered context," and

argues that women's experiences must be examined through the combination of doing gender and doing fear to adequately understand how fear affects women's lives (2005: 129).

"Bad" women refuse to do their gender by engaging in behavior deemed as risky, such as walking alone at night (Madriz 1997a, Russell 1975). Bad women who are attacked are usually deemed deserving or culpable for their victimization (Madriz 1997a, Russell 1975). Madriz (1997a) argues that the consequence for women who refuse to follow the rules is victim blaming by society for putting herself in that situation. These consequences can be humiliating and emotionally damaging to women who are already vulnerable from having just experienced a rape. Thus, the threat of blame for their own victimization is often reason enough to succumb to the expected behavioral responses to the fear of crime (Madriz 1997a). Society conditions women to believe that so long as they are "good" girls, stay inside, and follow the rules they will not be at risk for attack, and if they do experience an attack, society will protect them. Yet, somehow most women sense that they will face yet another double bind in which they face judgment either way.

Concepts of typical criminals and ideal or non-ideal victims are created using images (Madriz 1997b). The creation of such categories through the news media and other sources helps strengthen the control of women through the use of fear (Madriz 1997b). Women, through influence of others, have created in their own minds the typical categories for criminals and victims. Madriz argues that in general, women fear the poor, minority, stranger who will attack them in a public space and rape them, while women generally label the typical victim as young, white, and female. Young, white, middle class women are most often portrayed as victims of sexual assault and thus most women identify them as the typical victim. These kinds of victims are the ideal victim because they are most often seen as innocent and not engaging in inappropriate behavior. The non-ideal victim dresses provocatively or goes places alone at night.

The construction of the fear of crime is defined as a woman's problem. Definitions of masculinity are fearlessness and bravery, while in opposition femininity is seen as timid, weak, and careful. Women continue to do gender, as they understand that they constantly live under the threat of men (Connell 2002) and unknown men in

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particular. Women must be fearful of crime; otherwise they will be reckless, put their self at risk for attack, and risk punishment if in fact attacked. Women must participate in specific behaviors in order to act as women should and to maintain their status as a worthy woman. These requirements only exist for women (and/or, perhaps, for homosexual men) and are based only on their gender.

Fear of crime generally manifests in the fear of rape for women. Many gender theorists have taken on the concept of the fear of crime and the fear of rape as means for the social control of women. Brownmiller (1975: 15) argues that rape is "a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear." There is no other crime feared more by women than rape. Many women are less afraid of murder than they are of rape. Brownmiller (1975) argues that rape is a tool constructed to keep women obedient. Even the actual act of rape is not as influential in controlling the lives of women, as is the fear of rape. Women are warned that they must behave in certain ways or they risk being raped. Women must not dress a certain way, behave a certain way, or go to certain places or they will be in great danger of rape.

Most women participate in some form of behavior resulting from fear of crime or rape. Madriz notes, after conducting numerous interviews with women that, "[These] fears…reflect that half of the U.S. population, who are supposedly guaranteed freedom, live imprisoned in the invisible cages of their worries, anxieties, concerns, and fears" (1997a:69). Society teaches girls from a very young age to be afraid. Girls must be afraid of boys who harass them, of strangers who might kidnap them, men who want to rape them, and so forth. The fear that is placed in the minds of little girls remains within them for the rest of their lives. The fear becomes ingrained in them, sometimes to the point that women do not even recognize initially that they are afraid since certain behaviors have become normalized and habitual for them. However, the importance of the fear is that while women feel fear, change their behavior because of fear, and live limited lives because they are must conform to such fears, men experience virtually no such thing. The fear of crime is a tool to limit women's lives and to allow men freedom. Women continue to do gender in social situations that reinforce fear of crime and expected responses for women. The next section addresses social networks important to young women in the context of this study.

College Culture and Information Networks

Information-gathering and knowledge construction does not take place in a vacuum. In this case, the target population, both of this research and of the serial rapist, centers on college and/or college-aged women. Relatively little research addresses college culture. In order to understand how discourse develops around the serial rapist or any particular issue, one has to consider college culture and ways in which information disseminates among college students.

College Culture

The majority of college culture research focuses on alcohol use in college communities and on binge drinking in particular. College culture research examining drinking behavior mostly uses role theory and norms theory. Theorists argue that men and women who move away to college are likely to engage in alcohol use and binge drinking behavior because of the pressures to be normal or to fill a particular role. Binge drinking becomes the norm within peer groups and results in a dangerous culture of alcohol use and abuse which has serious consequences for women (Buddie and Testa 2005; Clapp, Segars, and Voas 2002; Durkin, Wolfe, and Clark 2005; Nurius, Norris, Dimeff, and Graham 1996; Reifman, Watson, and McCourt 2006).

A second focus of college culture research addresses fraternities, at least peripherally. Fraternities themselves are a culture of their own within the larger college culture. Fraternities depend heavily on secrecy and the bonds of brotherhood which, when combined with alcohol abuse and young adult hormones, have grave consequences (Martin and Hummer 1989). Sanday (1996) creates a distinction between "rape-prone" and rape-free fraternities by examining their behavior in social situations. Sanday (1996) argues that rape-prone fraternities engage in the pressure for secrecy among the brotherhood and strongly embrace the binge drinking culture of college. Rape-prone fraternities hold parties where they serve only alcohol in an attempt to pressure the female attendees to engage in college culture and drink so the men can have sex with them. Consequently, the expectations for men and women to fill their college roles results in the rape of young women on a frequent basis.

The bulk of college culture literature seems to fit well with role theory when it examines binge-drinking behavior. However, as with gender role theory, it lacks an examination of the presence of power. Fraternities are often in a position of power in a college community in a number of ways. In addition, an examination of power must be included when examining the interactions of males and females, especially when one is examining the rape of women by men in a manner that males tend to accept. Finally, college culture literature lacks an examination of college culture as a community that exists outside of fraternities and binge drinking. In particular, we know almost nothing about other social networks that function outside of binge drinking parties and the Greek system. Gender theory, while instructive for examining the doing-gender interactionist perspective, seldom addresses what may be a fairly unique context for young women in which femininity is especially exaggerated, such a college campus.

Social Networks

Almost no research exists regarding women's social networks in a college setting aside from those that focus on sororities. Research that focuses on sororities as social networks determines these networks as ways through which young women continue to do gender as emphasized femininity (Handler 1995). Sororities often claim to empower the young women who join and to provide a sense of sisterhood and support. One would expect a large group of young women who aim to empower themselves to work against the ways they must do gender; unfortunately this is not the case. Women in sororities tend to focus on finding boyfriends (at least stereotypically) and doing gender in the ways expected in relationships (Handler 1995). Sororities are a good way to examine how women's social networks function in a college atmosphere, but they only include a small portion of the female college population.

Ideas about gender, how gender relates to fear, and how gender relates to violence are constructed through discourse and social networks (Hollander 2001). People discuss violence among their families and peers, and through these discussions people are instructed how to appropriately do their gender in terms of responses to violence and fear. Conversations between men and women demonstrate the idea that women are in need of protection, that protecting is the duty of male peers, and that men do not need protection

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themselves. "Everyday discourse paints women as vulnerable and men as potentially dangerous" (Hollander 2001: 85). As part of doing their gender, women must portray a certain amount of vulnerability as evidenced by their responses to the fear of crime. The construction of gender as it relates to violence and fear through discourse solidifies the importance of social networks as they relate to fear. Through social networks women gather information, construct expectations for their behavior in response to such information, and fulfill such expectations. Hollander's (2001) research demonstrates that outside sources are not the sole cause of fear, and that in fact people monitor themselves through everyday discussion about violence and fear. The frequency of such discourse, "reaffirms the perceived reality of a world in which women's fear is rational and expected" (Hollander 2001: 106). Through discourse, women's fear becomes rational despite the empirical evidence demonstrating that women's fear of violence by strangers is irrational.

Within the lives of women there are multiple circulating discourses. One such discourse identified by Mehta and Bondi (1999) is the discourse of "sensibility." Women do not identify directly that they are afraid of crime, but indicate that they engage in sensible behavior to prevent the possibility of attack. This discourse of sensibility exists under the guise of having no fear when in reality the sensible actions they are taking are truly a response to fear. Sensible actions range from locking doors and windows to never going out alone at night and owning a rape alarm. Women overall resist discourses that construct a woman's place is in the home, but embody discourse which constructs their femininity in appearance, their movements, and their reliance on others to protect them from violence (Mehta and Bondi 1999). The embodiment of such discourse results in the daily social control of women in contrast to the embodiment of discourse for men resulting in the sense of always being in control. Media can influence discourse and facilitate women's responses to the fear of crime

Influence of the Media

Media play an integral role in influencing our lives and in particular the fear of crime. Television news and media play the largest role in creating and maintaining the public's fear of crime. The effect of television news is especially significant for white

females who see themselves portrayed as victims of stranger violence more often than others on news media (Cavender, Bond-Maupin, and Jurik 1999; Chiricos, Eschholz, and Gertz 1997). Seeing these constant images of themselves victimized on television serves to increase the fear of crime among women.

In addition to producing images that depict the typical criminal and ideal victim types on television, the news media create a discourse of fear that has been intentionally utilized to create and maintain fear in the public (Altheide 2002a, 2002b). Fear is no longer an individual and specific occurrence, but has spread to become more general and unfocused. The creation of a discourse of fear has increased the existence of a fear of crime extensively.

Fear is now a staple of television news, focusing on crimes as top news stories and portraying them not as isolated incidents but as general trends of which the public needs to be aware. News stations in Kansas City, Missouri, frequently provide a count of the number of homicides occurring in the Kansas City Metropolitan area throughout the year. This count begins with news stories about the "first homicide of 2007" and continues throughout the following months usually framed as higher than this date the year before. The concentration on the overall homicide rate contributes to the discourse of fear by exaggerating the prevalence of homicide instead of focusing on the isolated incident. Although each homicide occurs in a specific location, fear spreads throughout all of the metropolitan area and into the suburbs as well. Glassner (1999) contends the use of statistics increases the voracity of fear in the surrounding area. If the news media uses statistics even in a misleading way, the public believes the news story is factual and fear grows (Glassner 1999).

Media influence on increased fear exists mostly due to the distorted nature of crime stories as they are portrayed by television news (Glassner 1999). In particular, Glassner argues that the use of statistics in news pieces can instigate fear if not used appropriately. In addition, media's focus on strangers as attackers directs community fear away from the frightening realities that most often victims know their attackers (Glassner 1999). Glassner and Altheide (2002b) argue that the main reason why media has a strong effect on levels of fear in young women in particular is their distortion of stories that include incorrect or misleading information.

This overall contribution to the discourse of fear by the media influences the actual fear of the public and women in particular. If the news media did not play upon these fears, there would be fewer sources to perpetuate fear for women. The media's role in influencing the fear of women takes another turn when creating high-profile cases. Occasionally the news media will turn a criminal case into a high-profile case garnering national attention. Glassner (1999) argues that many high-profile cases featured by national news result in stories that present misused statistics that heighten fear of a particular crime (Glassner 1999). Frequently these cases involve violence against women of some sort and media chooses these cases because they will appeal to the public (Chancer 2005). High-profile cases make examples out of women who behave badly, often focusing on instances where a stranger attacks a woman in a location where she should not be. Media chooses these cases because they stir up much debate in the public and increase ratings (Chancer 2005).

Media is a tool for maintaining the fear of crime in women and controlling their daily lives. Since media play an important role in the lives of Americans, it is one of the most effective tools to create and maintain the fear of crime. Without the constant bombardment of images of criminals and images of victims that resemble themselves, women would have fewer reminders of their possible victimization and likely a lower sense of fear. With an increased volume of crime stories on television, and a high number of stories which feature the victimization of women, the fear in women is bound to escalate. The influence of the media on fear of crime is integral to understanding how the lives of women experience control on a daily basis. Theories of communication, however, do not include the importance of collegiate newspapers on the fear of crime on college campuses and in the community surrounding the college. In addition, virtually all research examining media influence on fear of crime concentrates on urban and/or national media sources and most focus on television news. What remains largely unexamined by media influence research is the effect responsible and factual newspaper coverage of crimes in a rural community has on fear (or reducing fear) for women.

Given the theoretical foundation presented, my research questions are: How do college women obtain information about a local serial rapist? How do they construct

both individual and collective rape discourse through formal and informal social networks? In turn, how does the discourse affect their behavior?

Chapter 2 provides a discussion of previous research on fear of crime, media influence on fear, fear of rape and fear as social control. Further, the review of literature addresses college culture and women's social network research. Chapter 3 provides a detailed description of the methods utilized in conducting this research including both quantitative and qualitative measures. Chapter 4 presents findings of the research to address the research questions outlined above. Finally, Chapter 5 presents conclusions drawn from this research, discussion of policy implications, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2 - Literature Review

This chapter reviews previous research relevant to the current study. While a wealth of research exists on fear of crime, several key pieces demonstrate the general issues presented in this research, and an even more specific group of studies examine fear of crime as it relates to gender. This chapter first presents key pieces of general fear of crime research. Next the chapter reviews research focusing on women's fear of rape, followed by fear of crime as a means for the social control of women. Finally, this chapter includes research that demonstrates a unique environment in college communities that fosters women's social networks, but also sometimes cultivates a culture of rape. This combined body of research provides a base of knowledge on which to build the current study.

Fear of Crime and Media Influence

Fear of crime is prevalent in criminological research. Early research sought understanding of fear of crime by measuring who was afraid of crime and which people were more fearful (Clemente and Kleiman 1977; Erskine 1974; Warr 1990). Studies used statistical analysis to determine which sex or age group is more afraid, and how other issues such as race, socioeconomic status, and city size affect feelings of safety in one's own home, within one mile from home, and in the local neighborhood (Clemente and Kleiman 1977; Erskine 1974). Generally, sex is the strongest predictor of fear (Clemente and Kleiman 1977; Erskine 1974; Warr 1990) followed by city size (Clemente and Kleiman 1977). Erskine conducted numerous polls to measure which demographic groups are most fearful and to what extent. Previous research also examines the perceptions of crime rates and fear connected to certain distances from home. For example, Erskine finds that women fear crime much more than men, believe the incidence of crime is increasing around them, and overwhelmingly report more fear of areas within a mile from their homes.

Other work demonstrates that structural variables of the city of residence exert a strong effect on fear of crime. Liska, Lawrence, and Sanchirico (1982) examine the

dynamics of 26 cities and finds that racial composition has a strong effect on both white respondents and nonwhite respondents. For white respondents, the crime rate and proportion of crime that is interracial have a strong effect on fear. For nonwhite respondents, percent of nonwhites in the population, segregation, and population size are significant (Liska, Lawrence, and Sanchirico 1982). This study demonstrates that fear of crime is not a personal and isolated issue, but one affected by structural variables as well. In this case, the city provides a context that is useful to capture structural-level influences on individual behavior.

Garofalo (1981) demonstrates that the fear of crime is more complex than once thought and establishes a summary of the early research. In addition, this study demonstrates the importance of actual fear and anticipated fear. Anticipated fear creates a situation where a person is given many more options to respond in advance to their fear. The fear and response to fear is determined by the social place of a person (their gender, race, socioeconomic status and so forth), their experiences thus far with crime, and information they have gathered about fear and crime throughout their lifetime from formal and informal sources.

A multitude of studies examines the effect of media on fear of crime (Altheide 2002a, 2002b; Chiricos, Eschholz, and Gertz 1997; Fisher 1995; Glassner 1999). This body of research indicates that greater consumption of media messages is associated with higher levels of fear. Most media research examines typical news sources including radio, television, newspapers, and finds that television has the greatest effect on creating fear. Altheide (2002b) argues that media creates and utilizes a discourse of fear that intentionally draws attention to fear of crime in the public because appealing to the discourse of fear increases show ratings. Media's use of the discourse of fear results in stories that exaggerate the prevalence of particular crimes and a misinformed audience (Altheide 2002b; Chiricos, Eschholz, and Gertz 1997; Glassner 1999). The fear of crime has increased over the last several decades and appears affected particularly by exaggerated media coverage (Altheide 2002b). According to Altheide (2002a), media news focuses on stories of harm coming to children and young beautiful women because they appeal to the public and suggests that media uses specific language to strike a chord of fear in the audience.

Fisher (1995) studies media sources and their effects on college campuses. Fisher's work examines violent crime on campus, media's response to campus crime, its effects on the students, and the policies enacted because of the crimes and fear. Fisher demonstrates how news media such as television news and newspapers in recent years highlighted a few cases of university violence, creating the perception that universities are becoming more dangerous than before. Fisher discusses how, in response to media focus on university violence, legislation now requires all universities notify all students of the statistics of crimes on campus. Fisher concludes that recent media focus on a small number of violent campus crimes has caused fear of crime on campus to soar, and legislation on all levels was created to combat this fear of crime. Fisher's research demonstrates how news media can increase the fear of crime on campus greater than before the media opted to spend a great deal of time on campus violence.

General research on fear of crime identifies who is afraid of crime and how they become afraid. While the majority of this research finds that women are more fearful, it fails to examine the gendered nature of fear as based on definitions of femininity and masculinity. Another limitation of this research is that it generally fails to consider the effect of accurate and balanced journalism, and most especially, it fails to assess what women want in terms of news about crime. It is important to examine how the social construction of fear works through media in combination with other sources, and how it often operates side by side with gendering processes.

The Fear of Rape

Early research determined that women were the most afraid of crime, but did not focus on the gendered nature of fear or how fear is different for women. Feminist researchers sought to develop an understanding of fear of crime as it relates to women, generally finding that women are most fearful of rape (Ferraro 1996; Fisher and Sloan 2003; Fisher, Sloan, Cullen, and Lu 1998; Pain 1997; Reid and Konrad 2004; Stanko 1995; Warr 1985). Some scholars identify rape as a "master offense" that increases fear of other crimes among women resulting from their main fear of rape (Ferraro 1996; Fisher and Sloan 2003). Other research indicates that the fear of rape specifically affects

daily lives of women by altering their behavior in response to their fear of being raped (Madriz 1997a; Pain 1997; Stanko 1995; Warr 1985).

Stanko (1995) argues that most women's fear is of strangers who will rape them. Statistics show that young women who are the most fearful are not the demographic group most at risk for victimization. Further, women are much more likely to be victimized by a person who is close to them (Stanko 1995). Despite statistics that demonstrate what Stanko calls unwarranted fear, women admit being the most afraid of strangers and continue to demonstrate the highest levels of fear. Women acknowledge the fact that friends and acquaintances are likely to be rapists, but when asked to imagine if they were the victim, overwhelmingly respondents believed their assailant would be a stranger (Stanko 1995).

Feminist scholars argue that it is important to understand why fear of rape is a "master offense" (Ferraro 1996; Fisher and Sloan 2003). It is not enough to simply state that most women are fearful of rape and ignore other fears of victimization that frequently occur among women (Madriz 1997a; Reid and Konrad 2004). Reid and Konrad (2004) argue that it is important to understand why rape causes so much fear compared to other crimes for both women and men. They assert that crimes themselves are gendered and that certain crimes generate different fears in men and women. They conclude that men's fear is much higher than women's fear for crimes of which they are more likely to be victims.

Understanding rape as a master offense helps explain why women are more fearful of other personal crimes and, to a lesser extent, property crime. The fear of rape is present in the daily lives of women, and because of this constant fear of rape, it shadows other personal crimes and increases fear for other crimes as well. If one removes the fear of rape from the equation, women's fear of personal crimes is much closer to the level of fear among men (Ferraro 1996). Fisher and Sloan (2003) reexamined Ferraro's research and applied it specifically to examine the fear of college-aged women. Fisher and Sloan's work replicated the results of Ferraro and further strengthened the idea that fear of rape shadows the fear of other crimes. This body of research demonstrates that fear of crime in general is similar between men and women, but the fear of rape dominates fear in women and increases fear of all personal crimes.

Pain (1997) presents the concept of the socialized nature of locations and space in women's daily lives as social geographies. Pain's work demonstrates that for women there are "constraints on the use of urban space, [a] distinction between public and private space in perceptions of danger, the social construction of space into 'safe' and 'dangerous' places, and the social control of women's spaces" (Pain 1997: 231). Women are watchful when they are walking, avoid certain streets or areas, avoid certain types of transport, and intentionally choose to utilize another type of transport because of their fear of sexual attack. Results show that women are much more fearful of violent crime in public areas rather than private areas where most attacks on women occur (Pain 1997). The focus of women on their possible victimization occurring in unknown public areas influences their behavior in such a way that they are not free to go wherever they would like to go. Women have constructed safe places and avoid the dangerous places.

Warr (1985) examines the behavioral differences between men and women in response to fear. He finds that, "fear of rape is [not] universal among women." Specifically, young women are the most fearful age group and that as a group, young women are more fearful of rape than other crimes. Regarding response behavior, Warr found relatively no difference between men and women in using physical security measures such as locking doors and cars except in ownership of a weapon. However, he found significant differences in social or lifestyle precautions such as not going out alone or refusing to answer the door. Warr's (1985) results affirm the differences between men's and women's behavioral changes in response to fear of crime, and that women's social lives change to a greater degree. Feminist research expands on the assertion that for women fear of crime is the fear of rape, viewing fear as a tool for the social control of women's lives. Understanding the effect of fear on women's lives means one must examine the issue through the lens of social control.

Fear as Social Control and Deserving and Undeserving Victims

Feminist research on the fear of crime often focuses on the use of fear as a means for the informal social control of women. Madriz (1997a) argues this point throughout her research by demonstrating the creation of "good" girls and "bad" girls. These categories have led to a set of requirements by society for how women are to respond to

the fear of crime. If women fulfill the expectations of good girls, then they are innocents who are not deserving of rape. On the other hand, if women behave like bad girls and refuse to conform to such expectations, they become culpable for their victimization (Madriz 1997a; Russell 1975). All women know expectations for behavior in response to the fear of crime. Such common wisdom dictates that women cannot run alone outside at night, wear revealing clothing, drink a certain amount of alcohol, be on campus at night, and especially, women cannot leave their doors unlocked. The list is endless.

Research conducted by Madriz (1997a) demonstrates how fear of crime affects the daily lives of women. Madriz's research includes interviews conducted with women that provide insight to how fear controls their lives by examining how they respond to their own fear. Madriz argues that women conform to the expectations and requirements of their behavior initially because they are afraid and they recognize these measures are for their own safety and protection. They also conform to good girl behavior because they know the consequences of not being good: rape. Further, if attacked while engaging in bad girl behavior, they recognize that society will blame them for their victimization for they broke one of the unspoken rules (Madriz 1997a). Madriz finds that women actively make decisions about their behavior in response to these expectations and their fear; they lock their windows, they lock their doors, or they walk home with a male escort for example.

Because of the implantation of fear of crime into women's lives, women change their daily behavior in response to their constant fear of victimization. These fears which are instilled in women do not exist in men and thus men's behavior is not restricted to certain locations, dress, or activities the way women's behavior is (Madriz 1997a). Madriz (1997a) and Stanko (1995) contend that women are much more fearful despite the statistics which show that men are much more likely to become victims of violence. Madriz calls this phenomenon "the paradox of fear" and claims that the fear of crime is irrational.

Russell (1975) reiterates the construction of "good girls" and "bad girls" in her research addressing rape myths and the politics of rape through extensive interviews with rape victims. Russell argues that women labeled as good or bad girls internalize these labels to the extent that they believe they are protected from rape if they are good girls.

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Russell's work demonstrates that society's construction and embracing of rape myths further supports the use of fear of rape to control women's lives. Russell contends that because the institutions women rely on do not protect them, women must protect themselves. According to Russell, the unfortunate consequence is that often, this self-protection takes the form of restrictive behavior that limit women's freedom. However, Russell suggests women participate in proactive anti-rape organizations to facilitate the culture change necessary to end rape. Russell concludes that in order to facilitate such change, "women must start *talking* about rape: their experiences, their fears, their thoughts…this wall of silence about rape must be broken" (Russell 1975: 293).

Research conducted by Chiricos, Eschholz, and Gertz (1997) demonstrate that the correlation between media consumption and the level of fear is strongest among white middle class women. They argue that this is because media stories that serve to create fear most often depict middle class white women as victims. Such depictions lead viewers to believe that this demographic is most likely to experience victimization. The research by Cavender, Bond-Maupin, and Jurik (1999) similarly demonstrates the composition of vignettes aired on the television show *America's Most Wanted (AMW)*. *AMW* claims to be a source of empowerment for women and female victims because they give a voice to women. However, the study by Cavender, Bond-Maupin, and Jurik actually demonstrates the opposite. They find that vignettes most frequently depict women as victims, and that most often strangers attack them. While *AMW* claims to empower victims, especially women, they continue to play on the misconceptions and fear of their audiences by focusing on women as victims overall (when they are not the demographic most likely to be victimized) and as victims of strangers (when they are most often victimized by loved ones or acquaintances). Cavender, Bond-Maupin, and Jurik also note that the vignettes frequently include tips for women to protect themselves, supporting the idea that women must be accountable for their behavior and actions. Furthermore, a male most often narrates the vignettes aired on *AMW*, and the men related to the victim tell the stories. Even when the victim has survived and is involved in the show, very often they have a male family member or friend who speaks for them.

Research conducted by Sheffield (1989) and Smith and Morra (1994) examine the use of obscene and threatening phone calls to purposefully instill fear in females.

Sheffield documents cases in which men intentionally cause fear in women by calling their homes and talking in obscene or threatening manners, defining such behavior as sexual terrorism. Sheffield concludes that the purpose of these calls is to establish dominance as males over fearful women. Such phone calls often are made to women who live alone or happen to be alone at the time of the call. Women who receive obscene or threatening phone calls report that they have been affected emotionally and become especially fearful (Smith and Morra 1994). According to Smith and Morra women feel such phone calls are rarely taken seriously by police, and thus rarely report them. Both studies conclude that women are being controlled by their fear through obscene phone calls conducted by men for the sole purpose of domination, and there is little to no recourse for women to respond to this fear (Sheffield 1989; Smith and Morra 1994).

Wesely and Gaarder (2004) focus on how women negotiate their fear and embrace their love for nature and the outdoors. Women who participate in outdoor sports and recreation reap many benefits, but must do so through negotiating their fear of victimization. In concordance with research conducted by Ferraro (1996), the shadow of sexual assault exists in all circumstances for women. When they are outdoors in a place that is not their home or near their home, women feel especially vulnerable. Women rarely feel safe enjoying outdoor recreation in the location of Wesely and Gaarder's study and must find partners male or female, or at the very least bring their dogs along with them in order to feel safe. Wesely and Gaarder find that women often speak of changing their routines in response to being approached by a person who did not make them feel safe, while others ceased going to the park altogether. Women must constantly be aware of their surroundings and engage in protective behavior if they choose to enjoy the public park.

Other research examines how women negotiate their fear of crime in resistance to social control. Hollander (2004) examines the effect of self-defense classes on women's negotiation of fear and of rape in particular. Hollander (2004) finds that self-defense classes have a positive effect on women by increasing their self-esteem and empowering them by preparing them how to react to an attempted sexual assault. Women report feelings of confidence not only in their preparedness for an attack but also in their general sense of self. According to Hollander, women often respond to seeing attacks of women

in the media by seeking self-defense classes to ease their personal fear of being attacked by strangers. Hollander concludes that these classes serve to alleviate the fear of crime and victimization in women and to allow women to move about freely in their daily lives in resistance to the social control of their lives.

Feminist research also examines the understanding of deserving and undeserving victims. Chancer (2005) demonstrates the creation of deserving and undeserving victims by focusing on high-profile legal cases where women are victimized. According to Chancer, typical high-profile cases that feature stranger rapes against women often re-victimize the woman by portraying her as culpable for her rape. High-profile cases often feature stranger rapes committed against women who were breaking "the rules" of doing fear. One such case, as best described by Chancer is that of the Central Park Jogger who was attacked while running in the park at night. According to Chancer, national media quickly highlighted this case and focused on the controversy surrounding her running alone at night. Some of the public expressed their opinions of her culpability for her rape because women are expected to avoid parks at night, specifically to avoid rape or assault. Chancer concludes that such high-profile cases are popular in the media because they create much debate regarding the culpability of the victim.

Other research examining perception of victim culpability demonstrates that there are societal expectations for victims of rape that influence even nurses and therapists, groups expected to be above such stereotypical and harmful views (Alexander 1980; Idisis, Ben-David, and Ben-Nachum 2007; Richardson and May 1999). This body of research concludes that there are certain expectations for the victim to be undeserving and innocent. According to Alexander (1980), women who are married, dress conservatively, do not know their attacker, were in an acceptable location, put up a strong fight, and were seriously injured are labeled as undeserving victims. On the other hand, women who are single, dress in a more provocative way, know their assailant, were in a place where they should not have been, did not put up a strong fight, and suffered only minor scratches or injuries are deserving victims. These women were either "asking for it" or did not fight hard enough to prevent their attack so they are responsible for what happened to them (Alexander 1980). These views were consistent with nurses who saw such victims as their patients, therapists, and average people (Alexander 1980; Idisis,

Ben-David, and Ben-Nachum 2007). This body of research demonstrates the heavily gendered nature of what constitutes deserving victims and undeserving victims. Women must constantly engage in protective behavior to prevent sexual assault and to prevent being blamed for it.

The fear of crime exerts heavy influence as a gendered mechanism of social control. If women step outside appropriate boundaries, they will be culpable for their own victimization. As these studies demonstrate, the use of fear places responsibility for victimization squarely on women.

College Culture and Social Networks

Much of college culture research centers on binge drinking and the Greek system. Examining college culture research in tandem with research discussing rape on college campuses will contribute toward an understanding of how college culture is important to fear.

College women in general are at greater risk of experiencing sexual aggression, especially at colleges where most students live away from home (Buddie and Testa 2005; Fisher 1995). In particular, because of the absence of family-imposed sanctions (which are also gendered), women who live away from home are more likely to engage in risky behavior including drinking alcohol. Whereas attending college is not the deciding risk factor for sexual aggression against women, some argue that living away from home is (Buddie and Testa 2005). Fisher et al. (1998) suggest that college women are more at risk than other women are in the same age group. Not only are college women more at risk of sexual attack, but also they exhibit higher levels of fear of rape (Fisher 1995). Part of college culture for women is an increased risk of victimization and heightened levels of fear.

Hickman and Muehlenhard (1997) examined college women's perceptions and responses to stranger rape versus acquaintance rape. Results demonstrated that stranger rape is of more concern to women than acquaintance rape, and that their protective behavior is largely in response to their perceived danger of stranger rape. Despite the college women's concentration on stranger rape, they nevertheless estimate that acquaintance rape occurred more often. Still, they rarely engage in behavior to protect

them from such rape. Hickman and Muehlenhard's study of college women supports the previous research of Stanko (1995) in which women acknowledge that acquaintance rape will happen, but rarely imagine that it could happen to them.

College culture research demonstrates the proclivity for alcohol use and abuse among college students (Clapp, Segars, and Voas 2002; Durkin, Wolfe, and Clark 2005; Reifman, Watson, and McCourt 2006; Testa, VanZile-Tamsen, Livingston, and Buddie 2006; Young, Morales, McCabe, Boyd, and D'Arcy 2005). The common practice of drinking has led to a culture of alcohol through which drinking heavily has become acceptable. The culture of alcohol has become synonymous with college culture; although many studies recognize that the majority of college students do not engage in binge drinking behavior. According to research conducted by Young et al. (2005), women engage in heavy drinking to gain the attention of men at social gatherings. One of the consequent dangers of heavy drinking though, according to research conducted by Testa et al. (2006), is the increased risk to rape and sexual assault. Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) argue that some "motivated" men on campus seek out intoxicated women because they are less able to resist attack. Many researchers agree that alcohol as a component of college culture increases the chances of young women experiencing acquaintance rape.

Researchers who study fraternities and the culture of rape have found that some fraternities are rape-prone (Sanday 1996) or create a rape culture (Boswell and Spade 1996). The structure of rape-prone fraternities facilitates the frequency of rapes occurring without apology. According to Sanday, fraternities considered rape-prone rely on a high level of brotherhood and secrecy. Fraternities with such a culture are less likely to speak out against other fraternity members who have done wrong and thus they keep secrets, and admittance of wrongdoing is rare. As Martin and Hummer (1989) point out, some of these fraternities rest on the ideas of hegemonic masculinity and heterosexuality. Men in these fraternities must prove that they are men constantly and engaging in sexual activities with women is one way to prove such masculinity.

Research provides many different sexual assault rates for young women at college because it is unclear how often rapes occur in the university setting. Rape is generally underreported, but even more so in college communities. Fisher (1995:95) states,

"Underreporting is particularly acute in the case of on-campus sexual offenses. Sexual assault at colleges and universities most often occurs between students who know each other and may go unreported because the victim is embarrassed or has some relationship with the offender." Research conducted by Lev-Wiesel (2004) demonstrates through in-depth interviews with male university students that 30% of the subjects would be capable of raping under certain circumstances. Such a high percentage of college men admitting they may be capable of rape indicates a culture of rape on college campuses that calls for further examination.

Research conducted by Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) and Schwartz and Norgrady (1996) extend the previous research examining fraternities as rape-prone (Sanday 1996; Martin and Hummer 1989). They examine male peer groups as influential on men's sexual assault tendencies beyond the fraternity setting. Both studies demonstrate that male peer groups learn narrow definitions of masculinity through their interactions with each other. Men who believe sexual assault of women is acceptable and uphold popular rape myths tend to be friends with other men who hold the same ideals. These male peers influence each other and encourage each other to engage in such behavior. These studies find that such male peer groups are not limited to fraternities or athletic groups (Schwartz and DeKeseredy 1997; Schwartz and Norgrady 1996). They conclude that universities must find ways to educate and address all male students and not concentrate solely on fraternities (Schwartz and DeKeseredy 1997; Schwartz and Norgrady 1996). The college culture itself is an important influence on the sexual assault of women and exists outside drinking behavior and fraternities.

Very little research addresses social networks of women, particularly in college atmospheres. Some research discusses the importance of sororities for women for navigating a gendered world and creating emotional attachment to groups (Handler 1995). Sororities support educating their members on community issues, but rarely is acquaintance rape discussed among sorority sisters (Anderson and Danis 2007). Taboo topics such as dating violence or eating disorders only become regular topics of conversation once a representative from an official organization presents the issue to the sorority. Formal presentations given to sororities in essence tell the women that it is okay to talk about a particular topic. Anderson and Danis (2007) suggest this would be a

useful avenue to encourage women in sororities to begin talking about acquaintance rape as a real danger.

The sorority is a prime example of women's social networks structured to encourage emotional attachment to a group by creating a strong bond through sense of belonging and morale (Paxton and Moody 2003). Women who become a member of a sorority automatically enter a sisterhood and a social network with many ties. Sororities are an example of a social network of women with a more formal structure. Women meet once a week to discuss issues important to their organization and community. Such formal organization is not necessary, however, for women to feel a bond in a social network. Women as a group can find similarities and a sense of belonging in each other, especially when there is a common interest at hand.

The research presented in this chapter provides a base of knowledge from which to develop the current study. Fear of crime research guides this study through acknowledgement that women experience fear most often. Research addressing the fear of crime for women as the fear of rape provides an understanding of the dynamics of women's fear. Women are most fearful of rape committed by strangers and rarely concern themselves with the more present danger of acquaintance rape. Further, women respond to their fear of rape on a daily basis which limits their lives in varying ways. College culture literature introduces the idea that the university environment may be risky for women, but rarely elaborates beyond alcohol and the Greek system. Virtually no research addressing women's social networks exists beyond the scant literature on sororities. This study integrates fear of crime research with concepts of college culture and women's social networks to develop an understanding of how these function in the typical college setting outside of alcohol and sororities.

Research questions for this study, based on theory and previous research, are as follows: How do college women obtain information about a local serial rapist? How do they construct discourse about rape through informal networks? In turn, how does such discourse affect their behavior?

This study measures generalized fear of crime in Manhattan, Kansas, through a combination of two community surveys and establishes the dissemination of official information about the serial rapist through two local newspapers. Qualitative research is

used to examine the context of fear as it relates to the serial rapist, as well as women's perceptions and any reported behavioral change.

The purpose of this research is to determine various sources of information about a local serial rapist and its influence on young college-aged women who fit the profile of the targeted population. The overall goal of the study is to allow these young women to tell their stories, to raise awareness of their collective interests, and ultimately to empower women.

CHAPTER 3 - Methodology

This study began in early summer of 2005 when I entered data for the 2004 Riley County Police Department Citizens Survey, which addressed community concerns about police issues. As I entered responses, I noticed that rape appeared frequently in the open-ended questions, and some responses specifically referenced the serial rapist. Shortly after the report for the survey was complete, the serial rapist attacked another woman in September, 2005. As a graduate student on campus, I noted conversations with other students and young women in the community and decided that this research might be an issue worth pursuing. Two years later, I am finishing this study as my Master's thesis.

This study utilizes a mixed methods approach and incorporates feminist methodology. Methods include quantitative research to measure fear of crime in Manhattan, Kansas, and qualitative research to provide context. Quantitative research is utilized to measure general fear of crime in Manhattan, Kansas, and to gauge whether and to what extent rape is a concern to the community. Qualitative research includes content analysis and interviews, both of which provide context and depth to the study. The mixed method strategy optimizes validity when dealing with the complexity of fear of crime, together with nuances of gendering processes and college culture.

Two surveys measure fear in the community of Manhattan, Kansas, and reflects problems of concern to citizens. The surveys form the original motivation and basis for this study. The quantitative contribution in this research provides the starting point to guide the research process. The surveys document existing concerns in the community and ground this research by indicating there is a pattern of attitudes and behavior worth exploring. The qualitative data constitute the primary focus of this study by expanding on the concerns indicated in the quantitative results. Qualitative research begins with a content analysis of two local newspapers to collect information formally published to the community about the serial rapist. This study also includes group interviews conducted with young women in the community to determine their responses to the serial rapist and consisted of two formats: traditional face-to-face interviews and online group interviews. Finally, this study includes an interview conducted with a staff member at the University

Student Center to demonstrate how one formal organization addresses the issue of the serial rapist in the community. The mixed methods approach is integral to the understanding of the dynamics of the fear of crime in Manhattan, Kansas, as it relates to the serial rapist.

Feminist methodology guides the research process of this study. Feminist methodology is based on the idea that research should incorporate the subjects as knowers in the research process. By allowing women to tell their own stories, important information and perceptions are not lost in androcentric measures and interpretation that are far removed from the subjects' intentions. One form of feminist methodology as presented by Smith (1987, 2006) is that of institutional ethnography. Institutional ethnography, according to Smith (2006:2), "proposes a sociology that does not begin in theory but in the people's experience." Reinharz (1992) argues that a part of ethnography as a method is the researcher living the life of the interviewee. This study began with my own experiences as a young woman in the community of Manhattan, Kansas, and I have lived the life often described by interviewees in this study. The voices of the women who express their fear, concerns, and direct experiences are what guides this project and follows feminist epistemology.

Research Site

Manhattan, Kansas, is a unique college town in its location, size, and community. Manhattan is located in the Northeast portion of Kansas in a relatively rural area. A significant portion of the population in Manhattan consists of college students who attend Kansas State University with student enrollment at 23,141 (K-State Registrar's Office 2006). Overall, 39.2% of the population is between the ages of 18 and 24, and is nearly four times the equivalent state population of 10.3% (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000). Manhattan is also predominately white with 87.3% of the population identifying their race as white (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000). In addition to the presence of Kansas State University, Fort Riley army military base is located approximately ten miles west of Manhattan. Many soldiers stationed at Fort Riley and their families live in Manhattan. The combination of a college focused community and military families create a unique atmosphere unlike other towns in Kansas. The culture of the city of Manhattan, Kansas,

because of its uniqueness, makes this study particularly interesting. However, as Smith (1987, 2006) articulates, an institutional ethnography taps underlying structural issues, regardless of the uniqueness of a particular case study.

Kansas State University is the second largest university in the state and is at the center of culture in the local community. Many local stores boast large collections of "K-State" collectibles and the town is swathed in the school colors – purple and white. One location popular among university students is the bar district called "Aggieville," a reference to the university's foundation as an agricultural school. Many city events center on university sports, activities, and entertainment also available to the public. The university campus is located in the center of Manhattan in a concentrated area. Interviews conducted on campus were held in private offices at the Student Center, and in a classroom during the scheduled class period.

Another research site for this study includes an online social network. The virtual world of the internet has expanded exponentially throughout the last two decades. The internet is growing each year to include new tools for people to communicate and ways to disseminate information. Students enter college internet-savvy and seek ways to communicate with others in the community through traditional and through virtual venues. Local communities interact in websites designed to connect people based on their physical location such as facebook.com or myspace.com. These social-networking websites have become popular among college students and facilitate another way young people can communicate and interact (Sipress and Diaz 2007). Facebook is particularly popular among college students and receives over 20 million visitors to the website each month (Sipress and Diaz 2007).

Often members of a local community create their own website for members who live in the area. With such an expansion in the way people communicate and how information spreads, it is important to utilize the new tools available to researchers. The use of online group interviews appeal to potential participants because it requires the least amount of commitment on their part for participating in the research. They could devote the minimal amount of time required by staying in their homes and participating in the research via their computer. For this study, a social network designed for young residents of Manhattan is utilized to select a sample for this research. The creator of the website

was a young student who wanted to create an easy way for other students to spread information about parties each weekend. The website began as a small social network of friends, but grew exponentially each year. As the number of site members grew, the creator added new features to allow members to communicate with each other, and included forums where members can post topics they find interesting for discussion. The website expanded quickly to become a social network of young people concentrated in Manhattan who frequently discuss important local issues.

Recent studies have shown the importance of utilizing online focus groups as well as proving their theoretical soundness (Turney and Pocknee 2005; Moloney, Dietrich, Strickland, and Myerburg 2005; Berg 2006). Online focus groups become helpful when the desired participants are difficult to access and are an important methodological tool in the field of nursing research (Moloney et al. 2005). Online focus groups are also useful when research is needed from many different populations in different locations. The focus groups allow the researcher to conduct interviews in a way that is less invasive to participants and can increase participation rate. Online focus groups are also important when examining virtual community discourse as in the case of this research (Matei 2005). The virtual world consists of its own unique virtual communities or social networks that exist within a physical local community. These virtual communities become increasingly important as the speed of information dissemination continues to increase rapidly.

Data

The 2004 RCPD Citizens Survey is a requirement for department accreditation and was administered to 2000 homes in Riley County, Kansas (See Appendix A). The survey includes questions regarding police behavior, satisfaction with how the police handle specific crimes, contact with a RCPD police officer, feelings of safety, and open-ended questions addressing other problems in the community. The survey was administered by mail to citizens in the community followed by telephone callbacks to maximize the response rate. Open-ended questions were collapsed into categories that appeared most often in the responses to be used in statistical analysis to determine any significant relationships. For example, the question, "What do you see as the main problems, criminal or otherwise, in your community?" was collapsed into the following

categories: alcohol/drugs, college kids/noise violations, traffic violations, rape, theft/burglary/robbery, vandalism, and miscellaneous.

Demographic variables of interest include sex, college student status, age group, income, and home rental/own status. These variables describe the population of interest in this study, the female college-aged student who, because of typical college income and housing status, lives in particular areas of town. The creation of the variable "young adults" combined sex and age group to separate responses by the population of interest (young females). Contextual variables include other criminal activities not being handled in a satisfactory manner by the police, general feelings of safety in the community, unsafe areas, perceived main problems in the community, and recommendations for the police department. The RCPD Citizens Survey demonstrates the initial need for research on this topic and the presence of fear of crime and concern of rape in the Manhattan, Kansas, community.

The purpose of the Riley County Community Growth Survey was to gauge the response of the community to the impending rapid growth of the Fort Riley military base. An increase of 30,000 soldiers and their families expected to transfer to Fort Riley would inevitably affect the community of Manhattan, Kansas, where they often reside. This survey gauged responses and expectations for soldiers in general, for crime rates, community issues, and gathered information on media information sources (See Appendix B). For the purpose of this research, the survey included questions gauging rape or sexual assault as a problem in the community, expectations for increase or decrease with the impending military expansion, the frequency of use of media information types, and which sources were deemed most important to the respondent. This survey was administered through the mail and followed by a series of phone calls to respondents to maximize the response rate. As with the RCPD Citizens Survey, open-ended questions were collapsed into categories to assist with data analysis.

Demographic variables include age, sex, college student status, home own/rent status, and young adults. Contextual variables include questions which measure general feelings of trust of others, feelings of safety walking alone at night in various areas of the community, safety behavior, perceptions of how much of a problem rape/sexual assault is in the community, expectations for local crime rape/sexual assault rates after the military

expansion, beliefs about the preparedness of the RCPD to handle solving and preventing crimes, and questions about media use and importance. The Riley County Community Growth Survey expands on the questions previously asked in the RCPD Citizens Survey with questions that specifically address rape and sexual assault. Further this survey establishes the trends of media use for the demographic population of interest.

A content analysis conducted on the local newspaper *The Manhattan Mercury* and the university newspaper the *Kansas State Collegian* provides information made available to the public. The content analysis consisted of a search through each newspaper's online archives for articles about the local serial rapist and rape in general. Following the search using keywords, a separate perusal was conducted using microfilm for articles around the time each rape was committed in both newspapers. These searches yielded eighteen articles about the serial rapist and rapes later attributed to the rapist. The content analysis provides all of the information released about the serial rapist to the public through the newspapers and demonstrates the amount of information released at each point in the investigation.

This study includes group interviews through two different methods: traditional face-to-face group interviews and online group interviews conducted in private chat rooms (See Appendix C). The purpose of the group interviews is to allow women to discuss their experiences relating to the serial rapist and express how they gather their information. Group interviews allow participants to engage in conversation with each other when responding to questions, which, in turn, facilitates remembrance of instances or information that a participant in an individual interview might not recall. According to Berg (2006:144), group interviews allow researchers to "learn through discussion about conscious, subconscious, and unconscious psychological and socio-cultural characteristics and processes among various groups." Group interviews are integral to this research because they utilize and demonstrate how social networks of women in Manhattan, Kansas, function.

Two traditional face-to-face group interviews were conducted with female Kansas State University students. The first group interview consisted of fourteen women enrolled in one particular program at the university. These women are actively involved in the community and engage frequently with each other in their courses. Expectations

for findings with this group interview includes an increased overall knowledge of the serial rapist, increased awareness and implementation of protective strategies, increased use of formal media sources, how women's social networks disseminate information, and policy implications for helping the women negotiate their feelings of fear and frustration.

The second face-to-face group interview consisted of two women who work at the Student Center. These women are highly educated regarding women's issues and are exposed to a multitude of knowledge regarding rape and the serial rapist. Expectations for findings with this group interview include the highest overall knowledge of the serial rapist, reflections of knowledge and behavior before working at the Student Center, increased use of formal media sources, and policy implications for helping women to negotiate their feelings of fear and frustration. The traditional face-to-face group interviews allow the researcher to examine how these social networks function when discussing important topics. The face-to-face group interviews provide a point of comparison to the online group interviews as another analysis of the benefits of using different types of group interviews for research.

The online group interviews were conducted from a sample of members of a local online social network. A former member of the Manhattan community created a website several years ago with the initial intention to be a place to post parties for the college community. The website grew over the years to become a social network that existed in the virtual world and in the physical community of Manhattan. The website expanded to include forums in which members could talk about a variety of topics, often including those of political and sociological nature. The website no longer is a place solely to locate parties on the weekends, but now is a place for young members of the community to meet new friends and discuss topics important to them. At one point, the website expanded nationally and included over 3,000 members across the country. Since moving away from Manhattan, Kansas, and for financial reasons, the owner decided to localize the website again. It now includes approximately 300 members who live in Manhattan or nearby areas. This social website is a relatively large social network that exists almost entirely in the virtual realm. To honor the virtual nature of the social network, group interviews were conducted in online chat rooms.

Three online group interviews were conducted with nine total participants. Other participants who were unable to join the focus groups at the scheduled times submitted responses to the same questions to the researcher without the benefit of engaging in conversation with others. These focus groups consisted of women who either currently live in Manhattan, Kansas, or previously lived in Manhattan, Kansas during the time the serial rapist was active. The participants were emailed a set of questions about their basic demographics and their initial knowledge of the serial rapist to prevent identification by other participants and tainting of the initial set of knowledge (See Appendix D). The benefits of using the online group interview method is that the participants were aware that they knew the other women in the chat room but were unable to identify who they were and could remain anonymous to each other. This afforded the women the comfort of knowing they knew the other participants, but could not specifically identify who they were. They could speak freely and not be embarrassed to say certain things in front of their friends because they were anonymous to each other. Expectations for results include a limited knowledge of the serial rapist, different patterns of communication, increased discourse regarding the serial rapist, strategies for negotiating fear, and differing intakes of formal media sources.

The different forms of group interviews allow the researcher to examine how different social networks function on their own. Using different types of group interviews also allows for a point of comparison in the amount and type of information gathered between traditional face-to-face and online research. The different social networks perform different roles in understanding how women gather their information about the serial rapist, how that information affects their behavior, and what changes they believe should be made to address the issue. The group interviews also consisted of different social networks, which allow the researcher to assess how different groups of women are informed, how they convey information, how they respond to information, and how their experiences may differ. Women in some group interviews were more educated and aware of women's issues than others. These group interviews help gather information about what women know and how they respond to the serial rapist, but they also help to understand how women's social networks function in response to the presence of a serial rapist.

The purpose of the interview conducted with a staff member at the Student Center is to gain knowledge of the center's purpose and its perception of the serial rapist issue in the community (See Appendix E). The interview addressed questions regarding the purpose of the Student Center, its methods for education, perceptions of the problem of the serial rapist, and suggestions for change. The expected results of this interview are an understanding of the Student Center's role on campus in disseminating information and policy implications for providing solutions to women in the community for managing their fear.

Analysis

Analysis of the surveys consists of descriptive statistics between the basic demographic variables and variables of interest. Descriptive statistics consists of frequencies as well as crosstabulations and tests to determine any statistically significant relationships. Frequency of responses to the open-ended questions was noted and categories were constructed to allow statistical analysis of the categories.

Content analysis of the two local newspapers consists of compiling all of the facts presented about the serial rapist released in each article. Analysis also included constructing a timeline consisting of dates the rapes occurred, articles printed, important events such as the RCPD press release, and basic information contained in the article. The purpose of the content analysis is to provide a base of information about the serial rapist, to see how frequently each newspaper printed articles, and to see what information was contained in each article. Articles were examined in sequential order by newspaper to determine if information was released in earlier articles that did not repeat in more recent articles. Additionally, differences in frequency and information are examined between the two newspaper sources.

Analysis of interviews consists of repeated combing for overall themes conveyed by the interview participants. The group interviews embrace feminist methodology by allowing women to tell their stories. The purpose of these group interviews is to allow women to explain how the serial rapist plays a role in their lives through their own words. The group interviews allow the women to identify their sources of knowledge and the importance of that knowledge as women in the community. A thematic analysis is

employed in this instance to examine women's reported experiences and attitudes for both interaction and structural measures of gendering processes, fear as social control, and the potential for information sharing and empowerment through social networks. These group interviews were constructed as conversations between women who speak about the serial rapist. The women's stories inevitably differ from one another's, but themes emerge from their stories to demonstrate the issues important to the community of women in Manhattan, Kansas, about the serial rapist. The interview with the staff member at the Student Center is analyzed for themes regarding information about the serial rapist, information dissemination, rape myths, and policy implications for this study. This interview clarifies the process of information dissemination by the Student Center as a formal source of information to the community. All of the interviews in this study include women as participants and focus on allowing the women to discuss their experiences regarding the local serial rapist.

Feminist Methodology

Feminist methodology is a perspective that centers on women and women's issues and includes many specific methods for conducting research (Reinharz 1992). Feminist methodology examines the direct experiences of women by allowing them to speak for themselves rather than gauging their experiences using a "genderless" tool of measurement. The feminist perspective contends that feminist research is better at presenting a true reality than other research because it recognizes the structure and role of oppression in women's lives, rather than ignoring such issues and examining men and women in the same manner. Smith (1987: 153) argues that feminist research must begin from the standpoint of women:

> We need a method beginning from where women are as subjects. As
> subjects, as knowers, women are located in their actual objectified forms
> of sociological knowledge built upon the relations of the ruling apparatus
> and into its practices.

Above all, it looks at gender as a social construction and makes visible power dynamics in the gendering process.

Specific feminist methods can take any form in research conducted by sociologists as long as they focus on women's experiences and aim to tell women's stories through the research. Thus, feminist methods include both quantitative and qualitative research to demonstrate the full breadth of women's experiences, as well as the context in which gendered individuals operate. One method created through feminist research is the group interview. Reinharz (1992) argues that group interviews are distinctly different from focus groups used by other sociologists to gather public opinion about particular issues. Reinharz (1992) states, "Focus groups are generally not composed of 'experts' on [the] issues but rather attempt to tap the opinions of the general public(Reinharz 1992: 222-223)." Feminist group interviews are different, however, because the women who participate are the experts. That is, women are included as both subjects and knowers of experience (Reinharz 1992). Group interviews are also unique to feminist methodology because they are based on the women sharing information with each other, identifying with each other's experiences, and interacting with one another throughout the discussion. In this study, group interviews capture the essence of feminist methodology, but also remain pivotal to understanding how women's social networks, as collectivities, work.

Feminist research must also privilege women's voices in order to find the answers to their research questions and to guide policy implications. Feminist research is about creating social change and frequently includes direct policy implications (Reinharz 1992). The proactive nature of feminist methodology seeks change in women's lives and keeps this process at the forefront of the research agenda. Ultimately, feminist methodology is not about using specific tools to conduct research, but about developing each step of the research process with women's perspectives in mind and allowing their voices to tell the story. Feminist methodology begins with women's standpoints in their everyday worlds to look beyond their situated place and discover how their location came to be (Smith 2006).

This study utilizes feminist methodology by constructing group interview questions to allow women to share their experiences. Further, the construction of questions provides women the opportunity to discuss existing power structures as they perceive them. Maintaining the feminist methodological approach to this study also

included dismantling the relations of power between the researcher and participants. Before beginning the actual group interviews, the women were allowed to ask questions about the study. I reiterated that I was providing questions to guide the conversation, but that they could take the conversation any direction they wanted. Especially in the online group interviews – where visual cues are limited -- women were told that they could go back to any question if they remembered something, or if the conversation was moving in another direction too quickly. In addition, I briefly offered some of my own experiences to help develop a bond and sense of equality between the women and myself. Feminist methodology also guided the analysis of the women's discussions by privileging the women's voices to tell the story. The purpose of this research is to provide solutions for women to manage their fear and to instigate social change by providing policy implications – another guiding principle of feminist methodology. Solutions and policy implications were drawn directly from the experiences the women shared during the interviews. This research is about the women who live in the community of Manhattan, Kansas, and their experiences in their own words. The study begins with women's personal experiences and takes their stories as a departure point for ultimate change in the community.

CHAPTER 4 - Findings

This section presents findings from quantitative and qualitative research outlined in Chapter 3. These findings explore the demographic differences of the fear of crime in Manhattan, Kansas, and elaborate on that fear as it specifically applies to the local serial rapist. Quantitative research includes two surveys conducted with residents of Riley County, Kansas, which examine levels of fear among residents and specific fear responses. Qualitative research includes a content analysis of two local newspapers to establish information about the crimes formally released to the public, and interviews to elaborate on women's fear of the serial rapist by allowing them to discuss their own experiences.

Table 1 presents basic demographic information of Manhattan, Kansas, provided by the 2000 U.S. Census, reporting variables of interest to this study including age, percentage of residents enrolled in college, housing status, and gender. In addition, the table provides percentages of race and residents living below the poverty line, characteristics that often are salient to the population of study.

Table 1 Demographics of Manhattan, Kansas (44,831)

Age	
18-24	39.2% (17,562)
25-34	14.0% (6,293)
35-44	10.0% (4,476)
45-54	8.6% (3,837)
55-64	4.6% (1,961)
65+	7.8% (3,492)
College Enrollment	39.6% (17,769)
Race	
White	87.3% (39,130)
Black	4.9% (2,179)
Asian	3.9% (1,764)
Other	4.0% (1758)
Ethnicity	
Hispanic	3.5% (1,564)
Poverty	24.2% (9,475)
Housing	
Owner occupied units	42.9% (7,266)
Renter occupied units	57.1% (9,683)
Gender	
Male	51.5% (23,107)
Female	48.5% (21,724)

(U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000)

Percentages that do not total 100 indicate missing responses.

The city of Manhattan is demographically unique to the state of Kansas. The presence of Kansas State University affects the composition of residents in Manhattan, and this population is included in the 2000 U.S. Census results. The population is heavily skewed towards the 18-24 age range, which constitutes 39.2% of the total population, compared to the equivalent state population of 10.3% (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000). Even when compared to other towns in Kansas that have state universities, Manhattan, Kansas, has the highest percentage of 18-24 year olds. Thus the presence of the university is very important to understanding the dynamics of the town and gauging community perceptions. Another important factor regarding the demographics of Manhattan, Kansas, is the composition of race. Manhattan is slightly more diverse than the overall state percentages, but in general neither is very racially diverse. The population of Manhattan is 87.3% white, and all other racial groups represent less than

5% of the population. Thus the results of the research reflect the racial composition of the city.

Quantitative Research

Quantitative research for this project consists of two surveys administered to the Riley County community, where Manhattan is located. The RCPD Citizens Survey provides information regarding levels of fear of residents and main concerns in the community. The Riley County Community Growth Survey, conducted for a large project at the university, expands on results of the previous survey by defining specific fears and behavioral responses to fear. Together, these surveys demonstrate levels of fear of crime in Manhattan, Kansas, among the population of interest as well as responses to fear. In addition, the Riley County Community Growth Survey provides information on the use of media information sources, important to understanding how young women gather their information about the serial rapist.

Riley County Police Department Citizens Survey

The RCPD Citizens Survey was administered to 2000 residents of Riley County and yielded 819 usable responses. The survey questions residents about issues of satisfaction with the local police department. The purpose of the survey is to measure how satisfied the community is with the department's performance and what issues need improvement. My role in the project was to assist with administration of telephone surveys, enter data, and assist in writing the report presented to the police department. While entering data, I noticed the frequency of the mention of rape and of the serial rapist in open-ended questions on the survey. The survey included 37 responses on rape and/or the serial rapist from 34 separate respondents. Nine of these responses specifically mention the serial rapist in Manhattan, Kansas, and several more may be in reference to the serial rapes, but cannot be conclusively determined. The frequency of these responses is particularly interesting because there were zero written responses regarding rape in the 2001 survey. In addition, the responses regarding rape are entirely unsolicited. There are no questions on the survey regarding rape or sexual assault. In fact, there are no questions regarding violence or violent crimes at all on the survey. This

demonstrates the presence of a specific fear of the serial rapist in the population and became the basis of this research.

Table 2 provides basic demographics of respondents to the Citizens Survey, including age, college student status, housing status, and gender. The age categories were constructed as they appear below. Also included is race to demonstrate the diversity of the survey respondents.

Table 2 Demographics of the RCPD Citizens Survey (819)

Age	
18-25	25.6% (202)
26-35	17.3% (137)
36-45	15.8% (125)
46-55	12.4% (98)
56-65	9.8% (77)
66+	18.7% (148)
College Student	
No	70.3% (555)
Yes	23.0% (182)
Housing	
Own	57.7% (456)
Rent	40.3% (318)
Race	
White	87.6% (692)
Black	3.9% (31)
Hispanic	1.9% (15)
Asian	3.0% (24)
Other	1.7% (13)
Gender	
Male	39.1% (309)
Female	58.9% (465)

Percentages that do not total 100 indicate missing responses.

The Citizens Survey constitutes all of Riley County, but respondents residing in Manhattan consist of 92.5% of the survey respondents, which approximates the representation of the city relative to county population. Further, as the table demonstrates, the sample is relatively representative of the Manhattan community overall. The 18-25 age group and college student respondents are somewhat lower than the percentage of the overall population, but a substantial number responded to this survey nonetheless.

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Table 3 provides statistically significant relationships from the Citizens Survey between the basic demographic variables of interest (young adults, college student status, housing status) and two questions regarding safety. The young adults category includes all respondents between 18-25 years of age. *General Safety* indicates the respondent generally feels safe in their community, while the variable *Not Safe* indicates there are particular areas in the community where the respondent does not feel safe.

Table 3 RCPD Citizens Survey Feelings of Safety

	Young Males	**Young Females**	**College student**	**Non-student**	**Rent**	**Own**
General Safety	95.3% (61)	91.0% (121)	93.8% (166)	95.0% (509)	94.6% (296)	95.0% (422)
Not Safe	12.5% (8)	27.1%* (36)	21.8% (38)	19.4% (103)	20.6% (64)	19.0% (83)

Chi square test determined levels of significance. p<.05* p<.01** p<.001***

In general most respondents to the survey feel safe in their own community. There are no statistically significant relationships between young adults, college student status, or home status and general safety. As research indicates, when asked directly if they generally feel safe, people usually respond positively, but when the questions become more specific the responses begin to differ. Table 3 demonstrates that young females are more likely to identify there are areas in their community where they do not feel safe. These findings support the expectation that young women are more likely to be fearful and to identify specific areas in which they do not feel safe (Clemente and Kleiman 1977; Erskine 1974; Pain 1997).

Table 4 presents the statistically significant relationships between the population of interest and the variables *Other Crime* and *Main Problems* from the Citizens Survey. *Other Crime* consists of open-ended responses about other criminal activity the respondent feels RCPD fails to deal with adequately. *Main Problems* also consists of open-ended responses where respondents identified main problems, criminal or otherwise, in their community. Responses that appeared most frequently were collapsed into six categories for analysis.

Table 4 RCPD Citizens Survey Criminal/Community Issues

	Young Males	Young Females	College Student	Non-Student	Rent	Own
Other Crime						
Alcohol/Drugs	16.7% (1)	15.8%** (3)	20.0% (4)	18.1%** (13)	10.5% (4)	23.1%* (12)
Traffic Issues	16.7% (1)	10.5%** (2)	5.0% (1)	26.4%** (19)	21.1% (8)	26.9%* (14)
Rape	0.0% (0)	36.8%** (7)	30.0% (6)	4.2%** (3)	23.7% (9)	0.0% (0)
Violent Crime	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	5.0% (1)	1.4%** (1)	2.6% (1)	1.9%* (1)
More Patrol	0.0% (0)	5.3%** (1)	10.0% (2)	4.2%** (3)	2.6% (1)	7.7%* (4)
Stealing	50.0% (3)	10.5%** (2)	20.0% (4)	18.1%** (13)	25.8% (6)	19.2%* (10)
Other	16.7% (1)	21.1%** (4)	10.0% (2)	27.8%** (20)	23.7% (9)	21.2%* (11)
Main Problems						
Alcohol/Drugs	35.3% (12)	27.7%*** (18)	33.3% (33)	39.2%*** (94)	31.1% (46)	41.0%** (85)
Noise	16.7% (7)	15.8%*** (9)	12.1% (12)	7.9%*** (19)	13.5% (20)	6.2%** (13)
Traffic Issues	16.7% (3)	10.5%*** (5)	13.1% (13)	17.9%*** (43)	12.8% (19)	19.5%** (41)
Rape	0.0% (0)	36.8%*** (16)	14.1% (14)	2.1%*** (5)	10.1% (15)	2.4%** (5)
Stealing	14.7% (5)	12.3%*** (8)	10.1% (10)	2.9%*** (7)	7.4% (11)	3.3%** (7)
Vandalism	5.9% (2)	5.3%*** (2)	3.0% (3)	4.6%*** (11)	4.1% (6)	3.8%** (8)
Other	14.7% (5)	10.8%*** (7)	14.1% (14)	25.4%*** (61)	20.9% (31)	23.8%** (50)

Chi square test determined levels of significance. p<.05* p<.01** p<.001***

All of the demographic variables of interest demonstrate statistically significant relationships with the other crime and main problems variables. The relationships indicate that the population of interest (young females, college students, home renters) is more likely to identify rape as a main problem in the community or crime not adequately handled by the police. Most other categories of crime are relatively similar, but 36.8% of young female respondents who answered this question said that rape is a crime not handled adequately by the police while there were zero responses from young male

respondents. It is also interesting to note that while non-student respondents were more likely to provide a response to these questions, they were less likely to identify rape as a concern compared student respondents. The results of this survey demonstrate that rape is a serious concern for respondents in the community, in particular the young, female student population. The RCPD Citizens Survey establishes reported fear of crime in Manhattan, Kansas, and the presence of concern regarding rape and the serial rapist within the community.

Riley County Community Growth Survey

The Riley County Community Growth Survey provides more information on levels of fear in the community of Manhattan, Kansas, by examining feelings of safety in specific locations and self-protective behavior. This survey was administered to 2000 residents of Riley County, and 357 individuals provided usable responses. The survey measures community perceptions of the impending expansion of nearby Fort Riley military base. Relevant to this study, questions include feelings of safety, walking alone at night, and behavior such as locking doors and windows at all times. Further, this survey examines sources of information and frequency of media use among respondents. Results expand the understanding of fear of crime in Manhattan, Kansas, and sources of media information.

Table 5 reports basic demographics of respondents to the Community Growth Survey. Variables include age, college student status, housing status, race, and gender. Respondents provided their year of birth, from which age ranges were created to match the Citizens Survey.

Table 5 Demographics of the Community Growth Survey (357)

Age	
18-25	14.2% (50)
26-35	22.4% (79)
36-45	14.5% (51)
46-55	18.8% (66)
56-65	13.1% (46)
66+	17.0% (60)
College Student	
No	80.3% (281)
Yes	19.7% (69)
Housing	
Own	64.8% (230)
Rent	35.2% (125)
Race	
White	90.9% (310)
Black	2.3% (8)
Hispanic	1.8% (6)
Asian	2.3% (8)
Other	2.6% (9)
Gender	
Male	38.1% (135)
Female	61.9% (219)

Percentages that do not total 100 indicate missing responses.

The demographics of this survey are not entirely representative of the population of Manhattan, Kansas, but still include substantial responses from the target population. Racial diversity, again, is sparse, but racial composition of the sample is relatively representative of the city population. The age range 18-25 constitutes 14.2% of respondents to this survey while college students constitute 19.7% of respondents. Similar to the Citizens Survey, the sample drew from landline telephone records and thus the highly mobile student population were less likely to be included in the survey.

Table 6 exhibits the difference in means between the demographic variables of interest and perceived problems in the community from the Community Growth Survey. Perceived problems questions consisted of a list of crimes where the respondent was asked to determine how problematic a particular issue is in their community. Responses ranged on a scale of 1-10, 1 representing not a problem at all and 10 representing a very big problem. The lower the mean, the lower the concern reflected.

Table 6 Community Growth Survey Perceived Problems in the Community (difference in means)

	Young Males	Young Females	College Student	Non-Student	Rent	Own
Violence	1.89 (28)	1.92 (24)	1.87 (67)	1.92 (260)	2.04 (113)	1.83 (217)
Drug Abuse	2.39 (28)	2.63 (24)	2.43 (67)	2.52 (260)	2.43 (115)	2.55 (215)
Gang Activity	1.32 (28)	1.29 (24)	1.35 (66)	1.70** (258)	1.57 (115)	1.66 (212)
Property Crimes	2.36 (28)	2.48 (25)	2.35 (66)	2.24 (261)	2.35 (115)	2.21 (215)
Rape/Sexual Assault	2.54 (28)	3.21* (24)	2.79 (67)	2.29** (257)	2.57 (114)	2.29* (213)
Domestic Abuse	2.14 (28)	2.57 (23)	2.41 (63)	2.22 (254)	2.31 (110)	2.22 (210)
Child Abuse/Neglect	2.21 (28)	2.27 (22)	2.24 (63)	2.11 (253)	2.21 (110)	2.09 (209)
Other	2.08 (12)	2.36 (11)	2.19 (36)	1.96 (184)	2.03 (63)	1.96 (159)

t-test determined significant difference in means

Few significant differences in means appear among these variables; however three of the four significant differences are in the rape/sexual assault category. Young females are more likely than young males to identify rape and sexual assault as a problem in the community. College students and renters are also more likely to identify rape and sexual assault as a problem. These significant differences are important because they demonstrate that the population of interest in this research is more concerned with rape and sexual assault and see it as a bigger problem in the community.

Table 7 presents statistically significant relationships between the population of interest variables and safety questions from the Community Growth Survey. The honest and trust variables refer to the respondent's agreement that in general they believe people are honest or trustworthy. The general safety variable indicates feelings of safety in general in the community. The set of walking alone variables (downtown, Aggieville, neighborhood) refer to respondent's agreement that they feel safe walking alone at night in these particular areas. The strategies variables lock car, lock home, lock windows refer to agreement with always locking their car, home, or windows. The never alone variable indicates agreement with the statement that they never go out alone at night.

Finally, the own weapon variable indicates the respondent's agreement that they own some type of weapon for protection, including pepper spray.

Table 7 Community Growth Survey Feelings of Safety and Strategies

	Young Males	Young Females	College Student	Non-Student	Rent Home	Own Home
Honesty	70.4% (19)	63.0% (17)	73.9% (51)	86.7%** (241)	78.0% (96)	87.3%* (199)
Trust	66.7% (18)	70.4% (19)	69.6% (48)	79.9% (222)	70.7% (87)	81.6%* (186)
General Safety	92.6% (25)	70.4%* (19)	91.3% (63)	91.3% (252)	86.1% (105)	93.8%* (212)
Walking Alone						
Downtown	74.1% (20)	44.4%* (12)	62.3% (43)	59.3% (162)	61.0% (75)	58.1% (129)
Aggieville	66.7% (18)	37.0%* (10)	50.7% (35)	42.8% (115)	46.7% (57)	42.9% (94)
Neighborhood	88.9% (24)	40.7%*** (11)	65.2% (45)	73.4% (201)	65.9% (81)	73.7% (165)
Strategies						
Lock Car	42.9% (12)	55.6% (15)	50.7% (35)	57.5% (157)	53.7% (65)	57.8% (130)
Never Alone	25.0% (7)	33.3% (9)	21.7% (15)	30.3% (84)	30.6% (38)	28.8% (65)
Lock Home	50.0% (14)	81.5%* (22)	71.0% (49)	69.0% (191)	74.8% (92)	66.5% (151)
Lock Windows	50.0% (14)	85.2%** (23)	65.2% (45)	65.9% (182)	66.9% (81)	65.4% (149)
Own Weapon	42.9% (12)	51.9% (14)	39.1% (27)	33.7% (92)	30.9% (38)	37.1% (82)

Chi square test determined levels of significance. p<.05* p<.01** p<.001***

Young adults tend to agree that most people are honest or trustworthy, but college students and home renters tend to disagree. This survey demonstrates that young females are less likely to agree that they feel safe in their community, unlike the previous survey. The differences could be due to the placement of the question on the Community Growth survey, which was between other questions already addressing safety issues and fear.

Statistically significant relationships exist between young adults and all three variables regarding walking alone at night in various areas of town. Young women are less likely to agree that they feel safe walking alone at night in downtown, Aggieville, or in their own neighborhood. It is interesting to note that the relationship between young

females and walking alone at night in their neighborhood has a stronger relationship than the more "urban" areas of downtown and Aggieville. The relationship demonstrates a significant issue in the community where men are comfortable in their neighborhoods much more than women are.

Young females are more likely to engage in safety precautions to protect themselves such as always locking doors and windows. The statistically significant relationship is stronger between young females and locking windows and indicates that window locking is apparently a larger concern for the young female population. It is also interesting to note that there is not a statistically significant relationship between young adults and owning a weapon, but there is between sex of all respondents and owning a weapon. The relationship between sex and owning a weapon shows that men are more likely to own a weapon for protection than women are. Despite the elevated levels of fear of women, they are less likely to own a weapon for protection as demonstrated by research conducted by Warr (1985). The significant relationship does not exist between young adults and weapon ownership; this is likely because young women are encouraged to carry a pepper spray keychain by various campus organizations. Pepper spray is specifically mentioned as included in the own weapon question and thus increases the positive response to that question among young female respondents. In general, Table 7 demonstrates that young women are more fearful than their male counterparts are and that they are more likely to engage in safety strategies to protect themselves.

Table 8 presents statistically significant relationships between the population of interest and various media sources from the Community Growth Survey. The survey presented various media sources and a range of frequent use from rarely to several times a day. Table 8 includes an examination of the collapsed categories of once a day and several times a day to establish which sources the population of interest use most frequently.

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Table 8 Community Growth Survey Information Sources Frequent Use (Daily or more)

	Young Males	Young Females	College Student	Non-Student	Rent Home	Own Home
Internet	73.1% (19)	44.0%* (11)	49.2% (31)	40.9% (90)	45.4% (49)	41.5% (73)
Radio	55.6% (15)	61.5% (16)	56.3% (36)	74.5%** (181)	63.7% (72)	74.7%* (148)
Television	78.6% (22)	61.5% (16)	62.1% (41)	78.9%** (195)	65.8% (75)	81.3%** (165)
Newspaper	77.8% (21)	48.0%* (12)	62.1% (41)	66.8% (169(	50.9% (58)	74.2%*** (155)
Friends	61.5% (16)	61.5% (16)	63.1% (41)	68.0% (164)	63.1% (70)	70.2% (139)
Family	37.0% (10)	40.0% (10)	29.7% (19)	62.3%*** (147)	38.5% (42)	64.4%*** (125)
Other	33.3% (1)	66.7% (2)	28.6% (2)	56.0% (14)	50.0% (7)	50.0% (10)

Chi square test determined levels of significance. $p<.05*$ $p<.01**$ $p<.001***$

In general this table demonstrates that young females, college students, and home renters all engage in the frequent use of media information sources. The specific sources that each group are more likely to frequently use differ, but across the board they are equally likely to utilize different media information sources at least once a day. The responses to the use of media information sources demonstrate that all groups utilize some form of media relatively frequently to gather their information. Young females in this study use a variety sources, but report most frequent use of radio, television, and friends for news information.

The descriptive analysis of the RCPD Citizens Survey and the Riley County Community Growth Survey demonstrate a substantial amount of fear in the young, female, student population in Manhattan, Kansas. The results show that young women are more likely to be fearful, less likely to feel safe in particular areas, and more likely to engage in protective strategies. The qualitative analysis presented in the next section first examines the information regarding the serial rapist available to the public through the local newspapers. Further it explores the nature of fear as it relates to the serial rapist among young women in the community. Finally, the qualitative research examines the purpose of the Student Center and its role in information dissemination.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research for this project consists of three components. First, a content analysis of the two local newspapers provides all of the information publicly released about the serial rapist. The content analysis also provides understanding of how each newspaper reacts to the serial rapist and the frequency of information released. Second, group interviews demonstrate perspectives of women in the community regarding the serial rapist and expand on results of the surveys to demonstrate how the presence of a serial rapist in a small college community affects fear and behavior of women. Third, an in-depth interview with a staff member at the Student Center provides insight from a professional in the community on the issue of rape and the serial rapist in particular.

Content Analysis

Manhattan, Kansas, boasts two widely distributed local newspapers. The city newspaper is *The Manhattan Mercury*, an afternoon paper available by subscription, at grocery stores, at convenience stores, and is free on campus to students with their student ID. Most of the articles in the newspaper are also available free on the official newspaper website. The *Kansas State Collegian* is the student newspaper operated on campus and distributed throughout the community. The student newspaper distributed free at bookstores and convenience stores throughout the community off campus is also available online. The *Kansas State Collegian* is printed daily on weekdays during the academic year except for state and student holidays and ceases printing during finals week. During the summer term, the newspaper prints once weekly on Wednesdays during June and July. Both newspapers are available to all members of the community, but the target audiences differ.

Table 9 presents a timeline of rapes committed by the serial rapist and other relevant events in combination with articles printed in the *Kansas State Collegian.* This list represents all articles identified through a search of archives, reviewing articles readily available to students.

Table 9 *Kansas State Collegian* **Articles and Timeline**

Date	Information
October 1, 2000 Sun	*First rape*
August 11, 2001 Sat	*Second rape*
March 29, 2002 Fri	*Third rape*
April 1, 2002	Intruder rape in NW Manhattan, 4:00-4:30am, brief suspect description, would not say if she was a student (does not mention a possible connection to other rapes)
May 30, 2003Fri	*Fourth rape*
June 14, 2004 Mon	*Fifth rape*
June 16, 2004	Rape in NW Manhattan apartment, 4:30-4:55am, would not identify complex, too early to tell if related to other similar incidents
June 18, 2004 Fri	*RCPD Press Release, acknowledging the presence of a serial rapist in Manhattan, Kansas*
June 23, 2004	Nothing on the front cover, a small article inside mentions a stranger rape in town that was not linked to the rape the week before.
September 5, 2005 Mon	*Sixth rape*
September 14, 2005	The most recent rape is believed to be by the serial rapist, description of assailant, targets college-aged women, all except most recent in apartment complexes.
October 9, 2005 Sun	*Attempted attack on a woman by a man who had similarities*
October 11, 2005	Woman fought off attacker with a similar description to the serial rapist, 1:00-2:00am, RCPD did not officially connect this incident but noted the similarities
June 21, 2006	Lawrence police speculate a serial rapist operating in Lawrence may be connected to the serial rapist in Manhattan, RCPD said it was possible but would not comment further.

The articles that appear in the *Kansas State Collegian* are few and contain very little information. The first article printed about a possible series of rapes in the community appeared June 16, 2004, after the fifth rape. The article provided information about the incident, including the anticipated charges, and that it was too early to determine if this incident could be connected to a series of rapes in the same area of town during the previous few years. This article did provide a unique piece of information not found elsewhere, describing what the charges would be if the suspect were caught. An RCPD officer stated, "The charges…would be rape, aggravated sodomy and aggravated burglary" (Seel 2004). This statement offers no elaboration.

Two days after the June 16, 2004, article, RCPD officially announced that they were investigating a series of five rapes that they believe are the work of the same individual. The following newspaper published on June 23, 2004, did not have any articles published on the front page or inside regarding the recent developments. The information released by the police department includes the description of all of the victims as college-aged females residing in highly student populated areas of Manhattan, but the student newspaper did not publish an article including this information. Another article did not appear until September 14, 2005 after the sixth rape when the *Kansas State Collegian* confirmed the serial rapist was targeting college-aged women.

The articles published by the *Kansas State Collegian* address the most recent incident, provide a brief background, and provide one or two basic safety tips. The articles do not adequately provide enough of the available information to the students about the serial rapist. The RCPD has offered more information about the serial rapist than is published in these articles, and they do not offer solutions to women for safety. Such information is included in articles published by *The Manhattan Mercury.* In addition, one article in particular printed incorrect information by categorizing the attempted attack in October 2005 as an "attempted rape" (Shrimplin 2006). The attempted attack – categorized as an attempted burglary by the RCPD – was never confirmed as work of the serial rapist. Incorrectly categorizing the attack as an attempted rape could cause women to believe the serial rapist is increasing his attacks in frequency and they are at increased danger.

The *Kansas State Collegian* tends only to publish articles immediately following an incident and does not publish follow-up articles to provide further information. There was no update article stating that the two possibly connected serial rapists were, in fact, not the same person. Perhaps more concerning is that there was no follow up to the June 2004 rape after the police released an official statement that a serial rapist was active in Manhattan and targeting college-aged women. This piece of information is important to the young women who constitute a large portion of *Kansas State Collegian* readers, yet it did not appear in the student newspaper until months later.

Table 10 provides the same timeline presented in Table 9, accompanied by articles published in *The Manhattan Mercury.* Articles in *The Manhattan Mercury*

archives were better indexed and more easily accessible. Overall there are more articles published by this newspaper about the serial rapist than in the student newspaper and the articles on average were longer and more detailed.

Table 10 *The Manhattan Mercury* **Articles and Timeline**

Date	Information
October 1, 2000	*First rape*
August 11, 2001	*Second rape*
March 29, 2002	*Third rape*
May 30, 2003	*Fourth rape*
May 30, 2003	Rape in N-central area, could be related to rapes in UC complex, brief description
June 27, 2003	Identifies presence of possible serial rapist, apartment complex's responses to rapes, suggestions for protection
Sub-article	Information from mother of a victim, description of victims
June 14, 2004	*Fifth rape*
June 14, 2004	Rape in NW area, upstairs apartment, 4:30-4:55am, description, would not mention which complex, police never said other rapes were related
June 18, 2004	*RCPD Press Release, acknowledging the presence of a serial rapist in Manhattan, Kansas*
June 18, 2004	Police officially state that they believe a series of rapes in apartments are related, safety precautions, will not release apartment complexes where the rapes have occurred.
June 20, 2004	Apartment complex responses to latest information, safety precautions
June 25, 2004	Safety precautions in response to serial rapist and acquaintance rape, list of community resources
September 5, 2005	*Sixth rape*
September 6, 2005	Police Blotter: rape in N-central Manhattan, unknown man woken her up, brief description, 3:00-4:00am
September 13, 2005	Rape last week related, this rape occurred in a house, description, would not disclose location but near campus, may stalk victims before raping them
September 14, 2005	RCPD discuss the investigation, have developed a profile but will not discuss profile, will not discuss DNA
September 18, 2005	Safety precautions in response to serial rapist and acquaintance rape, description, community resources
October 9, 2005	*Attempted attack on a woman by a man who had a similar description as the serial rapist*
October 10, 2005	Burglary suspect similar to rapist, provides address and victim
March 19, 2006	RCPD discusses serial rapist, investigation, description, safety precautions,

The first article to appear in the newspaper specifically addressing a series of rapes was printed May 30, 2003, following the fourth rape. This article provides information directly from police such as dates and locations of the first three rapes and that they occurred in the University Commons apartment complex. *The Manhattan Mercury* includes the location of the first three rapes in many of their articles but cease to identify the specific apartment complex after their June 20, 2004 article.

In June of 2003, *The Manhattan Mercury* published an article about a possible rapist preying on students, which appears almost a year before the police officially admit that a serial rapist exists. A brief interview with a mother of one of the rape victims offers details not officially released, nor confirmed by the police department. The mother states that the women attacked all had similar body types and hair color and length (long and blonde). The legitimacy of this information is left to the reader to decide and will likely later appear in community discourse regarding the serial rapist. Details describing a "preferred victim" are important pieces of information, as women in the group interviews illustrate.

Also of interest in this article is an interview conducted with a regional manager of the University Commons apartment complex who denies connection to the rapes, repeatedly stating that the connection is alleged. The manager repeats police statements that there were no signs of forced entry and details the security locks and emergency alert buttons in each apartment. He says, "If someone has come in, it's because of neglect…this place is just as safe as Fort Knox as long as you recognize that you need to take the measures that you, as an individual, are responsible for" (Daugherty 2003b). Statements provided by the regional manager exemplify expectations of women to engage in specific protective behavior in response to fear of crime. The perspective of the regional manager is that the women the serial rapist attacked were irresponsible because they did not lock their doors and windows, and thus are responsible for their own victimization.

Subsequent articles provide the most recent information available about the serial rapist and brief summaries of the case history. Most of the articles provided by *The Manhattan Mercury* include safety tips for women to protect themselves both from the serial rapist and the more likely threat of acquaintance rape. Articles also include a brief

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examination of what the apartment complexes in the area are doing to inform their tenants. The apartment complexes claim they are informing their residents, but several residents at University Commons said they were unaware of recent rape. They reiterated that they only knew of the previous rapes because of Crime Stoppers commercials that aired on television. Managers at two apartment complexes sent or planned to send letters to their residents informing them of the recent rape in the area and to take safety precautions.

Other subsequent articles include more details about the rapes not printed in the student newspaper. For example, *The Manhattan Mercury* presents the details that all of the victims so far have been white, that there has been no evidence of forced entry and that he may enter through unlocked doors or windows. An RCPD officer states, "He may also have access to keys or know how to defeat door locks in a way that leaves no indication of tampering" (Hobson 2005b). Another officer discusses how the serial rapist is always very prepared for his crimes, "He is prepared and is already in the home (when the victim comes home) or makes his way in when the victim is asleep" (Elliott 2006). The officer also mentioned that the police department would be "mounting a major awareness campaign" and then offered safety precautions including keeping doors locked during the day, "even if you are at home or leave for only a few minutes" (Elliott 2006).

The articles published by this newspaper constitute the largest collection of information publicly and easily available to the public about the serial rapist. They offer a more thorough examination of the rapes occurring in Manhattan, Kansas, and contain much more information about the rapist, his actions, the investigation, and safety precautions for women in the community. In comparison, the student newspaper published far less information by quantity and content. It is possible that more articles exist in the student newspaper about the serial rapist; however they are very difficult to find in the archives. On the other hand, *The Manhattan Mercury* publishes articles more frequently and provides more details on average.

The articles in both newspapers present different information each time. Some details offered in earlier articles do not repeat in subsequent publications. The most recent articles published in *The Mercury* do not identify University Commons as the location of the first three rapes, and none of the student newspaper articles identifies the

apartment complex heavily populated by students. It is difficult for any reader to be sure they have all of the information regarding the serial rapist unless they search the archives of the newspapers and read each article. Further, contradictory information is difficult to trace.

Finally, the difference in the frequency and quality of articles published in *The Manhattan Mercury* and the *Kansas State Collegian* are cause for concern. The target audience of the student newspaper is the student population, yet the newspaper publishes far fewer articles about the serial rapist targeting college-aged females who constitute a large portion of their readers. The student newspaper did not publish an article the week following the official acknowledgement of the police department that a serial rapist was targeting college-aged females in apartment complexes. The importance of both newspapers and their influence on women in the community is further examined through the collection of group interviews conducted for this study.

Group Interviews

Group interviews consisted of college-aged females residing in or who formerly resided in Manhattan, Kansas, during the active time of the serial rapist. The group interviews sampled different social networks of women and were conducted in two formats: face-to-face and online. The group interviews were constructed with the same list of questions, but the women in the group were allowed to direct the discussion. The group interviews discuss the perceptions, feelings, and behavior of young women in the community about the serial rapist. The young women discuss what they know about the serial rapist, information sources, how that information affects their fear and behavior, and their perceptions of the overall issue.

Table 11 exhibits group interview participants and demographic variables of interest. All women were given pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality. The table provides the women's age, self-identified race/ethnicity, the number of years they lived in Manhattan and the group interview they participated in.

Table 11 Group Interview Participants

Name	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Years in Manhattan	Group
Kathy	23	Caucasian	2	Online 1
Erin	22	Caucasian	4 ½	Online 1
Jessica	22	Caucasian	3 ½	Online 1
Tori	21	Caucasian	3	Online 2
Amy	22	Caucasian	2	Online 2
Molly	19	Caucasian	2	Online 3
Christina	20	Caucasian	5	Online 3
Lisa	21	Caucasian	3	Online 3
Rachel	25	Caucasian	6	Online 3
Brooke	22	Caucasian	4	Online 4
Sarah	22	Filipina/Caucasian	3	Online 4
Ashley	27	Caucasian	5	Online 4
Vanessa	22	Caucasian	5	Face-to-face1
Carrie	21	Caucasian	18	Face-to-face1
Laura	21	Caucasian	2 ½	Face-to-face1
Amanda	21	Caucasian	4	Face-to-face1
Emily	20	Caucasian	3	Face-to-face1
Monique	22	African-American	5	Face-to-face1
Robyn	22	Caucasian	4	Face-to-face1
Mindy	22	Caucasian	4	Face-to-face1
Meredith	19	Caucasian	1	Face-to-face1
Eileen	19	Caucasian	1 ½	Face-to-face1
Melissa	20	Caucasian	20	Face-to-face1
Alexis	23	Caucasian	4	Face-to-face2
Cassandra	22	Mexican-American	4	Face-to-face2

The majority of women who participated in the group interviews self-identified as white, with only three women who identified themselves as another race/ethnicity. The women ranged in age from 18 to 27, and most women lived in Manhattan between one and six years. Three online group interviews were conducted, consisting of nine women total. Online group four includes women who were not able to participate in a scheduled group interview, but responded to the same set of questions in a survey format. Two face-to-face group interviews were conducted on campus with university students. The first group interview consisted of eleven women from a campus course, and the second consisted of two student workers at the Student Center. The findings of both face-to-face and online group interviews are presented collectively.

Initial Knowledge

The women who participated in the group interviews demonstrated varying degrees of knowledge about the serial rapist. The women were asked individually, using a questionnaire, to provide basic knowledge of the serial rapist before beginning the group interviews. Gathering this information prior to discussion prevents the influence of other members on the individual's base of knowledge. The general findings of the information known about the serial rapist exclude the responses from the women who work at the Student Center. Base responses were mostly short, and thus a summary of the responses is provided.

Almost all of the women are aware that there is a serial rapist in Manhattan; Monique admits, "I didn't know that he existed until the day we first discussed the group interview," despite her having been a resident of Manhattan for five years. Meredith demonstrates what young women who are new to Manhattan experience:

> I don't really know a whole lot about the rapist. This being my first year I
> was told never to walk alone and stay in lighted areas at night. I only
> realized this semester that there was a serial rapist, before I had just
> thought there were numerous rapes, but not that they were connected.

Meredith is a freshman at the university and since she began school there have been no rapes attributed to the serial rapist, nor have there been articles in either newspaper about the rapist. Meredith only knows of the serial rapist because of interaction with her female friends.

Most of the women are unsure of the number of rapes he has committed, others are more sure but incorrect, and others are correct. The responses range from one to dozens, but the majority of responses are either five or six rapes. Brooke says, "I think I remember hearing about four, but I know more have been committed that haven't been released." The women generally do not know the number of rapes committed by the serial rapist, and those who do know the correct number are still unsure of their answer.

Overwhelmingly, the women are unaware of the locations where the rapes occurred. Some women know that they happened in apartment complexes in Manhattan, but not the general location of town. In fact, with the exception of the women interviewed who worked at the Student Center, Lisa is the only woman to state the rapes

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occurred north of campus. All of the rapes occurred in the north central/northwest part of town, and several were in the same apartment complex. Brooke believes, "Generally they occur by City Park or in the neighborhood just east of Manhattan Ave.," which is highly populated by students. Similarly, Amy says the rapes happened, "Mainly [in] apartment complexes, and one attempt on a sidewalk at night." Amy is referring to a rape featured by Crime Stoppers television advertisements that occurred just east of campus on the sidewalk but was not attributed to the serial rapist. If women's fear and behavior respond to their belief in where the rapes are occurring, their changes in behavior and heightened fear are misguided.

The women all believe they know how the serial rapist enters the homes of victims. Erin, like several other women, says she believes the serial rapist enters, "through balconies or sliding doors on apartments." Tori notes, "He stalks women and gets in through unlocked doors." Most women believe he enters through windows as well. The consistency and assuredness of their answers to this question is interesting because the police have not confirmed how they believe he enters the home. Alternatively, Rachel believes the serial rapist, "Knocks on the door and then barges in," which conflicts with the information released by the police. In particular, word from the police indicates that there is no sign of forced entry, and they report being unsure of how he enters the home.

Most of the women cannot remember the description of the serial rapist. A few report specifics. For example, Erin says, "I think he is described as a white male with dark hair in his late 20's early 30's." Tori recalls his description as, "Caucasian male between 20-30 years old wearing all black, 5'10" to 6'." Amy says, "All I remember hearing was blue eyes." The responses to this question vary, and several women cannot provide a description at all, Ashley says outright, "I have NO idea." The description of the serial rapist appeared in every article about the rapes and has changed little throughout the years. That this particular population, which constitutes the apparent targeted demographic, cannot remember the description is a problem.

Women were also asked how the police knew the serial rapist had committed a rape. The police have not released such information, but the purpose of the question is to gauge the information spread through social networks in the community. Erin believes,

"The method of the rape and the way he enters the house and the kind of victims he targets" help the police determine if the serial rapist committed the rape. Sarah similarly says the "same sequence of events, entering/leaving places the same way" assists police. As the women demonstrate through their responses to this question, quite a bit of information circulated among women in the community that was not confirmed by the police department. It is difficult for women to tell which information the police have confirmed and which information originates solely from word of mouth. Much of this seems due to the fact that articles are not printed regularly and are not comprehensive.

The final question used to gauge general knowledge of the serial rapist asked for any other information that women could recall. Carrie says, "He's been consistent and yearly," referring to the pattern the serial rapist seems to follow by committing a rape approximately once a year. Cassandra says, "I have heard that he enters the residence during the day and waits for [the] victim to come home." Cassandra's information refers to a detail that women can use to protect themselves. If they believe he enters the residence during the day, women can check their residences when they arrive home and garner some sense of safety when they find no one.

Amy says, "He had started to wear a ski mask because it got out that he had blue eyes; I heard one rumor that he was actually the same man who had committed the rapes in the 70s." The information Amy speaks of came from informal discussions with friends and classmates. She refers to a serial rapist that operated in Manhattan, Kansas, who targeted young women 30 years ago. The information that the rapist is the same as one much earlier did not originate from police information or information spread through friends originating with victims. The estimated age of the serial rapist is in his 20s or 30s, which, if true, makes that theory impossible.

Kathy mentions, "I've heard that he uses protection and makes them shower afterwards." Kathy's information goes against Amy's belief that DNA connects the crimes together. Two women have heard conflicting pieces of information through informal sources about the serial rapist. When women receive conflicting pieces of information they have difficulty determining truth from rumor, and what should affect their behavior and fear.

Erin is very firm in her belief that the serial rapist attacks women in the city park area. She says, "I heard that he targets women jogging or walking in the park every day, or women that live near the park." Erin has changed her behavior based on her misinformation that the serial rapist attacks women in and near the city park on the opposite side of town from where the rapes actually occurred. The sources of information that the women are receiving vary widely and are important to understanding how women construct and understand their knowledge of the serial rapist.

Information Sources

The young women interviewed utilize multiple sources to gather information about the serial rapist including both formal and informal sources. Several women reported first hearing about the serial rapist through a newspaper or Crime Stoppers television ad. Kathy learned from the police, "we had a discussion about it at school don't remember when though…the police department came in and pulled the school in the break room." Kathy's situation was rare however, and she was the only woman who attended a presentation by the RCPD.

Overwhelmingly though, women state they receive the most information from other women and friends. Vanessa, one of four women in a sorority says, "I was at chapter, one of the officers announced it was our topic of the week [for] 'risk management' told us to be aware… [they told us to] run together down to city park." Sarah also first learned of the serial rapist from a friend of hers:

> A friend of a friend was raped, and had heard it was happening more and
> more in town in the area I lived at the time. My friend had told me and
> recommended no more running alone at night, things of the sort…[then] I
> told as many females that I knew about the rapist.

Most women learned as Sarah did from friends, and most of the women talk about the serial rapist with mostly women. Erin discusses the nature of her discussions with others:

> The female friends were the ones that had been raped (or claim to have
> been). Not by the "rapist" though. And the male friends were usually
> ones that did have female friends that DID claim to have been raped by the
> serial rapist. [parenthesis in original]

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The supposed connections to victims of the serial rapist cause concern in women who believe they have connections through friends and the information becomes a bit more reliable.

Although studies have shown that increased volumes of crime in the media increases fear (Cavender, Bond-Maupin, and Jurik 1999; Chiricos, Eschholz, and Gertz 1997; Glassner 1999), the opposite of too little information also causes fear and increases frustration, sometimes escalating to anger as the women demonstrate. The women believe that they are not getting enough information from the police department or the newspapers. Sarah distrusts the media in general, "more than half the time the media is only 75% correct in what they are broadcasting." Jessica also criticizes the newspapers, "It seems almost [as] if the newspapers are keeping us in the dark, they really don't care too much about public safety with this guy."

Amanda also refers to the lack of information, "I think the papers stuck to northeast Manhattan [as the locations]…well where?" While Amy expresses her distrust of the police department, "I heard that the police were covering up quite a bit of stuff so it wouldn't be reported. They said they didn't want to cause a panic." Erin reiterates:

> I kind of brush it off when I read about it in the paper, cause like it was stated before, they don't want to go into too much detail, look bad, etc…but when I talk to other women, it's easy to gather more info (reliable or not). [parenthesis in original]

Since the women feel that the police and newspapers are intentionally withholding information from them about the serial rapist, they turn to their friends as the most important source of information in this case.

At the same time that women rely on their friends for most of their information, they scrutinize the source as not entirely legitimate.   Jessica says:

> There really isn't one source you can trust over another, due to all the speculation involved in these cases. I would mostly rely on a first hand source like a newspaper or TV story/ad, because a lot of talk and additions can be added or vital information taken out during word of mouth transfers.

They know that information can be misconstrued or blown out of proportion, but they are caught in a bind of receiving little information from formal sources and a lot of unconfirmed information from informal sources. Similarly Erin laments:

> I just wish that in general the police and the city itself would do more to make the public aware. I usually have to rely on word of mouth to hear about incidents, so you can't really trust the info then.

Despite having to wade through the information they get from their friends to decipher what is true, women admit that they rely on their friends for information the most.

No matter the source, women respond to information they hear with fear and by changing their behavior. Most women receive more information through their social networks of women and determine that is their most important source of information regarding the serial rapist. The information presented to young women in the community affects their behavior and fear to varying degrees, but most of these women are fearful of the serial rapist.

Behavior, Social Networks, and Fear of Crime

The presence of the serial rapist has an effect on the behavior and fear of women, but the different sources that women utilize affect them in different ways. Women react differently when questioned if their behavior has changed because of the serial rapist or if they are fearful of him. Some women are willing to admit that they changed their behavior directly because of information they heard about the serial rapist, as demonstrated by Amy:

> I was a lot more cautious. I didn't go out quite as much, because I didn't want to have to walk home alone…I locked the doors and windows religiously after [learning about him]…when I heard that he raped a woman in a bar, I stopped going to bars… I definitely felt a lot more scared at night. I can remember waking up to noises all night and being convinced it was the rapist.

Amy changed her behavior based on information she heard that he came in through unlocked doors or windows and incorrect information that he committed a rape in a bar. She goes on to say:

It also made me a little less outgoing. I used to be very outgoing, and

would talk to anyone, and everyone was invited to my house for parties,

but after the rapist came around, I found myself not talking to men I didn't

know and making sure that I knew whoever showed up at my house.

Knowing about the serial rapist did not just change Amy's behavior; it changed

who she *was* as a person.

Other women deny they are afraid, but through discussion admit that they engage

in particular behavior in response to fear. Reluctance to admit fear illustrates the

discussion by Mehta and Bondi (1999) concerning discourse of sensibility. Women

sometimes do not consider such behavioral responses to be fear because they believe they

are sensible and are confirmed sensible through interaction with other women.

Despite the source or legitimacy of the source, information that women gather

about the serial rapist affects their behavior and fear. As Brooke demonstrates:

I was more attentive when arriving home late. When I dressed up I wore

my hair down to avoid hair being able to be grabbed easily. I always kept

the sharp part of the key in my hand when walking anywhere late. I

avoided walking alone when it got dark. I avoided City Park at night.

Also, only got drunk with close friends that I trusted.

Brooke made many changes because her fear of the serial rapist.

Some behavior responses are considered by many expected responses such as

locking doors, but women's feelings are also affected by knowing the serial rapist is out

there. Tori discusses her changes:

I feel that I am more cautious when I am out at night. I also try to lock my

doors and follow basic precautions with my apartment. I feel

worried…not only for myself but also for my female friends…I lock my

doors when I am gone. I live on the second floor so I am not as worried

about locking my windows. I probably should though every time I leave.

Tori's behavior reflects basic safety precautions but she is unaware that the serial rapist

enters upstairs apartments, and his point of entry may still be windows. Carrie expresses

a similar reaction, "I probably would [lock my windows], except I live on the third floor,

but if I lived on the first floor I would [lock my windows]."   These responses

demonstrate how women are expected to do gender, or do fear by acknowledging that they should lock their windows and how reluctant they are to admit that they do not. Their responses also demonstrate Foucault's (1977) concept of social control of the soul, through their embarrassment that they do not participate in an expected response to fear and Tori's worry about herself and her female friends.

Even women who are knowledgeable about the likelihood of stranger rape compared to acquaintance rape express concern as Alexis, a student worker at the Student Center demonstrates:

It makes the issue of a stranger rapist very realistic, because it is realistic…my concern is more towards the acquaintance rapist because it happens much more often than the man in the bushes. But since I do know that there is really a man that is out there creeping around as the man in the bushes it is realistic that that occurs. So when I am walking by myself walking to a car, deciding whether to close my windows at night…I think of him, not just a stranger rapist in general.

Alexis refers to the general fear women have of stranger rape, but how the presence of the serial rapist personalizes that fear. She does not think of any man who can attack her, but she thinks of a specific man, the serial rapist. Cassandra responds to Alexis:

Another thing, that like walking across campus, you said you don't do that alone. Like that's sad that we can't enjoy that, because I know when it starts to get warm outside and I just…it's such a gorgeous night you just want to walk home from the Union and it's ok…oh wait… let me call someone, I don't want to do that alone.

Cassandra regrets not having the freedom to enjoy nice weather by walking home alone. Her response demonstrates how fear of crime controls women's lives by controlling their behavior and emotions.

The women noted that their reactions to formal sources and informal sources differed. Ashley says:

It makes me realize we need to be more aware and safety conscious, and preventative measures/habits seem more realistic and genuine when I talk to my friends – like they really care, you know? I also get e-mails from

some female friends about tricks some criminals might try and ways to

protect myself – those are very helpful.

The general feeling of the women is that the newspaper provides them the facts, but their friends tell them the information they will not hear from the police or newspapers. Molly responds the same way, "I reacted a little more strongly when discussing it with my roommates and others, but I think it was just because I had someone to discuss it with." Sometimes for women discussing the serial rapist with their friends invokes more fear or concern because the issue becomes more personal.

The women in the group interviews who identify their friends as the most important source of information regarding the serial rapist demonstrate the overall importance of social networks. Brooke says:

The discussions, generally, made me feel more aware. Everyone has

different information in regards to the serial rapist. I feel more at ease

when talking with other women in regards to it.

Each woman belongs to multiple social networks and has many more chances to learn and disseminate information in each of their social networks than single articles published in two newspapers. These social networks have become important to the dissemination of information regarding the serial rapist in part because there is relatively little information available from more formal sources.

Women's social networks are also important for raising group social consciousness. Amy says talking with her female friends about the serial rapist makes her feel united, "there are very few things that will unite an entire population, but the serial rapist made so many women stand up together and say, 'this is ridiculous.'" The lack of information Amy receives from the newspaper and police frustrate her and she feels a sense of strength when she and her female friends take it upon themselves to inform each other. Women's social networks are integral to raising social consciousness of women in the community to address these issues that concern them.

Despite frequent conversations between women about the serial rapist, the women admit that they seldom, if ever, discuss acquaintance rape with their friends. The women agree that they discuss the serial rapist more often than acquaintance rape. When asked

how often they have discussed date rape with other women, the women said not very often, hardly ever, and less than five times.

Women respond to the serial rapist in different ways in varying degrees of severity, but every woman who knew of the serial rapes experienced changes in behavior or emotions because of the rapist. Women who did not know of the rapist still admitted that they fear rape and change their behavior because of their fear. It is evident through the discussions of these women that their fear of crime controls their daily lives. Their interactions with each other influence their fear based on the information provided through these experiences. Their acknowledgement of expected behavior demonstrates how women are required to do fear, and the sanctions for not initially manifest as feelings of guilt or shame when they admit that they do not engage in behavior they "should." The women do state, however, that the situation they are experiencing in Manhattan concerning information and the serial rapist is not acceptable to them.

What Women Want

Women in the community express a significant sense of frustration regarding the serial rapist. They are frustrated that the serial rapist has been operating for so long and is not yet caught. They are frustrated because they do not know very much about him, but want to. Women believe that the police do not trust them to be responsible with the information given to them and they are forced to rely on information that they believe is not always reliable. They are frustrated because the society they live in shames women who are raped. Many things revolving around the serial rapist trouble women in this community; some of them are simple while others are not.

The main source of frustration among women who participated in the group interviews was the lack of information. Women wanted more information than they were getting and wanted to be able to depend on it. "Knowledge is power," Sarah affirms, "The more people that know the more people it will help."

In addition to wanting more information, women want it from specific sources. Jessica says:

> I think that we need to make the police department more aware that we
> aren't a bunch of stupid kids living in a college town, we want to be
> informed about the things that affect our everyday lives…just let us in to

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new leads, and what is going on in this case to show a little bit of compassion for us living in this town.

The women understand that certain pieces of information must be withheld to protect the investigation, but they feel that enough is not being told to adequately inform them of what is going on.

The women also want more information from the newspapers, more frequently. Jessica says:

Especially in this town, the mercury has a little box on the front page of stories that don't have a lot of information on, they always have the developments, or Rocky Ford. Doesn't the city agree that this is an important story???

Jessica suggests a particular way the Mercury can inform the women, while others specified what information they wanted as Laura demonstrates:

I would have always like to have been a little more clear about where specifically he was striking, I never felt like I had enough information about where he was or where his typical places were. So I didn't know, well, should I avoid that apartment complex or maybe move to this area instead…not like that would make my chances not high but it still would have been nice to know where he was.

Laura wants information that will inform her on decisions she needs to make about where to live. She understands that living in another complex might not reduce her chances of attack, but knowing he has been a presence there would make her feel better. Mindy agrees with Laura:

I think they need to be more specific about the region where he's raping because you have to figure it out in the news stories where it was, and also more about the type of person he's targeting. So women can be more conscious.

Women want to know what kind of person the serial rapist is targeting, if he has a specific type at all. Mindy goes on to suggest:

I think it would be good for the university to have some sort of…I heard

about [the rapist} from one of my professors…it really made me feel like

the university cared about my well-being.

Mindy wishes the university would be more proactive in informing women about the serial rapist and that informing women is a way to make women feel like they are important rather than being ignored.

Contrary to research that demonstrates increased media coverage of crime increases fear, women believe more information from news media would help ease their fear (Cavender, Bond-Maupin, and Jurik 1999; Chiricos, Eschholz, and Gertz 1997; Glassner 1999). In the case of the serial rapist in Manhattan, Kansas, the lack of information increases fear in women because they are aware that they know very little. The suggestions of the women for more information, more frequently indicate that increase in media coverage can be a positive influence and quell fear if distribution of information is responsible and correct.

Finally, women want to help change their social surroundings. Erin calls for social change:

We really need to change the mindset that these women should be

ashamed about what has happened to them, they need to speak up, be bold,

and show this asshole that they are not afraid of him. If nothing else, to

save another woman and to make it safe to be out at night again.

She believes if women are less ashamed of rape, then it would be easier for them to speak out against the man who attacked them. Women also want to be able to be free to do the things they want to do. Jessica says:

I would LOVE to be able to walk back and forth to work, but I can't due

to the fact that who knows when the guy will strike again. Sometimes I

even wonder when I am talking to people at work, not to get too close to

them because who knows who it is.

Some women do not even feel safe having normal conversations with men at their jobs because of their fear.

The group interviews demonstrate the dilemmas facing the Manhattan community of young women. Often young women depend on their social networks for information

about the serial rapist, and some of this information is false. Regardless of the legitimacy of the information, both factual and fictional information affect their behavior and fear. The women are frustrated and angry that they know so little and must depend on information gathered through "word of mouth" or "the rumor mill." They want more information from the official sources expected to keep the public informed. The women also demonstrate frustration with how society views rape victims and the restraints placed on their lives because of their fear. The young women seek change on many levels so they can feel safe and informed. The Student Center's goal is to instigate the change women seek and to inform women in the community.

In-Depth Interview

An interview conducted with a staff member at the Student Center provides understanding of the issue of the serial rapist from an organizational point of view. The purpose of the interview is to establish the role of this organization in information dissemination regarding the serial rapist and to help develop policy implications for managing the issue at hand. Elizabeth has worked at the Student Center for several years and spoke of the purpose of the Student Center, her sense of what is happening in the community, and suggestions for change.

The Student Center fulfills two primary roles for serving the student community, which, according to Elizabeth are, "Private confidential advocacy for people who have been violated and then educating, trying to change the culture…I guess I should say being part of social norming." The Student Center provides confidential advocacy for victims of crimes of a violent or sexual nature and provides support for those who seek their services. Elizabeth refers to the second role of the Student Center:

> [We educate] people by acting like we're training them...if I go to
> fraternities… [I] try to do prevention by changing the culture, by
> presenting to the men in a way that makes them realize they are part of
> this culture and they can keep rape from happening…as well as letting [the
> women] know that one in four of you [will experience rape]…and let me
> tell you a couple stories."

By approaching rape prevention and education as training with men, the conversations become meaningful and proactive instead of confrontational. This approach also appeals to the male fantasy that women need their protection.

The Student Center educates women to help them learn how to protect themselves responsibly from stranger rape, including the serial rapist, and from the more likely threat of acquaintance rape. Though Elizabeth stresses, "you can do every single thing right and you can still be raped, and the women who were raped by the serial rapist did every single thing right." The situatedness of fear within a patriarchal culture requires that women stay out of harm's way or be "protected" by men. The educational tactics utilized by the Student Center appeal to this concept and use it to educate the young men and women. Extending this though Elizabeth says:

> What happens if you do get hurt…well she's asking for it… there's a
> cultural bias, and to get rid of that bias is an issue for us…we want
> everyone to be able to go out and not be afraid.

Within a culture of patriarchy or even paternalism, women must take all possible safety precautions to prevent their own rape, and if they do not, they receive blame for their attack.

Even campus has become an unsafe place for women at night where they are not free to go where they wish because they must constantly be afraid. Elizabeth points out, "What about the fact that women can't go to the library as late as men because they're afraid? ...we're paying the same tuition." This is the cultural bias that the Student Center tries to get rid of, the structural forces that require women to live limited lives as less free than men.

The solution to rape prevention according to Elizabeth is changing the culture. Elizabeth argues:

> It's impossible to only deal with rape as it's happening, there's a rape, act,
> let's deal with it. We must get ahead of it…How do you keep moving
> ahead of the rape? Because in the emergency room, making sure she's got
> good care in the emergency room, okay great, but the rape already
> occurred. Okay, training her how to not get shot in the head during a rape
> and maybe get a little skin… okay, but she's still being traumatized. So

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you keep trying to step back further and further and you finally get to

culture change. You get to rising waters raise all ships.

Thus the basis for addressing rape is facilitating culture change so that women no longer have to fear rape.

The Student Center tries to be as open as possible when it comes to educating women in the community about rape and campus statistics. The K-State Annual Security Report (2006) provides the number of rapes reported to the campus police and to other university officials each year. Elizabeth recalls:

First of all the official K-State rape statistics are *only* rapes that occur on

campus… You'll find that 'gosh,' some years in the past decade there

were zero rapes, or one, or two. And then when I came, the big push was

let's get people reporting it… I told [the Dean of Student Life] and I told

other people you need to put out a press release that says we're *looking* for

our numbers to go up because until people are reporting them we can't get

the problem addressed. So it went to seven and it was like this giant jump

and in a way we were kind of pleased that at least they reported those, and

yet we know that more than that occurred.

Rape statistics are highly political in nature, through which sexual politics become clear. The university provides statistics for the number of rapes per year on campus to demonstrate how safe their campus is. Politically, to admit that many more rapes occur to women who attend the college, would be damaging. Thus the separation of campus rapes from other rapes in the community hinders the awareness of the real issue. Some argue that the focus is not on protecting women or informing them adequately, but on assuring the safety of the campus for publicity purposes.

The files of victims who seek counseling or help at the Student Center grow exponentially each year. Elizabeth warns:

A campus our size according to the FBI has…[should have] about 412

rapes a year, now granted that's not going to be on campus, but what do

the students care if it's on campus, or in Aggieville, or in the houses

surrounding Aggieville?

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The university statistics do not address rapes that are happening to college women elsewhere in the community. To Elizabeth, it is important that these statistics reach the students so they are fully aware of the statistics regarding rape on and around their college campus. Women can generally feel safe if they are on campus, but their safety off campus in student social life is important too.

The complexity of sexual assault makes it difficult to count specific acts of violence. Elizabeth suggests:

> What about instead of counting the acts of violence, what about if you counted how many services hours were donated? How many nurses hours worth of work was dealing with a violent reaction? How many hours of my day deals with violence and victims versus teaching or education or paperwork, or writing?

The Student Center sees many people who are victims or have questions about rape. Some women are students seeking counseling, while others are non-students who seek help. Some women come in seeking help for their friend, sometimes men seek help for their girlfriends, and sometimes women come in because they are writing a paper about rape and want information. Sometimes, these same women reveal they are writing the paper because they were once raped. The nature of rape as underreported and the secrecy of experiencing rape among many women make it complicated to determine rape statistics.

The Student Center is an important source of information to women in the community about the serial rapist. Elizabeth has counseled two of the victims of the serial rapist and sees the concern in the community when a rape occurs firsthand. However, the concern concentrates around attacks attributed to the serial rapist. Elizabeth says:

> When the serial rapist strikes I'll get 5-10 calls about it, maybe more like 10 calls about it. And then when I go to do presentations at sororities they will ask me about it. And when I go do presentations for classrooms on campus the teachers will sometimes say if it's a women's studies teacher particularly, they will say tell us about the serial rapist. Right now I

haven't had an actual phone call or email question regarding the serial

rapist in a long time and no one's heard about it for awhile.

Because there has not been an attack in nearly two years, many women in the community are uninformed about the serial rapist. Elizabeth discusses her perception of how informed women are:

Mixed, some people have no idea whatsoever, other groups know and I

recently went and spoke to [a sorority] house and I said how many of you

know about the serial rapist here in town, did you know that we have a

serial rapist? And a significant portion put their hands up and I think that

the people who didn't turned like "WHAAAA?!"

Many women are aware of the serial rapist, but a significant portion has no idea that he exists and remains at large.

The lack of knowledge motivates Elizabeth to continue presentations addressing the serial rapist. She says, "I think the women should know what's happening [including] the details the police don't want to tell." Elizabeth talks about the serial rapist every chance she gets to inform the women in the community and make them aware of what is happening in their neighborhoods, or in their friends' neighborhoods.

Elizabeth agrees that newspapers can be an important source to women in the community for getting information about the serial rapist. However, Elizabeth points out:

A lot of women get their information from *The Mercury*, a lot of students

get their information from *The Collegian*…and many people don't read

The Collegian every day so one story isn't enough.

Elizabeth reiterates that the target population of *The Manhattan Mercury* is the more permanent population reflected in their readership, while female students prefer the *Kansas State Collegian*.

The motivation of the Student Center is to inform the women in the student community about the reality of rape where sometimes they are in a strange position trying to manage the serial rapist and acquaintance rape. Elizabeth discusses this dilemma:

The idea that this guy's supposedly 'only' raped… six to eight people, so

why be so afraid of him when your chances are so much greater getting

raped by someone that you know, and they are and we tell people that.

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The Student Center is caught in a place where they want to inform the women that there is a stranger rapist attacking women in the community, but they also need to stress that acquaintance rape is far more prevalent and needs more consideration. Elizabeth adds:

> I suppose a little fear is healthy, but they should be angry about it. I think
> that power over circumstances is what makes people stop being fearful
> and there's no way to have power over other human beings.

The bind can be difficult, but the women need information about both the very serious presence of a serial rapist in the community and the likelihood that they or one of their close friends will experience acquaintance rape.

The effect the serial rapist has had on the community is apparent when educating women and speaking with victims. Elizabeth ponders the effect on women:

> There is someone among us doing this evil violence, selfish thievery is
> what it is, it's stealing from women. And one of the things that's stolen *is*
> their peace of mind, one of the things that's stolen *is* the sense that when
> you don't have fear you can walk around peaceful, loving, happy, giving.
> I love the campaign that says, 'what would you do if there's no more
> rape?' and the one girl says, 'I will smile at strangers'…but the idea, I will
> smile at strangers, you know people, people may not smile at strangers
> which means they stop being who they *are* because they don't want to
> make the mistake of being nice to a rapist.

The fear women live with on a daily basis affects who women *are*. Women may want to smile at strangers or go to the library late at night to study, or go to the coffee shop at night for a study group, but they cannot because they are fearful of what could happen to them.

Women changing their behavior because they are fearful means women are changing who they *are*. They limit their behavior because they are afraid of the rapist, or they are afraid of attack in general. Elizabeth continues:

> [The fear] is a ripple effect that's just horrifying and I don't want people to
> walk around being afraid, I'd rather have them walk around being
> determined to raise the issue and talk about it because *someone* knows
> who this guy is, someone probably knows.

The damage caused by living in fear can possibly stretch beyond the limitations women face daily. Perhaps a woman distracted by her fear of the serial rapist and by protecting herself instead, becomes determined to spread her knowledge of the serial rapist, and reaches somebody who can identify the rapist. Living in fear will not help catch the serial rapist or prevent rape, but education of the entire young population *can* empower women to be proactive and help stop the rapist. Everyone, including the young women in this study, acknowledge that knowledge is power. The Student Center educates the community about the risks that women face to help them shift their focus from expectations of doing fear of strangers towards the more likely threat of acquaintance rape. The Student Center's goal is to empower women by educating them and encouraging them to talk with each other about rape in an attempt to raise group consciousness. The efforts of the Student Center to change the culture exert a positive effect on the entire community. Most especially, these efforts helps women by breaking their fear of stranger crimes and empowering them to resist the social control of fear that affects their daily lives.

CHAPTER 5 - Discussion and Conclusion

Young women in Manhattan, Kansas, demonstrate a higher degree of fear and changes in behavior than their male or older female counterparts. Women admit that their fear and change in behavior are sometimes in direct response to information they learned about the serial rapist who reportedly attacks young, white, college-aged women in the community. Though degree of fear and change varied, all of the women in this study report that knowledge of the serial rapist affected them in some way. As one of the respondents, Amy, said, "It also made me a little less outgoing. I used to be very outgoing and would talk to anyone, and everyone was invited to my house for parties, but after the rapist came around, I found myself not talking to men I didn't know and making sure that I knew whoever showed up at my house." That is, for Amy, knowledge of the serial rapist changed her very identity. As a staff member at the student services organization reiterated, these women cannot be who they *are* because of their fear. This study addresses a relatively rare threat to women – that of a serial rapist – that nevertheless controls women's lives.

Summary of Findings

Surveys conducted for this research demonstrate a heightened degree of fear among young women in Manhattan, Kansas. College-aged women are more likely to state that there are areas in their community where they do not feel safe. In addition, young women, college students, and those who rent their homes – much more often than other respondents – identify rape as a main problem in the community or as a problem not adequately addressed by the RCPD. Young women acknowledge that they engage in certain behavior in response to fear. Young women also are more likely than young men to say they always lock their doors and windows, and that they never walk alone in particular places at night, including their own neighborhood.

Two local newspapers represent information about the serial rapist made public by formal sources, and content analysis provides insight into what is available to young women in the community. The student newspaper, the *Kansas State Collegian*, printed

few articles about the serial rapist and provided little detail. The city newspaper, *The Manhattan Mercury*, published more articles about the serial rapist and included considerable information about the serial rapist. Articles ranged from reporting when the rapes occurred to presenting safety tips to young women on how to protect themselves from the serial rapist as well as from acquaintance rapists. The articles overall present a lot of information, but it is difficult to piece together because much of it is not connected. That is, information contained in earlier articles does not repeat in later articles, and women must seek out this information if they want to be aware of all available details.

Group interviews guided by feminist methodology provided women the opportunity to share their experiences and feelings about the serial rapist, revealing that knowledge about the serial rapist affects their emotions and behavior. Though women hear a lot about the rapes through informal sources such as their friends or classmates, they gather little accurate information. Women report that they would prefer to learn facts from the police or the newspapers and are frustrated with the lack of public information. They feel they must rely on their friends to give them inside knowledge, primarily through hearsay or through remote connections to victims of the serial rapist.

The women in the community also experience a range of emotional and behavioral responses to the serial rapist. Some women do not experience much fear because they believe that they are out of harm's way. Other women express intense feelings of fear that sometimes keep them awake at night. Behavioral changes also result, such as avoiding the city park at night, locking windows and doors at all times, and walking with others at night. These responses vary and are contingent on where the women believe the rapes are occurring and the location of their own homes. The information women receive from both formal and informal sources affects their emotional and behavioral responses despite actual legitimacy.

The mere presence of the serial rapist exerts a significant effect on women's sense of self. Though some response is expected, a clear finding of this research is that women cannot be who they are because of fear. Women feel they cannot live in certain places of town. They cannot run in City Park even in the daytime. They cannot be friendly with bar patrons where they work, and they cannot be as outgoing at parties because they have an underlying fear of the serial rapist. Women report that this behavioral change is

because of the serial rapist, not knowing if the new guy at their house party is the serial rapist, or just a nice guy who showed up with a friend. Women closely monitor what they do but also change who they are.

Women express solutions in different forms, but they all say they desire change. Some women want police departments, apartment complexes, and the university to tell the truth about the serial rapist. Others call for societal or cultural changes so women who experience rape are not afraid to speak out. All of the women in this study expressed dissatisfaction with the situation surrounding the serial rapist; they want more information, more frequently, and from formal sources they can trust.

One university organization does proactively address the serial rapist and related issues. An office within student services advocates for victims of rape and educates the community about rape. They discuss the serial rapist and address the frequency and danger of acquaintance rape. Their stated goal is to "get ahead of the rape" by promoting culture change. It is not enough to have excellent rape victim advocates, excellent responses in the emergency rooms at hospitals, and exemplary counseling services for rape victims. Women are still violated and the damage is done. The only solution, they assert, is to get ahead of the rape and change the culture to prevent rapes from occurring. Unfortunately, this one small office has limited resources and time to deal with the issue in any comprehensive way.

This research demonstrates that the young women in Manhattan, Kansas, are more fearful than others and that much of this fear is in response to an active serial rapist. In response to their fear women change their behavior to protect themselves, but also because it is expected of them. They internalize the fear and a cultural blame-the-victim mentality. Overwhelmingly, their expressed fear is in response to the lone serial rapist rather than to the possibility of acquaintance rape, which is infinitely more likely but a fact they rarely discuss with their friends. Women get most of their information from each other rather than through formal information sources, but both sources affect their behavior and fear. Women are frustrated and sometimes angry because they believe they are not provided with enough information; they also perceive that important facts are intentionally withheld from them. The women in this study want good information, viable solutions, and a voice in their community.

Theoretical Implications

The literature presents the theoretical idea that fear of crime is used as an informal means of social control of women. Women are conditioned to believe that they are at risk for victimization and are expected to be fearful of crime. In reality, young women are not the most vulnerable population to violent crime, but despite this they demonstrate one of the highest levels of fear. By engaging in particular behavior in response to their fear of crime women are doing gender, and if they do not, they will face sanctions including blame for their own victimization. In response to fear, a woman must not run alone in the park at night or risk society blaming her for her own victimization. The woman faces blame because she was in a place that women should not be in. A limitation of fear of crime as social control theory is that it focuses on the social control of individual women. Current theories provide little examination of social control as manifested in a denial of group consciousness, which is important to researching women's social networks.

Sexual politics include the expectations of women to fear rape, and respond in appropriate ways to protect their bodies. These expectations facilitate double binds for women who must negotiate their desire for freedom with societal expectations for their response to fear. Society views such expectations of women as existing for "their own sake" and perpetuates the male fantasy that women need their protection. If one can continue the illusion that women are not capable of taking care of themselves, they will remain as objects to be controlled and oppressed.

In order to resist control of their behavior and fear, women must be empowered. Women must first be empowered individually by listening to them and arming them with knowledge and strategies. Women must then be empowered collectively though information networks, group organization, group policies and practices, and so forth. Responses to fear thus far focus on empowering women individually, but not collectively. One way to empower women collectively is through women's social networks.

The majority of literature asserts that women are most often attacked by men they know, love, and trust. When compared to all violent attacks, strangers hiding in the bushes rarely attack women. Despite this, women are most fearful of men they do not know, and safety measures that women take are in response to strangers that may attack

them, not men they live with or date. Women avoid the park late at night, keep their windows locked, or always lock their doors to protect themselves from men they do not know who could hurt them. Likewise, women in this study all identify behavior in response to the stranger rapist and the local serial rapist in particular. Some of the women rely on their male friends to escort them home or to other places at night, failing to recognize that their chance of attack by a male friend is much more significant than attack by the serial rapist. Gender and crime scholars must attend to the ideology that keeps women controlled through misinformation and misdirected fear.

Literature regarding the media's effect on the fear of crime states that in general, an increase in media coverage on violence exerts a positive relationship with fear. Much of the literature examines media news that exaggerates the prevalence of crime and disproportionately features young, white women as victims. In this study, however, there is relatively little information released that reaches the targeted population. All of the women believe that receiving accurate information from formal sources more frequently would at least partially alleviate their fear. The women believe that if provided with the information available to them, they will be able to make more informed decisions of how to protect themselves. Media coverage would not need to be constant or excessive, but consistent and accurate information could do much to alleviate confusion and frustration of women in the community, and ultimately lower or at least redirect their fear.

Feminist research demonstrates time and time again that women are most fearful of crime, that they are often most fearful of rape, that their fear is of stranger rapists. This trend persists, despite the fact that they are more likely to be raped by someone they know. Stranger rapes occur relatively rarely, and serial rapes are even rarer. This study focuses on the presence of a serial rapist in a college community where approximately 30 rapes are reported to the police each year (Kansas Bureau of Investigation 2006). The crimes of the serial rapist pale in comparison to the number of rapes reported each year, and certainly to the estimated number of rapes that remain unreported. Yet, attention to the serial rapist becomes the centerpiece of women's social networks, and this study seeks to understand the origin and results of such information networks. Women talk with each other about the serial rapist frequently and spread information as quickly and efficiently as they can to make up for what they perceive as a lack of information from

official sources. Women rarely, if ever, discuss acquaintance rape with their female friends. They concentrate so much on the serial rapist and the lack of accurate information that they ignore the more realistic threat of acquaintance rape. This study demonstrates the importance of directly addressing the women's fear, rational or not, so that they can feel more comfortable with what they know. In turn, their attention can turn toward more realistic concerns.

This study integrates a doing gender framework with fear of crime and social control theories in order to establish an understanding of how women participate in a gendered fear discourse through their social networks within a local college culture. The current study extends theory by focusing on the importance of women's social networks as a means for social control of women. Women continue to do gender through the fear of crime in a way that responds to the fear of stranger rape, neglecting the greater likelihood of acquaintance rape.

This study documents the importance of women's social networks in a college culture that exists outside of the more commonly acknowledged contexts of sororities and alcohol-laden parties. Little college culture research thus far examines colleges as rape-prone environments outside of fraternity rape culture. Research must address the prevalence of rape in college communities by examining what factors foster such a culture and looking beyond specific structured male groups. Women's social networks are forced to negotiate a college culture where 30% of men report that in a given situation they can see themselves raping a woman (Lev-Wiesel 2004). Paradoxically, women's social networks are seen as critical to information dissemination but fail to develop a group consciousness that would strengthen women's collective action.

Ultimately, this study establishes the domination of fear of rape of a stranger over the more likely threat of acquaintance rape, and reiterates the need to redirect the concern of young women. This study gives a voice to women in the community who are frustrated with the lack of information they receive about a local serial rapist. It offers solutions for managing fear of the serial rapist and redirecting concern towards the more likely threat of acquaintance rape. Women's wishes for the situation in the community guide the policy implications for this study. Developing a collective group consciousness

among young college-aged women remains a challenge, but one given promise through online social networks.

Limitations and Strengths

As a case study, this research focuses on the responses to a local serial rapist in one college town, research that has limited generalizability. The study is specific to the location and case of a serial rapist, but is important nonetheless. The information learned from this study provides an understanding of how women's social networks function in the college setting and how women react to the threat of a serial rapist in their community. The case study, while limited, provides insight into underlying mechanisms of fear as gendered social control – tapping into situated and ongoing social patterns, or what Smith (1987, 2006) refers to as institutional ethnography.

Another limitation of this research is the lack of diversity among the sample and thus a strong consideration of intersectionality. Almost all of the women who participated in the group interviews were white; only three were non-white. Unfortunately, the lack of diversity is common to the community of Manhattan, Kansas, where the large majority of residents are white. It would be interesting to study the responses of women of color to the serial rapist, especially since thus far the serial rapist has only attacked white women. In addition, it would be beneficial to examine the response of lesbian women to the serial rapist as their concerns may differ because of their unique experiences. Differences between women of different races or sexuality are expected as theory indicates. This research also suggests that there may be differences based on race, but conclusions could not be drawn because there were few minority participants. An expansion of this research should include women from more social groups and from sororities in particular. Sororities pose their own unique social network of tightly bonded women and can provide a glimpse at a more organized form of social network. It would be instructive to explore a variety of women's social networks.

Serial rape is a rare event when compared to rape in general. The majority of rapes are committed by men known to the victims, and stranger rapes are not often committed by men who serially rape. This case study may not apply to other serial rapists or to rapists in general, but it provides a look into how women respond to rape in

their community. Although serial rape is rare in the percentage of rapes committed against women, the focus of women's fear on strangers rather than on the more likely danger of acquaintances is very common. Because the case has gone unsolved for a number of years, this research provides a sustained process in which women talk about and express their fear about stranger rape.

Time constraints also placed a limit on the extensiveness of the content analysis. The online archives of *The Manhattan Mercury* were easy to navigate and articles regarding the serial rapist were easy to find. The archives of the *Kansas State Collegian* were more difficult to navigate, and thus an extensive search for all articles regarding the serial rapist was not possible. The search of the student newspaper articles included a range of approximately two weeks after a rape attributed to the serial rapist occurred. All of the articles printed in the summer months were searched if a rape occurred during the summer. An extensive search for articles in the student newspaper would be beneficial to future research. An exact calculation of the number of articles and the exact amount of information could be determined. However, one purpose of the content analysis was to discover what information is readily available to young women in the community about the serial rapist. The difficulty of gathering articles from the student newspaper attests to the difficulty for women to find information from one of their most frequent sources.

Time constraints also limited the ability of this research to address the overall effect of the serial rapist on women's lives. Some women said the serial rapist had no effect on their lives despite later recognition that some behavior did change. This study focused on how the serial rapist changed the lives of women and how women gathered information through social networks, but the limited number of respondents and nature of qualitative measures prohibits exact measurement of the effect. An extended study on this topic should attempt to measure the effect of the serial rapist on the entire community of women.

Utilizing two methods for conducting group interviews provided very different results for each method. The face-to-face group interviews allowed for more interaction between women and consisted of more conversation than direct responses. Women were able to talk issues out and guide the conversation. Women expanded on their personal experiences and provided long responses to questions. The limitations of this method are

that not all of the women answered each question and a few women tended to dominate the conversation. The online group interviews, on the other hand, allowed for interaction between women, but to a lesser extent. Some women talked with each other in the chat room or responded directly to another's answer, but overall there was not a lot of interaction among the women. The strength of the online group interview method is that each woman answered almost every question asked. In the online chat rooms women are less able to dominate the conversation and have the opportunity to respond to each question. All of the women can type their response at the same time and all of their answers will post to the chat room even if they respond all at once. There is no talking over another person, waiting to speak, or not responding because someone already said what others were thinking. The limitation of this method is that responses are in general much shorter and there are fewer personal stories offered to the group.

A main strength of this study is the use of multi-methods. This research would be incomplete without the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative research demonstrated the presence of fear in Manhattan, Kansas, and the concern among the young, female population about rape and sexual assault. The surveys provided an examination of a random sample of citizens in the community that demonstrated general ideas about fear. However, the quantitative research alone does not examine the depth or focus of the fear in the community. The content analysis was integral to the research for finding all of the information made public through news media. The interviews provided a rich context for understanding fear women in the community feel and how that fear specifically relates to the serial rapist. In addition, interviews with staff at the student services office provided an example of how one organization responds to the situation of the serial rapist, as well as their overall perception of women's responses in the community. The richness of the qualitative research would be incomplete without the establishment of a problem of fear by the surveys, while the qualitative research adds critical insight otherwise unavailable.

Another strength of this study is its base in feminist methodology. Feminist research privileges women's voices by concentrating the research methods and questions around understanding women's experiences. The current study examines how women respond to a local serial rapist and how their social networks shape their responses. This

study privileges women's voices by allowing them to speak for themselves and to discuss their own personal experiences relating to their fear and the serial rapist. Feminist methodology includes developing policy implications from women's shared experiences to promote social change and the empowerment of women. This research utilizes such an approach by presenting policy implications that were directly expressed by women in the study. This research is about the women in the community, listening to their concerns and their desire for change. The utilization of feminist research and its privileging of women's voices to tell a story strengthen this study.

Although this research is a case study of a unique situation in a particular town, it is important to the overall understanding of the fear of crime as it relates to a serial rapist. The research examines the importance of women's social networks in a college community for conveying information, influencing behavior, and managing the presence of a serial rapist. Little research examines women's social networks in college communities aside from sororities. This research demonstrates that women's social networks are vastly important to understanding how women manage their fear in a community. This research presents a case study that future research should expand upon in order to examine women's social networks in other communities of different size and demographics, ultimately establishing a body of research on the importance of women's social networks. Further research is necessary for understanding how communities can utilize women's social networks in the college atmosphere to address specific concerns about a wide range of topics.

Policy Implications

The focus of this research is not on the serial rapist himself, his specific crimes, or the investigation per se; thus, policy implications will not address the issue of capturing the serial rapist. No rapes since September 2005 have been attributed to the serial rapist, who committed at least one rape annually between 2000 and 2005. An attempted attack of a woman reported in October 2005 offered an assailant with a very similar description to that of the serial rapist. The attack was possibly connected, but never confirmed because the attack was unsuccessful. The serial rapist may no longer live in the area, and it is quite possible that he will never be captured. Despite the serial rapist's supposed

inactivity since the fall of 2005, women are still very concerned that he is still out there selecting his next victim. The main purpose of the policy implications presented in this research is to provide solutions for women concerned with managing their fear, and for reducing the social control of women through fear. Guided by feminist methodology, policy implications presented respond to the call for social change and the empowerment of women. Further, these policy implications were developed directly from the women's expressed desires for change.

Organizational Responses

The RCPD holds the primary opportunity to take a proactive stance in the community regarding the serial rapist. By engaging in a concerted effort to reach out to students, they stand to develop a solid and trusting relationship with the student community. If police cultivate this relationship early on when students first arrive in Manhattan, they can make the first impression a positive one. Women in the community understand that information released to the public must be selected carefully to protect the investigation, but believe there is some information withheld that could help them protect themselves without compromising the case. As one example, police could release specific information about where rapes occurred. The release of the locations of the rapes could include a firm warning that locations have changed over time but still provide some proactive measures specific to, for example, apartment complexes. As such, all women can take precautions, but women who live in areas where he has attacked most often can take extra safety precautions specific to those locations. The RCPD could also seek out apartment complexes and organizations where they can give safety presentations each year to new residents. Such presentations are always available, but apartment complexes do not frequently seek out presentations. If a spokesperson for the police contacted organizations and apartment complexes in the community, the presentations would likely be more successful.

Kansas State University can be effective in assisting the RCPD in developing a positive relationship with students by providing an avenue for the local police to introduce their department early upon the students' arrival in Manhattan. This can be done in conjunction with the Kansas State University Campus Police to introduce

students to two bodies of police presence in the community. Generally students are trusting of their university, as a whole and any early sponsorship of programs or courses where they introduce students to important organizations in the community will establish positive relationships early on. In addition, to maintain positive relationships with students, the university could be more forthcoming about the issue of rape by providing information addressing rapes occurring both on campus and among students off-campus. The university's role in rape prevention could include the encouragement of women to come forward if attacked and to support them as much as possible. Through this honest and proactive discussion of rape on campus the university can provide an environment where women feel the university is concerned about them, and they can feel safe to come forward if they experience victimization.

The Manhattan Mercury has done well to inform the community of the serial rapist, but could do better to reach out to the college community. Students at the university tend to be computer savvy, and many prefer to skim their newspapers by going to the website. *The Manhattan Mercury* could draw in many more young readers by taking advantage of their website to appeal to the student population. For example, the newspaper could create a "K-State" section that would only appear on their website including daily news of importance to the student population. The purpose of the section would be to link students directly to articles in the newspaper that are relevant and important to them as students. This section would be an excellent avenue to publish articles about the serial rapist more frequently. If *The Manhattan Mercury* initiates a section specifically for students, the students will feel more accepted and important in the community, and students will benefit from utilizing a responsible and accurate local news source.

In addition to appealing directly to the student population, *The Manhattan Mercury* could improve on the content of their articles regarding the serial rapist. In general their reporting on the serial rapist has been impressive and comprehensive including all of the important information the community needs. A way in which the newspaper can improve their reporting is by including all of the information in each article printed. The most recent articles could include all of the important facts about the serial rapist from the beginning so the article reminds residents in Manhattan of

previously reported information. *The Manhattan Mercury* should continue including safety tips for women against the serial rapist and acquaintance rape as it has done in many of the recent articles.

The *Kansas State Collegian* newspaper can adopt several improvements for informing their student readers. Many students do not read the newspaper every day because they do not have daily access to the paper copy. The *Kansas State Collegian* could print numerous articles on varying days of the week about important issues to students to be sure the information is available to as many students as possible. In addition, the articles could be much more collective and include more facts about the serial rapist and investigation. The articles offer only a vague description of the history of the case and rarely provide adequate safety tips for women. As the student newspaper, the *Kansas State Collegian* could be an important instrument for informing young women about the serial rapist, addressing concerns in the community, and enacting change.

Another very important source of information for women is the apartment complexes they live in. Apartment complexes understandably are concerned that informing their residents about the serial rapist will scare them and cause them to move elsewhere. However, if the complexes take part in a major awareness campaign and educate the women about the situation it is likely that women will instead appreciate the complexes efforts. If the apartment complexes in this area of town embrace the presentations, they will likely develop a positive reputation for informing their residents rather than a negative reputation for trying to hide the information from their residents. In all cases presented, education is a key component of being proactive.

Education

Education remains a critical component for helping women in the community manage their fear of rape by adopting rape awareness presentations. The focus of the rape awareness presentations can inform while also redirecting the concern of the serial rapist towards the more likely threat of acquaintance rape. Education includes presenting useful facts about the serial rapist to alleviate fear that is, in part, caused by not knowing much about the rapes. Once presented, the subject can turn towards facts about acquaintance rape, as well as proactive solutions.

The university plays an important role in the community; with the student population, it makes up a significant portion of the town's population. As such, it stands to exert strong influence. Kansas State University offers a class called "University Experience" that is often taken by incoming freshmen to introduce them to college life, but it is not a required course. The university could require this course for all new students and use it as a tool for developing positive relations with the local police and as a platform for rape awareness presentations, thus reaching first-year students at a time critical in their development.

The university can further facilitate rape awareness education by offering more support to the Student Center and other student organizations, both financially and vocally. The university can support organizations with endorsements and further assist by increasing frequency of rape awareness programs. Presentations by student services could be required for all Greek houses individually, as well as in university clubs, department groups, and athletic programs. It is also possible for the university to tap into the online communities that exist within the university atmosphere. Campus leaders can access these communities and use them as a tool to educate the young people in the community.

In order for education and rape awareness campaigns to be successful, the university and the community must work together. Kansas State University can be an excellent resource for bringing together RCPD, the local Crisis Center, youth groups, and the online community. The university can be the main link by which formal organizations such as the police department and the Student Center can access preexisting informal social networks to educate the community. A very important resource for all organizations in this study is the online social network. Several social networks exist within the community of Manhattan through which organizations can access many young people. Many of these online social networks include young people who are not students but still active in some form of community within Manhattan. These online social networks are an excellent way to facilitate rape awareness programs and to begin to change the culture to prevent rape.

Culture Change

Ultimately, the purpose of rape awareness presentations is to facilitate culture change. Changing the culture of rape means getting ahead of the rape. Good advocacy programs, quick responses in the hospital, good nurses who deal with rape victims, and good counseling are not sufficient for dealing with rape. These are all very important for dealing with rape survivors, but our concern should not be with dealing with the rape that occurred, but with preventing rape from occurring in the first place. Further, a culture change means placing responsibility where it belongs while facilitating healthy lifestyle choices for all people in the community.

Proactive presentations inform young women and men in the community about the facts of rape. Presentations given to young men may train them to recognize their peers who may be "the date rapist" and what they can do to prevent their female friends and girlfriends from attack. Perhaps most important, proactive, culture-changing programs focus not on protection but on empowerment of women. They teach men in a non-abrasive way how to encourage and empower both women and men to change the culture in which they live to one in which rape is seen as an attempt to humiliate and control women. Such presentations can capture men's attention by appealing to their relationships with women and encourage them to spread knowledge as well. Both women and men, though positive programming, recognize that they can change a rape-prone culture to one that values gender equality.

Culture change can occur when the community organizations become proactive and want to educate the young people in the community. The most efficient way to educate young men and women in the community is to utilize preexisting social networks both on and off campus. Through these existing informal social networks, formal organizations can educate young people about the realities of rape and facilitate culture change. Educating both young men and young women early in their college experience will empower them to stand up and engage in change-making.

Conclusion

This research reveals how fear controls young women. To understand fear, we must turn to women and allow them to tell their stories. Through their experiences we

can begin to understand how the fear of crime controls their bodies and souls in their daily lives. For women, it is not the crime itself or the assailant himself that controls the daily lives of women; it is the fear of rape and losing their very identity that controls women. Ironically, the fear of a serial rapist results in the loss of freedom and their sense of self. Change in behavior ranges from insignificant measures of caution such as locking doors to significant changes in identity and loss of freedom and self. Women's loss of identity resulting from fear of rape and their emotional response of fear exemplifies Foucault's (1977) concept of social control of the soul. Society's expectations for women to fear rape and to respond accordingly or face sanctions facilitate social control of the soul. To control the soul, according to Foucault, is an egregious violation of human rights; yet fear of rape is expected of women by society. The fear of rape controls women's lives to the point that they are often unable to experience the same freedoms afforded to men as a matter of daily routine.

For women, doing gender too often means engaging in responses to the fear of rape. Unfortunately, much energy and effort is misdirected towards attackers unknown to them, a rare event, and results in an almost total disregard of the more likely occurrence of acquaintance rape. Women who feel safe protecting themselves from the serial rapist by locking all of their doors and windows at all times, sometimes rely on their male friends more to protect them. Women do not consider that their close male friend is statistically more likely to rape them than the serial rapist that is occupying their fear. Both pieces of this puzzle – obsessing about stranger rape and denying acquaintance rape – reinforce the doing gender aspect that undergirds modern-day femininity and maintains the idea that women should be both fearful of and dependent on men.

Previous research demonstrates that frequent media consumption lead to heightened fear in women (Altheide 2002b; Chiricos, Eschholz, and Gertz 1997; Glassner 1999). Such research however examines urban and/or national news media, and mostly at television news. This research is located in a smaller community where newspapers are the main source of local information and there is an at-large serial criminal. The newspapers in the community generally do not exaggerate local crime and engage in responsible and accurate reporting. Findings demonstrate that women believe there is not enough coverage of the local serial rapist to adequately inform the population. If women

believe there is a lack of news coverage, they must rely on informal sources that often provide them with inaccurate information. In this case, more information from news media would alleviate fear because the information provided is not sensationalized and women will feel well-informed.

In addition, news media rarely asks their target population how they feel about a particular situation and what information they want presented. To neglect to do so is paternalistic and extends to the local police and other organizations. These well-meaning institutions decide how much information women in the community should have about issues important to them without asking the women themselves what they want. There must be a fair balance between providing sensitive information that could jeopardize an investigation and providing the information women need to know and want. Informing students and residents about the serial rapist is the responsibility of the police, the university, and the apartment complexes. Women in the community need to be well-informed about the serial rapist and acquaintance rape. Currently, women are caught in a bind between receiving little information from formal organizations and frequent unconfirmed information from informal sources.

This study demonstrates Smith's (1987, 2006) concept of "institutional ethnography." This research unearthed several institutional issues including lack of good research in this area, lacking or inaccurate communication across institutions, paternalism and so forth. Further, it examines how such institutional issues work in one local milieu with one situation. These issues, however, are generalizable to other places, times, and conditions. On a much larger scale, we have seen similar issues with the reporting of news on the Iraq war and post-9/11 stories. The public wants good and accurate information about these issues that are important to them. A democracy depends on a well-informed electorate in order to make good decisions. Of course, some details have to be kept confidential for national security, but that can be done without mass deception and withholding of accurate information.

Through implementation of the recommendations provided by this research, there can be a balance between understanding stranger rape and acquaintance rape. Educating women in a responsible manner by combining discussion of stranger rape and acquaintance rape will facilitate awareness instead of feeding the fear of stranger rape.

This balance can be sustained as long as newspapers and organizations also discuss the real occurrence of acquaintance rape and provide ways for women to empower themselves. The purpose of educating women is to provide them with the knowledge to move them away from extreme caution and towards self-solutions. The policy implications presented focus on teaching women how to exercise reasonable caution to protect themselves from strangers and more ways to protect themselves from their acquaintances, while also empowering women toward self-governance. Empowerment does not have to mean that women must run in the park alone at night or never be informed of their surroundings, but empowerment does mean that women are provided with accurate knowledge and given options for making their own decisions. In addition, women speaking out with knowledge and truth can embolden and empower other women. Women must continue to spread their knowledge about issues important to them, and continue to depend on and help other women in this way.

To ensure that the requisite balance between knowledge and empowerment is maintained, organizations and researchers should periodically return to women and women's social networks. They must use women and their social networks as a touchstone to ask them how the presentations, organizations, and newspapers are doing with informing them about issues of utmost relevance to women, including stranger and acquaintance rape. The only way to truly measure how successful organizations are in being proactive, in educating, and in changing the culture is to ask the women themselves. As this research demonstrates, when we turn to women, they provide solutions, and from their input, we can progress. To return once again to Amy, "There are very few things that will unite an entire population, but the serial rapist made so many women stand up together and say, 'this is ridiculous.'" Ultimately, we must raise group consciousness for young women, as their true strength lies in one another.

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Appendix A - Riley County Police Department Citizens Survey

The Riley County Police Department is conducting a survey of citizen's attitudes and opinions as they relate to the Department. If you are over the age of 18 and reside at the address this survey was mailed to, we would appreciate your participation in this survey. Your address was chosen at random and your responses will remain anonymous. Student volunteers from Kansas State University's Criminal Justice Department will be placing follow-up phone calls to those addresses that do not return a survey.

Section 1: *Demographics*

1. Are you a resident of Riley County?
   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

2. Are you a resident of the City of:
   ☐ Manhattan   ☐ Riley   ☐ Leonardville   ☐ Keats   ☐ Ogden   ☐ Randolph

3. What is your age group?
   ☐ 18-25   ☐ 26-35   ☐ 36-45   ☐ 46-55   ☐ 56-65   ☐ 66+

4. Are you a college student?
   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

Section 2: *The following questions concern your satisfaction with the RCPD's performance with respect to law enforcement matters. For each category, please select the option that best describes your opinion.*

1. Enforcing laws related to alcohol sales/consumption.
   ☐ Very Satisfied   ☐ Satisfied   ☐ Somewhat Dissatisfied   ☐ Very Dissatisfied   ☐ No Opinion

2. Enforcing laws related to drug sales or use.
   ☐ Very Satisfied   ☐ Satisfied   ☐ Somewhat Dissatisfied   ☐ Very Dissatisfied   ☐ No Opinion

3. Enforcing laws related to traffic.
   ☐ Very Satisfied   ☐ Satisfied   ☐ Somewhat Dissatisfied   ☐ Very Dissatisfied   ☐ No Opinion

4. Enforcing laws related to nuisance crimes (disturbing the peace, littering, etc.)
   ☐ Very Satisfied   ☐ Satisfied   ☐ Somewhat Dissatisfied   ☐ Very Dissatisfied   ☐ No Opinion

5. Enforcing laws related to juvenile delinquency.
   ☐ Very Satisfied   ☐ Satisfied   ☐ Somewhat Dissatisfied   ☐ Very Dissatisfied   ☐ No Opinion

6. Solving crimes (i.e.; for example, finding and arresting perpetrators).
   ☐ Very Satisfied   ☐ Satisfied   ☐ Somewhat Dissatisfied   ☐ Very Dissatisfied   ☐ No Opinion

7. Working with the community to prevent crime.
   ☐ Very Satisfied   ☐ Satisfied   ☐ Somewhat Dissatisfied   ☐ Very Dissatisfied   ☐ No Opinion

8. Deterring crime by being a visible presence (patrolling, etc.)
   ☐ Very Satisfied   ☐ Satisfied   ☐ Somewhat Dissatisfied   ☐ Very Dissatisfied   ☐ No Opinion

9. Is there other criminal activity that you feel is not being dealt with in a satisfactory manner?
   ☐ Yes   ☐ No   If yes, please list what types of crimes you are referring to below:

_____

_____

Section 3: *Customer Service Issues*

1. During the past year, have you had personal contact with an RCPD officer?
   ☐ Yes   ☐ No   *If "yes" please continue with the next question; if "no" skip to question 7 in this section.*

2. Was this contact a result of your being:

   ☐ The victim of a crime;
   ☐ A witness;
   ☐ An arrestee;
   ☐ Recipient of a Citation or a Notice To Appear;
   ☐ Involvement in a traffic accident;
   ☐ Other; _____

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3. Did the officer seem willing to help you with the situation?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Not Applicable

4. Was the officer able to provide guidance or a solution to the situation?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Not Applicable

5. Was the officer polite and courteous?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

6. Was the officer professional?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

7. In your opinion, RCPD officers treat everyone fairly with regards to:
   a) Age   ☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
   b) Income   ☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
   c) Gender   ☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
   d) Race/Ethnicity ☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

8. In general, do you feel safe in your community?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

9. Is there a specific area in your community where you **do not** feel safe?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

If "yes" please provide the area to which you are referring. _____

10. Do you feel that crime has decreased in your community during the last year?
    ☐ Yes ☐ No

11. Have you witnessed a crime in your community in the last year, but did **not** call the police?
    ☐ Yes ☐ No

12. What do you see as the main problems, criminal or otherwise, in your community?

    _____

    _____

13. *(If relevant)* Would you be willing to take an active part in solving any of these problems?
    ☐ Yes ☐ No

14. How else could the Riley County Police Department better serve the community?

    _____

    _____

    _____

Section 4: *Statistical data*

1. Do you own your home or do you rent?
   ☐ Own ☐ Rent

2. Using census-type definitions, do you identify yourself as: *(RCPD is required to keep certain records.)*
   ☐ White ☐ Black ☐ Hispanic ☐ Asian ☐ Other

3. Respondent's sex:
   ☐ Male ☐ Female

4. Education level?
   ☐ Less than High School ☐ High School/GED ☐ Some College ☐ College Degree

Thank you for participating in this survey. If you have questions about the content of this survey, feel free to call Lt. Hegarty at 537-2112 ext 2300.

Appendix B - Riley County Community Growth Survey

Riley County Community Growth Survey

Riley County will soon experience a significant population surge as nearly 30,000 soldiers, personnel, and their families move into the Ft. Riley area. Such a sudden population increase will have a substantial impact on the surrounding communities. Kansas State University is dedicating research staff to the task of promoting positive community change while avoiding possible negative consequences. As a citizen of Riley Co., it is critical that we hear from you in assessing and preparing for this event. Thank you for your prompt return of this survey. A self-addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed. If you have questions, please contact participating K-State research faculty at 785-532-6865 or by email at:

Dr. Ryan Spohn, rspohn@k-state.edu   or   Dr. L. Susan Williams, lswilli@k-state.edu

Demographics
For each of the following, please check the correct box, or fill in the blank.

1. Are you a resident of Riley County? ☐ Yes ☐ No
2. Are you a resident of: ☐ Manhattan ☐ Riley ☐ Leonardville ☐ Keats ☐ Ogden ☐ Randolph ☐ Other
3. What is your current age? _____
4. Are you a college student? ☐ Yes ☐ No
5. How many total years have you lived in Riley County? _____
6. Was there a period of time when you did not reside in Riley County? ☐ Yes ☐ No
7. Do you own your home or do you rent? ☐ Own ☐ Rent
8. Respondent's sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

Collective Efficacy
For each of the following, please circle the number that best describes your opinion, where 1 = "strongly disagree" 2 = "disagree" 3 = "agree" and 4 = "strongly agree."

	1	2	3	4
1. As a community, we can handle mistakes and setbacks without getting discouraged.	1	2	3	4
2. Despite our differences, we can commit ourselves to common community goals.	1	2	3	4
3. I am convinced that we can improve the quality of life in the community, even when resources are limited or become scarce.	1	2	3	4
4. Our community can cooperate in the face of difficulties to improve the quality of community facilities.	1	2	3	4
5. We can resolve crises in the community without any negative aftereffects.	1	2	3	4
6. I am confident that our community can create adequate resources to develop new jobs despite changes in the economy.	1	2	3	4
7. Most of my friends live in my community.	1	2	3	4
8. I am a member of at least one local civic or local service organization in my community.	1	2	3	4
9. I plan to live many years in my community.	1	2	3	4
10. I know my neighbors' names and places of work.	1	2	3	4
11. I want my community to remain as it is.	1	2	3	4
12. My community has about the right number of people living in it.	1	2	3	4
13. My community has good schools.	1	2	3	4
14. The people in my community look after one another.	1	2	3	4
15. My community welcomes new people/families who move into the community.	1	2	3	4

Living Choice
How important are the following factors in choosing where to live, with 1 representing "extremely important" and 5 representing "not important at all"? (please circle your response)

	1	2	3	4
1. Housing choice or availability	1	2	3	4
2. Housing affordability	1	2	3	4
3. Municipal Services (water, sewer, recreation, fire, other emergency services)	1	2	3	4
4. Health Services	1	2	3	4
5. Employment	1	2	3	4
6. K-12 Education	1	2	3	4
7. Higher Education (college)	1	2	3	4
8. Parks and recreation	1	2	3	4
9. Music, fine arts, and cultural events	1	2	3	4

Community Impressions

For each of the following statements, please circle the number that best describes your opinion, where 1 = "strongly disagree" 2 = "disagree" 3 = "agree" and 4 = "strongly agree."

1.	People are usually helpful.	1	2	3	4
2.	Most people are honest.	1	2	3	4
3.	Most people can be trusted.	1	2	3	4
4.	It is safe to walk alone in downtown Manhattan on a Saturday night.	1	2	3	4
5.	It is safe to walk alone in Aggieville on a Saturday night.	1	2	3	4
6.	It is safe to walk alone in my neighborhood on a Saturday night.	1	2	3	4
7.	In general, I feel safe in my community.	1	2	3	4
8.	A community is enriched when it is comprised of many people from different cultures and countries.	1	2	3	4
9.	In the long run, America will benefit from the fact that the world is becoming more interconnected.	1	2	3	4
10.	The needs of the United States must continue to be our highest priority over the needs of other countries.	1	2	3	4
11.	I feel the need to speak out when I hear government officials doing something I consider wrong.	1	2	3	4
12.	I always lock my car as soon as I get in it at night.	1	2	3	4
13.	I never go out alone at night.	1	2	3	4
14.	I always keep my house or apartment door locked.	1	2	3	4
15.	I always keep all of my windows locked at night.	1	2	3	4
16.	I own some type of weapon for protection (including pepper spray).	1	2	3	4

Perceptions of the Military

For each of the following statements, please circle the number that best describes your opinion, where 1 = "strongly disagree" 2 = "disagree" 3 = "agree" and 4 = "strongly agree."

1.	In general, my community supports the local military base and its personnel.	1	2	3	4
2.	In general, my community is less safe because of the local military base.	1	2	3	4
3.	The military serves the nation's interest.	1	2	3	4
4.	The Iraq war is worth fighting even considering casualties.	1	2	3	4
5.	The war in Iraq would be worthwhile if we could guarantee minimal loss of human life.	1	2	3	4
6.	Professional soldiers have good:				
	a) Professional skills	1	2	3	4
	b) Physical fitness	1	2	3	4
	c) Good morale	1	2	3	4
	d) Positive relations with our country	1	2	3	4
	e) Positive relations with our community	1	2	3	4
	f) High level of discipline	1	2	3	4
7.	A military town typically is associated with				
	a) More drugs	1	2	3	4
	b) Higher crime	1	2	3	4
	c) More strip clubs	1	2	3	4
	d) More gun and pawn shops	1	2	3	4
	e) A better economy	1	2	3	4
	f) Better schools	1	2	3	4
	g) More churches	1	2	3	4
	h) More valued attitudes toward diversity	1	2	3	4
	i) Lower community involvement	1	2	3	4
	j) Lower rates of child abuse	1	2	3	4
	k) Higher rates of domestic violence	1	2	3	4
	l) Higher rates of sexual assault	1	2	3	4

Military Expansion

Regarding the expansion of Fort Riley, please circle the number that best describes your opinion, where 1 = "strongly disagree" 2 = "disagree" 3 = "agree" and 4 = "strongly agree."

1.	The expansion will draw more businesses to this community.	1	2	3	4
2.	This community will have a lot of new residents.	1	2	3	4
3.	There will be problems in public service provision because of rapid population growth.	1	2	3	4
4.	The expansion will put too much pressure on the environment.	1	2	3	4
5.	The expansion is the most important force behind local development.	1	2	3	4
6.	The expansion will mean more business for some, but most of the people will not benefit from it.	1	2	3	4
7.	The local population will be more diverse after the expansion.	1	2	3	4
8.	There will be considerable tension between the newcomers and the long-term residents in what they consider important for the community.	1	2	3	4

9. My community is prepared to manage issues related to the expanding military population, regarding:

a) Housing	1	2	3	4
b) College education	1	2	3	4
c) Streets and roads	1	2	3	4
d) Food and recreation	1	2	3	4
e) Crime control	1	2	3	4
f) Social services	1	2	3	4
g) Jobs	1	2	3	4
h) Environment	1	2	3	4

10. When I think about the military personnel the first thing that enters my mind is:
_____

11. My greatest question or concern with regard to the expanding military population is:
_____

12. The most positive outcome associated with the expanding military population will be:
_____

Violence   *For each of the following statements, please circle the number that best describes your opinion, where 1 = "strongly disagree" 2 = "disagree" 3 = "agree" and 4 = "strongly agree."*

1. I like fighting.	1	2	3	4
2. If you walk away from a fight, you are a coward.	1	2	3	4
3. I like watching violent games.	1	2	3	4
4. I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary.	1	2	3	4
5. Sometimes violent action is necessary.	1	2	3	4
6. I am uncomfortable seeing violence.	1	2	3	4
7. If there is going to be violence, I find a way to avoid it.	1	2	3	4
8. Violence is almost never justified.	1	2	3	4
9. No matter what the situation I would never act violently.	1	2	3	4
10. Fighting is never acceptable for kids.	1	2	3	4

Crime   *For each of the following questions, please circle the number that best describes your opinion; on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 = "no problem at all" and 10 = "a very big problem."*

1. How much of a problem is violence in your community?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2. How much of a problem is drug abuse in your community?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3. How much of a problem is gang activity in your community?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4. How much of a problem is property crime in your community (i.e. theft, burglary, etc.)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5. How much of a problem is rape/sexual assault in your community?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6. How much of a problem is domestic abuse in your community?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
7. How much of a problem is child abuse/neglect in your community?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
8. How much of a problem is other crime in your community?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

    (please list other crime that is a problem _____)

9. With the expansion of Fort Riley, crime in Riley County is likely to:

❏ Decrease significantly ❏ Decrease somewhat ❏ Stay about the same ❏ Increase somewhat ❏ Increase significantly

10. Referring to the military expansion, I expect the following with regard to local crime rates (please answer all):

	Increase	Stay the same	Decrease
a) property crime	❏	❏	❏
b) assault/aggravated assault	❏	❏	❏
c) homicide	❏	❏	❏
d) rape/sexual assault	❏	❏	❏
e) domestic violence/child abuse	❏	❏	❏
f) public disorder	❏	❏	❏
g) drugs/alcohol	❏	❏	❏
h) other (please list) _____	❏	❏	❏

11. Please describe the "typical" criminal and/or crime, in your opinion. _____
_____

12. Does the above description of the "typical" criminal vary by race? yes___/no___ By gender? yes___/no___ By age? yes___/no___
    If so, please explain. _____
_____

13. Please circle the number that best describes your opinion, where 1 = "strongly disagree" 2 = "disagree" 3 = "agree" and 4 = "strongly agree." Riley County Police Department is well prepared to control the following as the situation demands:

a) Changing college population	1	2	3	4
b) Expanding military population	1	2	3	4
c) Natural disaster	1	2	3	4
d) Aggieville night life	1	2	3	4
e) Parks and public space	1	2	3	4
f) Solving crimes	1	2	3	4
g) Preventing crimes	1	2	3	4
h) Managing officer stress and conflict	1	2	3	4

14. Circle the number that best describes your opinion, where 1 = "strongly disagree" 2 = "disagree" 3 = "agree" and 4 = "strongly agree." Riley County Police Department is currently prepared to manage the expanding military population with regard to:

a) Personnel	1	2	3	4
b) Equipment and Facilities	1	2	3	4
c) Training	1	2	3	4

15. Please circle the number that best describes your opinion, where 1 = "strongly disagree" 2 = "disagree" 3 = "agree" and 4 = "strongly agree." In general, Riley County Police department is adequately staffed to serve the community in terms of:

a) Presence/Visibility	1	2	3	4
b) Noise and nuisance	1	2	3	4
c) Drugs	1	2	3	4
d) Alcohol	1	2	3	4
e) Juvenile delinquency	1	2	3	4
f) Traffic control	1	2	3	4

Media   *For each of the following, please check the correct box, or fill in the blank.*

1. The following represent the primary sources for my knowledge regarding the military:

_____
_____
_____

2. The following resources represent the primary sources for my knowledge regarding crime:

_____
_____
_____

3. The following resources best represent my typical source for accessing information about my community (check all that apply):

a) internet	❑	Several times a day	❑	Once a day	❑	Weekly	❑	Monthly	❑ Rarely
b) radio	❑	Several times a day	❑	Once a day	❑	Weekly	❑	Monthly	❑ Rarely
c) television	❑	Several times a day	❑	Once a day	❑	Weekly	❑	Monthly	❑ Rarely
d) newspaper	❑	Several times a day	❑	Once a day	❑	Weekly	❑	Monthly	❑ Rarely
e) friends	❑	Several times a day	❑	Once a day	❑	Weekly	❑	Monthly	❑ Rarely
f) family	❑	Several times a day	❑	Once a day	❑	Weekly	❑	Monthly	❑ Rarely
g) other _____	❑	Several times a day	❑	Once a day	❑	Weekly	❑	Monthly	❑ Rarely

4) The most reliable media source(s) for information about my community is/are:

_____
_____
_____

Statistical Data   *For each of the following, please check the correct box, or fill in the blank.*

1. What ethnicity do you identify yourself as?   ❑ White   ❑ Black   ❑ Hispanic   ❑ Asian   ❑ Other
2. Education level?   ❑ Less than High School   ❑ High School/GED   ❑ Some College   ❑ College Degree
3. What is the number of people in your household? _____
4. What is your pre-tax household income?
   ❑ $0-$14,999   ❑ $15,000-$29,999   ❑ $30,000-$49,999   ❑ $50,000-$99,999   ❑ $100,000+
5. Do you currently serve in the U.S. military in any capacity?   ❑ Yes   ❑ No
6. Are you the spouse of a U.S. military soldier?   ❑ Yes   ❑ No
7. Are you associated with the U.S. military in any other type of employment?   ❑ Yes   ❑ No
8. Do you have a family member or close friend who serves in the military?   ❑ Yes   ❑ No
9. Do you know someone who has been injured as a result of military service?   ❑ Yes   ❑ No
10. Do you know someone who has been killed as a result of military service?   ❑ Yes   ❑ No

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Appendix C - Group Interview Questions

➢ What do you know about the serial rapist in Manhattan?
- o (probes)
  - ▪ How many rapes has he committed (that you know of)?
  - ▪ Where have these occurred?
  - ▪ How does he get in to the victim's residence?
  - ▪ What does he do?
  - ▪ What does he look like?
  - ▪ How are the police able to determine quickly if a stranger rape can be attributed to the serial rapist?
  - ▪ What other characteristics or other information have you heard about the serial rapist? (possible occupation, background, etc.)

➢ Where did you hear about the serial rapist?
- o (probes)
  - ▪ Can you remember when you first heard about the serial rapist, and how?
  - ▪ What sources have you heard about the serial rapist from? Newspaper, Radio, Television, Campus Organizations, Friends (male or female?), Class, Other (please identify all that apply and specify which media source, organization, or class if applicable)
  - ▪ If you read a newspaper, which sections do you read?
  - ▪ Do you discuss the serial rapist with other people? Are they mostly men or women?
  - ▪ Is there a particular media source that you prefer over others? Why?
  - ▪ What media source do you believe is the most reliable source for your information?
  - ▪ What do you believe is the most important source of information about the serial rapist for you?

➢ How does your knowledge of the serial rapist affect your feelings or emotions on a regular basis?
- o (probes)
  - ▪ Does it make you more scared than before?
  - ▪ Does it make you nervous?
  - ▪ Are you indifferent?
  - ▪ How often do you think about the serial rapist?
  - ▪ When you discuss the serial rapist with other women, how do these discussions make you feel? How do they make you feel compared to other information sources?

➢ Has your behavior changed since you learned of the serial rapist? If so, how?
  o (probes)
    ▪ Are there any safety measures you take now because of information released about the serial rapist?
    ▪ Has your choice in housing/number of roommates been affected by your knowledge of a serial rapist in the community?
    ▪ Have you participated in any campus activities such as rallies or lectures on sexual violence? Similar Non-Campus activities?
    ▪ Are there certain activities that you will not participate in?
    ▪ What information are your behavior changes based on?
    ▪ Is there a source that affects your behavior more than others do?

➢ Was there a particular time or incident when you were informed about the serial rapist, after which you thought about changing your behavior more than at other times?
  o (probes)
    ▪ Did the information you learned from your friends concern you more than what you read in the newspaper? (or vice versa, depends on the previous answers)
    ▪ How often do you discuss date rape with your female friends? (less or more often than the serial rapist?)

Appendix D - Group Interview Basic Demographic Questions

   The following questions will help determine some basic information. Answering these questions here will help save some time so we do not have to spend a lot of our time going over basic information with each individual one at a time. You have been provided with a participant number so the researcher will be able to attach your demographic information to your discussion in the focus group. Your name will not be attached to this information.

- ➢ How do you self-identify your race and/or ethnicity?
- ➢ What is your age?
- ➢ What is your major?
- ➢ How many years have you lived or did you live in Manhattan, KS?
- ➢ Do you live in Manhattan, KS now?
- ➢ What type of housing do you live in now? (dorms, apartment: small complex 1-2 buildings or large with more than 2 buildings, house, Sorority house, condo, townhouse, duplex) If other, please describe.
- ➢ What type of housing did you live in throughout the time you lived in Manhattan, KS? Please identify all types of housing you have lived in throughout the time you have been in Manhattan, KS.
- ➢ What general locations have you lived in while in Manhattan, KS? (On campus, close East side of campus, close West side of campus, near the stadium, Northview area, Aggieville, South of Bluemont/Anderson, South of Poyntz, West of Seth Child, etc.) If none of these apply, please describe the general area in which you lived without identifying a specific address.
- ➢ What is your hometown?
- ➢ Have you ever taken any Sociology or Women's Studies courses? If so, which ones?
- ➢ What do you know about the serial rapist in Manhattan?
    - o (Probes)
        - ▪ How many rapes has he committed (that you know of)?
        - ▪ Where have these occurred?
        - ▪ How does he get in to the victim's residence?
        - ▪ What does he do?
        - ▪ What does he look like?
        - ▪ How are the police able to determine quickly if a stranger rape can be attributed to the serial rapist?
        - ▪ What other characteristics or other information have you heard about the serial rapist? (possible occupation, background, etc.)

Appendix E - In-depth Interview Questions

Job Responsibilities
What is your job title at the Student Center? Please describe for me your job responsibilities and the purpose of the Student Center.
   ➤ *(Probes)*
   ➤ *Job title*
   ➤ *Length of time worked at center*
   ➤ *Responsibilities*
   ➤ *General purpose of student center*
   ➤ *Most important role of center*

General Women's Center Information What issues are addressed by the Student Center? (*Rape, violence, sexual harassment*)

Rape as an issue addressed by the Student Center
With regards to all of the issues addressed by the Student Center, how much of a focus is rape and sexual assault?
   ➤ *Kinds of calls or inquiries regarding rape*
   ➤ *How many per week (or month)*
   ➤ *Do women walk in or call?*
   ➤ *Questions come from personal experience or general inquiry*
   ➤ *Policies regarding information dissemination about rape*
   ➤ *Methods/activities to spread rape awareness*

The Serial Rapist as an issue at the Student Center
Are you personally aware of the Serial Rapist in Manhattan, KS? Tell me about how the Student Center deals with or responds to the serial rapist.
   ➤ *Does the student center get calls about the serial rapist*
   ➤ *Does there seem to be an awareness of the serial rapist*
   ➤ *Has the center been involved with spreading the word about the serial rapist*
   ➤ *Are there things the center would like to do but have not been able to (what?)*
   ➤ *Specific concerns regarding the presence of the serial rapist in the community*
   ➤ *Do women seem to express specific concerns themselves about the serial rapist*

Where do women get their information?
Where do you think women mostly get their information about the serial rapist and how may that affect them?
   ➤ *Specific concerns about how information is gathered*
   ➤ *What could help alleviate or address the fear*
   ➤ *Would women benefit more from getting info from the center*
   ➤ *Do women prefer to get information from their social networks rather than through formal sources*
   ➤ *Are women's social networks important to spreading information about rape and the serial rapist*
   ➤ *Would you encourage open discussions within women's networks in connection to the women's center*