The Con at Work: A Sociological Profile of the Con-Style Serial Rapist

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This thesis titled
The Con at Work: A Sociological Profile of the Con-Style Serial Rapist

by

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ABSTRACT

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The Con at Work: A Sociological Profile of the Con-Style Serial Rapist

Director of Thesis: Thomas M. Vander Ven

Few empirical studies have explored serial rape and little work has been done to develop a sociological profile of serial rapists and their victims. Creating sociological profiles of serial rape offenders and their victims allows us to identify individuals with opportunities to offend as well as those at an increased risk of victimization. The current paper uses a qualitative analysis of newspaper accounts in order to construct a sociological profile of the con-style serial rapist. These profiles were constructed for each of the four types of con that were identified in the data. A total of 403 newspaper articles were coded and 221 con-style serial rapists were included in the current analysis. The resulting sociological profiles can be used to inform policies which protect high-risk victim populations as well as decrease offenders’ opportunities to commit serial rape.
DEDICATION

To my sister, Kelly, for showing me how to always put my best foot forward and for
inspiring me to be the best big sister that I possibly can.
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*My family:* Thank you to my family for all of the love and guidance that you have provided for me. I would not be who I am today without the lessons that you have taught me and the courage that you have given me to grow and become the best person that I can. A special thank you to my parents and my amazing grandparents who have taught me to keep my head up in times when I feel lost and who incessantly tell me how proud they are of my accomplishments. You all keep me going.

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Gatorade me.
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INTRODUCTION

Serial rape is one of the least studied and least understood predatory crimes. Though previous studies have sought to understand serial rape offenders and their crimes, serial rapists remain largely under-studied. Existing studies have addressed topics as varied as rates of violence used by these offenders during sexual assaults and the offending behaviors of the South African serial rapist (Park, Schlesinger, Pinizzotto & Davis, 2008; Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012). However, many of the studies in the serial rape literature are limited by relatively small sample sizes. These small sample sizes make it difficult to generalize findings to the larger population and identify broader trends in serial rape offending.

In addition to small sample sizes and a lack of generalizability, the majority of existing studies on serial rape use samples in which all of the offenders have been convicted and imprisoned for their crimes (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990; Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012). Data used in the current study includes offenders who were never captured or convicted by law enforcement and thus, are still considered at large. Including these at large offenders allows the current study to use a larger frame of analysis when it comes to profiling con style offenders.

Using data collected from archived newspaper articles spanning the years of 1940 to 2010, the current study seeks to construct a sociological profile of the con-style serial rapist in order to understand the ways in which these offenders target, approach and assault their victims. Previous research has found that the majority of violent sexual acts...
are committed by a small number of repeat offenders who sexually offend an average of seven to eleven victims (Warren, Reboussin, Hazelwood, Gibbs, Trumbetta, & Cummings, 1999; Hazelwood & Warren, 1990; Wright, 2014). The construction of a sociological profile of the con style serial rapist is important because such a profile could then be used by law enforcement to capture these types of serial offenders before they can accumulate so many victims. If more active serial rapists are captured, the number of sexual offenses committed by these offenders will decrease resulting in fewer victims.

Certain aspects of the profile can also be used to identify individuals with the most opportunities to commit serial sexual offenses and prevent them from doing so. For instance, policies can be enforced to prevent offenders in certain occupations from carrying out these offenses. If the offender profile can be used in order to take away offenders’ opportunities to commit acts of serial rape while on the job, it would decrease even further the number of individuals that are victimized.
THE PROFILE OF THE CON-STYLE SERIAL RAPIST

Though the serial rape literature is limited, previous studies have attempted to create profiles of serial rapists and their victims. Park et al. (2008) found that, when compared to single-victim rapists, serial rapists were more likely to exhibit a higher-level of criminally-sophisticated behaviors in order to avoid detection. This study also found that single-victim rapists were more likely to use the confidence-style approach and were often known to their victims while serial rapists were unknown to victims and most often used blitz-style methods of attack. Of the twenty-two male serial rapists in the study, 41% were Caucasian, 42.1% worked as laborers or in blue collar jobs and 47.1% were married at the time of their offenses. The known number of offenses for each offender ranged from two to thirteen with a mean of 6.9 and the mean age of the offender was 29.1 years old.

Little is known about the social correlates of serial rape offending and victimization. Most prior research conducted on serial violence takes a more psychological, individualistic approach as opposed to a sociological one which would address situational factors or patterns that influence serial crime. The current study aims to take these situational factors into account because they play a major role in the way that each offender commits each individual act of sexual violence (Beauregard, Proulx, Rossmo, Leclerc & Allaire, 2007; Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012).

In their profile of the serial rapist, Hazelwood & Burgess include multiple styles of sexual offenders and their possible occupations (1987). However, the descriptions of
these occupations are vague and limited. For instance, they suggest that an offender using the power assertive approach would be in an occupation which would require them to wear business casual attire or put them in a position of power. The examples that they provided of this type of offender included a police officer and a military official (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987). However, their descriptions could be used to describe many other occupations. This particular study aims to provide a more detailed profile of the serial rape offender using situational factors of the crime in addition to descriptions of the offenders themselves.

The occupational pose that a serial rape offender chooses when approaching potential victims is an important characteristic included in the current sociological profile of “the working con.” Each pose influences the way that the offender will approach their victims and the ways in which they will select their targets. In the case of a serial rapist with an occupation as a police officer or who poses as one, the offender is placed in a position of high authority. This may make it easy for the offender to sexually assault individuals who are vulnerable to arrest or who fear imprisonment. In these cases, victims may be coerced or forced to comply with the offenders’ demands under threats of arrest.

Offenders in the current study also asked potential victims for assistance or offered them assistance in order to carry out their assaults. When the victim becomes distracted by an activity such as looking at their watch in order to tell them the time, the offender then initiates their assault. This approach is also included in the con style of attack as presented by Hazelwood & Warren (1990). According to Hazelwood and Warren, the con style of attack is most often used by offenders in order initiate contact
with their victims and involves subterfuge. The success of offenders using this attack is also “predicated on the rapist’s ability to interact with women” (1990). Using this technique, an offender openly approaches their victim to ask for some type of help or assistance. Once the offender feels they are in control of the victim, they carry out the assault.

As an example of the con approach, Hazelwood & Warren describe the case of a man named John who was interviewed in their study (1990). John raped more than twenty women and claimed to have stopped one of his victims while posing as a plainclothes police officer. After approaching the victim and asking for her license and registration, he retreated back to his vehicle where he waited for a few moments. When he returned with the victim’s documents, he told her that her registration had expired and that she needed to come with him. Once in his car, she was handcuffed and the offender drove her to an isolated location where he raped and sodomized her (1990). This case is not unlike many of the cases included in the present study.

While Hazelwood & Warren used only one definition of the con-style serial rapist in their typology, researchers in the study of South African serial rapists identified six different con-style approaches (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012). In cases where female victims were the targets of the assault, the offender engaged the female in conversation or proposed to them, conned them with a false employment opportunity, or pretended to offer help or assistance to the victim. In cases where the targets were male, offenders pretended they needed help from the victim, that they were an authority figure or offered them a bribe (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012).
In the next section, the broader literature on the link between occupations and criminal behavior is explored to provide a context for studying the con rapist and his styles of attack. It is especially valuable to analyze this literature as it relates to con offenders who committed acts of serial rape while on-the-job or those who posed as having a particular occupation. By incorporating crime and occupation literature in this study, we are able to illustrate how actors use their structural position and resulting routine activities as resources to commit crime.
OCCUPATIONS AND CRIME

A clear link between offender’s occupation and criminal behavior can be found in the body of research on white-collar crime. According to Edwin Sutherland, white collar crimes are those that take place in relation to business (1940). These crimes take place in most professional or upper-class occupations in the form of misrepresentation in financial statements, manipulations of the stock exchange, commercial bribery, bribery of public officials to secure favorable legislation, misrepresentation in advertising, embezzlement and misapplication of funds and tax fraud among many others. Without an occupation as a business professional, one would not have the knowledge or the power to commit crimes of this nature. Thus, the study of white collar crime is pivotal when it comes to studying occupational crime and the ways that offenders’ structural positions allow them the opportunity to commit certain crimes.

In addition to white collar crime, criminologists in the area of organized crime have found that certain occupations, work relations, and work settings may be responsible for promoting pathways from a legal, conventional occupation into organized crime. In these cases, offenders who engaged in organized crime did so in the context of their daily work (Kleemans & Van de Bunt, 2008). One example cited in this study were airline staff members who engaged in smuggling cocaine. If not for their occupations as airline staff members, these individuals would not have had the opportunity to smuggle cocaine onto airplanes (Kleemans & Van de Bunt, 2008). In this way, their participation in illegal activity was directly related to their legal and conventional occupation.
Another area of literature concerned with crime and occupational status is ‘crime as work’ literature in which criminal behavior is studied in the same way as conventional behavior. In this body of literature, researchers contend that criminal work is conducted within the same societal systems and structures as conventional work. Therefore, instead of studying criminal work as different from conventional work, ‘crime as work’ criminologists claim that it may be more beneficial to view these deviant career patterns in the same manner as conventional occupations. For instance, Cullen & Link (1980) found that criminal work is stratified by prestige and stereotyped by sex in much the same manner as work in conventional occupations.

One particular occupation which has been studied in its relation to crime committed on the job is that of the police officer. Literature on the inner-workings of the police department is quite expansive and encompasses topics such as masculinity in the workplace and police sexual violence, or PSV (Rabe-Hemp & Braithwaite, 2012). In cases of PSV, female civilians experience a “sexually degrading, humiliating, violating, damaging or threatening act committed by a police officer through the use of force, fear, intimidation, or police authority” (Kraska & Kappeler, 1995).

In studies of PSV, it has been found that officers who are repeat sexual offenders are likely to be transferred across numerous jurisdictions while they await trial on multiple accusations of sexual assault (Rabe-Hemp & Braithwaite, 2012; Kraska & Kappeler, 1995). This finding supports existing evidence of “the officer shuffle” in which officers who are charged with sex offenses are transferred to different jurisdictions as
opposed to terminated. This is especially problematic because officers are then offered
the opportunity to recidivate and assault more victims resulting in patterns of serial
offending.

Previous researchers of serial violent offenders, such as serial killers, have also
included occupational status in the profiles of offenders. In the case of the serial killer,
one study found that serial killers shared similar employment records of blue collar jobs
and military experience (Krueger, 2009). Though there is a lack of literature focused on
the occupational status of the serial rapist, some studies do include this variable in the
offender profile. In their typology of rapists and their styles of attack, Hazelwood &
Burgess (1987) describe five distinct styles of attack. In addition to detailing each style of
attack, the authors include estimates as to the types of occupations that each of the
offenders may have based on the ways that they gain access to their victims. Again, these
classifications tended to be vague and included characteristics such as ‘a business casual
style of dress’ which can be attributed to any number of occupations.

A combination of both crime as work and white-collar crime literature can be
found in studies of criminals known as confidence men. These confidence men, or ‘con
artists,’ use their knowledge of investments (or supposed knowledge) in order to gain the
trust of wealthy individuals who then give them large sums of money to invest for them.
Rather than invest these monies, confidence men keep the money for themselves. The
patterns of behavior used by confidence men when selecting and approaching a possible
target strongly resemble those used by the con-style serial rapist. A discussion of the
literature on confidence men is included below in order to illuminate these
commonalities.
THE CONFIDENCE MAN

The confidence game, or “the con,” refers not only to instances of criminal fraud but also to actions taken by “talented actors who methodically and regularly build up informal social relationships just for the purpose of abusing them” (Goffman, 1952; Maurer, 1968; Pettit, 2011). According to previous researchers, confidence men are “modern entrepreneurs engaged in highly-organized industries with rules, apprenticeships, alliances, and most importantly, an exclusive, technical vocabulary” (Pettit, 2011). Thus, according to Maurer (1968) and Pettit (2011), confidence men use the same amount of professionalism and care when approaching their marks as any other highly-skilled professional in a conventional occupation.

Of particular interest to those who study con men is their ability to use impression management tactics in order to persuade a ‘mark,’ or the target of a con, to trust them and to follow their instructions. In order to do this effectively, the confidence man must employ elaborate and meticulous personal fronts and often engineer social settings that secure trust and reliability (Goffman, 1959; Maurer, 1940). Without this ability, con men would be completely ineffective in their ploys. A mark may become aware that they are the victim of a game and call off an entire operation which would result in no monetary gain for the con man as well as a possible blow to their reputation.

In his analysis of confidence men, Erving Goffman drew a parallel between the ways that they manipulate or impress others and the ways that sociologists conduct participant-observation. Goffman asserts that both the sociologist and the con man are
“embedded and attentive yet coolly detached observers skilled at playing different roles as the situation necessitate[s]” (Pettit, 2011). Much like a sociologist who observes their targeted population from a participant-observer point of view, a confidence man must get to know as much about their mark as possible before they begin to interact with them. The con learns about their target via careful observation from a safe distance and, once comfortable in their knowledge of the target, approaches their mark. It is expected that this same pattern of behavior is evident in the hunting behavior of the con style serial rapist.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The current paper seeks to theorize serial rape using both an environmental criminology and symbolic interactionist approach. Using this combined theoretical approach, we will be able to understand how serial rapists using the con style of attack are able to identify circumstances conducive to crime. This approach will also allow us to suggest more effective strategies for preventing serial rape by reducing offenders’ opportunity to attack victims. This paper particularly focuses on routine activities theory in an attempt to analyze and explain situational aspects which allow con-style serial rapists to commit their offenses.

Previous researchers of violent crime, such as those who study homicide, have also used an environmental criminology approach in order to analyze circumstances in which violent crimes are committed. For instance, researchers in one study of homicide victims and offenders used this approach to analyze distances traveled by victims and offenders to the scene of the crime (Pizarro, Corsaro & Yu, 2007). They found that distances traveled to the scene of the crime varied depending on the motive behind the crime and lifestyle characteristics of both the victims and offenders. These findings support the claims of environmental criminology because they show that the day-to-day patterns of behavior of offenders and victims impacted their chances of victimization (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Nelsen & Huff-Corzine, 1998; Pizarro, Corsaro & Yu, 2007).

In another study of mobility patterns of rape offenders, researchers found that rapists tend to travel relatively short distances as they target victims and commit acts of rape (Warren, et al., 1998). Previous studies have also used an environmental
criminology approach in order to analyze ways violent offenders choose their targets and found that offenders were very likely to select targets not far from their own residence. Both of these findings seem to support the claims of an environmental criminology approach because offenders are more familiar with the areas in which they live and carry out their own routine activities. Thus, they may feel confident that they can evade law enforcement or commit their offenses undetected.

Routine activities theory is especially relevant when discussing acts of serial rape because it assumes the presence of a motivated offender and focuses instead on the situational context in which a crime is committed. Cohen and Felson (1979) assert that structural changes in routine activity patterns of individuals in society can influence crime rates by affecting the convergence in space and time of motivated offenders and suitable targets in the absence of capable guardianship. The ‘routine activity patterns’ of victims and offenders refer to their recurrent vocational and leisure activities which they undertake on a day-to-day basis. When these patterns allow for the convergence of all three elements, a crime will occur. Thus, daily activities may influence the location of a potential victim and make them more accessible to an offender at an opportune time (Cohen & Felson, 1979). While routine activities theory has been used to analyze cases of serial violent crimes such as serial homicide, it has only recently been applied to instances of serial rape.

A routine activity approach may prove helpful to police and investigators as they investigate acts of serial rape. In the case of the serial rapist that targets one apartment complex or housing division, investigators may find it most effective to investigate
people who live in the area or in the housing division itself. Seeing as previous research has shown that most offenders target victims that live close to them, it would be reasonable to assume that the offender lives in the area. Routine activity theory can also be helpful when analyzing why certain members of the population are more likely to be victims of serial rape than others.

In their study of elderly victims of theft-related homicide, Nelsen and Huff-Cor锌ne (1998) found that the elderly were more likely to be victims of these crimes than other members of the population because they lived relatively-isolated lifestyles which resulted in a lack of capable guardianship. It was also noted that elderly people are stereotyped as having physical disabilities resulting in an inability to defend themselves if they are robbed or attacked. As a result of being perceived as physically unable to defend themselves, elderly people may be viewed as suitable targets. These findings presented by Nelsen and Huff-Cor锌ne provide support for the routine activity theory because each of the three elements necessary for a crime to occur (motivated offender, suitable target and lack of capable guardianship) converge in time and space in these incidents (1998).

By incorporating a symbolic interactionist perspective with routine activity theory, we are able to explore the techniques that are used by con-style serial rape offenders as they decide when and how to commit their crimes. In other words, this theory can be used to uncover how the motivated offender chooses suitable targets in an absence of capable guardianship. One of the techniques commonly used specifically by the con-style serial rapist is impression management.
Coined by Erving Goffman in his theory of the presentation of self, impression management refers to techniques which prevent performance disruptions (Goffman, 1959). In other words, a performer’s methods of monitoring their behavior so as not to ‘blow their cover’ during a performance. The performer must also monitor the behavior of the audience (or ‘read’ their audience) in order to make sure that their performance is not under- or over-acted so as not to raise questions from the audience which discredit their performance.

In his study of confidence men, David Maurer discusses many different persuasive techniques used by these men as they select a mark and prepare to victimize them (1940). The men in Maurer’s study were described as well-mannered and charismatic. In addition, they knew how to talk to marks and forge bonds of trust with them in relatively short amounts of time. The bonds between these men were tight enough for them to trust them with thousands of dollars. Thus, the mannerisms and linguistic skills employed by the con men can be characterized as forms of impression management. It is believed that the con-style rapist will use many of these same mannerisms and techniques when targeting and conning their victims. As a result, an interactionist approach is incorporated with an environmental criminology approach in the current theoretical framework.
METHODS

The data used in the current study were collected from archived newspaper articles spanning the years of 1940 to 2010. Due to variations in definitions of ‘serial rape’ in the existing literature, we first had to develop a definition of serial rape based upon prior serial rape and serial murder literature. Serial rape as defined in this study refers to three or more separate events of sexual coercion (with or without penetration) that occur over a period greater than 72 hours. Serial rape offenders actively seek, hunt or lure victims and attacks are linked together by some set of offense characteristics that may include the offender’s physical characteristics, a common style of attack, or characteristics of the victim. Rapists that kill their victims are not included to distinguish from serial killers. This definition also excludes people that may be in a position of authority over a potential victim (e.g. priests or teachers) who use manipulation and rhetorical persuasion, as opposed to coercion, to manufacture consent from their victims. The latter group is excluded to differentiate between offenders that use mentoring, grooming or persuasion and those that actively hunt victims. Serial rapists have only brief contact with their victims, while these other groups tend to have extended personal contact.

Newspaper articles were found using the research database Proquest and were selected from five highly-circulated newspapers which represent large geographic areas of the United States and which were available in the Proquest database. These newspapers were The Boston Globe, Chicago Tribune, Los Angeles Times, New York Times and The Washington Post. Within each newspaper archive, we searched general
terms such as “rape” and “rapist” to find potential cases then analyzed and coded accounts which matched the above definition of serial rape. As a result, the database consists of approximately 1,037 serial rape offenders.

Many variables were coded for each of the offenders and their victims in this original database. Examples of these variables include the location of the attack, the weapon used during the attack, the occupation of the offender, whether or not offenders had prior convictions and demographics of both the victims and offenders (i.e. age, race and sex). The average age of the serial rape offender at their first offense was 27.15 years old and 46.1% of the offenders were identified as African American. It is noted, however, that the newspaper accounts identified the race of the offender in only 297 cases. In cases where the race or ethnicity of the offender was not identified, we used supplementary sources such as online sex offender registries, prison inmate searches and ancestry.com in order to identify the race of the offender. By doing so, race was identified in an additional 198 cases.

Style of attack was identified for 768 of the offenders in the database and 229 of these were con offenders. The offenders’ style of attack was coded using Hazelwood & Warren’s (1980) original typology of the con, blitz, and surprise offender. In addition to these three styles of attack, a fourth category of “drugged” was added. Offenders were coded as using a con style of approach if they were able to approach their victims and engage them in a face-to-face interaction for the purpose of deceiving and attacking them (Hazelwood & Warren, 1980).
Unlike con-style offenders, offenders using the surprise method of attack did not seek personal interaction with their victims; these offenders attacked victims in their homes and caught them off-guard. Most of these attacks occurred at night and offenders tended to wear some type of disguise in order to avoid being identified by victims. The blitz offender is much like the surprise offender in that they also did not rely on personal interaction with their victims.

Blitz offenders used an entirely opportunistic approach rather than a premeditated one as seen in the cases of the con and surprise offender. The blitz offender selected targets who they perceived as suitable as they came into contact with them. The offenders used swift, physical force to first overpower and subdue their victims before they assaulted them. In addition to these offenders included in Hazelwood & Warren’s original typology (1980), we added the drugged style of attack. In drugged attacks, offenders used some type of drug in order to subdue their victims. Table 1 on the next page outlines each of the four main styles of approach and the number of offenders matching each description in the serial rape database.

In order to focus on the con offender, offenders who matched the above description of the con were isolated from the rest of the database. Each of the offenders included in the current analysis was the subject of at least one newspaper article taken from one of the five newspapers cited previously. Some offenders from the original database were excluded due to a lack of data or detail of their crimes provided in the articles. These cases were excluded because it could not be determined without a doubt that these offenders used a con approach as defined in this study. Despite the exclusion of
these offenders, approximately 403 newspaper articles detailing the crimes of 221 con-
style serial rapists were coded and analyzed.

Table 1: Offenders by Style of Attack

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Style of Attack</th>
<th>Identifying Characteristics</th>
<th>Number of Offenders (N = 768)</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Con</td>
<td>approaches victims and engages them in face-to-face interaction; use interaction to build trust before assaulting victims</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blitz</td>
<td>uses swift, direct physical assault to cause injury and subdue victim before they assault them</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprise</td>
<td>most often attacks victims in their homes and do not seek face-to-face interactions with their victims; catch victims off-guard</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugged</td>
<td>subdues victims with drugs in order to overpower and assault them</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Hazelwood & Warren, 1990)

Newspaper articles detailing attacks committed by the con offenders were coded for common themes and/or patterns of behavior using analytic induction. This type of analysis is used in order to define and redefine a specific phenomenon and explanatory factors which allow researchers to identify how “universal” relationships within the data are maintained (Smelser & Baltes, 2000). Initially, cases are inspected in order to identify common factors between them and researchers attempt to create explanations as to why
these common factors exist. As more cases are examined, these hypotheses may come to contradict one another or simply must be expanded in order to incorporate new data. This results in many changes in the definitions that are created to explain relationships between the data as new cases are analyzed. Definitions are not complete until all of the existing cases fit the explanations created by researchers to describe the relationships within the data.

When initially starting our analysis of the con-style serial rapist, we focused on offenders who used their occupations or posed as a particular occupation in order to attack their victims. However, we quickly noticed that some con offenders did not use an occupation in any form. Instead of an occupation, these offenders used a plea for help or offered to help their victims in order to lure them into their trap. This discovery resulted in the addition of three other styles of attack used by the con-style serial rapist which were not anticipated as is customary when using analytic inductive coding (Smelser & Baltes, 2001).

Using analytic induction, we were able to identify and define four types of con-style offenders. In addition to the profiles of each of these types of con, we were able to identify four common themes in the newspaper accounts of the offenders’ attacks. These themes include (1) the language or persuasive techniques used by offenders, (2) props used by the offenders such as uniforms and badges, (3) the offenders’ demeanor when approaching victims and (4) their methods of victim selection. Each of these subthemes are discussed in more detail as they pertain to each of the following offender profiles.
FINDINGS

After analyzing the qualitative data in this study, we were able to define and differentiate between four types of con approach used by serial rape offenders: (1) the working con, (2) the ‘Good Samaritan,’ (3) the supplicating con and (4) the transactional con. Descriptions of each style of con approach as well as their frequency within the data can be found in Table 2 on the next page. The average age of the con-style offender is 29.4 years old which is considerably older than the average serial rape offender (27.15). In addition, of the 101 cases in which race and/or ethnicity was identified, 45% were identified as African American. Race was not identified in 121 of the cases.

The Working Con

Offenders in this category were termed ‘working’ cons because they either assaulted their victims while on the job or under the guise of an occupation. Offenders primarily used an occupational pose to gain access to victims’ homes where the assaults took place or to establish authority over the victims in order to coerce them. This approach was used by 42% (n=93) of con offenders and the most common occupational poses used by offenders were maintenance or repairmen and police or investigative officers (Table 3). Offenders posing as maintenance men were able to gain access to victims’ homes by claiming that they were there to perform some type of household repair while police and other investigative officers were able to coerce victims by threatening to punish or arrest them. Table 3 on page 32 lists each of the most commonly-used occupations and their frequency in the data.
Table 2: Offenders by Con Method of Approach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Con Method</th>
<th>Identifying Characteristics</th>
<th>Number of Offenders (N = 221)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The working con</td>
<td>assaults while on the job or under the guise of a trusted occupation; occupational poses may include plainclothes police officers and maintenance men</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ‘Good Samaritan’</td>
<td>offers victims some type of assistance or engages them in conversation; uses helpful demeanor to gain the trust of victims</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The supplicating con</td>
<td>asks victims for some type of help or assistance; may ask for the time, directions or to use their telephone</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The transactional con</td>
<td>assaults victims during an authentic or posed commercial exchange or economic transaction</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The language and persuasive techniques used by the working con varied depending on the occupational pose used by the offender. In the case of the maintenance or repairman, the offender simply knocked on victims’ doors and claimed that they were there to “fix a leak” or that they had been sent by a building supervisor. Alleged rapist, Richard Gersley, was able to persuade victims to let him into their home by telling them that he was there to “check the air conditioner” (*New York Times*, 1985). The language of offenders using these types of occupations tended to be simplistic and seemingly-professional in nature as they asked about household appliances and repairs that needed to be made within the home.
Table 3: Frequency of Occupational Pose

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency (n = 93)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police or investigative officer (e.g. plainclothes officers, detectives, INS agents)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance or repairmen (e.g. appliance repairmen, plumbers)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors or physicians (e.g. chiropractors, gynecologists)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postal worker (e.g. delivery boy, messenger)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offered victims jobs</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cab/taxi driver</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Door-to-door salesman/survey taker</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video/record producer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Offenders who used a police or investigator-type occupation used more authoritative language and often times threatened their targets with imprisonment or some type of punishment if they did not comply with their demands. Alleged rapist, James Edward Riley, used his job as an INS (Immigration and Neutralization Service) agent to target women of Latina descent while he was off-duty but driving his federal vehicle. Riley would show victims his badge and, after determining that the victim had no green card or legal status, placed them under arrest. Riley, who communicated with his victims in Spanish, would threaten his victims with deportation before allegedly raping them. Riley also identified himself to victims as a customs agent or undercover police officer (Lerner & Connelly, 1990).

Props were most often used by offenders in the working con approach; especially in cases where offenders posed as a police or investigative officer. These props included items such as fake or authentic badges, handcuffs, guns and flashing dashboard lights. Uniforms or certain styles of dress that alluded to specific occupations were also used such as jeans and t-shirts in the case of maintenance men and black, semi-formal attire in the case of investigative agents. Some offenders in the dataset were so successful in their use of props that they become known by the props that they used.

Major Melvin Johnson, a 46-year-old Virginia man who was convicted of abducting and raping a young secretary, became known as the ‘Flasher Rapist’ because he used a flashing red light on the dashboard of his vehicle to persuade lone female motorists to stop their cars at night. Thinking the man in the car behind them was a police
officer, most of his targeted victims stopped. Johnson was captured by police upon the

Like language, the demeanor of a working con was heavily-influenced by the
occupational pose they chose to use. In cases where offenders posed as police officers or
investigative agents, the offenders likely presented an authoritative or imposing
demeanor. This demeanor was exemplified by convicted rapists, James Thompson and
Stanley Humphries, who became known in the media as the ‘Phony Cop Rapists.’

According to *The Washington Post*, the two men “abducted three women at bus
stops in three separate incidents, telling the women they were police detectives
investigating a robbery case and that the women fit the description of the robbery
suspects.” The article quotes Assistant U.S. Attorney William D. Nussbaum as describing
the two cons’ method of attack as “the perfect scam” (Valente, 1982). By telling the
victims that they matched descriptions of suspects in a robbery, the men presented
themselves in a threatening and intimidating way that most likely elicited fear in the
victims. In this way, these offenders were able to use their language and demeanor as
techniques of impression management in order to put on a convincing performance and
ultimately persuade their victims that they were in fact police officers.

On the other hand, offenders who used the pose of a maintenance man or
appliance repairman often presented themselves as well-mannered and professional. A
detective on the case of Robert Del Gandio, an alleged rapist who posed as a deliveryman
delivering a large package, described him as “very well-spoken and cool” (*New York
Times*, 1971). This seemingly ‘well-mannered’ demeanor was instrumental in his attacks
because it allowed him to gain the trust of his victims who were not aware of his intentions to harm them.

When selecting their victims, most offenders who used the working con chose victims with whom they were required to interact as a part of their ‘job.’ In the case of the police officer pose, offenders often used their authority to target women of vulnerable populations such as prostitutes or women that could be threatened with imprisonment if they did not comply with their demands. Offenders who used occupations that required entry into victims’ homes, often targeted women who were home alone because they were perceived as suitable targets lacking capable guardianship.

Robert Del Gandio used this method of victim selection when he allegedly rang the doorbells of potential victims’ homes and claimed he had a large package to deliver. According to detectives, Del Gandio chose “fashionable apartment houses and attractive young wives in their early 20’s.” He would then go up to the victim’s apartment and ask for a tape measure to determine if a fictional package would fit through the door. Detectives said that Del Gandio, while measuring the door, would then determine whether or not the victim was home alone: “If he decided there was too much danger, the police man said, he would leave saying he was going to get the package, but he would never return. If he decided it was safe, he would attack…” (New York Times, 1971).

Del Gandio’s allegedly method of ‘scoping out’ the apartments of potential victims can be seen as a clear illustration of the combined routine activity and interactionist approach. Del Gandio was able to first select an apartment which housed a seemingly suitable target (a young housewife) and then use his techniques of impression
management (claiming to have a large package and measuring the door of the apartment) in order to determine if she was home alone (in the absence of capable guardianship).

The ‘Good Samaritan’

Offenders using the ‘Good Samaritan’ style of approach offered to help their victims and, once they built a rapport with them, assaulted them. Offenders in this category either intentionally created a problem for the victims so that they would seek help or were simply nearby when victims needed assistance. Many offenders in this category targeted stranded female motorists, women waiting at bus stops or women hitchhiking alone. This approach was used by convicted rapist Paul Seward who became known as ‘The Flat-Tire Rapist’ because he would let air out of the tires of female motorists’ vehicles and wait for them to return to their vehicle. Once the women returned, Seward would approach them and offer to help (Feldman, 1985). Offenders who used the ‘Good Samaritan’ approach accounted for 31% (n=68) of offenders in the current study.

Like offenders who used the working con, offenders in this category were extremely adept at using language and persuasive techniques. However, as opposed to convincing victims of their occupational status, these offenders used language to assure victims they were of good moral character and that they could be trusted. ‘Good Samaritan’ cons used techniques as varied as engaging in conversation with their victims to offering them the chance to play Nintendo and eat ice cream (Chicago Tribune, 1996). Alleged rapist, Wayne Booker, told women waiting at bus stops that “the buses were not running” and offered them rides in his red Nissan Pathfinder (The New York Times,
By allegedly convincing women that the buses were no longer running, Booker was able to create suitable targets using his techniques of impression management.

Paul Seward, the ‘Flat-Tire Rapist’ mentioned above, also relied on language and persuasive techniques when interacting with his victims. After helping the stranded female motorists with their vehicles, he would initially deny any form of compensation claiming that he had simply acted “as a good Christian” (Feldman, 1985). Seward would then concede and ask the women for a ride to the bus stop or hospital in order to visit his ill mother. By fabricating claims about his strong Christian faith and desire to visit his ill mother, Seward attempted to persuade victims that he was a genuinely kind and moral person that they could trust.

An offender termed the ‘Parking Lot Rapist’ used a similar, family-centered claim. After lying to victims and telling them that their cars had been hit in the parking lot of a department store, he would allegedly tell them that his “…wife and kids got the license number. My wife is on the phone now” (Los Angeles Times, 1985). The offender most likely told his victims that he had a wife and kids waiting in the car in order to build their trust. By lying about having his family in the car, the ‘Parking Lot Rapist’ convinced his victims that he was a family man and presented no threat to them or their safety.

Most frequently, these offenders targeted women who appeared to be alone and in need of some type of assistance. In some cases, these offenders went as far as to stake out the victims’ homes or follow them in their vehicles in order to track their movements and determine when they were alone. It can be assumed, using a routine activities approach,
that women were targeted in this way because the offenders perceived them as suitable targets when they were alone and without capable guardianship. In these cases, offenders may perceive capable guardians to be the victims’ husbands or boyfriends or another individual who may overpower them in their attempt to assault the victim. This style of victim selection was used by the ‘Parking Lot Rapist.’

According to newspaper accounts, the offender “cruised the streets of Los Angeles, looking for unaccompanied women parking their vehicles” or staked out the parking lot of a large department store to look for possible targets. Once a female motorist parked her car, he followed her into the store and told her that her car had been hit in the parking lot. He would then walk back to the car with the victim and tell her that there might be damage to the frame of the car. He would offer to ride with the victim to see if the car “tilts” and even asked victims if he could drive the car in order to identify further damage done to their vehicle. He would then drive the women to secluded locations and assault them (Los Angeles Times, 1985).

The Supplicating Con

In the third approach, the supplicating con, offenders approached prospective victims with a plea for help or assistance. Instead of offering assistance like the Good Samaritan, these offenders asked for assistance. These pleas for assistance were most commonly simple requests such as asking victims for the time, asking for directions or to use a telephone directory. As a result, these types of attacks tended to occur in secluded public areas such as parks, on the street or in or near the victims’ homes. Once the victim agreed to help the offender and either let them into their home or became distracted by a
task (such as looking at their watch), the offender attacked them. Seventeen percent (n=38) of offenders in the current analysis used the supplicating con approach.

Offenders who used the supplicating con approach rarely used props or specific styles of dress when approaching their victims. However, exceptions to this rule were also found in the data. William Gray, for instance, would allegedly dress in jogging clothes and go to a park where he stopped women jogging alone to ask for the time (Eugene Register-Guard, 1979). His manner of dress and inquiry as to what time it was both contributed to his ability to successfully engage in face-to-face interaction with his victims.

Since most offenders asked small requests of their victims, their language tended to be straight-forward and the interactions with victims were relatively quick. In the case of offenders who asked the time in order to engage in interaction with their victims, victims complied because it was a question they could answer rather easily. It was during this brief moment of distraction that many offenders then attacked and over-powered their victims. This method was allegedly used by a serial rapist in Stoneham, Massachusetts in 1973. According to an intended victim, the offender approached her from behind while she walked one night and asked, “Do you know what time it is?” and then lunged for her. Fortunately, she was able to escape and call police (Richwine, 1973).

Eighteen-year-old David Steffey III was described by each of his victims as having a “pleasant and disarming manner.” In selecting his victims, Steffey would ride around on his bicycle looking for a woman or girl walking home alone. He would then ride ahead of her, choose a parked vehicle which was unlocked and wait for her. Once
she reached the vehicle, he would then approach her and engage her in conversation. During these conversations, Steffey would either ask for directions or ask if they had met before. He would then force the victim into the vehicle and assault her, pretending to have a gun in his coat pocket (Korman, 1942). Steffey was able to use his youth and physical attractiveness in order to disarm his victims and put on a successful performance.

Offenders who used the supplicating con targeted victims in much the same way as offenders who used the ‘Good Samaritan’ approach: they tended to approach women who were alone or appeared to be alone. The supplicating con differs from the ‘Good Samaritan’ approach in that children were targeted more often by supplicating cons. John Spires, 30, was convicted of raping six children in the Chicago area in 1985. In one of the attacks on a 12-year-old girl, Spires claimed that his cat was trapped in a basement and asked her to help him. He then led the young girl to an abandoned basement where he threatened to kill her and raped her (Myers, 1985).

It can be argued that offenders who use the supplicating con in order to lure children do so because they are perceived as suitable targets. Most small children may be eager to help when asked and susceptible to deception when left without a capable guardians such as parents to protect them. Children may be especially vulnerable to offenders who attempt to lure them with candy or the opportunity to play with pets: two things that most children are likely to enjoy.
The Transactional Con

Offenders who used the transactional con approach used the ruse of a commercial transaction (buying or selling a good or service) in order to contact and assault their victims. Offenders either pretended to be customers interested in purchasing an item or service or falsely advertised a good or service in order to lure their victims. If offenders contacted their victims, they would often use the ruse in order to gain entry into victims’ homes where they would then assault them. In other cases, offenders posted false advertisements for items for sale and waited to be contacted by potential victims. The transactional con offender accounted for 10% (n = 22) of the con offenders in the current sample.

Many of the offenders in this category either posed as buyers interested in subleasing a room or buying a home (n=5) or targeted female sex workers (n=10). In instances where offenders posed as prospective buyers, they would visit the homes of the victims and inquire about the item for sale. In cases where the offenders were the ones placing the advertisement, the offenders would use these ads in order to lure victims once they voiced interest in purchasing said item.

An alleged robber and rapist terrorized women in the Lincoln Park area in the early 90’s when he assaulted three women while they were working in small boutiques. According to police detectives, the man “pretend[ed] to buy something and then pulled a gun and demanded that victims ‘hand over the money’” (Mitra, 1992). A similar approach was used to target shopkeepers in Queens by alleged rapist Samuel Sanchez who would pose as a customer right as a store was closing. After entering the store, he
would then allegedly force the victims into the back of the store where he would assault them (*New York Times*, 1990).

Victims of the transactional con who worked as prostitutes often told police that cons who posed as potential clients were professional in demeanor and not out of the ordinary. The men (all of the transactional cons who targeted prostitutes in this sample were men) agreed to pay the women before taking them away in their vehicles. Men who posed as clients and targeted prostitutes, relied heavily on this professional demeanor and followed scripted protocol associated with these transactions. As a result, they were able to convince victims that their transactions were legitimate.

Brian D. Knippers, an alleged rapist of four prostitutes in Brockton, Rhode Island in 2008, approached one victim and “asked how much she would charge for sex.” When the victim told him $100, he allegedly invited her into his pickup truck and drove her to a secluded location. According to detectives, “the ‘date’ started off casually before Knippers allegedly became violent:

“The woman asked if she could smoke; the man said that was fine because he was smoking a cigar. He asked if she was a cop; she said she was not. He parked in a secluded parking lot, grabbed a rope, a knife and wooden bat from behind where she was sitting, and threw her to the ground…Her hands were tied behind her back and she noted that ‘this male had to have been a fisherman or someone good with ropes, because of the way he…tied her up.’ After raping her, he took back his money, and pulled her license out of her wallet, repeating out loud her name and address. If she called police, he said, he would find her and kill her. He cut the ropes off her hands before he left” (Carroll, 2008).
In the above article, the alleged offender exhibited the same behavior of an average John by approaching the victim and asking how much she would charge for sex. He then begins to build trust with her by allowing her to smoke with him in his truck before he produces his props from the vehicle and assaults her. He is then sure to retrieve the money that he gave her and threaten her not to tell police about the encounter before he lives her stranded.

If the transactional con used a false advertisement in order to lure their victims, these advertisements served as their props. These ads were perceived as authentic by victims because the language resembled that of any other ad. Thus, victims of transactional cons had no way of knowing that these prospective buyers or sellers would harm them because they relied on the language of a printed or online advertisement. In cases where transactional cons did not use some type of advertisement, offenders relied primarily on their language and demeanor when they interacted with victims. There was nothing to be determined about the offender’s demeanor until they met in person; in which case, it was often too late.

Compared to the other types of con offenders in the current study, those who used the transactional approach selected their victims from a much smaller victim pool. For instance, almost half of these offenders exclusively targeted victims who were prostitutes. In the case of offenders who responded to advertisements for housing, their victim selection was confined to those individuals who had posted the ads. The ‘Real Estate Rapist,’ who was linked to attacks on seven women in the Washington D.C. area, responded to ads for houses for sale and pretended to be an interested buyer. This
offender, who was never apprehended by police, entered homes “on the pretense that he
[was] a prospective buyer of the property” in order to assault housewives who were home
alone at the time (The Washington Post, 1974).

Much like con offenders who used the ‘Good Samaritan’ and supplicating cons,
some transactional cons including the ‘Real Estate Rapist’ targeted women who they
believed to be home alone at the time of the attack. Accused rapist, Alvin Brown, was
charged with raping five women in New York City after he allegedly pretended to shop
in stores with female clerks before raping and robbing them (Greek, 1984). Prostitutes,
onece picked up by their attackers, were taken to secluded areas under the pretense that the
offender sought privacy while a sexual act was performed. They were also assured that
they would be compensated for their services. However, once there was an absence of
capable guardianship, offenders would become aggressive and violent.
CONCLUSION

The serial rape literature, as it stands today, is rather limited and little is known about the profile of the serial rapist. The current analysis seeks to fill a gap in the serial rape literature by providing the first systematic analysis of the con-style serial rapist. There is still, however, a tremendous amount of work to be done concerning the analysis of serial rape offenders and their victims. It is our hope that this study will be used in order to inform future public policies aimed at preventing the occurrence of serial rape.

Policies can be informed which prevent the convergence in time and space of the three elements necessary for crime to occur (the motivated offender, suitable target and lack of capable guardianship). The current study can be used as a tool for decreasing the pool of suitable targets by educating readers about the patterns of offending used by the con serial rapist. If more people are informed about the tactics used by the serial rapist, they will be aware of situational factors that increase their chances of victimization and be better prepared to avoid these situations.

Another way to decrease instances of serial rape would be to provide capable guardianship to populations who are vulnerable to these offenders. One way that this can be done is by legalizing or decriminalizing prostitution. Legalizing prostitution would not only mean protection for female sex workers but, it would also work to de-stigmatize prostitution as an occupation. If prostitution were legal, victims of assault would feel more comfortable going to authorities and reporting an assault. Since prostitution is currently illegal, female sex workers who are assaulted may fear imprisonment or ridicule
if they report an act of sexual assault which makes them suitable targets for a motivated offender.

These profiles also allow us to identify individuals who have the most opportunities to become serial rape offenders. If we are aware of these individuals, we can increase surveillance of their routine activities so as to provide guardianship to those that they may seek to harm. Increasing surveillance of possible offenders would also increase the odds that, in the case that they did commit a sexual assault, they would be stopped before they could become a serial offender and claim more victims.

A number of offenders in the data set had prior criminal records and many had previous convictions of sexual assault or rape. Future research can be done to focus on the recidivism rates of serial rapists and/or incarceration practices that may deny them the opportunity to offend again. One prime example of these offenders would be the police officers in the current study. In studies of PSV, it was found that officers who are repeat sexual offenders are likely to be transferred across numerous jurisdictions while they await formal charges or convictions (Rabe-Hemp & Braithwaite, 2012; Kraska & Kappeler, 1995). These findings alongside the findings in the current study provide great support and advocacy for better methods of identifying these offenders.

Currently, there are systems in place within police organizations which are designed to increase officer accountability. Some of these strategies include increasing supervision of police officers, mandatory reporting of critical incidents, rigorous performance evaluations, thorough investigations of police misconduct and the monitoring and alteration of department policies (Archbold, 2013). However, these
programs are enforced by individual police organizations and lack a common form of oversight. Due to the hierarchy of authority within these police organizations, often times supervision is only as effective as the officer doing the supervising. Therefore, if an officer is doing a poor job supervising those under him in rank, the officers have a greater opportunity to participate in misconduct.

Some police agencies also use virtual supervision in the form of early warning/intervention systems (EW/EI). These are “data-driven computer programs that monitor the performance of police officers” by identifying patterns of police behavior that may be problematic (Archbold, 2013). These behaviors include reported incidents of use of force, the use of firearms, citizen complaints, liability claims, excessive sick leave and damages to department vehicles. We would suggest, as part of a more effective way to monitor police sexual misconduct, that reports of sexual abuse against civilians also be included in these EW/EI systems. Perhaps including this specific type of claim will allow supervisors to identify problem police officers early and increase their supervision before they can commit serial offenses.

Future research implications also include tracking the behaviors and tactics used by the con-style serial rapist over time in order to see how they change or evolve. Take for instance the case of the supplicating con who knocked on their victims’ doors and asked to use a telephone directory. While directories such as the Yellow Pages are still used in some households, the advent of the smartphone and accompanying apps such as Google are slowly replacing it as a method for searching for an individual’s contact information. Offenders could ask potential victims to use their smartphones but, more
people may be hesitant to hand over such an expensive and personal device to a stranger for fear of it being stolen or “hacked.” In addition, the increase in the use of technology in order to place advertisements can also be examined in order to understand how this effects the methods used by the transactional con. While early transactional cons may have relied on bulletin boards in grocery stores and “For Sale” signs in the front yards of victims’ homes, the modern transactional con may use Internet sites such as Craigslist and Zillow.com to narrow their pool of potential victims.

The above analysis focuses on 221 of the 1,037 offenders that were found in the initial dataset. Not included in the analysis were offenders who used the surprise, blitz and drugged approaches. An investigation and profile of each of these types of offenders conducted using the same type of analytic induction coding would lend much to current serial rape literature and increase our understanding of even more serial rape offenders. By understanding the situational contexts in which these offenders commit their crimes as well as their patterns of behavior, we can begin to inform more public policies aimed at preventing crimes associated with serial rape. We hope that the current study will serve as a model for this future research and provide insight into one of today’s least-understood predatory crimes.
DISCUSSION

When it comes to tracking crime over time, newspapers are one of the most commonly-used resources. This is especially true in the case of studies which analyze crime in earlier decades before the development of systematic methods for recording crime (Huff-Corzine et al., 2014). Newspaper articles are also valuable for research because they tend to include richer details of crimes that are committed as well as information about the actors involved. Such details include the physical location of the attack, the race/ethnicity of victims and offenders, the ages of victims and offenders, offender occupation, etc. The inclusion of these details allowed for researchers in the current study to code and record descriptive variables which would not be included in other datasets.

Although there are many benefits of using newspaper articles in order to collect data, this method is not without its limitations. Since newspaper articles documenting the same offender or the same crime may be written by different authors, they may present conflicting accounts or give conflicting information. In addition to conflicting information, there may be inconsistences in the amount of information given by individual journalists. For instance, some articles may include the race and/or ethnicity of the victims and offenders while others may not. As a result of this inconsistency in information provided, current researchers were tasked with finding supplementary sources which did include this information such as online prison directories and state sex offender registries.
It may also be suggested that newspaper sources are more likely to include reports of serial rape because serial crimes tend to be sensationalized in news media in an attempt to attract more readers. While this increases the number of articles that describe cases of serial rape, this may also be problematic for researchers of serial rape because some accounts may be more sensationalized than others. Previous research has found that some cases of violent crime received disproportionately more coverage in the media than others due to the characteristics of the offense (Jenkins, 1988; Duwe, 2000; Huff-Corzine et. al, 2014). Huff-Corzine et al. (2014) found this to be true in the case of media accounts of mass murder.

After comparing official data to media accounts of mass murder incidents, Huff-Corzine et al. found that certain incidents were overlooked in the media while others were more likely to be publicized. For instance, mass murders involving Black offenders and victims, incidents occurring in homes or in private residences as well as those committed in open areas such as highways were consistently overlooked by the national media. Instead, the media tended to favor cases which involved young, White male offenders in enclosed public spaces. One negative side effect of this skewed media attention is the construction of an inaccurate profile of the mass murderer as a young, White man although analyses of official data indicate that these offenders are more likely to be Black men. This indicates that media depictions may present a racial bias when reporting incidents of mass murder (Huff-Corzine et al. 2014).

In contrast to the current study, previous studies of serial rape offenders have relied primarily on face-to-face interviews with incarcerated offenders (Athens, 1997;
Hazelwood & Warren, 1990). As a result, many of these studies have much smaller sample sizes and only include data concerning crimes that were solved by the police. By using newspaper accounts, researchers in the current study were able to collect data on over 1,000 serial rape offenders. Included in these offenders are those that remained at-large (were not captured or identified), offenders that were detained and those that died after conviction. We believe that each of these additional offenders lend valuable data that is absent in most existing studies.
REFERENCES


