

Emotional Homicide: A Content Analysis of Sexual Victimization in Nonfiction Books

by

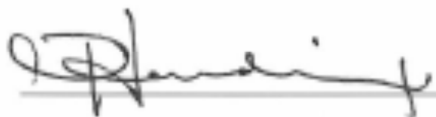
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for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Criminal Justice

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**Abstract:**

Since the creation of the printing press in the 1830s, crime has been a predominant topic within the media. Although a great deal of research has been conducted on various forms of media, little is known about crime books and the potential impact these may have on society. This study used text-driven content analysis to contribute to our knowledge of victims' experiences, specifically how they view the criminal justice system, and the ways their firsthand accounts are portrayed through books. The study aimed to determine how victims portray their experiences and how victim depictions are similar or different from each other.

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## **Dedication**

To the Fab Four, thank you for reminding me to slow down and enjoy this process. Thanks for the laughs, the much needed thesis breaks, and for a friendship that I truly cherish. Felisha loves you.

To my loving parents, for always encouraging me to follow my dreams. Thank you for instilling in me a strong work ethic and a love of reading. Without your love and support, I would not be where I am today. I hope I continue to always make you proud. I love you both.

To Jordan, for keeping me sane and encouraging me to keep going, even when I wanted to give up. Thanks for always keeping a positive attitude and for the little things that mean so much, like fixing coffee for me during long hours of writing. I love you.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

In today's society, most individuals are exposed to multiple types of media every day. Newspapers, television shows, movies, books, and the internet are readily accessible to most individuals, allowing information to pass quickly to multitudes of people. As a result, the majority of Americans form their opinions and conclusions regarding various topics from information reported in the media (Husselbee & Elliott, 2002; Surette, 2011). Since the creation of the printing press in the 1830s, crime has been a predominant topic within the media. Fiction and nonfiction depictions of crime are presented in newspapers, novels, comic books, television shows, movies, radio shows, and internet websites (Bennett, 2006; Birkland & Lawrence, 2009; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Cheatwood, 2009; Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Fishman, 1978; Friedman & rosen-Zvi, 2000; Fritz & Altheide, 1987; Gerbner, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986; Gilchrist, 2010; Griffin & Miller, 2008; Gustafarro, 2013; Husselbee & Elliott, 2002; Jewkes & Yar, 2011; Kohm, Waid-Lindberg, Weinrath, Shelley, & Dobbs; 2012; Legros, 2010; Levenson & Cotter, 2005; Lund & Jensen, 2011; Marcus, 1982; Marsh, 1991; Mason, 2006; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Rentschler, 2007; Rose & Clear, 2004; Sacco, 1995; Schmid, 2006; Surette, 2011; Waymer, 2009; Wilbanks, 1984; Wilson, 1997).

The media portrays crimes, the criminal justice system, offenders, and victims in various ways. Research indicates that although various aspects of crime are displayed within the media, crime victims are rarely portrayed unless the victim is a celebrity or the crime is especially heinous (Chermak, 1998; Gilchrist, 2010; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). The current study examined how crime victims portray their experiences through books they have authored. The study will examine how victims portray their experiences with crime, such as the offender, the criminal justice system, and other aspects of their victimization.



Research indicates that media depictions of crime are often misleading (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Kappeler & Potter, 2005; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). Inaccurate depictions of crime, also referred to as crime myths, are created by portraying underlying ideals and facts inaccurately or untruthfully (Kappeler & Potter, 2005). The media perpetuates crime myths through the misuse of statistics, selective interviewing, presenting opinions as fact, and presenting factual information out of context (Kappeler & Potter, 2005). Violent or unusual crimes dominate the media, despite property crime accounting for the majority of all crime (Marsh, 1991). As a result, the general public has an unrealistic view of violent crime and therefore an increased fear of violent victimization. Media depictions of crime focus on the type of crime, the offender, how police solve the crime, and how the criminal proceedings are carried out within the court system (Bennett, 2006; Birkland & Lawrence, 2009; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Cheatwood, 2009; Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Fishman, 1978; Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000; Fritz & Altheide, 1987; Gerbner, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986; Gilchrist, 2010; Griffin & Miller, 2008; Gustafsson, 2013; Husselbee & Elliott, 2002; Jewkes & Yar, 2011; Kohm, Waid-Lindberg, Weinrath, Shelley, & Dobbs, 2012; Legros, 2010; Levenson & Cotter, 2005; Lund & Jensen, 2011; Marcus, 1982; Marsh, 1991; Mason, 2006; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Rentschler, 2007; Rose & Clear, 2004; Sacco, 1995; Schmid, 2006; Surette, 2011; Waymer, 2009; Wilbanks, 1984; Wilson, 1997).

Research indicates that very little media attention is allotted to correctional facilities, prison life, and crime victims (Chermak, 1998; Gilchrist, 2010; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Rose & Clear, 2004; Surette, 2011). As a result, the general public has very little information regarding how offenders are handled after they are convicted or the effects of crime on victims and their families. Victims of sensational crimes that are known nationwide or victims who are celebrities

often receive a greater amount of media attention (Chermak, 1998; Gilchrist, 2010; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). Research indicates that children and pregnant women are “ideal victims” in the eyes of the media because these stories are considered “newsworthy” (Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Gilchrist, 2010; Surette, 2011). Although victims play a key role in crime and the criminal justice system, the average victim is often overlooked by the media (Surette, 2011). Victims who do receive media attention are likely to feel harassed by the media, leading to “double victimization” (Rentschler, 2007).

As previously stated, victims of sensational, nationally known crimes are more likely to be portrayed in the media (Chermak, 1998; Gilchrist, 2010; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). These victims are more likely to have their names, pictures, and families’ identities displayed in newspapers, television news, talk shows, and the internet due to the nature of the crime. However these individuals may not want their information shared, therefore their privacy and their families’ privacy may be exploited (Rentschler, 2007). Research also indicates that victims and their families can be further traumatized by continued exposure to crime scene photographs or information in the media, leading to additional emotional stress. Rentschler (2007) states that by focusing on the damage caused to the victim, the public places additional pressure on the criminal justice system to punish the offender.

Although some crime victims may not want their information shared via the media, some view the media as a way to tell their side of the story. The current study will examine five victims of crimes that are predominantly sexual in nature who chose to author books to depict their experiences. A content analysis was performed of the five most recent, bestselling books written by victims.

After selecting a sample of five books written by victims, a text-driven content analysis was conducted. The content analysis utilized word-count tables for key words pertaining to five different concepts. For example, the concept of “crime” was measured using words such as rape, abuse, punch, neglect, and kidnap. These words were selected because they describe a type of event, action, feeling, or thought associated with the concept of “crime.” After counting how many times each word appears in each book, the context in which the words were used was entered into a context table. The context table includes the sentence or phrase in which the word was used. For example, if the key word “punch” appears three times, each sentence was analyzed to determine the context. The phrase “he could really pack a punch,” has a different context than the phrase “he punched me in the jaw.” The context table was used to determine whether different victims use the same words to describe similar situations. The content analysis was also used to determine whether victims of similar crimes express their experience in similar ways.

Research indicates that media depictions of crime have a direct impact on the opinions and actions of society (Bennett, 2006; Birkland & Lawrence, 2009; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Cheatwood, 2009; Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Fishman, 1978; Friedman & rosen-Zvi, 2000; Fritz & Altheide, 1987; Gerbner, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986; Gilchrist, 2010; Griffin & Miller, 2008; Gustafarro, 2013; Husselbee & Elliott, 2002; Jewkes & Yar, 2011; Kohm, Waid-Lindberg, Weinrath, Shelley, & Dobbs; 2012; Legros, 2010; Levenson & Cotter, 2005; Lund & Jensen, 2011; Marcus, 1982; Marsh, 1991; Mason, 2006; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Rentschler, 2007; Rose & Clear, 2004; Sacco, 1995; Schmid, 2006; Surette, 2011; Waymer, 2009; Wilbanks, 1984; Wilson, 1997). Although a great deal of research has been conducted on various forms of media, little is known about crime books and the potential impact these may have on society.

The current study contributes to our knowledge of victims' experiences, specifically how they view the criminal justice system, and the ways their firsthand accounts are portrayed through books. The study utilizes text-driven content analysis to determine how victims of sexual crimes portray their experiences and how victim depictions are similar or different across gender. The current study aims to answer an exploratory research question: how do victims of sexual crimes portray their experiences? The current study examines five concepts: the crime, the offender, the victim, family, and the criminal justice system.

The results of the content analysis will be discussed in Chapter 4. The results indicated that victims of sexual crimes portray their experiences in a predominantly negative context. The study also found that victims present predominantly neutral feelings towards their families and the criminal justice system. Tables depicting the keywords used by the victims and the results of the analysis are discussed in length in the fourth chapter.

The final chapter presents the conclusions, policy implications, limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research. Although the current study presents valuable data that can be utilized by criminal justice actors and the general public, the results are not generalizable to all crime victims or victims outside of the United States. The study provides a foundation for future research and suggests policy implications that could potentially prevent future victimizations. The current study aims to raise awareness about how victims portray their experiences and how actions taken by society and the criminal justice system can prevent future crimes.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

Media is an intrinsic part of today's society. Prior to the 1800s, information was passed orally through folktales, songs, and theatrical performances. Until the penny press was invented in the 1830s, information could not be passed to large numbers of people in a timely manner (Surette, 2011). Print media was the first mass market media outlet in the United States beginning in 1830 (Surette, 2011). Since that time, television, novels, films, and the internet have become the main sources for how individuals receive and report information (Surette, 2011). These media outlets have allowed information to be passed on to large numbers of people in a timely manner (Surette, 2011). One of the main topics depicted throughout all forms of media is crime (Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman and Rosen-Zvi, 2001; Guastafarro, 2013; Lund and Jensen, 2011; Marsh, 1991; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011).

Crime is described through fictional and nonfictional forms of media. Popular television crime dramas, such as *The Wire* and *Criminal Minds*, are based on actual crimes that occur in society; however, these television shows give viewers an unrealistic view of the criminal justice system (Guastafarro, 2013; Legros, 2010). Other forms of media, such as newspapers and television news, depict factual accounts of real crimes (Chermak, 1998; Marsh, 1991; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011). Although a great deal of research has focused on how third-party media outlets such as news reporters and films depict crime, little research has been conducted to determine how victims of crime portray their experiences. This study examines how crime victims portray their experiences regarding the criminal justice system, crime, and other aspects of victimization. A content analysis of the five most recent, bestselling crime books was conducted to determine these depictions. The sample consists of five books listed in the top 25 of

The *New York Times* nonfiction best sellers list, with the most recent best seller listed in July 2014 and the oldest bestseller listed in November 2012.

Crimes, both fictional and factual, are also depicted in novels (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman and Rosen-Zvi, 2001; Surette, 2011). In the 1880s, “dime” novels depicting fictional detectives and crimes emerged (Surette, 2011). Since the early 1990s, detective fiction has become one of the most popular genres of fiction and “true crime” novels are a steadily growing genre of nonfiction novels (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman and Rosen-Zvi, 2001). Crimes, offenders, victims, and the criminal justice system are depicted in vastly different ways depending on the author, the type of crime, and the type of media used (Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman and Rosen-Zvi, 2001; Guastafarro, 2013; Lund and Jensen, 2011; Marsh, 1991; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011). This study examines how factual crimes are depicted in true crime novels written by victims.

### **Media and Crime**

Since the 1830s, crime has been an important topic in media (Surette, 2011). One of the first newspapers, The *New York Sun* introduced a police-court column in 1833, resulting in a substantial circulation boost. Fifty years later, detective and crime “thrillers” were introduced as a form of entertainment media. These crime thrillers were very similar to those produced in today’s society; law enforcement officers and detectives are often portrayed as heroes, while criminals are often portrayed as outcasts and loners (Surette, 2011). As time progressed, so did the distribution and production of the media industry. Print media is no longer the only form of media within the United States. In today’s society, four types of media exist; print, sound, visual, and new media (Surette, 2011).

**Print Media.** Print media comes in various formats, such as newspapers, comic books, and novels. After the production of the penny press and the advent of the first cheap, mass produced, tabloid-style newspapers, information was easily distributed to large numbers of people in short periods of time (Surette, 2011). After the appearance of the first crime column in *The New York Sun*, public demand for information regarding crimes increased. As a result, weekly crime magazines were published, providing a model for today's crime "infotainment" market (Surette, 2011). Crime novels provided the same infotainment as crime magazines, but allowed for more advanced plot lines and greater detail. In the 1880s, crime magazines further evolved into "dime" novels. These novels depicted heroic detectives apprehending criminals and provided a new source of print entertainment. Crime novels quickly become one of the most popular print-based crime genres, leading to the development of illustrated crime stories in the form of comic books (Surette, 2011).

Comic books appeared on the market in the 1930s. Comic books were marketed to adults as well as children, and featured policemen, superheroes, and detectives as the main characters (Surette, 2011; Vollum & Adkinson, 2033). Comic books gained popularity because the printed texts were combined with "pop art," providing vivid illustrations of the crimes. Comic books presented fictional stories until 1942, when reality-crime comics came onto the market (Surette, 2011). These reality-crime comic books depicted actual criminals and crimes, becoming the most popular comic book genre between 1947 and 1954 (Surette, 2011). As technology progressed, print media became less popular as the use of sound and visual media increased.

**Sound Media.** Beginning in the 1920s, radios became increasingly popular and could be found in many American homes. Sound media became increasingly popular because it was easily accessible, while still providing valuable information from around the world (Surette, 2011).

Sound media allowed individuals to learn of events around the world without leaving their own homes. Individuals who could not read were now able to learn about world events and engage in popular forms of entertainment, making radios increasingly popular (Surette, 2011). As a result, the perception, attitudes, and values of Americans were highly influenced by radio depictions (Cheatwood, 2009). In the 1930s, crime and suspense radio programming began to emerge. Radio programs such as *Sherlock Holmes* and *True Detective* portrayed fictional crimes similar to those depicted in print media (Cheatwood, 2009; Surette, 2011).

In 1935, *Gang Busters* became one of the first radio programs to portray factual crimes and is similar to the modern day *America's Most Wanted* (Surette, 2011). Radio programs used sound effects to portray violence that could not be portrayed through visual films. Sounds such as frying bacon were used to portray executions via the electric chair and chopping cabbages to imitate the sounds of heads being detached (Surette, 2011). The most popular of these radio shows, *Dragnet*, was converted to television in the 1950s, establishing the foundations for visual depictions of crime in the form of television crime dramas.

**Visual Media.** In the early 1900s, films became an increasingly popular form of media. Early films were silent and inexpensive, making them easily accessible and understandable across different social groups. Individuals did not need to speak a certain language to understand early movies, making film the main commercial entertainment in the world by 1917 (Surette, 2011). Movies began to not only provide a source of information and entertainment, they evolved into social events, with two out of three Americans visiting movie theaters weekly (Surette, 2011).

Television became the dominant form of media in the 1950s. Similar to radios, televisions allowed individuals to access information and entertainment from the comfort of their



own homes. By 1977, there was one television for every American; this statistic is still true today (Surette, 2011). Since that time, television has become the primary source of information, entertainment, and socialization in today's society (Gerbner, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1986). Crime shows became a major form of television entertainment in the 1950s, accounting for approximately one-third of all prime time shows between 1959 and 1961. By 1975, almost 40 percent of prime time schedules included crime and law enforcement shows (Surette, 2011). According to Gerbner, Morgan, and Signorielli (1986) the average television viewer witnesses depictions of 30 police officers, 7 lawyers, and 3 judges within one week, however these depictions are usually inaccurate.

**New Media.** As technology progressed, interactive media was introduced. In today's society, print, sound, and visual media are distributed faster due to interactive media such as the internet, video games, and cellular phones (Surette, 2011). New media allowed information from around the world to be available within minutes. Narrowcasting, the idea of attracting small groups of consumers interested in the same idea is a commonly used tactic on the internet. For example, certain websites are directed at a small group of individuals, such as serial killer websites, as opposed to websites that are directed at the masses, such as Facebook (Surette, 2011). With the creation of the internet also came the creation of new crimes, as well as new avenues of committing traditional crimes (Jewkes & Yar, 2011). New crimes such as cyberterrorism, cyberstalking, and computer hacking emerged as computer technology and the internet expanded. Traditional crimes, such as harassment, identity theft, distribution and production of child pornography, and embezzlement are now being facilitated through the internet, leading to higher rates of victimization and faster crime production (Jewkes & Yar, 2011).

On-demand media has also changed how print, sound, and visual media are used today. Technology such as VCRs allowed individuals to record television shows to watch at their convenience (Surette, 2011). New media also allows individuals to participate in the development and distribution of media content. Inter-activity allows individuals to control the media they are using, such as video games and social networking websites (Surette, 2011). For example, an individual controls whether a “victim” is killed or advances to the next level of the game by the actions made. Social networking websites allow individuals to choose the type of information they are exposed to and communicate with other individuals around the world (Surette, 2011). Crime is a prevalent topic in video games and internet websites in today’s society.

### **Theoretical Background**

Individuals form opinions about various topics based on the information they receive, as well as how they perceive that information. Different types of media may depict the same story in different ways. Research indicates that the way in which a topic is presented through media has a substantial impact on how individuals perceive and understand the topic (Husselbee & Elliott, 2002). Surette (2011) explains that frames are preexisting social constructions that allow individuals to categorize and deal with world events. Media uses the process of framing to emphasize certain elements of a story, which determines the focus of the story and how individuals perceive it (Husselbee & Elliott, 2002). Surette (2011) provides five frames to explain how crime and the justice system are portrayed within the media; faulty criminal justice system, blocked opportunities, social breakdown, racist system, and violent media. The first frame blames the criminal justice system for crime. The faulty criminal justice system frame displays crimes as a result of lenient or inefficient law enforcement, corrections officers, or court

officials. Crimes that are portrayed within this frame often drive an increased desire for the criminal justice system to “get tough” on crime (Surette, 2011). For example, Adam Walsh was kidnapped and murdered by Ottis Toole, a sexual predator with an extensive criminal history (Fritz & Altheide, 1987). Adam’s murder led to the development of organizations such as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children. Adam’s father, John Walsh, also persuaded the FBI to allow local police agencies to use their computer systems to locate missing children (Fritz & Altheide, 1987).

The second frame portrays crime as a result of unequal opportunities and discrimination. The blocked opportunities frame urges the government to address the root causes of crime, such as poor education and unequal job opportunities. Waymer (2009) states that minority neighborhoods suffering from poverty receive disproportionate amounts of crime news coverage. The researcher found that various Cincinnati newspapers highlighted high crime neighborhoods, stating that these areas needed to be rehabilitated and refurbished. The articles focused on crime and other negative aspects of the community and urged government officials to reinvest in these areas (Waymer, 2009).

The third frame, social breakdown, depicts crime as a result of familial or community breakdown. This frame often suggests that families and communities must “band together” to instill values within their communities. Research indicates that “street crimes,” especially murder, are high priority news items (Chermak, 1998). Surette (2011) references a speech made by President Bill Clinton, indicating that drugs and violence were more likely to occur in neighborhoods where social breakdown was rampant (pg. 39). When the media focuses on violent crimes and poor neighborhoods, these crimes are likely to be framed as a result of social breakdown (Chermak, 1998; Surette, 2011).

The racist system frame focuses on the criminal justice system as opposed to the crime. This frame portrays law enforcement and government officials as racist and corrupt (Surette, 2011). Using this frame, the media depicts police as more concerned with the protection of Caucasian neighborhoods and/or African Americans as more likely to be criminals (Chermak, 1998; Surette, 2011). Research indicates that victims are generally portrayed as Caucasian males, while defendants are usually presented as African Americans within the news (Chermak, 1998). Similarly, murders in which the victim is African American or Hispanic were less likely to be reported within Chicago newspapers (Chermak, 1998).

The final frame depicts crime as a result of violent media, such as video games and television shows. The violent media frame portrays violent television shows, video games, and other forms of media as dangerous to society (Surette, 2011). For example, the shootings at Columbine High School in 1999 were framed by the media as being heavily influenced by violent popular culture (Birkland & Lawrence, 2009). Schmid (2006) states that movies, magazines, T-shirts, DVDs, books, television shows, and websites have led to an increased interest in serial killers and the purchase of “murderabilia.” Murderabilia is the sale of items such as bricks from Jeffery Dahmer’s apartment and locks of Charles Manson’s hair, which glorify serial killers and their crimes (Schmid, 2006). The author states that serial killers are often viewed as celebrities or religious figures due to the popularity of these crimes in popular media. The violent media frame depicts crimes as “copycats” modeled after criminal acts depicted within violent media, whether fictional or nonfictional (Surette, 2011).

Public opinion is largely influenced by how information is framed in the media (Husselbee & Elliott, 2002; Surette, 2011). It is important to determine how crime is framed in the media because it directly impacts how society views the criminal justice system, crime,

offenders, and victims. Do victims frame their experiences with crime similar to other forms of media such as newspaper articles? The current study focuses on victim portrayals of their own experiences with crime. This includes the involvement of these victims with media and the criminal justice system.

### **Media Depictions of Crime**

Throughout history, crime has been a prevalent part of popular media crime (Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman and Rosen-Zvi, 2001; Guastafarro, 2013; Lund and Jensen, 2011; Marsh, 1991; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011). Crimes, victims, offenders, and law enforcement are portrayed through television shows, movies, novels, comic books, newspapers, and television news. Although crime is depicted through various forms of media, it is often depicted in vastly different ways (Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman and Rosen-Zvi, 2001; Guastafarro, 2013; Lund and Jensen, 2011; Marsh, 1991; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011). Different forms of media can depict the same crime in different ways. For example, a newspaper article may display law enforcement as proactive regarding a recent crime, while television news may portray law enforcement as unconcerned. How media outlets frame the crime determines how the public will interpret the crime (Surette, 2011).

**Depictions of Types of Crime.** Various types of crime occur every day. Crimes are often classified as either violent, such as murder or rape, or property crimes, such as larceny and motor vehicle theft (Federal Bureau of Investigation , 2010). Research indicates that violent and property crimes are not portrayed in the media in the same way and that crimes that are most likely to be portrayed in the media are the least likely to occur (Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Pollak and Kubrin, 2007; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011). Violent crime is overrepresented in the media, accounting for nearly 90 percent of media crime coverage (Pollak

and Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). Pollak and Kubrin (2007) found that of the 71 crime reports sampled, 61 were of violent crimes. Property crimes are vastly underrepresented, unless the crime involves a celebrity, although property crimes constitute nearly 90 percent of official crime reports (Pollak and Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). Sacco (1995) explains that media outlets are able to “frame” crimes so that certain social constructs are legitimized, while others are disregarded. Sacco (1995) states that rape can be framed as either a sex crime or violent crime by the media, therefore affecting how the crime is viewed by the public. Media depictions of crime affect how the general public views the criminal justice system, with approximately 75 percent of the public claiming their main source of information regarding crime is news media (Pollak & Kubrin, 2007).

White-collar crime is also rarely mentioned in the media and is often framed differently from other types of crime (Chermak, 1998; Surette, 2011). Although white-collar crime causes a great deal of social harm, media outlets often portray individuals involved in white-collar crimes as celebrities in trouble as opposed to criminals. For example, when a corporation dumps chemicals it is often framed as an “accident” as opposed to an intentional crime (Surette, 2011). White-collar crimes are often viewed differently by society than traditional crimes, such as robbery, murder, and rape.

**Depictions of Offenders.** Media depictions of offenders focus on individuals who commit violent crimes and are more likely to present offenders as minority members, as opposed to Caucasians (Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Pollack and Kubrin, 2007; Sacco, 1995; Schmid, 2006; Surette, 2011). Surette (2011) found that offenders portrayed in entertainment media were more likely to be mature Caucasians of high social status. Statistically, actual offenders are more likely to be young, poor, African Americans. Similarly,

Uniform Crime Report data indicated that 43 percent of offenders were Caucasian, however 90 percent of true crime novels depicted Caucasian offenders (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995). Durham, Elrod, and Kinkade (1995) also found that females were portrayed as offenders in 24.2 percent of true crime novels, while only 7.1 percent of offenders reported in the 1991 Uniform Crime Report were female. Surette (2011) found the female offenders portrayed in entertainment media are often linked to male offenders. Entertainment media often portrays female offenders as motivated by greed, revenge or love (Surette, 2011).

News and entertainment media focus heavily on predatory criminals; criminals who commit extremely violent and senseless crime, such as serial killers and sexual predators (Schmid, 2006; Surette, 2011). Chermak (1998) states that the strongest predictor of whether or not a news story was reported was the number of victims murdered. Wilbanks (1984) found that homicide cases in Miami, Florida were more likely to receive more column inches, as well as a higher number of articles published when multiple victims were murdered. Surette (2011) states that the social construction of serial killers began in the 1980s, which portrayed these criminals as animalistic, unhuman, and extremely common. Predatory criminals are often portrayed as outcasts whose crimes are the result of individual shortcomings, as opposed to the result of societal problems (Surette, 2011).

Although serial killers are among the most highly publicized criminals, other predatory criminals, such as child molesters and abductors, receive a great deal of media attention (Griffin & Miller, 2008). Beginning with the abduction and murder of six year old Adam Walsh in 1981, sex offenders, child abductors, and other predatory criminals became media targets. Adam Walsh's father, John Walsh, hosted the television show *America's Most Wanted*, which displayed pictures of missing children, as well as the predatory criminals that are accused of

abducting them (Wilson, 1997). By displaying these offenders as evil predators, it increases public concern and panic (Griffin & Miller, 2008). Increased public concern often leads to changes in policy and law (Levenson & Cotter, 2005). Following the abduction and murder of seven year old Megan Kanka, stricter policies for sex offender registration emerged. Megan's Law required states to implement policies that would inform the public of sex offenders within the community (Levenson & Cotter, 2005). Community notification laws, such as Megan's Law, have received a great deal of public support due to belief that sex offenders are more likely to reoffend compared to other types of offenders (Levenson & Cotter, 2005). Although offenders are often the central focus of crime media, portraying various details of their life and crime, victims are portrayed in a different manner (Surette, 2011).

As stated earlier, media depictions of crime heavily influence public opinion (Husselbee and Elliott, 2002; Surette, 2011). Public opinions, policies, and laws are often influenced by how the media portrays offenders (Levenson & Cotter, 2005). Media often depicts offenders as evil, inhumane, and animal-like. However, white-collar criminals are portrayed as troubled celebrities or as "bad apples," whose actions do not reflect the goals and morals of the company (Surette, 2011). Do these depictions mirror the experiences and perceptions portrayed by crime victims? The current study examined how victims portray their experiences and opinions of their offenders. Do victims of sex offenders hold the same views as the general public in regards to policies or offender behavior? The current study also examines how victims of sexual predators view their offenders.

**Depictions of Victims.** Although victims are an essential piece of crime and the criminal justice system, they are often overlooked by the media (Surette, 2011). Pollak and Kubrin (2007) found that minorities and youth victims are less likely to receive media attention than Caucasian



or elderly victims. When young victims are mentioned in the media, they are likely to be portrayed as innocent, with positive attributes. The younger in age the victim was, the more likely they were to be portrayed in this manner (Pollak and Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). Chaney and Robertson (2013) conducted a study examining how victims of the Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting were portrayed. The researchers found that the 53 most-frequently visited websites described the child victims as “angels.” Of the child victims, 77 percent were Caucasian and all were 6-7 years of age (Chaney & Robertson, 2013). Surette (2011) found that news media often portrayed victims as females, with the “ideal” victim being either a child or female. These victims are considered “newsworthy” by the media, meaning the state of the victim makes the “story worth telling” (Gilchrist, 2010). When portraying victims, the media often focuses on the number and extent of the injuries received (Chermak, 1998; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). Victims are also more likely to be portrayed in media if the victim is a celebrity or if the offense is very serious in nature (Sacco, 1995).

Surette (2011) states that crime victims are more likely to be described as females. The author also states that victims are often portrayed as either very young or very old. However, Durham, Elrod and Kinkade (1995) found that 70 percent of victims in true crime novels were male. The researchers also found that true crime novels depicted 95.6 percent of victims as Caucasians, although Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data indicated that only 47.1 percent of victims were Caucasian. Although 46.7 percent of crimes reported in the UCR data involved African American victims, 0 percent of the true crime novels examined contained African American victims (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995).

According to Surette (2011) victims portrayed in entertainment media are “framed” in one of three ways; undeserving, stupid, or lazy. The undeserving victim is usually one of the first

to be murdered. The death of this victim is meant to portray the evilness of the villain and justify death or capture (Surette, 2011). The second type of victim is portrayed as someone who is outsmarted by the criminal. Surette (2011) states that the stupid victim is often portrayed as a police officer or hero who makes a mistake which leads to their death. Finally, the lazy victim usually meets his or her fate as a result of doing something “wrong.” Lazy victims are often portrayed as careless, such as a security guard sleeping or a female walking alone at night. Victims are generally portrayed, in both news and entertainment media, as “randomly selected,” with no prior interactions with the offender (Surette, 2011).

Research also indicates that media depictions of victimization are misleading (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Pollak and Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). Media constructions of victimization portray crime as an unavoidable event, where victims are selected at random (Schmid, 2006; Surette, 2011). Pollak and Kubrin (2007) state the media portrayals of crime imply that regardless of race, gender, or other demographic factors, anyone can become a victim of crime. Due to media depictions of victimization as random and highly likely to occur, fear of crime rates also increases (Pollak and Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). Fritz and Altheida (1987) state that although most missing children are either runaways or children abducted by a parent, media outlets focus on the small percentage of children that are abducted by strangers, increasing public fear. The researchers surveyed 96 adults regarding their views on the “missing children problem.” The participants were then shown a video produced by KAET-TV, a local broadcasting station in Phoenix, which explained that 95 percent of missing children are runaways as opposed to stranger-abduction victims (Fritz & Altheide, 1987). Before viewing the video, 68 percent of the sample perceived stranger abduction as a crisis, while 72.9 percent had a moderate to high level of fear that their child would be abducted. After viewing the video, only

31.3 percent of the participants viewed stranger abduction as a crisis and 28 percent feared that their child would be abducted (Fritz & Altheide, 1987).

Sacco (1995) states that media outlets present information in such a way that it distorts social problems. Media outlets, such as television news, must present information in a few minutes, therefore only highlighting key points of the story. By eliminating details, media outlets may alter how the general public will perceive the information. In recent years, media outlets have allotted more attention to victims' rights (Surette, 2011). As a result, victims are also presented as "doubly victimized." The media portrays victims as being victimized by both offenders and the justice system, which leads to distorted views of law enforcement officials and crime (Surette, 2011). Research also states that victims and their families can be victimized by the media (Rentschler, 2007). The researcher states that crime-scene photos and personal information released by the media cause additional emotional distress for victims and their family members. These personal images and information also increase public pressure on the criminal justice system to provide justice to these victims (Rentschler, 2007).

Media depictions of victims directly impact the personal lives of the victim and their families (Rentschler, 2007; Surette, 2011). These depictions also impact how society views the criminal justice system and the victims. The current study examines why victims of sexual crimes chose to write a book depicting their experience and how they perceive themselves before, during and after victimization.

**Depictions of the Criminal Justice System.** Research indicates that public perceptions of the criminal justice system are distorted due to media depictions of law enforcement, forensic evidence, and the judicial system (Chermak, 1998; Guastaferrro, 2013; Marsh 1991; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011). Chermak (1998) found that police officers who were victims of a crime were

more likely to receive media attention than “average” citizens. Marsh (1991) explains that due to overrepresentation of violent crime in the media, society is more inclined to form inaccurate opinions of police success. The researcher states that police officers are generally more successful at solving violent crime as opposed to property crime, resulting in police officers being portrayed as more effective at solving crime than they really are. Similarly, Surette (2011) found that the police infotainment show, *COPS*, overrepresented violent crime, with 84 percent of one season containing depictions of murder, rape, assault, and robbery. Entertainment media often portrays the criminal justice system, particularly law enforcement, as being more successful than realistically possible (Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011). Surette (2011) found that entertainment media often portrays law enforcement officers as “hyper masculine,” portraying these characters as a “take-no-prisoners,” soldier-like persona. Movies such as *Dirty Harry* portrayed police as brave, aggressive, heroes who always serve justice (Surette, 2011). Although most of these depictions portray the criminal justice system as “the good guys,” these distorted images give the general public a false sense of justice by indicating that the criminal will almost always be apprehended (Chermak, 1998; Guastaferrro, 2013; Marsh 1991; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011).

Court officials, attorneys, and criminal proceedings of offenders are also portrayed in the media. Pretrial publicity, which portrays details of the crime, as well as information concerning the victim and the offender, is concerning for attorneys and judges (Marcus, 1982). Recently, journalists’ use of social media websites, such as Twitter, have impacted public perceptions of judicial proceedings and caused a great deal of controversy (Winnick, 2014). Twitter has impacted the legal process due to jurors using Twitter during trials, tweets posted via Twitter being used as evidence, and journalists posting live updates from the courtroom. Exposure to this

information can alter how jurors perceive the crime and the offender, which can lead to unfair criminal proceedings. In such cases, judges often grant a change of venue, so that locals exposed to pretrial publicity will not be selected as jurors (Marcus, 1982). Many high-profile cases, such as the O.J. Simpson trial, are now open to the public via live television coverage (Sacco, 1995). These nationally recognized trials are broadcast live and multiple newspaper articles are published portraying the details of the case and likely outcomes (Marsh 1991; Surette, 2011). Friedman and Rosen-Zvi (2001) found that 97 percent of the population claimed to have knowledge of the O.J. Simpson case, with most of their information generated from media depictions. Marsh (1991) states that newspaper articles often offer an unbalanced view of the judicial system because only one side of the case is presented. The researcher explains that newspaper articles tend to favor the victim and fail to mention “behind-the-scenes” details such as plea bargains, resulting in a negative impression of the court process (Marsh, 1991). Surette (2011) found that lawyers are often depicted as crime-fighting and crafty, such as Atticus Finch in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, published in 1960. These lawyers are portrayed as “homespun” and all-American. In more contemporary media, lawyers are depicted in a negative light, as greedy and corrupt and mostly focusing on criminal law. Very few civil lawyers are featured in the media (Surette, 2011).

Correctional facilities and staff receive significantly less media attention than other branches of the criminal justice system (Surette, 2011). Unlike law enforcement officials and courts, which are seen by the general public almost daily, the average citizen does not have firsthand experience with jails or prisons (Surette, 2011). Unless an individual knows someone who is incarcerated or works in a correctional facility or has personally been incarcerated or worked in a jail or prison, the individual is unlikely to have any knowledge of corrections other

than media depictions (Rose & Clear, 2004). Individuals who have been incarcerated or have a friend or family member who has been incarcerated are more likely to hold negative opinions of correctional facilities and staff than individuals who have not had contact with correctional facilities (Rose & Clear, 2004). Media outlets are rarely allowed access to inmates or correctional staff; therefore, information presented in the media, particularly entertainment media, is seldom accurate.

Surette (2011) states that prison films are the main source of information regarding corrections available to the public, although prison films only account for a small percentage of all films. The majority of these films portray prisons and correctional staff in a negative way and often claim to be “based on a true story,” although these depictions are often distorted for dramatic purposes (Surette, 2011). Surette (2011) explains that prison films can be separated into four categories, with each category portraying correctional staff and offenders differently. Nature of confinement films, such as *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, portrays inmates as victims of injustice, while portraying correctional staff as corrupt. *A Clockwork Orange*, produced in 1971 depicts a juvenile delinquent, Alex, undergoing experimental aversion therapy. Alex suffers long term side effects and becomes a victim of a corrupt and abusive government (Bennett, 2006). *A Clockwork Orange* caused a great deal of controversy and was outlawed in the United Kingdom until 2000 (Bennett, 2006).

Pursuit of justice films, such as *Riot in Cell Block 11*, often focuses on violence within prisons (Surette, 2011). These films portray inmates as responsible for their actions, hostility between prison guards and inmates, and the possibility that inmates can be rehabilitated. The third category, authority and control films, portrays prison guards as corrupt, insensitive, and unsuccessful. Films such as *Escape from Alcatraz* depict prisons as being isolated societies with

all aspects of the correctional system at risk of being exploited. These films are the first to portray real prison issues, such as rape, racism, and drug use; however these depictions are unrealistic (Surette, 2011).

Finally, freedom and release films depict the correctional staff as inhuman with little regard for the safety of inmates. These films, such as *The Shawshank Redemption* produced in 1994, portray extreme violence within prisons and soften the depictions of inmates, leaving viewers with a false sense of prison life (Surette, 2011). As a whole, prison films often portray the “good men” as inmates and the “bad men” as guards, giving the public a distorted view of corrections. Since 2000, few prison films have been produced (Mason, 2006). The majority of prison films produced since 2000 follow the same trends as earlier films. However, recent prison films have also introduced controversial topics, such as the death penalty (Mason, 2006). Research indicates that since their creation, prison films have portrayed correctional facilities as violent institutions in which inmates are dehumanized while engaging in repetitive tasks (Mason, 2006).

Studies indicate that the general public has a distorted view of the criminal justice system as a result of entertainment media (Guastaferrero, 2013; Surette, 2011). Guastaferrero (2013) found that although crime television shows, such as *Law & Order* and *C.S.I.*, are based on real cases and incorporate real technology, they provided viewers with a distorted view of how investigations are conducted. These shows portray what is known as the “CSI Effect,” which has created an unrealistic expectation for forensic evidence (Surette, 2011). Guastaferrero (2013) explains that these television shows imply that time of death can be calculated with accuracy, however in reality other factors such as core body temperature, make this determination difficult (Guastaferrero, 2013). Guastaferrero (2013) also explains that media outlets implying that forensic

evidence can be accurately determined or that cases can be solved in a timely manner influences how jurors perceive professionals in the court room. Surette (2011) also found that lack of forensic evidence is interpreted by jurors as “bad police work” and will causes jurors to discount other pieces of evidence, such as eyewitness accounts. Television crime dramas depict that justice typically prevails and cases are solved quickly, which in reality rarely occurs (Guastafarro, 2013).

### **The Culture of Fear**

The media plays a dominant role in how crime, offenders, victims, and the criminal justice system are viewed by the general public (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2001; Guastafarro, 2013; Kohm, Waid-Lindberg, Weinrath, Shelley, & Dobbs, 2012; Marsh 1991; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011). Sacco (1995) explains that media depictions of crime are exaggerated as a result of media organizations competing for coverage of the crime, meaning that the same crime is mentioned multiple times in various news programs and newspapers. The more often these crimes are portrayed within the media, the more the general public is exposed to depictions of violence and crime. This may cause the general public to believe that certain crimes are occurring more often than they actually are. As a result, society is more likely to believe they are at a higher risk of victimization, therefore increasing their fear of crime (Marsh, 1991; Sacco, 1995, Surette, 2011). Marsh (1991) found that the amount of crime reporting in the news was disproportionate to the amount of crime reported to police agencies. This overrepresentation of crime in the media leads the public to believe that “crime waves” exist, leading to an increased fear of crime (Fishman, 1978) .

Research indicates that individuals who use local television news as their primary source for crime news were significantly more fearful of crime (Kohm, Waid-Lindberg, Weinrath,



Shelley, & Dobbs, 2012). The researchers also found that individuals who frequently used social networking websites had a higher fear of being victimized by a stranger than individuals who did not use social networks (Kohm, Waid-Lindberg, Weinrath, Shelley, & Dobbs, 2012). Surette (2011) states that victimization rates in the media correlate more with fear of crime than actual victimization rate. Pollak and Kubrin (2007) found that only 22 percent of individuals report that their primary source of crime information is from their own personal experience, while the majority of individuals form opinions about crime based on media portrayals. For example, the kidnapping of Adam Walsh in 1981 sparked a moral panic across America. As a result, several policies have been implemented throughout the years aimed at controlling the child abduction “crime wave” (Griffin & Miller, 2008). Although stranger abductions and threats to children are rare, several policies, such as Megan’s Law, which was enacted in 1996, have created harsher penalties for sex offenders and increased public awareness about child abductions (Griffin & Miller, 2008). In 2006 President Bush enacted the Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act, bringing child abductions back into the media spotlight. Although child abductions are rare, particularly stranger abductions, the general public believes it is a larger problem due to the extensive media coverage. This “social construction of reality” causes individuals to have a heightened fear of crime because they believe crime is more likely to occur (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011).

### **Crime Novels**

Crime novels are one of the earliest forms of crime entertainment, dating back to the late 1800s (Surette, 2011). Detective and crime novels, often referred to as “dime novels,” were the first to depict crime as the result of individual moral weakness as opposed to social forces. The detectives depicted in these novels were often depicted as “heroic;” however, their personalities

and characteristics resembled those of criminals: calculating, outcast, loners (Surette, 2011). These early novels are similar to those found in bookstores today, which depict heroic law enforcement officials and justice served to deserving criminals. In today's society, books about crime, both fiction and nonfiction, are increasingly popular (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2001; Surette, 2011).

Very little research has been conducted on crime books, their popularity, and their impact on public opinion of crime. The research that has been conducted suggests that fiction and nonfiction crime books focus on the who, how, and why of crime (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995, Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000; Surette, 2011). Crime books often include depictions of the type of person the victim or offender was, how the crime was committed, how it was solved, and why the offender committed the crime.

**Crime Fiction.** Crime fiction is designed to entertain, often exaggerating reality for dramatic effect. Friedman and Rosen-Zvi (2000) state that detective novels are divided into three categories; classic, hard-boiled, and contemporary. Classic detective novels developed in the early twentieth century and often only included depictions of upper-class citizens. These classic novels depicted crime as taking place inside mansions and country houses. The victim and offender were rarely strangers. Most of the murders within these classic crime novels were motivated by a desire to preserve wealth and social status (Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000).

The second category of detective novels, according to Friedman and Rosen-Zvi (2000), is hard-boiled novels. Hard-boiled detective novels depict detectives as mistrusting of institutions and surrounded by danger and violence (Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000). These novels depict society as being corrupt, as opposed to classic novels which depict society as "well-managed." Hard-boiled novels take place in the "urban underground," such as dark alleys and bars. These

novels take place in poverty-stricken America as opposed to classic novels which take place in upper-class England (Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000). Sex, violence, and corruption are essential pieces in hard-boiled novels. Detectives often partake in deception to solve crime and meet personal needs.

More contemporary crime fiction has eliminated the “logic” element of crime; the majority of these criminals are no longer motivated by money or power; they kill because they want to do so (Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000). The victims in these novels are generally strangers and detectives no longer use intuition and deception as crime-solving tools. These novels include depictions of DNA tests, fingerprints, and other scientific methods as crime-solving techniques. Patricia Cornwell’s novel, *Black Notice*, uses science to identify the suspect, unlike classic novels in which every character was a suspect until eliminated. Contemporary detective fiction exploits America’s fear of crime, which is caused by media coverage of crime (Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000). These fictional novels portray that crime is everywhere and that anyone can fall victim to an irrational, psychopathic criminal. Nonfiction true crime novels depict the factual stories of individuals who fell victim to crime.

**Nonfiction Crime Novels.** The first nonfiction crime novel, written by George S. McWatters, was published in 1873 and documented his life as a detective (Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000). Nonfiction crime novels, often referred to as true crime novels, present the details of actual crimes in narrative form (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995). These novels are often written by individuals who experience the crime or legal proceedings firsthand, such as detectives, attorneys, offenders, victims, or family members (Surette, 2011). Durham, Elrod, and Kinkade (1995) state that bookstores have increased space allotted to true crime novels within recent years, with homicide being the most popular topic of true crime novels. The researchers

also found that true crime novels are also available in airports, grocery, stores and public libraries. A catalog search of public libraries in Tampa, Florida found over 300 hardcover true crime novels were available for checkout (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995). True crime novels written by law enforcement officials usually portray police as heroes, who always apprehend the criminal in the end (Surette, 2011). Although true crime novels are becoming increasingly popular, little research has been conducted on the genre (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995).

A great deal of research has been conducted on how the media portrays crime, offenders, the criminal justice system, and victims (Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman and Rosen-Zvi, 2001; Guastafarro, 2013; Lund and Jensen, 2011; Marsh, 1991; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011). The research indicates that media depictions of crime differ depending on the type of media, the author, or the crime. This study focuses on how victims depict their experiences through the five most recent bestselling true crime novels. The current study entails a content analysis conducted to determine how victims portray their experiences. The study will examine how victims of sexual crimes portray the facts of the crime, by analyzing depictions of the crime, the criminal justice system, the offender, and themselves as the victim. This study also examines how the victims discuss their experiences by analyzing depictions of control exhibited by the offender. Finally, the current study examines the perspective of the author/victim. Depictions of family, religion, and media will be examined to determine the author's mindset before, during, and after the crime. This study will also determine whether male and female victims experience or portray similar crimes in similar ways.

### Chapter 3: Methodology

Research indicates that media depictions of crime influence how society views crime, the criminal justice system, offenders, and victims (Bennett, 2006; Birkland & Lawrence, 2009; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Cheatwood, 2009; Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Fishman, 1978; Friedman & rosen-Zvi, 2000; Fritz & Altheide, 1987; Gerbner, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986; Gilchrist, 2010; Griffin & Miller, 2008; Gustafarro, 2013; Husselbee & Elliott, 2002; Jewkes & Yar, 2011; Kohm, Waid-Lindberg, Weinrath, Shelley, & Dobbs; 2012; Legros, 2010; Levenson & Cotter, 2005; Lund & Jensen, 2011; Marcus, 1982; Marsh, 1991; Mason, 2006; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Rentschler, 2007; Rose & Clear, 2004; Sacco, 1995; Schmid, 2006; Surette, 2011; Waymer, 2009; Wilbanks, 1984; Wilson, 1997). A great deal of research has been conducted to determine how various media depictions affect society’s viewpoints. However, little research has specifically looked at the impact of books (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkage, 1995; Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000; Surette, 2011). Of the few studies that have been conducted, the research indicates that crime books, fiction and nonfiction, are becoming increasingly popular (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995). The current study examines the five most recent bestselling crime books written by victims of sexual crimes. Table 1 displays the names of the books, the author/victim, the primary offender, and a brief description of the offense for each book.

Table 1: Non-fiction Books Included in Analysis

Book Name	Victim Name	Offender Name	Description of Crime
A Stolen Life	Jaycee Lee Dugard	Phillip Garrido	Victim kidnapped at age 11 by convicted sex offender and held captive in backyard for 18 years.
Buried Memories	Katie Beers	John Esposito	Victim kidnapped at age 10 by family friend and held underground for 17 days.

Finding Me	Michelle Knight	Ariel Castro	Victim kidnapped by her friend's father and held captive for 11 years with two other victims in offender's home.
My Story	Elizabeth Smart	Brian David Mitchell	Victim kidnapped at age 14 from her bedroom by homeless man and held captive in the mountains for 9 months.
Silent No More	Aaron Fisher	Jerry Sandusky	Victim groomed and molested by respected community member and coach from age 11 to age 15.

The study entails a content analysis examining data collected using Provalis WordStat to determine how crime victims portray their experiences with various aspects of crime and the criminal justice system. Various concepts, such as the crime, criminal justice system, offender, and others, were examined using content analysis techniques.

### **Content Analysis**

Content analysis is defined as a methodical reading of a body of texts (Krippendorff, 2013). Content analysis is used to make inferences from text regarding the author, the intended audience, or the message itself (Weber, 1990). Content analysis is used to analyze various forms of communication, such as artwork, song lyrics, maps, symbols, and text. Krippendorff (2013) explains the framework of content analysis, stating that the primary purpose is to analyze a body of text and make inferences from it. First, the researcher selects a body of text to examine. These texts could include letters, historical documents, or books.

Next, the researcher must form a research question. The research question is answered by analyzing the body of text (Krippendorff, 2013). Third, the researcher must create units of context in which to analyze the body of text. Weber (1990) explains that the main focus of content analysis is to classify the multitude of words in a body of text into fewer categories with

similar meanings. Words and phrases are grouped based on exact meanings or similar connotations (Weber, 1990). Next, the researcher forms a hypothesis regarding the body of text. After forming the hypothesis, the researcher methodically reads the body of texts, searching for the words and phrases that fit the units of measurement (Krippendorff, 2013). Based on the information in the texts, the researcher makes inferences that are intended to answer the research question. Finally, the researcher compiles the evidence found within the body of texts to validate and justify the content analysis (Krippendorff, 2013). Content analysis can be used on various forms of communication; however, different methods exist for different types of communication (Krippendorff, 2013; Weber 1990). The current study uses techniques designed to examine written texts, such as books, letters, and newspapers (Krippendorff, 2013).

Krippendorff (2013) explains that there are three types of content analysis: text-driven, problem-driven, and method-driven. Text-driven analysis begins with a body of texts that stimulates the researcher's personal interests. Krippendorff (2013) explains that most content analyses begin with data that are not intended to be analyzed. These texts, such as letters or books, are designed to be read and understood by individuals other than analysts. As a result, the analyst must answer the research questions by making inferences from the body of texts (Krippendorff, 2013).

The researcher begins by reading the texts, selecting how many texts to examine, and by choosing concepts, such as quotes, words, or phrases, to examine more closely (Krippendorff, 2013). Next, the researcher engages in a systematic reading of each text. The researcher must summarize what the texts are trying to convey, and how the body of texts as a whole could be used (Krippendorff, 2013). If the researcher is examining a large body of text, it could be

difficult for one researcher to record all relevant information. As a result, the researcher may utilize computer software or additional researchers to log information (Krippendorff, 2013).

Weber (1990) explains that text-driven analysts must determine which words and phrases appear in the text and how they are used. The researcher must create a key-word-in-context list (KWIC) to determine how the context surrounding the words influences the interpretation of the text. Weber (1990) explains that these KWIC lists are frequently used to study word usage, while word-frequency lists are used to focus on how often a certain word appears in a body of text. Word-frequency lists are compiled by selecting certain words of interest and counting how many times those words appear in a particular text (Weber, 1990). When used together, the researcher can determine the associations between words and separate texts. The researcher can determine whether similar texts use the same words in similar ways or whether different authors or texts use the same word to describe different situations (Weber, 1990).

When conducting a content analysis, the researcher must also determine the context in which the texts function (Krippendorff, 2013). The context explains what the researcher does with the text and what the texts can tell or do. For example, if a psychologist and journalist examine the same body of text, they may examine it for different reasons, therefore reaching different conclusions about how the text is used (Krippendorff, 2013). To ensure that the results of the analysis are clear, the researcher must thoroughly explain the analytical constructs used to reach their conclusions. Analytical constructs explain how the texts are related to possible explanations to the research question (Krippendorff, 2013). By explaining the analytical constructs, the research design can be duplicated for further testing and can further explain how the inferences were made by the researcher when analyzing the texts.



Due to the qualitative nature of text-driven content analysis, this method is also referred to as interpretive analysis. Krippendorff (2013) explains that judgments and interpretations are always made by the reader. For this reason, text-driven analysis is subjective to the researcher's personal thoughts, beliefs, and interpretations regarding the body of texts (Krippendorff, 2013). Therefore, one researcher or reader may have the opposite conclusion from another. This could potentially be a limitation of text-driven analysis, as personal beliefs and experiences prior to the analysis may influence how the researcher interprets the body of texts. By explaining the context and analytical constructs, the researcher ensures that the findings and personal inferences are easily understood.

### **The Current Study**

For the purposes of this study, the body of text was the five most recent nonfiction bestselling crime books written by victims of sexual crimes. The purpose of this study was to determine the intentions of the author regarding the depictions of various cultural institutions, groups, and experiences. The current study used text-driven content analysis to determine how crime victims portrayed their experiences through books.

First, the researcher selected five books from the *New York Times* nonfiction, print and e-book bestsellers list. *The New York Times* bestsellers list is generated from sales information provided by national, regional, and local vendors (The New York Times, 2014). The sale vendors for print books include various national, regional, and local book retailers, such as online entertainment retailers, supermarkets, department stores, newsstands, and university bookstores. E-book sales information reflects sales from online vendors in a variety of e-reader formats (The New York Times, 2014). The nonfiction bestsellers list includes all adult and children's categories except for graphic novels and picture books. Titles are included regardless of whether

or not they are available in print and e-book format or just one (The New York Times , 2014). The bestsellers list does not include textbooks, reference guides, comics, self-published books, or required classroom readings. Book vendors provide sales data which satisfies universal identification requirements, such as ISBN codes (The New York Times, 2014). After receiving sales data, the bestsellers list is compiled weekly by the News Surveys and Election Analysis Department of The New York Times (The New York Times, 2014). The bestsellers list consists of 15 books listed as “bestsellers” with an additional 10 books listed as “also selling” for a total of 25 books per week. Books marked with an asterisk (\*) indicate that sales are barely distinguishable from the sales of the book listed above. Books marked with a dagger (†) indicate that certain book vendors reported bulk orders for that particular book (The New York Times, 2014).

The researcher selected *The New York Times* bestsellers list for multiple reasons. First, selecting the nonfiction list ensured that all books selected would be actual accounts of crimes that occurred, as opposed to fictional novels. Second, the list is compiled based on national, regional, and local sales of books, indicating that the books have been purchased (and presumably read) by multitudes of people. This is important to the current study because research indicates that the media has a substantial impact on the perceptions and opinions of the general public (Bennett, 2006; Birkland & Lawrence, 2009; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Cheatwood, 2009; Chermak, 1998; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Fishman, 1978; Friedman & rosen-Zvi, 2000; Fritz & Altheide, 1987; Gerbner, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986; Gilchrist, 2010; Griffin & Miller, 2008; Gustafarro, 2013; Husselbee & Elliott, 2002; Jewkes & Yar, 2011; Kohm, Waid-Lindberg, Weinrath, Shelley, & Dobbs; 2012; Legros, 2010; Levenson & Cotter, 2005; Lund & Jensen, 2011; Marcus, 1982; Marsh, 1991; Mason, 2006; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007;

Rentschler, 2007; Rose & Clear, 2004; Sacco, 1995; Schmid, 2006; Surette, 2011; Waymer, 2009; Wilbanks, 1984; Wilson, 1997). This is also important because the bestsellers list is not based on personal opinion or certain retailers, therefore the list is unbiased.

Next, the bestsellers list is compiled weekly, ensuring that the sample is current. This is important because books that were listed as bestsellers 10 years ago may not be seen in the same way in modern society. Finally, by selecting the five most recent books beginning in July 2014 when the sample was comprised, the researcher eliminated any personal bias. The books were selected from most recent to oldest based on three criteria; a clear depiction of a sexual crime was exhibited in the book description, the crime occurred within the United States, and the victim of the crime authored the book. By using these criteria when examining the bestsellers list, the researcher was unable to select books based on the researcher's personal interests.

The current study examined five variables, which will be referred to as concepts. The first concept that the researcher analyzed is the crime itself. How did the author present the crime to the reader? Did the author describe the crime in great detail? The current study also examined how the victim portrayed different aspects of the crime, such as physical, sexual and emotional.

Next, the researcher analyzed how the author portrayed the offender. Was the offender a stranger or someone the author knew? Did the author hate the offender or have mixed emotions? The concept of offender was analyzed in two ways; immediate and auxiliary offender. The current study determined whether the victim portrayed the immediate offender in a different manner than auxiliary offenders.

The third concept is the victim; did the author view him- or herself as a victim? The researcher examined whether the author depicted him- or herself as a victim. The current study also examined how the authors depicted other individuals victimized by the same offender,

identified as co-victims. The researcher also examined how the authors portrayed family. Did some authors see their offenders or other victims as parts of their families? Did the authors blame their families for their victimization? The study examined whether the authors thought of their families during the victimization.

The final concept is the criminal justice system. The researcher examined whether the author viewed the criminal justice system as a failure or an enemy. Did the author feel that the criminal justice system aided him or her in his or her time of need? Some victims may view actors within the criminal justice system as heroes or helpful in their time of need, while others may feel that the system did not adequately protect them. The current study determined whether victims of sexual abuse portrayed the criminal justice system in a negative, positive, or neutral context.

### **The Sample**

The sample for this study was selected from the *New York Times* nonfiction print and e-book bestsellers list. The list is comprised weekly and contains the top 15 bestselling books, as well as an additional 10 books which are classified as “also selling” (The New York Times, 2014). For the purposes of this study, books listed between 1 and 25 were included to produce a larger and more recent sample size. The researcher began examining weekly lists of nonfiction bestsellers on July 27<sup>th</sup>, 2014, selecting books written by victims of sexual crimes occurring within the United States. Books listed on the bestsellers list prior to this date were used for the sample, meaning the most recent book appeared on the bestsellers list in July 2014. The oldest bestseller was listed in November 2012. The description for each book was examined to determine whether a sexual crime actually occurred. If the description did not include a clear

depiction of crime, the book was not included in the sample. All books written by victims of sexual crimes that occurred outside of the United States were also eliminated.

Using these criteria, the researcher selected the five most recent books beginning in July 2014. The most recent book, *Finding Me*, by Michelle Knight, was ranked 22<sup>nd</sup> in July 2014. Although some books appeared within the top 25 multiple times, with different ranks from week-to-week, the researcher selected the most recent ranking. The last book selected, *Silent No More* by Aaron Fisher, was ranked 24<sup>th</sup> in November 2012. The sample included books written by victims of American sexual crimes that have made the *New York Times* bestsellers list within the two years prior to the initiation of the study. After selecting the sample, a content analysis was performed to determine the differences and similarities between depictions of crime, the offender, the victim, family, and the criminal justice system.

A content analysis was conducted on true crime novels written by victims. Five books listed within *The New York Times* nonfiction bestsellers list were selected based on five criteria. First, the book must have been listed within the *New York Times* nonfiction print and e-book top 25 bestsellers list. Second, the book must describe the events or aftermath of factual sexual crimes. Third, the crime depicted must have occurred within the United States of America. Fourth, the victim of the crime must be the primary author of the book. Finally, the five most recent books fitting the previous criteria were selected. After selecting the sample, a content analysis was conducted to determine similarities and differences regarding depictions of various groups and institutions related to the crime.

Five *New York Times* bestselling books were selected for this study. These books include depictions of factual crimes that were predominantly sexual in nature. The books included in this study are primarily written by the victims and have been listed within the top 25 nonfiction

bestsellers. The five most recent books were selected, with the most recent listed in July 2014 and the oldest listed in November 2012. The sample includes four female authors and one male author. This section includes a brief description of each book within the sample, beginning with the most recent book.

Michelle Knight's memoir, *Finding Me: A Decade of Darkness, a Life Reclaimed*, describes the physical, psychological, and sexual torture she endured at the hands of Ariel Castro. Knight was kidnapped from a Family Dollar in Cleveland, Ohio in 2002 by her friend's father. For eleven years, Castro beat, starved, and raped Knight, along with two other victims, until they were rescued on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013. Knight's book describes her life before, during, and after her victimization (Knight, 2014).

After being kidnapped from her bedroom in 2002, Elizabeth Smart endured nine months of torture. Smart's memoir, *My Story*, depicts her life in captivity at the hands of a religious extremist and his wife. Smart was repeatedly raped and threatened with death if she tried to escape. Smart's book depicts the abuse she suffered at the age of fourteen, how she endured the fear and pain, and how she is using her experience to advocate for other victims.

On June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1991 Jaycee Dugard was walking to school upset because her mother had forgotten to kiss her goodbye that morning. She was eleven years old when a known sexual predator, Phillip Garrido, and his wife, Nancy, tazed her and dragged her into their van. For eighteen years, Dugard was held captive in tents and sheds in Garrido's backyard and repeatedly raped. At age 14, Dugard gave birth to the first of her two daughters, who grew up knowing her as their sister, "Allissa." Dugard was forced to help Garrido with his printing business and was seen by multiple members of the community, as well as Garrido's parole officer, on numerous occasions. On August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009 Dugard was finally rescued from the backyard and able to say

her name for the first time since the day she was taken. In her book, *A Stolen Life*, Dugard describes her transformation from a normal child, to a child prisoner, to a mother, and finally to a survivor (Dugard, 2011).

*Buried Memories*, depicts the life of Katie Beers, who suffered neglect and abuse as a child. In 1992, Beers was abducted by a family friend and held captive for seventeen days. Beers tells of the trauma she endured before and during captivity and how she escaped. For twenty years she remained silent, until releasing her story which details her childhood, her abduction, and her life today.

Aaron Fisher was eleven years old when Jerry Sandusky entered his life. At first, Fisher enjoyed the attention, gifts, and guidance offered by Sandusky, but eventually the attention turned into sexual assault. In Fisher's book, *Silent No More: Victim I's Fight for Justice Against Jerry Sandusky* (2012), the author explains the shame, guilt, and fear he felt at accusing such an influential man in his community. Fisher experienced guilt at not coming forward sooner, as well as panic attacks caused by the stress of the criminal proceedings. Fisher's book describes the fear and confusion his victimization caused, the frustration of the delayed arrest and conviction of his abuser, and his pride in knowing that there will be no future victims (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012).

### **Conceptual Definitions**

This study analyzed five concepts within the body of text: crime, offender, victim, family, and the criminal justice system. The concepts and books selected for this study were analyzed based on definitions supported by prior research. Based on these definitions, keywords were selected for each concept that the researcher believed accurately measured the concept. While reading the texts within the sample, the researcher made note of words frequently used to

describe the concepts. This list included keywords such as cry, kick, scream, and the names of key individuals within the texts, such as victims, offenders, and family members.

After reading each book within the sample, the texts were entered into Provalis WordStat for analysis. Provalis WordStat provides a total count of all words included across all five books, with a separate list for the most frequently mentioned words within the texts. Words that were mentioned more than five times were included in the frequently mentioned list. The researcher then selected words from the most frequently mentioned word list that were used by the victims to portray the concepts of crime, offender, victim, family, and the criminal justice system.

**Crime.** Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1977) state that crime refers to acts specified by law and sanctioned by the state. For the purposes of this study, crime is defined as any act or omission that violates the law and could be sanctioned by the local, state, or federal government. This definition includes all acts or omissions that are considered illegal, whether the offender was charged and convicted or not. For example, Michelle Knight's book, *Finding Me*, describes abuse she suffered at the hands of a relative in her childhood (Knight, 2014). Although Knight's relative was never charged or convicted of abuse, his actions would have been considered illegal and could have been punishable by law if they had been reported. For this reason, these actions were included in Knight's depiction of crime.

Based on this definition, key words were selected to determine how victims portrayed their experiences. The concept of crime is divided into five potential measures: physical, sexual, emotional, religion and media. Words listed as portraying physical crime include words such as punch, kick, beat and chain. These words either describe the type of crime occurring or a physical method used to commit the crime, such as physically chaining the victim to a wall. Words listed as sexual crime include words such as rape, touch, masturbate, and dirty. These



words describe the type of sexual crime or the way the offender describes the crime. For example, Jaycee Dugard states that the offender would talk “dirty” to her while raping her. Due to the fact that that act of “talking dirty” was part of the sexual assault against the victim, it was coded as a depiction of a sexual crime.

Emotional crime includes words such as scream, yell, and manipulate, which describe the emotional control or force used against the victim. Elizabeth Smart describes how the offender used religion to justify his crime and to escape law enforcement (Smart, 2013). Words associated with religion, such as angels, minister, and pray are coded under crime if the offender used religion to facilitate the crime. Words that describe media, such as pictures, television, and reporters are coded under crime if the offender used the media in the commission of the crime. For example, Katie Beers states that the offender wanted to take a picture of her in which she appeared to be dead and submit it to the police so that law enforcement would stop searching for her (Beers, 2013). Since the offender wanted to use this form of media to aid in the commission of the crime, the word usage was coded under crime.

**Offender.** Surette (2011) states that criminals are individuals who pursue what they want, whether it be sex, money, or power. Surette (2011) also states that predatory criminals (offenders) are animalistic, violent, and commit senseless crimes. For the purposes of this study, offenders are defined as any individuals who harm, intimidate, or control another individual through illegal activities. No distinction is made between predatory offenders and non-predatory offenders in this study. Offenders will include individuals who abuse, manipulate, kidnap, control, rape, and/or harm another person against his or her will in a way that could be punishable by law. The concept of offender is divided into two categories: immediate and auxiliary. The immediate offender is defined as the offender who committed the primary crime

depicted in the book. The auxiliary offender is defined as an offender who aided in the commission of the primary crime or who committed a previous offense against the victim. For example, Jaycee Dugard was kidnapped and held captive by Phillip and Nancy Garrido (Dugard, 2011). Phillip is coded as the immediate offender because he primarily aggressed against the victim. Nancy is coded as the auxiliary offender because she aided in the kidnapping and captivity of the victim, however she did not participate in the rape and torture of the victim. Katie Beers describes previous crimes of sexual abuse committed by her godfather “Uncle Sal” prior to her abduction. For this reason, “Uncle Sal” is coded as an auxiliary offender, while the abductor John Esposito is coded as the immediate offender (Beers, 2013).

Key words for the concept of offender were selected based on the above definition. An example of key words for the concept of offender are; loser, psycho, coward, evil, abusive, and criminal. These words were selected to determine how the victim views the offender. The offender’s name is also coded to determine how the victim portrays the offender. For example, Michelle Knight calls the offender by his first name, Ariel, when referring to interactions that occurred before her victimization. During and after her victimization, the author only refers to the offender as “the Dude” (Knight, 2014). Both “Ariel” and “Dude” were coded as the immediate offender.

**Victim.** Quinney (1972) states that a victim is anyone who has been socially harmed. For the purposes of this study, victims are defined as any individual who feels threatened, mistreated, harmed, or taken advantage of by another person in a way which violates the individual’s legal rights. This definition includes all acts that are considered illegal, including but not limited to physical abuse, rape, sexual contact with a minor, kidnapping, and control through threat or intimidation. The concept of victim is divided into five sections: self-perception, emotional

response, physical response, co-victim and media. Words that the victims use to describe themselves, such as slave, survivor, and helpless are coded as self-perception. The emotional response of the victim is coded using words such as crying, fearful, and depressed. These words describe how the offender felt during and after victimization. Any physical actions exhibited by the victim during victimization, such as fight, kick, and scream were coded as a physical response. Pregnancy is also coded as a physical response to crime if the victim was impregnated by the offender.

Other victims that are mentioned by the author are coded as co-victims. For example, Michelle Knight was held captive with two other women, Amanda and Gina. Therefore all references to “Amanda” or “Gina” in Knight’s (2014) book are coded under co-victim. The final section, media, includes words that describe types of media or media outlets, such as pictures, reporters, and newspapers. If the victims reference media coverage of their victimization or their use of media during or after victimization, it is coded as victim media. For example, Michelle Knight references her television interview with Dr. Phil McGraw after she was rescued. This word use was coded as victim media.

**Family.** According to Wilson (2007) the concept of family focuses more on the roles of family members as opposed to the relationships between them. The author states that families are comprised of individuals with a shared history and a shared future. For the purposes of this study, family is defined as individuals related to the victim either by blood or marriage and individuals perceived by the victim to be an intimate part of their lives, such as friends or spouses. Offenders and family members of offenders will be included in this definition only if the victim specifically refers to the offender by a familial name, such as father or dad, or states that the offender was like family. Other victims of the crime will also be considered family under

this definition if the victim portrays them as such. For example, Michelle Knight states that the other victims involved in her experience were like sisters to her. These individuals would be considered Knight's family (Knight, 2014).

Based on this definition, key words were selected to determine who the victim portrays as family and how the victim feels about these individuals. In some cases, the offender is a blood/marriage relative of the victim. Key words measuring the description of family include; spouse, cousin, mother, sister, and names of family members. For example, Michelle Knight refers to her son as "Joey," therefore "Joey" would be a key word for *Finding Me* (Knight, 2014). . Key words measuring the author's feelings toward family include; hate, love, miss, and supportive.

**The Criminal Justice System.** Surette (2011) explains that the criminal justice system consists of crime fighters, the courts, and corrections. The author explains that the police, judges, attorneys, and jailors are included in the criminal justice system. For the purposes of this study, the criminal justice system is defined as all organizations and persons involved in the investigation, apprehension, prosecution, defense, sentencing, incarceration, and protection of criminals and/or American society. This definition includes police officers, correctional staff, judges, attorneys, courtroom staff, probation and parole officers, and jurors. This definition will also include prisons, jails, courtrooms, attorney offices, probation offices, and all other locations associated with law enforcement or the legal process.

Based on this definition, key words were selected to determine how the victim portrays the individuals and processes associated with the criminal justice system. Key words for the concept of the criminal justice system include but are not limited to; heroes, testimony, courtroom, jurors, agents, and protected.

## **Proposed Area of Inquiry**

Using text-driven content analysis, the researcher examined how victims of sexual crimes depict their experiences through non-fiction books. Research indicates that victims of sexual abuse are more likely to have mental health problems, depression, and seek psychiatric treatment (Xu, et al., 2013). Victims of similar crimes, such as sexual abuse, are more likely to experience similar mental and physical symptoms (Xu, et al., 2013).

Research indicates that males and females communicate differently (Argamon, Koppe, Fine, & Shimoni, 2003; Aries & Johnson, 1983; Crosby & Nyquist, 1977, Sterkel, 1988). Research indicates that females communicate with more emotion, often expressing compliments and apologies or describing relationships (Argamon, Koppe, Fine, & Shimoni, 2003). Women are more likely to use persuasive language, whereas men are more likely to use commanding language (Sterkel, 1988). However, Crosby and Nyquist (1977) found that both males and females use “women’s language” when they lack power or are in a dependent role. The current study is limited due to its exploratory nature. Although the study does not investigate distinct hypotheses, previous research on how victims react to victimization is relevant to this exploratory nature. Understanding how victims may potentially react to victimization allows the researcher to better understand the mindset and experiences of the victims included within the sample.

The current study utilizes text-driven content analysis to examine how victims portray their experiences through books. The study uses context tables and word frequency tables to determine how victims portray their experiences. Using the text analysis software Provalis WordStat, the researcher constructed context tables that display how certain key words were used across all five books in the sample. Although Provalis WordStat offers various analysis

capabilities, including quantitative content analysis tools, the researcher only used the basic descriptive features of the program to extract the context in which words were used.

### **Provalis WordStat**

Provalis WordStat is content analysis software that offers quantitative and qualitative tools that aid in context analysis research (Provalis Research, 2010). WordStat is used to examine textual information, such as interviews, books, open-ended research questions, and various other forms of text. The program can be used with manual coding to determine differences and similarities in word usages between individuals and subgroups (Provalis Research, 2010). WordStat contains various tools that allow the researcher to perform multiple types of quantitative and qualitative research. The main function utilized for this study is the Keyword-In-Context (KWIC) tool (Provalis Research, 2010).

First, the researcher manually scanned each page of all five books so that the files could be imported into the WordStat program. Next, the PDF files were converted into Microsoft Word documents and all images were removed from the files. Provalis WordStat does not recognize or analyze images, therefore they were removed. The word documents were then imported into the WordStat program. Once imported, Provalis WordStat automatically comprised a list of each word used in each of the books in the sample. The program coded the book documents in alphabetical order and assigned each book a number between 1-5 for analysis purposes (Provalis Research, 2010). The books were coded as follows: (1) *A Stolen Life*, (2) *Buried Memories*, (3) *Finding Me*, (4) *My Story*, and (5) *Silent No More*. The researcher then selected the Keyword-in-Context (KWIC) function for further analysis.

The KWIC function displays the occurrence of a single word or group of words across all included documents in a single table. The text is aligned so that all keywords appear in the

middle of the table so that the researcher can quickly identify the consistency or lack thereof of meanings associated with the keyword (Provalis Research, 2010). For example, Victim 1 may use the word “punch” in a different way than Victim 2. Victim 1 may state “He really knew how to pack a punch,” meaning the offender could punch really hard. Using the word “punch” in this context describes how the action felt, as opposed to the action itself. Victim 2 may state “He would punch and kick me all the time,” which describes how the crime was inflicted. Used in this context, the reader understands what the offender did, but not necessarily how the victim felt.

The KWIC tables display up to 255 characters before and after the keyword is used. For the purposes of this study, the researcher reviewed five sentences to determine the context in which the keyword was used. The researcher examined two sentences before and two sentences after the keyword was used, as well as the sentences in which the keyword appeared. The researcher only examined five sentences because the default setting of Provalis WordStat included multiple paragraphs and occasionally chapters in the KWIC tables. The researcher felt that different paragraphs and occasionally the beginning of different chapters altered the context of the keyword. The researcher determined that by examining a smaller amount of text, the true context of the keyword was more accurately examined. Figure 1 is an example of a KWIC table provided on the Provalis WordStat website (Provalis Research, 2010).

CASENO	KEYWORD	CANDIDATE	DELIVERY
191	carbon	McCain	Q2-2008
84	carbon	Richardson	Q2-2007
26	carbon	Obama	Q4-2007
180	carbon	McCain	Q4-2007
180	carbon	McCain	Q4-2007
26	carbon	Obama	Q4-2007
112	carbon	Clinton	Q4-2007
191	carbon	McCain	Q2-2008
201	carbon	McCain	Q2-2008
191	carbon	McCain	Q2-2008
201	carbon	McCain	Q2-2008
112	carbon	Clinton	Q4-2007
191	carbon	McCain	Q2-2008
84	carbon	Richardson	Q2-2007
84	carbon	Richardson	Q2-2007
26	carbon	Obama	Q4-2007
70	carbon	Obama	Q3-2008
84	carbon	Richardson	Q2-2007
84	carbon	Richardson	Q2-2007
201	carbon	McCain	Q2-2008
97	carbon	Clinton	2006
191	carbon	McCain	Q2-2008
97	Carbon	Clinton	2006
112	carbon	Clinton	Q4-2007
112	carbon	Clinton	Q4-2007
2	carbon	Biden	2006

Figure 1. KWIC Table

After selecting KWIC tables for various keywords, the researcher manually coded each keyword use as negative, positive, neutral, or not applicable. A word use was coded as “not applicable” if the context in which the word was used did not fit the concept being measured. For example, four of the five victims included in the study were abducted; therefore the word “kidnapped” was used to determine how the victims portray the concept of crime. Jaycee Dugard references a previous crime committed by Phillip Garrido in which he kidnapped and raped another victim (Dugard, 2011). Although Dugard uses the word “kidnapped” she is not referring to her own experiences or feelings toward the crime she endured, therefore this word usage was coded as “not applicable.”



After determining whether the word usage is negative, positive, neutral, or not applicable, the researcher constructed word frequency tables for each concept for each book, resulting in a total of 25 tables. Word-count, also referred to as word frequency, tables are used to determine how often a word appears in a body of text (Weber, 1990). Weber (1990) explains that frequently occurring words often reflect the greatest concerns of the communicator. For the purposes of this study, the word frequency table was utilized to determine how often key words for each concept appear in each body of text. These tables are displayed and discussed at length in Chapter 4.

### **Conclusion**

Little research has been conducted on book depictions of crime (Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000; Surette, 2011). Media depictions of crime rarely focus on victims unless the crime is sensationalized or the victim is a celebrity, child, or pregnant woman (Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Durham, Elrod, & Kinkade, 1995; Friedman & Rosen-Zvi, 2000; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 2011). The current study focuses on two areas that the media often forgets: victims and books. The study examines how victims portray their experiences through books and whether the depictions are similar to depictions displayed by third party media outlets.

## Chapter 4: Analysis

Victims of sensational crimes are more likely to be nationally recognized and their stories are more likely to be portrayed in the media (Chermak, 1998; Gilchrist, 2010; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). Each of the books in the sample was written by victims whose experiences were media sensations. The current study examined how these victims portrayed their experiences and whether their depictions were similar to third party media outlets. This study also examined whether male and female victims of similar crimes portrayed their experiences in different ways. This chapter explains the analytical process used to determine how the victims in the sample portray their experiences.

The current study included five books written by victims of crimes that were predominantly sexual in nature. The sample contained four female victims and one male victim. All of the crimes within the sample were considered “high-profile” crimes and were covered by local, state, and national media outlets. The researcher conducted text-driven content analysis using Provalis WordStat to examine how these victims portrayed their experiences. The analysis resulted in 25 word frequency tables that were created using Keyword-in-Context (KWIC) tables produced by the WordStat program. A word frequency table was created for each of the five concepts for each book. As a result, there are a total of five frequency tables per book. The researcher then analyzed the frequency tables to determine how each victim portrayed his or her experiences pertaining to the concepts of crime, offender, victim, family, and the criminal justice system.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, each book was coded with a number, in alphabetical order. Jaycee Dugard’s book, *A Stolen Life*, was coded as Book 1. *Buried Memories* by Katie Beers was coded as Book 2, Michelle Knight’s *Finding Me* was listed as Book 3. *My*

*Story* by Elizabeth Smart was coded as Book 4, while Aaron Fisher's book, *Silent No More*, was coded as Book 5 (Provalis Research, 2010). The books in the sample will be referenced in this order throughout the descriptions of the analytical results.

### **Depictions of Crime**

For the purposes of this study, depictions of crime were analyzed within five categories. First, the physical elements of the crime were examined. Physical elements of the crime include how the victim was contained, any physical violence exhibited by the offender towards the victim, and the physical conditions in which the victim was forced to survive. The sexual aspects of the crime include any sexual actions perpetrated by the offender towards the victim, sexual body parts that were touched during the commission of the crime, and words used by the victim to describe sexual acts, such as the keyword 'dirty'. The emotional aspects of the crime include emotions expressed by the offender towards the victim or emotional exploitation or manipulation used to control the victim, such as the offender threatening to hurt the victim's family. If the offender used religious ideologies to commit the crime, such as using religion to avoid law enforcement, these word usages were coded as religion. The final category, media, includes any forms of media used by the offender to commit the crime. For example, if the offender gifted books or movies to gain the victim's trust, these word usages would be coded as media elements of the crime.

Although the crime in Book 1 is predominantly sexual in nature, the victim, Jaycee Dugard, describes physical, emotional, and religious aspects of the crime. Dugard was kidnapped at the age of eleven by a convicted sex offender, Phillip Garrido, and his wife, Nancy, as she was walking to school (Dugard, 2011). Dugard was temporarily paralyzed by a Taser/stun-gun and pulled into Garrido's van. For the next eighteen years, Dugard was molested, raped, and

emotionally manipulated using religious ideologies by Phillip Garrido. Dugard became impregnated and birthed two of Garrido’s children before she was rescued at the age of twenty-nine (Dugard, 2011). Table 2 shows the keywords used by Dugard to depict her experiences with the crime.

Table 2: Depictions of Crime in *A Stolen Life*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Physical</b>				
Bleeding	2	0	0	2
Burning	1	0	0	1
Captivity	2	0	5	7
Forced	1	0	0	1
Gun	3	0	0	3
Handcuffs	4	1	2	7
Hidden, Hide, Hiding	4	0	0	4
Kidnapped, Kidnapping	3	2	5	10
Lock, Locked	9	0	7	16
Physical	0	2	0	2
<b>Sexual</b>				
Dirty	1	0	1	2
Hard	2	0	0	2
Masturbate, Masturbates, Masturbating, Masturbation	0	1	5	6
Rape, Raped	2	0	1	2
Sex	16	2	13	31
Sexual	2	0	3	5
Touch, Touching	6	0	4	10
Vagina	2	0	1	3
<b>Emotional</b>				
Abuse	2	1	2	5
Cruelty	0	1	0	1
Dangerous	1	0	2	3
Evil	0	0	1	1
Family	2	2	1	5
Hit	0	1	0	1
Lie	1	0	0	1
Mad	1	0	1	2
Manipulate, Manipulated, Manipulation	4	2	0	6
Rescue, Rescued	1	1	1	3
<b>Religion</b>				
Angel, Angels	19	1	12	32
Bible	2	2	13	17
Control	1	0	4	
Church	2	0	0	2
God	5	0	16	21
Prayed	0	0	1	1
Preached, Preaching	2	0	0	2
Protecting	3	0	0	3
Religion, Religious	0	0	2	2
Satan	1	0	0	1
<b>Media</b>				
Videos, Videotape	2	0	0	2
<b>Total</b>	109	19	103	231

Table 2 displays the keywords used by Dugard to portray the physical, sexual, and emotional crimes that she experienced. The table also displays keywords used to describe the religion or media that was used by Garrido to commit the crime. Dugard used a total of 54 words to describe the physical aspects of the crime. The most frequently used keyword was lock or locked and the least used word was burning. For the first few years of her captivity, Dugard was locked in a soundproof shed in Garrido's backyard (Dugard, 2011). Dugard most often describes being locked in the shed in a negative context and never describes this aspect of the crime in a positive context. An example of Dugard's negative depiction of the locked shed states:

It is not comfortable to lay on your side with your hands behind your back. He says he will be back later to check on me and bring me something to eat. Then he is gone and I can hear the lock being put back on the door. The tears start again, softly at first then my silent sobs rack my body. I cry myself to sleep alone. (Dugard, 2011, p. 21)

Dugard uses the word burning to describe the act of being abducted. Dugard negatively describes how she was abducted by stating:

Something tells me they wouldn't help me if I did. I am so hot. I feel as if my skin is burning. Please, please remove this hot blanket-I can't breathe! I feel like yelling, but my voice feels dry and nothing comes out. (Dugard, 2011, p. 10)

Dugard is describing the burning sensation she experienced while physically being dragged into Garrido's van and abducted. The victim was also shocked with a stun-gun during the abduction, which she was also threatened with throughout her time in captivity.

Dugard also uses keywords such as gun, handcuffs, and hidden to describe how she was physically held captive. Dugard was shot with a stun-gun when she was abducted, resulting in fear of the Taser (Dugard, 2011). She describes being threatened by the stun-gun on two other

occasions when the offender attempted to make her cooperate with his sexual fantasies. Dugard's use of the word "gun" is always used in a negative way; however she uses the keyword "handcuffs" one time in a positive context. Dugard was often handcuffed when left alone; however, she describes the handcuffs in a positive context when she states:

I think he came in at least once a day to bring me something to drink and eat. I became totally dependent on him for everything. He would take off the handcuffs while he was there so I could eat. He brought in a bucket for me to use as a toilet. I hated when he would put the cuffs back on when he left, so eventually I looked forward to seeing him and getting them off. (Dugard, 2011, p. 26)

Although Dugard states that she "hates" being handcuffed, she states that when Garrido came to feed her she would be released from them, making this particular description positive. Dugard most often described the physical aspects of the crime in a neutral context, meaning she was explaining what was occurring. For example, Dugard states:

Will I ever see her again? Will anything ever be the way it's supposed to be? It wasn't until I wrote the last paragraph on birthdays that I realized how little I remembered my own birthdays during my years of captivity. I think I told them about my birthday and that's why Nancy gave me the birthday Barbie, but other than that I don't remember anything about that day. The birthdays I do remember were the ones marked with the ironic gift of a new tent. (Dugard, 2011, p. 65)

Dugard is explaining what she remembers about her birthdays while in captivity. Due to the fact that Dugard does not use a negative context such as "I hated being in captivity" or a positive context such as "I was so happy to be released from captivity," this word usage was

coded as neutral. The victim's description of the physical aspects of the crime was equally negative and positive, with 11 keyword usages for each context.

Dugard used a total of 61 word usages to describe the sexual aspects of the crime. Throughout *A Stolen Life*, Dugard explains that Phillip Garrido raped and molested her for years, resulting in her giving birth to two of his daughters (Dugard, 2011). Although the sexual actions Dugard is describing are legally considered rape because she was not a consenting partner, Dugard most often refers to this crime as sex. Dugard uses the keyword sex to describe Garrido's actions a total of 31 times, while she only uses the words rape or raped a total of 3 times. Dugard most often describes sex in a negative context and only uses the word in a positive context twice. Dugard negatively describes sex by stating:

Deep inside Phillip Garrido is a very selfish man, looking only to gratify himself as much as possible while still projecting to the world a selfless and caring man. The first year was the worst. I hated when he would videotape me and him having sex or me doing some other degrading thing. The camera would always have to be in the right spot and positioned just right. It was horrible. (Dugard, 2011, p. 57)

The victim only references sex in a positive way when she states that the offender did not make her have sex for long periods of time. Dugard explains that when the offender was not making her engage in sex, he either made her "masturbate" him or he engaged in "masturbation" in her presence. The victim also uses words such as dirty and hard to describe the sexual crimes she experienced. Although the crime is predominantly sexual in nature, the victim focuses more attention on religious aspect of the crime as opposed to sexual aspects.

Dugard also depicts the emotional aspects of the crime, such as manipulation, cruelty, and abuse. Dugard explains that the offender would manipulate her and emotionally and

mentally abuse her by demeaning her and telling her that all of her thoughts and beliefs were wrong (Dugard, 2011). Dugard also uses the word “cruelty” to describe the crime by stating:

I will forever be grateful to them for doing the thing that I could not do for myself. Back then, it was a struggle to get through a day, but now I look forward to each day and the next to come. After eighteen years of living with tremendous stress, cruelty, loneliness, repetition, and boredom, each day now brings a new challenge and learning experience to look forward to. With my writings, I hope to convey that you can endure tough situations and survive. Not just survive, but be okay even on the inside, too. (Dugard, 2011, p. x)

Although Dugard is describing the crime she endured as an act of cruelty, she is explaining that she was able to survive and is now living a happy life; therefore, this word usage was coded as positive. Dugard equally describes the emotional aspects of the crime as negative, positive, and neutral with nine word uses for each category, resulting in a total of 27 keyword uses.

Phillip Garrido also used various forms of religious words and ideologies during the commission of the crime. Dugard explains that Garrido often explained that negative things happen because “the angels” were controlling his mind (Dugard, 2011). The victim explains that if she did or said something that the offender did not like, he would often get angry or upset and tell Dugard that she was being controlled by angels. Dugard explains the religious aspects of the crime with a total of 81 keyword uses, 44 of which are neutral, and 34 negative. Dugard most often describes things that the offender would say to her, such as:

It taught me that most days were not worth fighting over. Some of the topics of "discussion" were centered around his belief that the angels existed and controlled our minds. Every bad thing that humans do is due to the angels infecting our minds. When I



would ask for him to clarify, it would turn into a long speech about how the angels are men and that they live under the earth and one day he would work with the governments to uncover them. He said they gave him terrible dreams of men raping him in prison and him driving off cliffs. I thought maybe that was his conscience speaking. (Dugard, 2011, p. 262)

The current study also examines how victims portray media used in the commission of the crime. The victim explains that the offender would often videotape the rapes, which she describes as “horrible” (Dugard, 2011, p. 57). Dugard uses the keywords videos and videotape to describe the type of media used in the commission of the crime.

Dugard portrayed her experiences of the crime through 223 keyword uses. The victim’s depictions of crime were predominantly negative, with a total of 106 negative keyword usages. Dugard rarely portrayed positive crime experiences, resulting in 19 keywords used in a positive context. Overall, Dugard exhibits negative depictions of the crime or simply describes what/how the crime occurred in a neutral context.

Book 2, *Buried Memories* by Katie Beers, describes two crimes experienced by the victim. Beers was physically, emotionally, and sexually abused by her godmother and godfather until the age of 9, when she was abducted and sexually abused by a family friend (Beers, 2013). Beers was held captive by John Esposito for 17 days in an underground bunker, where she was chained inside a coffin-like box and sexually assaulted. Table 3 displays the words used by Beers to describe her experiences with the crime.

Table 3: Depictions of Crime in *Buried Memories*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Physical</b>				
Abducted	2	0	0	2
Abuse, Abused, Abusing	11	4	7	22

Beat, Beating	13	0	1	14
Bleeding	2	0	0	2
Bomb	1	0	0	1
Burn, Burned	2	0	1	3
Captive, Captivity	3	1	0	4
Chain, Chained	9	0	4	13
Crime	0	0	3	3
Dead	4	0	1	5
Force	3	0	0	3
Handcuffs	3	0	0	3
Hard	1	0	0	1
Hidden	1	0	0	1
Hit	4	0	0	4
Kidnap, Kidnapped, Kidnapping	3	3	5	11
Knife	0	0	2	2
Lock, Locked	7	0	1	8
Neglect, Neglected	3	0	0	3
Physical, Physically	4	0	0	4
Punches	1	0	0	1
Slapped	1	0	0	1
Smack, Smacked	2	0	1	3
Starved	0	0	1	1
<b>Sexual</b>				
Butt	1	0	0	1
Dirty	2	0	1	3
Forced	2	1	0	3
Masturbating	0	0	1	1
Molest	1	0	0	1
Porn	4	0	1	5
Rape, Raped	10	0	3	13
Rapes	3	1	0	4
Sex, Sexual	4	0	7	11
Touch, Touched, Touching	4	0	7	11
<b>Emotional</b>				
Rescue, Rescued	0	1	2	3
Yell, Yelled	7	0	1	8
<b>Religion</b>				
None				
<b>Media</b>				
Picture	2	0	2	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>183</b>

Table 3 displays the words used by Beers to portray the physical, sexual, and emotional aspects of the crime she experienced. Beers focuses a large portion of her book on her life leading up to her abduction. As a result, the victim portrays the physical aspects of crime through

115 keywords. Words such as captivity, slapped, and locked were used to describe the physical aspects of the abduction crime committed by John Esposito. Keywords such as abused, beat, and punches were used to describe the physical abuse Beers suffered at the hands of Sal and Linda Inghilleri, her godparents. Beers describes the physical abuse she endured from “Aunt Linda” by stating:

I brought them home and explained to Aunt Linda that they were out of Yodels. She was not happy about that. She grabbed me by my ponytail and beat me with both sides of a paddle hair brush -the wood side first, then the bristle side. She beat me for over five minutes because they didn't have the right snack cake. I was crying and between breathless sobs, explaining there was nothing that I could do because they simply didn't have what she wanted. (Beers, 2013, p. 101)

Beers also suffered physical abuse inflicted by Sal Inghilleri; however, the victim primarily describes sexual abuse associated with Sal. Beers explains that Esposito only physically assaulted her once by slapping her in the face. The victim explains that the most traumatizing physical aspect of the crime was being trapped underground. Beers states:

“I took you to protect you,” he said. “To protect me? How am I ever gonna grow up living down here, locked away in this box?” I said it so many times, I lost count. “I'll teach you everything you need to know.” (Beers, 2013, p. 57)

During her captivity, Beers was convinced that she would spend the rest of her life locked in a coffin-like box. The victim was also chained around the neck and physically contained in an underground bunker. Beers primarily describes the physical aspects of both crimes in a negative context. Beers only mentions keywords used to describe physical elements of the crime in a positive context when she describes not being subjected to the crime. For example, Beers states:

I did everything I was asked to do with enthusiasm. This is why I was so upset and confused when I was laid off, just as I discovered I was pregnant. It took me over a year to conceive, so I worried there was something wrong with me, perhaps from the abuse I suffered as a child. But that changed one Saturday morning when Derek and I were getting up early to go kayaking with friends. The plan also included drinking that night. (Beers, 2013, p. 258)

The victim explains that, even though she was subjected to abuse as a child, she was still able to have children, making this word usage positive.

Although Beers describes that she was raped and molested by Sal Inghilleri and John Esposito, she does not explain these crimes in detail. Beers uses a total of 53 keyword usages to portray the sexual elements of the crime. Unlike Dugard, Beers uses the keyword rape to describe the sexual crime she endured. Beers only uses the keyword sex four times, two of which explain that the offender denied having sex with her (Beers, 2013). Of the 53 word usages, only two are used in a positive context. Beers uses the keyword forced to positively describe the first time she willingly participated in sexual activity. The victim states:

It was a risk to take and a relief to discover I was capable of both. I had never before felt that close to anyone. I later learned not to consider the rapes the loss of my virginity because it was something that I was forced to surrender rather than something in which I willingly participated. Now it could be a choice as an expression of love. I knew early on in our relationship that I loved Scott. (Beers, 2013, p. 206)

Therapy helped Beers to understand that although she had been forced to participate in sexual activity as a child, it did not mean that she was not considered a virgin. This helped her view her first consensual sexual encounter as a positive experience.

Beers endured emotional elements of the crime; however she does not describe these experiences in detail. The victim explains that her godmother Linda often yelled at her for various reasons, such as bringing home the wrong type of food or not coming to bed on time (Beers, 2013). Beers uses the keywords yell and yelled in a mostly negative context, while using the terms rescue and rescued in a mostly neutral context. Beers portrays the emotional elements of crime in a total of 11 keyword usages, one of which is used in a positive context. Beers describes being placed into a foster family, which later adopts her, after being rescued from Esposito. The victim states:

At the time of my abduction, Barbara and Tedd were actually getting ready to take a foster infant into their home. They called Child Protective Services and put in a revised request: When Katie Beers is found, and if she is going to enter the system, could she be placed in their home? A few days later, I was rescued and assigned to their Springs home, here there was one other adopted foster child, Jason. They had chosen me! I wasn't the easiest foster child for them. (Beers, 2013, p. 159)

Throughout the book, Beers exhibits mostly positive portrayals of her foster/adoptive family. The victim explains that her adoptive parents were “loving” and “always put the needs of their children first” (Beers, 2013). Beers explains that her adoptive family provided her with her own bedroom, the first she had ever had.

I enjoyed cleaning my room. With Rebecca in college and returning home only during school breaks and the summer, for the first time in my life, I had a room I could call my own. Uncle Tedd and Aunt Barbara bought me a new bunk bed, new soft sheets and a new cozy blanket. These were precious to me for one reason; they were bought with me alone in mind. They were mine. (Beers, 2013, p. 161)

Beers did not include any portrayals of religious aspects of the crime in *Buried Memories*. The offender did not use religious teachings or language to control or manipulate the victim. However, Esposito did attempt to use media in the commission of the crime. Beers explains that the offender wanted to take a photograph of her lying on the ground, appearing to be dead so that the authorities would stop searching for her (Beers, 2013). The victim states:

I remember thinking how disgusting he was for then putting his finger in his mouth with a very happy look on his face. After a few minutes of John "pleasuring" me, he announced, as if he had suddenly remembered something, that I should lie still on the floor naked, making it look as if I were dead. He said he would take a picture and leave it for the cops anonymously, and that way they would stop looking for me. This meant one thing to me: John was trying to kill me. "No way," I snapped back. (Beers, 2013, p. 42)

Beers describes what the offender said to her regarding the picture as neutral; however, she portrays the offender's attempts to take the picture negatively.

*Buried Memories* contains a total of 183 keyword usages describing the crimes the victim endured, with 120 keywords used in a negative context. The victim portrays the crime in a predominantly negative context and very rarely describes elements of the crime in a positive way, with only 11 positive word usages out of 183 keyword usages.

Michelle Knight's book, *Finding Me*, also contains depictions of two separate victimizations. Knight was abused by a family relative who lived in her home when she was growing up; however, the focus of the book is on the 11 years she spent in captivity. Knight was offered a ride by her friend's father, Ariel Castro, which she accepted. Knight believed that Castro was taking her to a custody hearing she had scheduled later that day, but instead she was

chained to a wall inside of Castro’s house for 11 years along with 2 other victims (Knight, 2014).

Table 4 displays the words used by Knight to describe the crime she endured.

Table 4: Depictions of Crime in *Finding Me*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Physical</b>				
Beat, Beaten	8	2	1	11
Bleed, Bleeding	4	0	0	4
Bruised, Bruises	3	0	0	3
Bullets	1	0	1	2
Captive	3	0	2	5
Chain, Chained, Chains	47	8	40	95
Crime	1	0	0	1
Dead	3	0	0	3
Filthy	4	1	4	9
Force, Forced, Forcing	6	2	1	9
Gun	17	0	3	20
Hard	5	0	0	5
Hell	5	3	2	10
Hide, Hiding	2	0	1	3
Hit	4	0	5	9
Kicked	2	0	0	2
Kidnap, Kidnapped, Kidnapping, Kidnappings	13	0	4	17
Lock, Locked	7	4	11	22
Physical	1	0	0	1
Punch, Punched	5	0	0	5
Shoot	9	1	2	12
Slapped	5	0	0	5
Smack, Smacked, Smacking	4	0	1	5
Starve, Starved, Starving	5	1	3	9
<b>Sexual</b>				
Abuse, Abused, Abusing	6	3	2	11
Boobs	1	0	0	1
Breasts	1	0	0	1
Crimes	0	1	0	1
Force, Forced	2	2	0	4
Porn	1	0	5	6
Rape, Raped, Rapes, Raping	18	2	5	25
Sex, Sexual	3	2	2	7
<b>Emotional</b>				
Dirt	1	0	0	1
Fault	1	0	0	1
Lie, Lied	2	0	2	4
Rescue, Rescued	4	3	0	7

Torture, Tortured, Torturing	6	1	0	7
Yell, Yelled	9	0	1	10
<b>Religion</b>				
Angel	1	0	1	2
God	1	0	0	1
<b>Media</b>				
<b>Total</b>	226	36	104	367

Knight was abducted and held captive for 11 years, primarily for sexual purposes. However, she endured a great deal of physical abuse. The victim describes the physical elements of the crime through 268 keyword usages. Knight most often describes being chained up by the offender, first to a pole in the basement, then to a wall in an upstairs bedroom, and finally to another victim, Gina (Knight, 2014). The victim states:

Not a day passed that I didn't think about that. At the time I had been there for more than six years. But after you've been raped, humiliated, beaten, and chained for so long, you get into the habit of doing what you're told. Your spirit starts crumbling. You start not to be able to imagine anything different. (Knight, 2012, p. 192)

The victim also became pregnant five times by the offender. Each pregnancy was terminated by the offender through physical violence, such as kicking and punching. Knight describes these experiences by stating:

I knew that wasn't their fault. Only one person can ever be blamed for what happened in that house of horrors-the sick jackass who brought us there in the first place. In addition to that, over the years that followed, I got pregnant four more times-five in total. Every time, the maniac blamed me for it and made me abort the baby. Every time, I felt like I was dying in my body and my mind. (Knight, 2014, p. 177)

Knight's portrayals of the physical aspects of the crime are predominantly used in a negative context. The victim explains that although the co-victims, Amanda and Gina, were also



physically abused, she felt she was abused more frequently and severely (Knight, 2014). She also states that the physical violence consisted of pushing, hitting, kicking, and punching.

After Amanda and Gina got there, I had turned into the most hated girl in the house. He started treating me worse and worse, if that was possible. He would constantly push me down the stairs, beat me and punch me, or cuss me out. And every time he was done making me bleed, he would remind me, "You're such an ugly bitch. You're the one I can't stand to look at." (Knight, 2014, p. 171)

Knight describes the sexual elements of the crime through 56 keyword usages. Knight most frequently uses the keyword rape to describe the sexual crime she endured. The victim also describes the sexual crimes as a form of abuse. Although Knight was sexually abused by a relative in her childhood, she does not describe those experiences in detail, nor mention the offender's name (Knight, 2014). The victim states:

Most of the time I was so sad and miserable that I got used to feeling that way. By the time I turned fifteen and we were living in a canary-yellow house in Tremont, I got totally pissed off about my whole situation. I wanted to do something to stop the abuse - anything. But I wasn't strong enough to fight the man off because, at the time, I only weighed about seventy-five pounds. So one night not too long before Thanksgiving I sneaked two sleeping pills into his drinking glass. (Knight, 2014, p. 19)

Knight primarily describes the crimes committed by her relative as abuse, while she primarily describes the crimes committed by Castro as rape. Knight states:

He unlocked the chains, took off the helmet, and ripped off my shirt and underwear. What happened over the next three hours is still hard for me to think about. He didn't just rape me the way he had upstairs. He murdered my heart-or at least the small part that was

still left after what I went through when I was a girl. He forced me to do things that are too painful for me to describe, things that I had never done and would never do again.

(Knight, 2014, p. 90)

The victim mainly portrays the sexual aspects of the crime in a negative context. The victim portrays that both sexual crimes negatively impacted her life and caused her physical, as well as emotional pain.

Knight describes the emotional elements of the crime through 30 keyword usages. Knight explains that the offender often blamed her for things out of her control and verbally degraded her. The victim states:

I loved Jocelyn from the moment I first saw her; she was precious. But I didn't really get to hold her that much. The dude saw me as lower than dirt. He called me worthless in front of Amanda and Gina. He spit in my face. (Knight, 2014, p. 185-186)

She also explains that the offender blamed her for the death of her unborn children after he beat her until she miscarried.

“I told you to hurry the hell up!” he said. He looked down at my bloody hands and smacked me across the face hard enough to make me drop the fetus. “It's your fault,” he said. “You aborted my baby. I should go get my gun and blow your head off right now.”

(Knight, 2014, p. 211)

Of the 30 keyword uses that depict the emotional elements of the crime, 23 were used in a negative context. The victim states that the offender often called her names in front of the other victims. She also portrays that the offender reminded her that her family was not looking for her and that she was a “nobody” (Knight, 2014).

Ariel Castro did not use religious teachings or ideologies to control the victim; however, the victim describes two elements of the crime using religious words. Knight describes the offender as an “angel” when he offers to give her a ride to her court hearing. The victim states:

In that moment something seemed off, but once he apologized, I excused his strong grip as an innocent mistake. Plus, I trusted him much more than I would have trusted a complete stranger. After all, he was my friend's dad, not to mention an angel who was sent to get me to my appointment. Side by side, we walked through the other cars until he spotted his orange-ish Chevy four-door in the far corner of the lot. He came around to the passenger side and helped me in. (Knight, 2014, p. 72)

This word usage was coded as a religious aspect of the crime because the victim perceived the offender’s actions as so kind that he could be considered an “angel.” The offender also used kindness to manipulate and abduct the victim. Knight also explains that after another victim, Amanda, gives birth to the offender’s child he begins going to church. The offender tells Knight that his daughter “needs to know about God” shortly after raping the victim (Knight, 2014). The victim believes these actions to be hypocritical and that the offender uses church to justify his actions.

The offender did not use any form of media to commit the crime. Knight’s portrayals of the crime are predominantly negative. The victim explains that the crime not only caused her serious physical, sexual, and emotional damage, it also caused her to lose custody of her only son (Knight, 2014). As a result, Knight only refers to elements of the crime in a positive context 36 times.

Book 4, *My Story*, by Elizabeth Smart, describes what the victim endured during nine months of captivity. Smart was abducted from her bedroom in the middle of the night at

knifepoint by Brian David Mitchell. The offender and his wife, Wanda Barzee, held the victim captive in the mountains behind her home in Utah for months before moving her to California. Mitchell abducted Smart and used religious ideologies to control her, claiming she was his “wife” and that as such she had to engage in sexual activities with him. The offenders eventually moved Smart back to Utah, where she was rescued while walking down the street dressed in robes and a veil that were part of the offender’s “religion.” Table 5 shows the words used by the victim to describe the aspects of the crime she endured.

Table 5: Depictions of Crime in *My Story*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Physical</b>				
Beers	2	0	1	3
Bleeding	3	0	0	3
Burn, Burning	2	0	1	3
Cable, Cabled, Cables	35	6	32	73
Captive, Captivity	5	2	4	11
Capture, Captured	5	1	4	10
Chain, Chained, Chains	5	0	0	5
Crime	1	0	0	1
Dead	5	0	0	5
Filthy	6	1	1	8
Forced, Forcing	20	3	13	36
Hid, Hidden, Hide, Hiding	4	0	14	18
Hit	5	0	2	7
Kidnap, Kidnapped, Kidnapping	4	6	6	16
Knife	35	0	14	49
Lock, Locked	2	0	0	2
Neglect	1	0	0	1
Physical	1	0	0	1
Slap	1	0	0	1
Starvation, Starve, Starving	4	0	1	5
<b>Sexual</b>				
Abuse, Abused	8	1	4	13
Rape, Raped, Rapes	31	4	6	41
Sex, Sexual	5	0	4	9
Touch	1	0	0	1
<b>Emotional</b>				
Fault	2	0	0	2
Forget	3	0	2	5
Lie	0	0	2	2
Mad	0	0	1	1
Manipulate, Manipulated, Manipulating, Manipulation, Manipulations	9	0	10	19
Rescue, Rescued	7	2	10	19
Torture, Tortured	6	0	0	6
<b>Religion</b>				
Angel, Angels	2	0	4	6
Bible	1	1	6	8
Church	6	1	1	8
Devil	0	0	4	4

God	18	2	58	78
Heaven	3	1	7	11
Jesus	0	0	1	1
Minister, Ministered, Ministering	4	0	9	13
Miracle	0	0	1	1
Mormon	0	0	9	9
Pray, Prayer	2	0	11	13
Preach, Preached, Preacher, Preaching, Preachers	3	1	12	16
Prophet	6	2	25	33
Protected	0	0	1	1
Religion, Religious	4	0	21	25
Satan	0	0	1	1
Temple	0	0	1	1
Virgin	1	0	1	2
Wives	2	0	8	10
<b>Media</b>				
Book, Books	5	0	10	15
<b>Total</b>	275	34	323	632

During Smart’s captivity, she was subjected to physical, sexual, and emotional crimes. Although the offender abducted Smart for sexual purposes, which he justified using religious teachings, Smart focuses primarily on the physical aspects of the crime. The victim was forced to live in a makeshift tent in the mountains for months, resulting in exposure to the elements and limited amounts of food and water. Smart was also physically controlled by the offender by being cable tied to a tree and threatened with a knife (Smart, 2013). The victim states:

No hope. I lived in constant pain from being abused and cabled to the trees. I had been threatened and manipulated every second of every day. Mitchell was the master and I was the slave. (Smart, 2013, p. 159)

The victim spent the first few months of her captivity tied to a tree by a steel cable wrapped around her ankle. Smart also describes being taken from her home at knifepoint and being continually threatened with the knife during her time in captivity. The offender also threatened to use the knife on her family if she tried to escape (Smart, 2013). Smart never refers to the knife in a positive way and states:

Mitchell's words started screaming in my head. I'll kill you and your family. I will cut them with my knife! His threats were the only thing that I could think about, the only

thing inside my head. The officer glanced at me but kept most of his attention on Mitchell. (Smart, 2013, p. 182)

The victim explains that the offender's threats with the knife scared her so badly that she was unable to speak up or attempt to escape, even in the presence of law enforcement. Smart portrays her experiences with the physical aspects of the crime with a total of 258 word usages, 146 of which are used in a negative context.

The victim also endured sexual elements of crime, specifically rape. Although Smart explains the sexual victimization she endured, she does not describe the crime in great detail. This may be due to Smart's religious beliefs which are centered on modesty, purity, and that sexual actions are to remain private (Smart, 2013). Smart uses the keywords rape, raped, and rapes in a positive context 4 times. In these instances, the victim is referring to occasions when the offender was away from her and did not rape her. For example, she states:

But that wasn't the only thing that made me happy. This meant an entire day without him. I wouldn't get raped. I wouldn't get abused. I wouldn't have to listen to him tell me how he was going to kill my family. (Smart, 2013, p. 108)

The victim portrays the sexual elements of crime in an overall negative context by using 45 of the total 64 keyword usages negatively.

Smart portrays the emotional aspects of the crime mostly as either negative or neutral, with only two positive word uses. The victim states that the offender manipulated her, as well as law enforcement, resulting in her failing to be rescued multiple times (Smart, 2013). The victim states:

He is just an evil man. Brian David Mitchell slipped too easily in and out of prophecy for it to ever be his actual state of mind. He simply used the culture and language of

religion to manipulate people in order to get what he wanted. I witnessed it again and again. When he really needed something-knowing that prophets were difficult to take seriously- he could turn the switch off and act very rational. (Smart, 2013, p. 16)

Smart also explains that she felt she could not attempt to escape because if she was rescued, the offender would hurt her family.

But that process had to be completely out of my control. It couldn't be my fault. I couldn't contribute to my own rescue in any way. Otherwise, Mitchell would blame me. Then he would kill my family, or tell his friends to kill them. (Smart, 2013, p. 160)

The victim attributes many of the emotional elements of the crime to the offender's use of religion. She explains that the offender used his own religion to manipulate and control her, while also attempting to humiliate her by forcing her to engage in behaviors that were against her own religion.

Smart explains that the offender used religious teachings to manipulate law enforcement and aid in the commission of the crime (Smart, 2013). The victim also states that the offender attempted to destroy her personal religious beliefs by making her consume alcohol and look at pornographic materials. The keyword God is the most commonly used term to describe the religious elements of the crime. The victim states:

No power over my body. No power over what I ate, what I drank, what I heard, or what I read. It was endless hours of indoctrination- hearing about their journey, hearing of their god, hearing how smart Mitchell was and how he was the chosen one. I was a prisoner in heart and mind and soul. There was no way I could have endured this abuse without falling under his control. (Smart, 2013, p. 134)

According to the victim, the offender portrayed himself to the victim and to society as a prophet and used religious books, ideologies, and teachings to justify his behavior. Smart explains that the offender made her his “wife” because God commanded him to do so.

He started talking, but through my sobbing it was difficult to understand what he was saying. Then I caught some of his words: “I seal you to me on this Earth, and what is sealed here on Earth will be sealed in the afterlife, and I take you to be my wife. Before God and His angels as my witnesses.” “No!” I screamed, unable to contain my horror. He reached out as if he was going to slap me, moving suddenly very close. (Smart, 2013, p. 45)

Although the victim portrayed negative feelings towards the offender’s use of religion, the majority of word usages for the religious aspects of the crime were used in a neutral context.

The only form of media used by the offender in the commission of the crime was books. The victim explains that the offender heavily relied on seven religious books throughout her time in captivity. Smart explains that the offender used the language and teachings of these books to manipulate her and law enforcement. She also states that the only form of entertainment she had while in captivity was the books.

Now I was cabled between two trees. Twenty feet was as far as I could roam. I had the choice of listening to Mitchell talk or reading a few books, but that's all that I could do. When Mitchell wasn't talking, Barzee would be chatting in my ear. Sometimes it felt like I was being tortured by their voices. (Smart, 2013, p. 122)

The victim mainly portrays the use of media in a neutral context. Of the 15 keyword usages depicting the use of media in the commission of the crime, 10 are used in a neutral context.



Although Smart portrays a great deal of the crime in a negative context, the majority of keywords were used in a neutral context. Of the 632 total keyword usages, 323 were used in a neutral context. The majority of words used in a neutral context were the keywords used to describe the religious aspects of the crime.

The final book, *Silent No More* by Aaron Fisher, portrays the sexual abuse the victim endured at the hands of the famous assistant football coach, Jerry Sandusky. Fisher was the first victim to speak out about Sandusky’s abuse, labeling him as “Victim One” in the highly publicized trial. He explains that Sandusky used his position of authority to control and abuse the victims, including Fisher (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). Although *Silent No More* was authored by three individuals, only sections written by the victim were examined. Table 6 displays the words used by Fisher to portray the crime.

Table 6: Depictions of Crime in *Silent No More*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Physical</b>				
Beating	1	0	0	1
Bruises	1	0	0	1
Hard	1	0	0	1
Physical	0	0	1	1
<b>Sexual</b>				
Abuse, Abusing	6	0	3	9
Butt	1	0	0	1
Molested	1	0	0	1
Oral	4	0	2	6
Sex, Sexual	6	1	7	14
Touching	0	0	1	1
<b>Emotional</b>				
Mad	1	0	0	1
<b>Religion</b>				
None				
<b>Media</b>				

Books	0	1	0	1
<b>Total</b>	22	2	14	38

The crimes committed against Fisher were predominantly sexual in nature; however, the victim portrays physical aspects of the crime through four keyword usages. Fisher compares the stress of testifying at the trial to a physical beating. He states:

I was so nervous. I could have taken some meds to calm myself down, but Mike said that I really needed to be alert. But as I read my own words, it made me feel as though someone was beating me up. It was like living through everything Jerry had done to me. I couldn't stop crying when I was reading, and when it was finally over and I walked out of that courtroom, I literally cried on my mom's' shoulder. (Fisher, Gillum, Daniels, 2012, p. 154)

This word usage was coded as a physical aspect of the crime because the victim described the pain inflicted by the crime as though it was the result of physical violence. Fisher uses the keywords hard and bruises to describe physical force exhibited by the offender.

I was afraid to tell her. When I first told Jerry that I didn't want to do this anymore, we were in that basement room and he got rough with me. He got in my face and started screaming at me and grabbed my arms so hard that he left bruises on me. It was the first time I rejected him and he was mad. At first, I had just gone and hid in one of the other little rooms in the basement, and he thought we were playing some sort of game. (Fisher, Gillum, Daniels, 2012, p. 33)

The victim explains that the only time the offender used physical elements of the crime was when he rejected his sexual advances. The victim explains in the above quote that Sandusky would grab him by the arms and hold him down while yelling at him (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels,

2012). Fisher explains that the offender used enough physical force that it left bruises on his arms. Other than this one incident, the victim does not describe any other physical elements of the crime.

Fisher is the only victim who primarily focuses on the sexual element of the crime. Of the 38 keyword usages used by the victim to convey all aspects of the crime, 32 usages portray the sexual elements of the victimization. Of the 32 keyword usages, 18 are portrayed in a negative context. The victim uses the keywords sex and sexual to describe what the offender did and how the offender acted towards him (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012).

I remember when it all started and how I was just so confused. At the time, 'it' had no name. But now I know it was sexual abuse. It started for real in that basement. Whenever we were in the basement, we'd play darts and pool and shuffleboard and air hockey, and we'd be having a really good time. (Fisher, Gillum, Daniels, 2012, p. 20-21)

Fisher also uses the keyword oral to describe a certain sexual act that the offender forced him to participate in. Fisher only portrays the sexual aspects of the crime in a positive context on one occasion; when he is describing his first meeting with his psychologist.

"I'm on your side." I'm on your side. That first question Mike asked-did something sexual happen to me and who was the abuser-was huge for me. Right then, I felt that Mike knew that I wasn't just a boy who lodged a complaint. This guy believed me right from the start. (Fisher, Gillum, Daniels, 2012, p. 71)

Fisher only uses one keyword, mad, to describe the emotional elements of the crime. In the previously mentioned quote, Fisher explains that Sandusky grabbed him by the arms leaving bruises when he rejected his sexual advances. The victim explains that this is the only time the offender used emotion in the commission of the crime (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). The

offender did not use any form of religion in the commission of the crime and the use of media is only mentioned by the victim once. Fisher explains that the offender gave his family various gifts, including media in the form of books, to gain his trust.

Jerry was really becoming like part of our family. He was calling Mom all the time to see how I was doing and how my brother and sister were doing. He even brought us an old computer and some books, and offered us tickets to Penn State games. Jerry's wife, Dottie, was almost always at their house when I was there. Her name was Dottie, but everyone called her Sarge. (Fisher, Gillum, Daniels, 2012, p. 20)

### **Overview of Crime Depictions Within the Sample**

After analyzing the portrayals of crime across all five books, similarities and differences were discovered between the books. First, although all the crimes were predominantly sexual in nature, all of the victims depicted at least one physical aspect of the crime. Four of the five victims had more portrayals of physical elements than sexual elements, although the nature of the crimes was sexually based. The male victim was the only victim to focus more attention on the sexual elements of the crime.

The researcher also discovered that three of the five crimes were committed by someone known to the victim. Katie Beers, Michelle Knight, and Aaron Fisher were all victimized by someone they personally knew. Although Knight had never met the offender prior to victimization, she felt as if she could trust him because he was her friend's father (Knight, 2014). Beers explains that she "couldn't believe" John Esposito victimized her because he had never touched her before (Beers, 2013). Fisher explains that at first he was happy that Sandusky had taken an interest in him and enjoyed the time he spent with him (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels,

2012). All three victims who were victimized by someone they personally knew stated that they felt the offender could be trusted.

All four victims who were abducted used the keywords kidnapped, locked, and hide/hidden to describe the physical elements of the crime. All four abduction victims were physically restrained in some way, either by chains, cables, or locked doors. Three of the four victims, Dugard, Beers, and Knight, were kept secluded for long periods of time. During these times, the victims had no human contact, not even with the offender. All four abduction victims describe relying on the offender for basic needs, such as food and water. All were denied the use of a restroom and were not allowed to bathe for an extended period of time. Each abduction victim explains that his or her basic needs and comforts were physically controlled during the duration of the crime.

### **Offender.**

For the purposes of this study, the depictions of the offenders were analyzed within two broad categories; immediate and auxiliary. The immediate offender is the offender who committed the primary crime depicted in the book. The auxiliary offender is an offender who either aided in the commission of the primary crime or committed a previous crime against the victim. Examples of auxiliary offenders include spouses of immediate offenders or family members who committed crimes against the victim during their childhood.

The offender in Book 1, Phillip Garrido, abducted 11-year-old Jaycee Dugard in the summer of 1991. Garrido, a convicted sex offender who was currently on parole, held Dugard captive for 18 years in his backyard. Garrido's wife, Nancy, aided in the abduction of Dugard and would later turn a blind eye to Phillip's sexual abuse of Dugard (Dugard, 2011). Table 7 displays the keywords used by Dugard to portray the offenders.

Table 7: Depictions of the Offender in *A Stolen Life*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Immediate</b>				
Captor, Captors	1	0	1	2
Confessed	0	1	1	2
Control, Controlled, Controlling	2	1	1	4
Crazy	3	0	1	4
Cruelest	0	1	0	1
Garrido	5	2	1	8
Kidnapper	2	1	1	4
Offender	1	0	1	2
Phillip	116	25	230	371
Rapist	1	0	1	2
Strong	1	0	0	1
<b>Auxiliary</b>				
Garridos	1	0	1	2
Nancy	67	28	113	208
Offenders	0	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>	200	59	353	612

Dugard primarily portrays the immediate offender, Phillip Garrido, in a neutral context. The majority of keyword usages pertaining to the offender are of the offender's first name. The majority of word usages are neutral because the victim is describing what the offender said or did, not how she perceives the offender. The best indicator for the victim's perception of the offender is the words used to describe him, such as crazy, kidnapper, and rapist. For example, Dugard states:

I needed someone to free me, but no one did. I, however, have mixed feelings about high school. On the one hand, for eighteen years I had been taught that schools are bad and kids learn bad things there and peer pressure can ruin a child's life forever; but when I consider who I heard all this stuff from, a kidnapper, rapist, pedophile, narcissistic, pervert, I can only come to one conclusion. Maybe school isn't so bad after all! I don't know what my high school experience would have been like. (Dugard, 2011, p. 140-141)

The additional words used to describe the offender indicate that the victim has negative feelings towards him. However, the majority of the keywords used to describe the immediate offender are used in a neutral context. The victim may portray the offender in a neutral context because she is attempting to distance herself from the offender. Dugard explains that during captivity, she often made excuses for the offender and “protected” him (Dugard, 2011). Since her rescue, the victim realizes that she no longer needs to do this, which may explain her portrayal of the immediate offender in a neutral context. The victim also portrays the offender in a neutral context when explaining what the offender said or did.

Dugard also described the auxiliary offender, Nancy Garrido, in a predominantly neutral way. The majority of word usages for the auxiliary offender in *A Stolen Life* are of the offender’s first name. Dugard does not exhibit strong feelings, positive or negative, towards the offender throughout the book. She explains that she never really established a relationship with Nancy Garrido and therefore only mentions her when describing what she said or did or if the immediate offender mentioned her (Dugard, 2011).

Our relationship was built on a house of cards. One good blow and you find the pieces scatter in the wind quite easily. Those are my feelings toward Nancy: there was really nothing solid and there is nothing for me to hold on to now. At first when we were separated at the Concord police station, I was consumed with guilt and my feelings were unsure of themselves. At the meeting she kept calling me Allissa and I would say, "No, my name is Jaycee," and she looked at me and said she was sorry and said it was hard for her to remember, and then she did it again and I corrected her again. (Dugard, 2011, p. 243-244)

The victim compares her feelings toward the auxiliary offender to a house of cards, with no stable foundation. As a result, the victim portrays Nancy Garrido in a predominantly neutral context.

In Book 2, Katie Beers describes one immediate offender and two auxiliary offenders. The immediate offender, John Esposito, was considered a family friend by the victim’s godparents, Sal and Linda Inghilleri. Esposito lured Beers to his home with the promise of a trip to Spaceplex, a local arcade, for her tenth birthday (Beers, 2013). Once inside the offender’s home, Beers was forced into an underground bunker where she was held captive for 17 days, spending her tenth birthday in captivity. The auxiliary offenders, which the victim refers to as Aunt Linda and Sal, are friends of her biological mother and are described as the victim’s godparents. Beers explains that her godparents physically, sexually, and emotionally abused her from the time she was a toddler until she was abducted by Esposito at age nine (Beers, 2013). After the abduction, Beers was placed into foster care and eventually adopted, saving her from continued abuse. Table 8 displays the keywords used by Beers to portray the offenders.

Table 8: Depictions of the Offender in *Buried Memories*

	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Immediate</b>				
Captor	1	1	0	2
John	73	9	61	143
Kidnapper	1	0	0	1
Prisoner	0	1	0	1
<b>Auxiliary</b>				
Aunt	21	0	2	23
Control	1	0	0	1
Evil	2	0	0	2
Linda	69	1	61	131
Sal	110	8	50	168
<b>Total</b>	278	20	174	472



The most commonly used word to describe the immediate offender in Book 2 is the offender's first name, John. The victim refers to the offender primarily in a negative context, with 75 of the 147 total keyword usages being negative. The victim describes the immediate offender as if he were two different people; one being caring and friendly, the other being the abusive offender.

He spent some time in the game closet and then went downstairs. He went downstairs by way of the staircase that went directly into the kitchen, and came upstairs by the spiral staircase, which was out of his living room. When he came back up, his Big John eyes had drained from his face and it was someone I had never seen before. Big John was gone. And he was no longer wearing his ever-present baseball cap. (Beers, 2013, p. 28)

Beers refers to Esposito in a positive way when she is describing his imprisonment. The victim expresses happiness that she is no longer a prisoner to the offender and that justice has been served.

I think if he had shown remorse for what he did to me and how he treated me, I would have felt differently. John publically apologized for what he did, at least for the kidnapping. Now I'm the one keeping John a prisoner. Sal was the type of man who thought he could do no wrong. He thought he could get away with anything. (Beers, 2013, p. 236)

She also refers to the immediate offender in a positive way when describing his behavior prior to her victimization, stating that Esposito was kind to her and brought her gifts.

The victim also mainly refers to the auxiliary offenders in a negative context. Due to the fact that Linda and Sal were considered to be family of the victim, only instances in which the

victim is describing the crimes committed by them are coded as offender depictions. If the victim referred to the Inghilleris outside of victimization, the word usages were coded under the family concept. Beers uses keywords such as control and evil to describe the auxiliary offenders.

Sal was the type of man who thought he could do no wrong. He thought he could get away with anything. I used to believe he was just an evil man who liked to do evil things. Now I know that abuse can be a learned behavior. Sexual, verbal, physical and emotional abuse are acts that deeply scar a child, who may later act out what they learned. (Beers, 2013, p. 236)

Although Beers explains that Sal most likely abused her because he was abused as a child, she still portrays the offender in an overall negative context. Beers portrays Sal as an auxiliary offender more so than Linda, however both individuals abused her as a child (Beers, 2013).

Michelle Knight also suffered abuse in her childhood at the hands of a family member (Knight, 2014). Although Knight depicts the relative as an offender, she never mentions the offender’s name. This relative is coded as the auxiliary offender, while Ariel Castro is coded as the immediate offender. Castro was able to abduct 21-year-old Knight by offering her a ride to a court hearing. She agreed to get into his vehicle because she recognized him as her friend’s father and “trusted him more than a complete stranger” (Knight, 2014). Castro also abducted two other victims and held all three women captive in his home for 11 years. Table 9 shows the keywords used by Knight to describe the offenders.

Table 9: Depictions of the Offender in *Finding Me*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Immediate</b>				
Ariel	2	0	13	15
Captor	1	0	0	1
Coward	1	0	0	1

Craziness, Crazy	3	0	3	6
Creepy	2	0	0	2
Cruel	1	0	0	1
Demon	2	1	0	3
Dude	93	13	125	231
Evil	4	3	1	8
Guilty	0	1	0	1
Idiot	1	1	1	3
Liar	0	0	1	1
Manipulative	1	0	0	1
Monster	6	1	2	9
Psycho, Psychopath	6	0	0	6
Strong	1	0	1	2
Violent	2	0	0	2
<b>Auxiliary</b>				
Family member, relative	2	1	1	4
<b>Total</b>	128	21	148	297

When referring to the immediate offender prior to her victimization or regarding formal court proceedings, Knight uses his first name, Ariel. When describing the offender during victimization or her feelings toward the offender, she refers to him as “the dude.” Knight explains that she stopped referring to the offender as Ariel because she did not believe “a monster deserved to have a real name” (Knight, 2014). The majority of the victim’s portrayals of the offender are neutral, with 145 keyword usages used in a neutral context. However, the majority of neutral word usages are describing the offender’s actions or what the offender said. The victim’s true perception of the offender is portrayed through keyword usages such as psycho/psychopath, violent, and evil. Knight states:

I figured it was because he had an obsession with blondes. But I didn't blame Amanda for the way the dude treated either one of us. He was the psycho bastard who had us both chained up; the whole situation was a result of his twisted mind. One night he started biting and sucking my nipples real hard. He was always telling me how he had a thing for

girls with big boobs; I'm pretty sure that was one of the main reasons he chose to kidnap me. (Knight, 2014, p. 134)

Although the majority of keyword usages are portrayed in a neutral context, Knight's portrayal of her feelings toward the offender are overwhelmingly negative. Knight also portrays the auxiliary offender in a predominantly negative context. The victim was sexually assaulted by a family member for the majority of her childhood and describes running away to escape the abuse (Knight, 2014). The only time the victim refers to this family member in a positive context is when she explains that he stopped abusing her as frequently when she became pregnant.

Once I dropped out of school, I sat around the house all day and watched TV or read Stephen King books. Thankfully, because I was about as sick as I was huge, my mother cut me a little bit of slack in terms of household responsibilities. By that time the relative who'd been abusing me had backed off some. After so many years, I got pissed off enough that I was determined to defend myself. "Stop it!" I'd spit in his face when he tried to force himself on me, (Knight, 2014, p. 51)

In Book 4, Elizabeth Smart, describes two offenders; Brian David Mitchell and Wanda Barzee. Mitchell abducted Smart from her bed while her family slept and held her captive in the mountains for approximately nine months. Mitchell was the primary aggressor against Smart, inflicting physical, sexual, and emotional crimes on her. This identifies him as the immediate offender. Barzee assisted her husband in keeping Smart captive and engaged in sexual acts with Mitchell, forcing Smart to watch for "demonstration" purposes (Smart, 2013). As a result, Barzee was coded as the auxiliary offender. Table 10 displays Smart's portrayals of the offender in *My Story*.

Table 10: Depictions of the Offender in *My Story*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
Immediate				

Abductor	1	0	0	1
Captor, Captors	5	4	7	16
Control, Controlling	5	1	2	8
Crazy	4	0	2	6
Creepy	2	0	0	2
Dangerous	2	0	0	2
Deadly	3	0	0	3
Devil	12	0	0	12
Dirty	4	0	0	4
Evil	19	0	14	33
Guard	1	0	0	1
Immanuel	4	1	20	25
Manipulative	1	0	0	1
Manipulator	0	0	1	1
Mitchell	239	51	355	645
Strong	2	0	0	2
Violent	2	0	1	3
<b>Auxiliary</b>				
Barzee	117	16	134	267
Captor	1	0	0	1
Evils	0	0	1	1
Hephzibah	6	0	10	16
Monster, Monsters	1	0	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>431</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>548</b>	<b>1052</b>

During captivity, the victim did not know the offenders’ real names. She was told to address Mitchell as Immanuel and Barzee as Hephzibah (Smart, 2013). As a result, all four names are included in Table 10. The most commonly used word to describe the immediate offender is his last name, Mitchell. The victim most often refers to the immediate offender in a neutral context; however she portrays her personal feelings and perceptions of the offender as mostly negative. The majority of neutral word usages, particularly the use of the keyword Mitchell, describe what the offender did or said. Although the majority of usages of the offender’s name are neutral, the victim does use the offender’s name in a negative context 239 times. For example, Smart states:

We spent every waking hour within a few feet of one another. I was forced to use the bathroom without even the slightest hint of privacy. Mitchell never took me off the cable. I was nothing but a caged animal. My faith was tested every day. (Smart, 2013, p. 122)

The victim also uses keywords such as devil, dirty, and manipulative to describe the offender. She states:

He hadn't received any visions. He hadn't talked to God. All he was was a dirty pedophile who liked living on the streets. And though he never looked at me, or spoke to me, or acknowledged me in any way, there was one time when we did have a final communication between us. One morning, when things were not going very well for the defendant, Brian David Mitchell suddenly stopped singing, fell down, and started shaking on the floor. (Smart, 2013, p. 295)

Although the majority of keyword usages regarding the immediate offender are used in a neutral context, the victim exhibits strong negative feelings towards the offender.

Nearly half of the references used by Smart when referring to the auxiliary offender, Mitchell's wife Wanda Barzee, are neutral in context. Of the 288 keyword usages describing Barzee, 146 are used in a neutral context. Similar to the depictions of the immediate offender, the victim primarily uses the auxiliary offender's last name, Barzee. Smart also uses Barzee to explain what the offender did or said, but not necessarily to describe her perceptions or feelings towards the offender. Smart also refers to the auxiliary offender as her captor and describes her as the "lesser of two evils" (Smart, 2013). Although the victim has negative feelings towards Barzee, she explains that she dislikes the immediate offender more.

She was a mother. She knew what I was going through. Still, of the two evils, I'd take Barzee over Mitchell any day. And anyone who suggests that I became a victim of Stockholm syndrome by developing any feelings of sympathy toward my captors simply has no idea what was going on inside my head. I never once-not for a single moment-

developed a shred of affection or empathy for either one of them. (Smart, 2013, p. 190-191)

As described in the above quote, Smart adamantly denies any positive feelings towards the offenders. The only time the victim mentions either offender in a positive way is when they leave her alone, are captured by law enforcement, or give her food or water.

Book 5, *Silent No More* by Aaron Fisher, contains depictions of two offenders. The immediate offender, Jerry Sandusky, was a nationally recognized assistant football coach for Penn State University. He also founded a summer program for underprivileged youth and was praised by many people in his local community (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). However, Sandusky sexually victimized several young males who participated in his summer camp. Fisher was the first victim to speak out against Sandusky, publically labeling him as an offender. Sandusky’s wife, Dottie, also referred to as Sarge, allowed Fisher to stay overnight in their home. Fisher explains that Sarge never interfered or intervened while Sandusky was abusing him, therefore she is coded as an auxiliary offender. Table 11 shows the keywords used by Fisher to describe the offenders.

Table 11: Depictions of the Offender in *Silent No More*

	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Immediate</b>				
Control	1	0	0	1
Crazy	2	0	1	3
Creepy	1	0	0	1
Guilty	0	1	2	3
Jerry	94	18	69	181
Monster	1	0	1	2
Sandusky	14	7	7	28
<b>Auxiliary</b>				
Sarge	4	4	1	9

<b>Total</b>	117	30	81	228
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Similar to the other victims in the sample, Fisher most commonly uses the offender's name to describe the offender. The victim most often refers to the immediate offender by his first name, however occasionally he will refer to him only as "Sandusky." As a result, both names are included in the table. Unlike the other victims, the offender is mainly portrayed in a negative context by Fisher. For example, the victim states:

I know now from Mike that Jerry had this routine. I know about all the textbook stuff that Mike has explained to me, but as the years with Jerry went by, I hurt so bad. Beyond Jerry scaring me with all the things he was doing to me, when I got older I didn't feel like myself anymore. I felt myself changing and that scared me as much as Jerry did. You have to understand that those years with Jerry blur together in my head. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 29)

Fisher also uses keywords such as crazy, creepy, and guilty to describe the offender. Fisher (2012) explains that Sandusky began "acting crazy" when he stopped spending time with him. The victim compares the offender's actions to those of a "clingy ex-girlfriend." He also explains that the offender's actions were "creepy" at the beginning of his victimization.

"You're being stupid. Jerry is a really good guy." I had that uh-oh feeling that I just kept squashing down, a feeling that the stuff he was doing was creepy and it wasn't just my imagination. But I let it go. I talked myself out of it. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 21)

The victim only refers to the offender in a positive context when describing events prior to victimization, such as trips and gifts the offender provided, and when Sandusky was found guilty (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012).



The victim refers to the immediate offender's wife, Sarge, and only uses her name to describe her on nine occasions. Fisher refers to the auxiliary offender in a positive context prior to victimization; however, after Sandusky began victimizing him, his portrayals and feelings towards Sarge changed.

What if they all just know that he brings kids like me here and they let him get away with what he does to kids like me? I wondered if that was how it worked in Jerry's family-a kind of conspiracy. So many things were running through my head and I didn't want to believe half of what I thought, but then I started to believe that Sarge wasn't coming down to the basement for the very reason that she knew. Somewhere deep inside me, I thought she had to know. The lawyers asked me at the trial and at the grand juries how many times Jerry had molested me. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 32)

The victim began to blame the auxiliary offender and exhibit negative feelings towards her because he perceived that she allowed the immediate offender to abuse him. Fisher portrays the auxiliary offender in equally negative and positive ways. However, towards the end of the book, after the victimization, he exhibits mostly negative feelings towards Sarge.

### **Overview of Offender Depictions Within the Sample**

After analyzing the portrayals of the offenders within all five books, the researcher discovered various similarities and differences between offenders. All offenders enacted some form of control, either physical or emotional, over the victims. All victims felt they could not physically escape the offender or they were afraid to expose the offender because they believed the offenders would harm them or their families. Aaron Fisher was initially afraid to speak up because of Jerry Sandusky's social status within the community (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). Elizabeth Smart stayed silent on multiple occasions when approached by law enforcement

because she was convinced that the offender would kill her family (Smart, 2013). The other three victims were physically restrained and unable to seek assistance.

Each victim described the offender as having two distinct sides to his personality. Katie Beers explains that John Esposito's facial expressions and demeanor would change when he assaulted her (Beers, 2013). Phillip Garrido was described as having a "nice" side and a "mean" or "manic" side to his personality (Dugard, 2011). Michelle Knight states that Ariel Castro would change from violent and "crazy" to treating her like a "friend or girlfriend" (Knight, 2014). Jerry Sandusky and Brian David Mitchell both portrayed themselves to society in one way and to the victims in another. Sandusky was considered a "nice guy" because he facilitated summer programs for disadvantaged children; however, he became violent and "crazy" when Fisher rejected his advances (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). Similarly, Mitchell dressed in robes and claimed to be a prophet of God while in the city, but would rape and threaten Smart once returning to their mountain camp (Smart, 2013). The victims described the offenders as being unpredictable and unstable. The victims also used keywords such as creepy, crazy, manipulative, and evil to describe the offenders.

Two of the five offenders heavily relied on religious teachings and ideologies to either control and manipulate the victim or to avoid legal repercussions. Brian David Mitchell claimed to be a prophet doing God's will when panhandling in the city. As a result, citizens would offer him money, food, and work, allowing him and Barzee to live in the mountains. Smart's mother offered work to Mitchell months prior to the abduction, which allowed him to gain access to her home and observe the layout and sleeping arrangements (Smart, 2013). After the abduction, Mitchell used religion to keep Smart hidden in plain sight. The offender forced Smart to dress in robes and a veil that covered her face so that she would not be recognized (Smart, 2013). When

approached by a police officer in a library, Mitchell told the officer that he could not remove the veil to see Elizabeth's face because it was against their religion for anyone other than her family and future husband to see her face. As a result, the officer did not remove the veil, leaving Smart in captivity for several more months (Smart, 2013).

Phillip Garrido also used religious language and ideologies to manipulate and control Jaycee Dugard. The offender claimed that he could hear angels speaking to him and told Dugard that the angels allowed him to abduct her so that he would not expose them to the world (Dugard, 2011). Garrido also spent time reading the Bible and if Dugard did not act the way he wanted her to, he would lecture her, saying that the angels were controlling her. Once Dugard had children, the offender would tell the children that the angels were controlling Dugard, resulting in his bad mood. This would upset the children and cause them to blame their mother for their "father's" bad mood (Smart, 2013).

Both offenders who used religious ideologies to facilitate the crime had female accomplices. Brian David Mitchell's wife, Wanda Barzee, did not assist in the abduction, however she "prepared" Smart for her "wedding night" by making her change clothes and attempting to bathe her before Mitchell raped her (Smart, 2013). Barzee also participated in sexual acts with Mitchell, forcing the victim to watch for "demonstration" purposes. She assisted Mitchell in the physical control of the victim and often threatened that if Smart attempted to escape, her husband would kill her (Smart, 2013). Phillip Garrido's wife, Nancy, also aided in the physical control of Jaycee Dugard. Nancy drove the vehicle that the offenders used to abduct Dugard and "cared for" Dugard when her husband was incarcerated for a month. Nancy also forced Dugard to call her "mom" and pretend to be the older sister of her daughters. Both females complied with the offender's religious teachings and did not intervene to help the victim.

## **Victim**

For the purposes of this study, the victim concept was analyzed within five categories. Self-perception is defined as keywords depicting how the victims viewed themselves during or after victimization. For example, keywords such as broken, helpless, and prisoner were coded as self-perception if the victims were referring to themselves. The victim's given name and name used during victimization were also coded as self-perception. For example, Jaycee Dugard was not allowed to use her real name while in captivity and instead used the name "Allissa." As a result, Jaycee and Allissa are coded as the victim's self-perception. Emotional response of the victim includes keywords such as crying, fearful, and sad. If the victim used religion to cope with the crime, these word usages were coded as emotional response. The physical response of the victim includes keywords such as fight, pain, and screaming. If the victim became pregnant by the offender, the keywords "pregnancy" and "pregnant" were coded as a physical response to the crime. These keywords were coded as a physical response because if the crime had not occurred, the victim would not be pregnant; therefore, the pregnancy is a direct result of the crime. Co-victims were coded as any individuals who experienced the same crime with the primary offender. The victims' response to the media was also coded as part of the victim concept to determine the victims' depictions of media outlets covering the crime they experienced.

As previously mentioned, Jaycee Dugard was abducted at 11 years old while walking to school. Dugard grew up in captivity and was not allowed to attend school (Dugard, 2011). She was not allowed to use her real name and her children grew up believing that she was their older sister, "Allissa." For the first few years of her captivity, she was not allowed to leave the shed in the backyard and lived in constant fear of "doing something wrong" and making the offender

angry (Dugard, 2011). Table 12 displays the keywords used by Dugard to portray her responses to the crime and self-perception.

Table 12: Depictions of the Victim in *A Stolen Life*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Self-Perception</b>				
Allissa	1	0	4	5
Broken	1	0	0	1
Coward	3	0	0	3
Helpless	6	0	1	7
Jaycee	1	1	3	5
Prison	2	0	3	5
Prisoner	3	0	0	3
Slave	1	0	0	1
Survivor	0	1	0	1
<b>Emotional Response of the Victim</b>				
Afraid	20	2	4	26
Angels	1	0	0	1
Anger, Angry	9	0	0	9
Ashamed	0	2	0	2
Awful	2	0	0	2
Bear	1	0	0	1
Bible	0	0	1	1
Confused, Confusing, Confusion	5	1	4	10
Cried, Cry, Crying	22	1	4	27
Depressed	1	0	0	1
Disgusting	7	0	0	7
Embarrassed, Embarrassing	3	1	0	4
Escape	1	1	1	3
Fault	1	0	1	2
Fear, Feared	6	0	5	11
Forget	3	0	2	5
Forgive	2	0	0	2
Free, Freedom	15	18	9	42
Frightened, Frightens	1	1	1	3
Gross	2	0	0	2
Guilt, Guilty	3	1	1	5
Happy	7	4	1	12
Hard	20	1	4	25
Hate	12	1	6	19
Hide	0	0	1	1
Hope	10	9	7	26
Mad	1	0	1	2

Nervous	5	0	2	7
Pray	1	0	0	1
Protect, Protected	6	2	2	10
Religious	0	0	1	1
Sad	4	0	1	5
Scare, Scared, Scary	25	2	6	33
Surprised	0	0	1	1
Thankful	0	9	0	9
<b>Physical Response of the Victim</b>				
Fight, Fighting	5	0	0	5
Pain, Painful	12	0	5	17
Pregnancy, Pregnant	4	2	3	9
Scream, Screaming	5	0	1	6
Survive, Survived	6	4	1	11
Yell, Yelling	4	0	0	4
<b>Co-Victim</b>				
<b>Media</b>				
Book	1	3	2	6
Facebook	0	0	2	2
Internet	2	2	0	4
Media	2	0	8	10
News	2	0	1	3
Photo, Photos, Picture, Pictures	14	0	3	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>443</b>

Dugard expresses an overall negative self-perception. The victim uses keywords such as coward, helpless, and slave to describe herself. Dugard expresses multiple times throughout *A Stolen Life* that she wishes she could have control of her life, but that she is afraid of the outside world (Dugard, 2011). She states that she would not know where to go if she escaped Garrido's backyard.

I think I'm afraid to take the first step because I know I could not go any farther with it. And that would hurt me. I'm such a coward! I hate being afraid. Why don't I have control of my life! (Dugard, 2011, p. 186)

Dugard also explains that the offender stated he was going to make her a “sex-slave” and that at the time it made her feel needed. The victim also explains that she did not want the offender to harm someone else, so she felt as if she needed to stay to protect others.

I felt needed. Why I felt I needed that from this man I don't know. He would say terrible things like he would teach me how to be the best ‘sex slave’ ever. And then there were other times that he was a very nice person. It confused me. (Dugard, 2011, p. 55)

Dugard also describes herself as being a different person while in captivity. The victim began to view herself as “Allissa” as opposed to “Jaycee.”

By then I had resigned myself to my fate. The biggest memory I have from that day was, I had no voice and I didn't shout to the world "Hey, it's me, Jaycee!" even though I longed to. I was Allissa, the girl who gave birth to two girls that needed to be protected from the evilness of the world, and that was my main goal. I don't remember too much from that day; I do remember Phillip encouraging me to go on one of the rides. I didn't want to go by myself, but I ended up on the swing ride that takes you round and round. (Dugard, 2011, p. 157)

After 18 years of captivity, Dugard began to internalize the negative things the offender told her, resulting in a negative self-perception. The victim portrays herself as a “coward” because she succumbs to the offender’s will and is afraid to question him. She also explains that she was helpless and could not protect herself against him. The offender would often tell Dugard that the “angels” were “controlling” her and would tell her that her opinions and beliefs were wrong (Dugard, 2011). As a result, the victim began to doubt herself and her decisions and adapted a “go-with-the-flow” mentality and therefore never challenged the offender.

Dugard portrays an overall negative emotional response to the crime by using 196 keywords in a negative context. Throughout the book, Dugard's most common emotional response was the desire to be free and experience freedom.

I don't remember too much from that day; I do remember Phillip encouraging me to go on one of the rides. I didn't want to go by myself, but I ended up on the swing ride that takes you round and round. I remember thinking as the ride made circles around itself that I wish I was free like the people I see here. Free to walk around and be me. But I wasn't. (Dugard, 2011, p. 157)

Another common emotional response of the victim was fear. Dugard used the keywords afraid, fear, feared, scare, scary, and scared a total of 70 times, 51 of which were used in a negative context. Dugard explains that she was afraid that she would never see her mom or sister again, that she would anger the offender, and that the offender would come to her for sex (Dugard, 2011). After approximately eight years in captivity, the victim was allowed out of the backyard to go shopping with Nancy Garrido. As the victim's time in captivity lengthened, she began to fear leaving the offender's backyard and became extremely nervous in public.

I hate it my hands even shake. They seem to shake all the time; I can't control them either. I'm not afraid. Not when I'm home, it's when I'm out with Nancy and around people I get so scared. Do they see me? (Dugard, 2011, p. 173)

Dugard's (2011) portrayal of her emotional response to crime is expressed through a total of 318 keyword usages, with only 56 keywords used in a positive context. The victim most often uses the keywords free and freedom in a positive context as compared to other terms. Dugard (2011) explains that she felt free when she revealed her identity to the female officer at the parole office and was finally able to write her real name after 18 years. She also uses the



keyword thankful to describe her experiences in a positive context. Dugard (2011) states that although she endured a horrible crime, she is thankful for her daughters and that her mother “never gave up” on her returning home. Although the victim portrays her emotional response to the crime in a predominantly negative context, she explains that positive elements are also present.

Dugard uses 52 keywords to portray her physical response to the crime. The most common physical response was pain and the least common was yell or yelling. The victim portrays that she did not attempt to fight off the offender because she was afraid of how he would respond.

When I asked why, he said I wasn't really doing the things that he wanted me to do. He said I cried too much and that it was hard for him to act out his fantasies when I was uncooperative and made him feel bad. I remember I begged him to please don't make me go with someone else, that I would try harder, and he could do anything he wanted and I would not fight. He said he would have to think about it. He said that these people that he was going to sell me to were planning to put me in a cage. It would be really bad for me. (Dugard, 2011, p. 55)

After this incident, the victim only uses the keyword fight to describe verbal disagreements with the offender. The victim refers to the pain of childbirth as well as the physical and emotional pain caused by her inability to see her family or move freely around the backyard.

I wish I could go home. I do not ask to go home anymore. Too painful to even think about. I just hope one day things will get better. I can't imagine staying here until I'm old and gray, but yet I don't know what the future holds for me. (Dugard, 2011, p. 114)

Dugard also experienced pain because she was handcuffed with her hands behind her back daily for the first few days of captivity. The victim's depictions of her physical response to the crime are predominantly negative.

Dugard portrays that the offender was caring towards her children and states that she "knew the girls were safe" with Garrido. Although the victim's children grew up in the same living conditions, it appears they were not victimized like their mother. As a result, the victim's daughters were not included as co-victims because Dugard did not describe them as such.

Unlike other victims in the sample, Dugard was given access to a form of interactive media: the internet. Although Dugard had access to the internet and could have used this form of media to seek help, the victim states that the offender convinced her that everything she did on the computer was monitored. As a result, she feared the offender would know she attempted to contact someone and punish her (Dugard, 2011). Despite this, Dugard references the internet in a positive context on two occasions, explaining that she would have been unable to educate her children without it. The victim also portrays books in a positive context. Dugard portrays that telling her story through her book *A Stolen Life* has helped her recover from the trauma she suffered.

Thank you from the bottom of my heart. When I wrote this book I must admit I still, in many ways, felt eleven years old. As I write this addition for the book, I feel a heck of a whole lot older. I have truly started to take back my life and live in the sunshine.

Unfortunately our world contains many difficult situations, and the sun is not always shining for countless families. (Dugard, 2011, p. 269)

Dugard explains that her book has also allowed her to help other victims and their families, with proceeds benefiting the JAYC Foundation to reunite families in similar situations.

Overall, Dugard portrays media in a predominantly negative context. The victim explains that third party media outlets, particularly photographers, invaded her privacy after she escaped captivity.

Do you ever have to think, Am I putting my kids' future in jeopardy because I show up at a game? I have to think about that every time I step out of the house. Am I doing something today with my kids to cause them to get their photo taken and jeopardize their privacy? I know this is not a life-or-death situation, but it is hard for me nonetheless. Now that I can, I want to be there for them in all the ways I couldn't before-watch them play ball and help out with school functions-but I can't without risking someone will recognize me and connect me with them. (Dugard, 2011, p. 229)

The victim also describes a weekend outing with her children in which her family's "privacy was being violated" (Dugard, 2011). She states that the photos taken of her and her children without consent caused her to feel "saddened and embarrassed" and also turned a fun trip into a "nightmare" because her children were exposed to the public (Dugard, 2011). Although Dugard willingly participated in a photo shoot with People Magazine, she states that she felt pressured into it and felt it was the only way to get the media to leave her alone.

In Book 2, the victim, Katie Beers, was physically, sexually, and emotionally abused from approximately two years old by her guardians. At the age of nine, she was abducted and isolated underground for 17 days by another trusted adult in her life (Beers, 2013). Beers states in her book that most of the memories from her childhood "make her cry" and that there was very little happiness in her young life (Beers, 2013). Table 13 shows the keywords used by the victim to describe how she portrays herself, as well as her responses to the crime.

Table 13: Depictions of the Victim in *Buried Memories*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Self-Perception</b>				
Dirty	5	0	0	5
Fighter	0	0	1	1
Forget	2	0	0	2
Helpless	3	0	0	3
Hid	1	0	0	1
Katie	0	1	0	1
Prison	2	1	0	3
Prisoner	1	0	0	1
Slave	2	0	0	2
Strong	1	2	1	4
Victim	0	1	1	2
<b>Emotional Response of the Victim</b>				
Afraid	2	0	1	3
Ashamed	2	0	0	2
Bear	2	0	0	2
Cried, Cry, Crying	18	1	4	23
Cry	5	1	0	6
Crying	9	0	4	13
Die	1	0	0	1
Disgusted, Disgusting	5	0	0	5
Embarrassed, Embarrassing	3	1	0	4
Fault	1	0	0	1
Fear, Feared	9	0	3	12
Forget	4	0	0	4
Forgive	0	0	1	1
Free, Freedom	5	3	4	12
Gross	1	0	0	1
Guilt, Guilty	3	0	0	3
Happy	1	3	1	5
Hard	2	1	1	4
Hate	1	0	0	1
Hope	2	0	1	3
Lie, Lied	3	2	9	14
Nervous	1	0	1	2
Protect	1	0	0	1
Sad	1	1	0	2
Scare, Scared	7	0	1	8
Shame	1	0	0	1
Surprised	0	1	0	1
<b>Physical Response of the Victim</b>				
Escape	4	0	0	4
Fight, Fighting	4	0	0	4
Hide	1	0	0	1
Hit	1	0	0	1

Kicked, Kicking	6	0	4	10
Pain	6	1	1	8
Painful	3	0	0	3
Physical	0	1	0	1
Punched	0	0	1	1
Scream, Screamed, Screaming	11	0	0	11
Survive, Surviving	2	1	2	5
Yelled	2	0	3	5
<b>Co-Victim</b>				
John	10	1	1	12
<b>Media</b>				
Book	0	0	1	1
Media	0	0	1	1
News	5	0	3	8
Newspaper	2	0	0	2
Photographers	0	0	3	3
Picture, Pictures	2	0	2	4
Report, Reports	0	0	3	3
Reporter, Reporters	1	0	2	3
Television	0	1	0	1
TV	1	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	154	23	57	234

Beers portrays herself using 25 keywords, 17 of which are used in a negative context. She uses keywords such as dirty, helpless, and prison to describe herself in a negative context. The victim explains that she often felt dirty after being sexually abused by her godfather Sal and the immediate offender, John Esposito.

And therefore, I didn't tell. I wanted to forget that the rapes ever happened and I thought that if I didn't talk about being raped, it didn't happen. I felt dirty enough already with just being touched and forced to touch them. I didn't want to feel dirtier by admitting to being raped. I was too young to understand that Sal and John both would have both faced far more serious criminal charges if I had mentioned the rapes. (Beers, 2013, p. 158)

The victim also portrays that she felt imprisoned while she was held captive in an underground bunker in Esposito's home. Although the victim's time in captivity was relatively short, lasting only 17 days, the victim suffered long-term consequences.

I was free! Finally, I could breathe! I left that prison on Saxon Avenue with my life. But I took with me a fear of some things that will forever elicit sheer terror in me: baby monitors; the song, I Will Always Love You, by Whitney Houston. It had just come out and was played over and over on MTV and VHL a hundred times a day. (Beers, 2013, p. 91)

Although Beers portrays herself in a mostly negative context, she describes herself as strong on four occasions, two of which are in a positive context.

I liked talking to Mary; she was a safe person to confide in, and for the first time in my life, I didn't have to worry about protecting anyone but me. Mary always reminded me of how strong a person I already was. Everyone from the DA's office, too, would tell me how I was to pull through. Most kids who went through what I had gone through, they assured me, would have never been able to withstand a trial. No matter how much preparation they received, they wouldn't be able to have done that, (Beers, 2013, p. 155-156)

The victim states that her therapist, Mary, reminds her that she is strong; conveying that she also believes she is a strong person. Beers (2013) describes her therapist as a strong support system in her life. The victim explains that through therapy, she has realized that her biological mother failed her in her childhood and that her victimizations were not her fault. As a result, towards the end of the book the victim's self-perception appears more positive, although self-perception is most often portrayed in a negative context.

Beers uses several keywords to describe her emotional response to the crime, with cried, cry, and crying being the most commonly used keywords. The victim includes depictions of her

emotional responses to both crimes, those committed by her guardians and those committed by Esposito.

Inside the closet was the back of something he had built in his kitchen. He threw me up against it with such force, I was certain I was bleeding. I was crying hysterically. John went back to work as blood dripped down my back. He finished cranking up the concrete slab, revealing a hole in the floor. (Beers, 2013, p. 30)

The victim describes being forced into the underground “hole” as so traumatic and painful that she began crying. Beers uses the keywords cried, cry, and crying a total of 23 times, 18 of which are used in a negative context.

Beers also frequently uses the keywords lie and lied to describe her emotional response to the crimes she endured. The victim explains that she often lied to her foster family because she was afraid of being punished. She believes she learned to lie to avoid negative consequences in her childhood, leading to the formation of a habit that was difficult to break.

I lied a lot from Day One. I lied about the smallest things-for no reason. I don't know why I lied-perhaps it was a coping mechanism. I had learned well to lie to Linda about a lot of things to keep her from beating me. Barbara and Tedd never once gave me a reason to lie to them. (Beers, 2013, p. 159)

In *Buried Memories*, the victim also describes lying to John Esposito in the hopes that he would let her go. Beers would tell the offender she would not turn him in and that she loved him, all of which she states was intended to gain his trust (Beers, 2013). The victim also depicts emotional responses of disgust, fear, shame, and a desire for freedom. Beers predominantly portrays her emotional response to the crime in a negative context.

The victim also describes her physical response to the crime in a mostly negative context. Of the 54 keywords used to describe her response, 40 keywords are used in a negative context. Beers most commonly uses the keywords scream, screamed, and screaming to portray her physical response. The victim uses these terms 11 times and each instance is used in a negative context.

“I am down here.” Over and over again, until my voice was lost. I screamed, “Help me!!!!” I screamed “I’m HEEERE!” I yelled and screamed and begged and hit the monitor, “Pleeeaaaseee! I’m hhhheeeere!!” I collapsed in exhaustion as I watched the cops walk away, down the long driveway, and get into their cruisers and drive away. No one heard me. (Beers, 2013, p. 56)

The victim describes screaming to alert police officers that were in Esposito’s home, however the officers could not hear her in the soundproof, underground bunker. The victim was able to see officers looking for her due to a television the offender placed in the bunker that displayed footage from security cameras around the property. Beers also describes kicking and screaming while trying to escape Esposito before he trapped her in the bunker.

I was only nine years old, but that was a place that had been violated many times. I was kicking, trying to get words out, but his tight grip was squeezing away my words, my breath, and my strength. I was kicking and crying when he carried me down the stairs. I knew that unless he was going to do something bad to me, there was no reason for him to be carrying me downstairs. Nobody was home. (Beers, 2013, p. 29)

The victim also states that she did what was necessary to survive her situation. Beers was forced to use the restroom in the same coffin-like box she was forced to lie in and did not see sunlight for 17 days. While living in the care of Linda and Sal, she did not go to school regularly,



did not have weather appropriate clothing, and was forced to succumb to physical and sexual abuse from both parties.

I felt dirty and guilty. Dirty because of the almost daily sex acts and guilty because I must have done something wrong to be so badly punished. Perhaps there is something to be said for inner strength, a strong will to survive. Maybe I was born a fighter. Or maybe the fact that the abuse started so early made me tough. It's all I ever knew. (Beers, 2013, p. 236)

Beers was the only known victim of Esposito, however she describes her older brother, John Beers, as a co-victim of Sal's abuse. All instances in which the victim described her brother as a victim were coded as co-victim portrayals. If the victim referred to John Beers outside of depictions of abuse, the word usages were coded as family. Beers portrays her brother as a co-victim on 12 occasions, 10 of which are negative. The victim explains that John Beers was also physically abused by Sal.

The shouting went back and forth, and John threatened to leave-that he'd had enough of Sal's bullshit. Sal ended it definitively. He grabbed John, threw him to the ground, and kicked him square in his gut with such force, it knocked the wind out of John. My big brother was as helpless as I was against Sal's terror. When Sal wasn't getting what he wanted, he would also grab me by the shirt near the collar and "jack" me against the wall, holding me there with my feet dangling below me like a ragdoll, pointing in my face with his other hand, spitting curses inches from my eyes. (Beers, 2013, p. 78)

Beers predominantly portrays her brother as a co-victim in a negative context. However, the victim describes her brother positively when explaining that although he was physically

abused by Sal, he did not suffer as badly as she did. Beers also explains that even though she and her brother were abused, he still impacted her view of men in a positive way.

I was getting it from all sides. I was physically and emotionally abused by Aunt Linda, physically, emotionally and sexually abused by Sal and then neglected by my mother. I'd look at John and think he had it good. What John couldn't do for me in the short run, he did in the long run. He left me with the knowledge that not all men are bad, nor are they all going to hurt me. (Beers, 2013, p. 203)

Although Beers exhibits negative feelings towards her brother as a co-victim, she also exhibits positive feelings towards their sibling relationship. Beers (2013) explains that her older brother was one of two people who expressed love and kindness to her in her childhood. The victim states that she would have “written men off altogether” if her brother had not been a positive influence in her life. Beers (2013) also explains that she is saddened by the fact that she no longer has contact with her brother, but cannot do so because it reminds her too much of her painful past. She portrays that although her relationship with her brother has since dissipated, she misses him and has positive feelings towards him.

The victim's response to the media is predominantly portrayed in a neutral context. Beers mainly explains what role the media played in her life after she was rescued. She also explains that she wanted to tell her story by writing *Buried Memories* to “set the record, finally, straight” (Beers, 2013). The victim most often portrays media coverage of the offenders and the trials/cases in a negative context.

When Aunt Barbara got home from work, she came to check on me-and immediately knew that something was very wrong by the appearance of my bedroom, dark like a cave. I didn't want to talk about why I was upset, but finally I could speak. Seeing that

headline and Sal's picture, I told her, put me back in a place I wanted desperately to leave behind. School was supposed to be a safe place for me, and the teachers were supposed to know how to keep me safe. I don't know what was going through my gym teacher's head when she showed me the article. (Beers, 2013, p. 159)

The victim explains that seeing media coverage of the offenders made her relive the crimes and caused negative emotions. As a result, Beers' adoptive family never allowed the offenders or the criminal proceedings to be mentioned in her presence again.

The third victim in the sample, Michelle Knight, uses a total of 848 keywords to depict herself and her response to the crime. Of the keywords used, the majority, 371 words, were used in a neutral context. Knight was abducted at the age of 21 and held captive for 11 years, causing her to lose custody of her young son (Knight, 2014). She was raped, beaten, and starved until she nearly died, resulting in permanent health issues, including the inability to have more children.

Table 14 displays the keywords used by Knight to describe herself and her response to the crime.

Table 14: Depictions of the Victim in *Finding Me*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Self-Perception</b>				
Broken	4	2	0	6
Dirty	2	0	0	2
Forget, Forgotten	3	1	0	4
Helpless	1	0	0	1
Hid	1	0	1	2
Prison	9	4	1	14
Prisoner	4	0	0	4
Strong	0	1	0	1
Trapped	3	0	2	5
Worthless	2	0	0	2
<b>Emotional Response of the Victim</b>				
Afraid	3	0	1	4
Anger, Angry	4	2	0	6
Assaulted	1	0	0	1
Awful	2	0	0	2
Baptist	3	1	0	4
Bible	1	0	0	1

Church, Churches	0	1	2	3
Confused	0	0	1	1
Cried, Cry, Crying	22	6	5	33
Depressed, Depression	3	1	1	5
Die	13	2	5	20
Disgust, Disgusted, Disgusting	4	0	0	4
Embarrassed	1	0	1	2
Explode	1	0	0	1
Fear, Feared	4	1	0	5
Forget	1	4	0	5
Forgive	0	2	0	2
Free, Freedom	7	10	8	25
Frightened, Frightening	2	0	1	3
Frustrated	1	0	0	1
God	12	14	10	36
Gross	4	0	1	5
Happy	1	2	1	4
Hard	5	1	1	7
Hate	5	1	2	8
Heaven	0	2	0	2
Hidden	1	0	0	1
Hope	5	6	2	13
Mad	3	0	0	3
Miracle	0	3	1	4
Nervous	0	0	2	2
Pray, Prayed, Prayer, Praying	16	1	2	19
Protect	1	0	1	2
Sad	2	2	0	4
Scare, Scared	6	0	3	9
Surprised	4	1	1	6
Thankful	0	1	0	1
<b>Physical Response of the Victim</b>				
Crashed	1	0	0	1
Escape	6	0	7	13
Fight, Fighting, Fought	3	2	1	6
Hide, Hiding	3	1	1	5
Hit	1	0	0	1
Kick	1	1	0	2
Pain, Painful	22	6	7	35
Pregnancy, Pregnant	5	0	5	10
Punch	2	1	0	3
Scream, Screamed, Screaming	24	0	0	24
Survive, Survived, Surviving	2	4	1	7
Yell, Yelled, Yelling	6	1	0	7
<b>Co-Victim</b>				
Amanda	7	30	106	143
Gina	41	21	115	177
Jocelyn	8	17	44	69
<b>Media</b>				
Book	0	1	0	1

Interview, Interviews	0	2	1	3
Media	1	0	1	2
News	9	1	9	19
Picture	1	0	6	7
Report, Reports	3	0	4	7
Reporter	1	0	2	3
Television	0	0	1	1
TV	2	1	4	7
<b>Total</b>	316	161	371	848

Similar to Katie Beers, Michelle Knight felt that she was imprisoned in the offender’s home. She uses the keyword prison to describe her perception of her daily life and living conditions.

I just didn't understand that; it made me furious. It still does. We stayed outside for about a half hour before he took me back to my blue prison. He made me give him back all of my clothes-not just the green shirt and sweats, but my T-shirt and underwear too. So now I was totally naked when he chained me up. “I’m cold,” I told him. (Knight, 2014, p. 117)

Knight also refers to herself as broken, dirty, and trapped. The victim most commonly portrays herself in a negative context.

Knight also predominantly depicts her emotional response to the crime in a negative context. The victim explains that on several occasions she believed she was going to die, either from the abuse the offender inflicted on her or from starvation. Knight’s most common emotional responses were God; cried, cry, or crying; and free or freedom. The victim often prayed to God to help her when the offender was abusing her. Although Knight’s overall portrayal of her emotional response is neutral, the keyword God was predominantly used in a positive context. The victim states that she almost died because the offender forced her to eat mustard, to which she is fatally allergic. As a result of this experience, the victim explains that

although she has experienced pain in her life, she believes that God allowed her to live through the near-death experience.

I don't know why he let so many awful things happen in my life. I might never have an answer to that question, and I still get angry sometimes when I think about it. But there is only one way I can explain why I didn't completely kick the bucket that night-God brought me back. I saw it. I heard it. (Knight, 2014, p. 204-205)

Knight also uses the keywords anger or angry, fear or feared, and hate to describe her emotional response to the crime. She states that the offender's actions would often make her angry and that she feared that she would never be free of his control. Knight (2013) also states that she screamed "I hate you" at the offender during one of the beatings she endured that led to a miscarriage. However, the victim also explains that although she is still angry that the offender held her captive and abused her for years, she is "learning to let go of that hate." She explains that the offender deserved to be punished for his crimes and that she deserved to be happy, which she could not do if she continued to hate him.

The victim's physical response in *Finding Me*, is mostly portrayed in a negative context. The most commonly used keyword to describe the victim's physical response was pain or painful, with scream, screamed, or screaming being second. Knight describes being in physical pain due to the offender beating, raping, and starving her. She also describes physical pain as a result of the chains used to restrain her "biting" into her skin. The victim also portrays multiple miscarriages as the most painful experiences of her life.

Blood was rushing from between my legs, all over the place. I tried to use my sheet to stop the bleeding, but it was coming out too fast. I was in so much pain that I passed out.

When I woke up, I think it was the middle of the night. I lay on my mattress in the pitch-black and sobbed uncontrollably. (Knight, 2014, p. 135-136)

The victim states that the experience made her feel like she “wanted to die” and that it was the “most god-awful thing” she lived through. Of the 114 keywords used to describe the victim’s physical response, only 16 are used in a positive context.

When Michelle Knight was first abducted, she was the only victim of Ariel Castro. By the time she was rescued 11 years later, she was one of four victims. Castro also kidnapped Amanda Berry and Gina DeJesus approximately one year after abducting Knight (Knight, 2014). The fourth victim, Jocelyn, is the child of Amanda Berry and the offender. Knight portrays Amanda in a predominantly neutral context. The victim spent very little time with Amanda because they were chained in separate rooms. As a result, she mostly describes what Amanda said, did, or mentions her in conversation with the offender or another victim.

Knight mentions Gina 177 times, with 115 used in a neutral context. Knight and Gina spent the majority of their time in captivity together because they were chained to one another by their ankles. As a result, the two formed a special bond and Knight describes Gina as her teammate, best friend, and little sister (Knight, 2014).

Several weeks later, when the news came out that he had killed himself by trying something called "auto-erotic asphyxiation" (basically, he used the sheet to choke himself to make his orgasm more intense) , I wasn't surprised. I figured he got that idea from that show he used to watch about weird fetishes. Gina and I talked on the phone a few times after that day. She was my best friend in that house, the person I was literally chained to. I wanted to talk to her every single day. (Knight, 2014, p. 235-236)

Knight portrays Gina in a negative context when she is being abused by the offender or is a bystander to Knight's abuse.

"He's a psycho." Sure enough, things got bad after about a month. One night he raped me while I was chained to Gina. She sat in the corner of the mattress and tried to look the other way. After it was over, we just sat there and cried. (Knight, 2014, p. 153)

The victim most often portrays Amanda's daughter, Jocelyn, in a neutral context. Jocelyn stayed in a separate room with her mother, therefore Knight did not spend a great deal of time with her. Knight explains that although she did not like that Jocelyn grew up in a bad environment, the child brought happiness to her life in captivity.

And for at least a few weeks after Jocelyn got there he left me alone. I think the new baby distracted him. Even before Jocelyn was old enough to know where she was, she was already bringing some light into our lives. Not long after Jocelyn was born, the dude let Amanda out of her chains. "I don't want the baby to see you with those on," I heard him tell her. (Knight, 2014, p. 185)

Although Knight predominantly mentions the co-victims in a neutral context, she expressed positive feelings towards the other victims, particularly Gina and Jocelyn.

Knight's captivity and rescue was a huge media sensation, attracting attention at the international level (Knight, 2014). The victim states that the "whole world" was talking about their rescue and most often portrays the media in a neutral context. The victim most often uses the keyword news when describing the media. The victim describes the media coverage of Amanda Berry's and Gina DeJesus's disappearances and the lack of coverage for her own. Knight portrays that seeing media coverage of the abductions on the news upset her for many



reasons; she felt angry and sad that the other girls were taken from their families and that her own family had not made an effort to find her.

And on the summer day when it happened to me, not too many people seemed to care. Nobody had a vigil. It wasn't all over the news. Neither my relatives nor the neighbors got together and put up flyers. The whole world moved on as if I was never even alive. I felt like I was screaming at the top of my lungs, but no one could hear me. (Knight, 2014, p. x)

Knight portrays her book in a positive context, stating that writing *Finding Me*, will hopefully encourage citizens to report suspicious activity and hopefully more victims will be saved as a result.

Elizabeth Smart was held captive in the mountains behind her home for approximately nine months. During that time, she was subjected to sexual assaults and threats, and was exposed to the elements, leaving her dehydrated and starved (Smart, 2013). Like Jaycee Dugard, she was not allowed to use her real name and instead was forced to use the names Esther and Shearjashub. Table 15 shows the keywords used by Smart to portray herself and her response to the crime and media.

Table 15: Depictions of the Victim in *My Story*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Self-Perception</b>				
Broken	2	0	0	2
Caged	1	0	0	1
Dirty	1	0	0	1
Elizabeth	1	1	0	2
Esther	12	1	20	33
Filthy	1	0	0	1
Forgotten	2	1	1	4
Innocent	2	0	0	2
Prison	6	0	0	6
Prisoner	3	1	0	4
Shearjashub	3	0	5	8
Slave	6	0	1	7
Strong	0	2	2	4

Stupid	1	0	0	1
Trapped	4	0	1	5
Victim	1	0	0	1
<b>Emotional Response of the Victim</b>				
Afraid	4	4	2	10
Angel, Angels	0	2	1	3
Anger, Angry	6	1	1	8
Ashamed	1	0	0	1
Bear	2	0	0	4
Betray, Betrayed	2	0	0	2
Broke	1	0	0	1
Confused, Confusion	3	0	3	6
Cried, Cry, Crying	27	10	9	46
Depressed, Depressing	1	0	1	2
Die	9	2	10	21
Disgust, Disgusted, Disgusting	8	0	0	8
Embarrassed, Embarrassment	4	0	0	4
Explode	0	0	1	1
Fault	4	2	1	7
Fear, Fearful	22	7	17	46
Forget	3	1	0	4
Forgive	0	1	0	1
Free, Freedom	9	10	4	23
God	10	22	18	50
Guilt, Guilty	4	0	0	4
Happy	4	7	1	12
Hard	7	2	2	11
Heaven	0	1	0	1
Hidden	1	0	0	1
Hit	1	0	0	1
Hope	14	12	10	36
Mad	0	0	1	1
Miracle, Miracles	0	5	5	10
Mormon	1	0	0	1
Nervous	3	0	0	3
Prayed, Prayer, Praying	9	1	10	20
Protect	5	0	1	6
Religious	3	0	0	3
Sad	0	1	0	1
Scared	7	1	0	8
Shame	2	0	1	3
Surprised	1	0	1	2
Thankful	0	1	1	2
Worthlessness	2	0	0	2
<b>Physical Response of the Victim</b>				
Escape	13	1	9	23
Fight, Fighting, Fought	7	1	8	16
Hide	0	1	0	1
Kicked	1	0	0	1
Pain, Painful	24	5	3	32
Scream, Screamed, Screaming	12	4	4	20

Survive	3	4	10	17
Yell	1	0	0	1
<b>Co-Victim</b>				
<b>Media</b>				
Media	0	1	7	8
News	1	0	0	1
Photographers	0	1	1	2
Picture, Pictures	0	0	3	3
Reporters	0	1	0	1
Reports	0	0	1	1
Television	0	0	2	2
<b>Total</b>	288	118	179	587

Smart's self-perception is portrayed predominantly in a negative context. The most commonly used keywords to portray the victim's self-perception were the names she was forced to use by the offenders, Esther and Shearjashub. Other commonly used keywords include slave, prison, and trapped. Smart explains that the auxiliary offender, Wanda Barzee, made her do chores around the camp, comparing the treatment to that of a slave. She also portrays that she was used by Mitchell as a slave in a different way.

A blanket of sadness hit me, settling deep into my soul. I'm never going to have such happiness, I thought. I'll never have such a life. I'm nothing but a slave to these two people who are keeping me so close. By the time I can get away from them, it will be too late. No one will ever want me. (Smart, 2013, p. 211)

Although Smart's self-perception is most often portrayed in a negative context, she describes herself as an innocent victim and that the victimization was not her fault.

Hiking up the main trail, I felt like a prisoner walking back to her cell. I was in solitary confinement, with only my guards for company. And I was innocent. I was innocent! But no one seemed to care. (Smart, 2013, p. 188)

The victim also described herself as a “caged animal” and compared herself to a “broken vase.” Despite portraying negative views of herself in the beginning of the book, Smart exhibits a more positive self-perception towards the end of the book. She explains that despite her victimization, she has led a successful and happy life.

Coming from a Mormon background, Smart commonly turned to her religious beliefs as an emotional response to the crime. God was the most commonly used word to describe the victim’s emotional response. Smart would pray to God to protect her and also states that she felt her grandfather, who passed away a few days before she was abducted, was her “guardian angel” (Smart, 2013).

And I also knew that God wouldn't leave me to suffer through this alone. I just knew that was true. In fact, I never felt closer to God than I did throughout my nightmare with Mitchell. He did not leave me without comfort. I always felt Him near. (Smart, 2013, p. 75)

The victim also uses keywords such as cried, cry, or crying and fear or feared to describe her emotional response.

There was no traumatic bonding. No emotional ties. The only thing there ever was was fear, and never anything else. That's the only emotion I ever felt toward them. Sometime during the first week in September, the skies started to grow cloudy. (Smart, 2013, p. 191)

Although Smart does portray certain aspects of her emotional response, such as her religion, in a positive context, she predominantly depicts her emotional response in a negative context.

Smart was physically and mentally controlled and manipulated every second of her captivity. As a result, she was limited in her physical response to the crime because the offender threatened to harm her or her family if she disobeyed him. Near the beginning of her captivity, Smart searched and planned for ways to escape; however, as time progressed, she conformed to the offender's will out of fear.

It got colder. It was the middle of the night. I was praying and pleading for a way to escape but there were steep slopes along the stream bed, walls of scrub oak on each side. It was hopeless and I knew it. By then, I'd had enough time to consider another option that I hadn't thought about before; something just as terrifying but not as likely to enter into the mind of a little girl. (Smart, 2013, p. 30-31)

Later in the book, the victim explains that she began to lose hope. She no longer attempted to escape or even thought about doing so.

The things that used to make me happy, things that used to give me hope, all of these things were invisible to me now. The streets I used to walk on, cars like my family used to drive, flowers that reminded me of my mom . . . all of these things seemed to melt from my sight. I no longer kept an eye out for an opportunity to escape. I didn't even think about it anymore. I felt nothing but misery. It was maybe the lowest that I had ever felt. (Smart, 2013, p. 187-188)

The victim also portrayed pain or painful as a common physical response to crime. She most often associates pain with rape and starvation. Smart also used keywords such as fight, scream, and survive to depict her physical response to the crime.

Brian David Mitchell attempted to make Smart's cousin, Olivia, a co-victim. Smart describes the fear she felt when the offender stated that he was going to abduct her cousin and

make Olivia his “next wife.” However, Mitchell did not succeed in abducting Olivia, and therefore she was only coded as family in this study. Smart most often portrays the media in a neutral context. She mainly describes that the media was present when she was rescued and during legal proceedings; however, she portrays the media in a positive context on three occasions. The victim explains that the offender had become a “media sensation;” however, he was still brought to justice. Smart describes the media surrounding her rescue as “incredible” by stating:

We were rushed out a back door of the police headquarters and into a white van with darkened windows. I couldn't believe how many people were waiting, hoping to get a glimpse of me. There were hundreds of reporters and photographers and well-wishers along the road. I was shocked. It seemed incredible! All of them were there for me!

(Smart, 2013, p. 282)

Aaron Fisher was the first victim to speak out against Jerry Sandusky. Although further investigation later proved that Sandusky had sexually molested other boys before Fisher, he was labeled as “Victim One” in the criminal proceedings. The victim portrays that participating in the criminal proceedings was extremely difficult for him and caused negative emotions and unwanted attention from the public (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). Table 16 displays the keywords used by the victim to portray himself and his response to the crime.

Table 16: Depictions of the Victim in *Silent No More*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Self-Perception</b>				
Hero	1	0	1	2
Neglected	1	0	0	1
Stupid	5	0	0	5
Victim	2	3	2	7
<b>Emotional Response of the Victim</b>				
Afraid	8	0	2	10
Anger, Angry	12	0	4	16
Awful	1	0	0	1

Bear	1	0	0	1
Betrayed	1	0	0	1
Broke	1	0	0	1
Church	1	0	1	2
Confused	2	0	0	2
Cried, Cry, Crying	9	3	1	13
Depression	0	0	1	1
Disgust	1	0	0	1
Embarrassed, Embarrassing, Embarrassment	3	1	0	4
Fault	1	0	0	1
Freedom	0	1	0	1
Frustrated	3	1	0	4
Gross	1	0	0	1
Guilt	1	0	0	1
Happy	2	2	1	5
Hard	8	0	0	8
Hope	1	0	0	1
Mad	1	0	0	1
Nervous	1	0	0	1
Protect	0	1	0	1
Sad	0	0	1	1
Scared, Scaring	5	0	1	6
Shame	1	0	0	1
<b>Physical Response of the Victim</b>				
Fight, Fighting	0	1	2	3
Hid, Hiding	1	0	3	4
Hit	1	1	0	2
Pain	0	0	1	1
Screaming	2	1	0	3
Yelled, Yelling	3	0	1	4
<b>Co-Victim</b>				
<b>Media</b>				
Internet	0	0	1	1
News	3	0	1	4
Reporter	1	0	1	2
Television	0	0	1	1
TV	1	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>127</b>

Fisher's self-perception is depicted through 15 keyword usages, nine of which are used in a negative context. The victim uses the keyword stupid to depict himself in a negative context on five occasions. Fisher explains that he felt stupid for not realizing that the offender's actions were wrong when the abuse first started.

Mike explained to me what Jerry's MO was and how it was the profile of a child predator. I felt angry. I also felt extremely stupid for not catching on sooner. For those times when Jerry started doing all those things to me that I knew deep down were just not right, and I spaced. I took myself out of my body and away from him and out of that basement room. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 22)

Fisher also uses the keyword victim to portray his self-perception. Fisher explains that he did not like being labeled a victim during the criminal proceedings. He explains that he “had a problem with that word” (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). Fisher ends the book by stating he is no longer a victim and that he will live a fulfilling life, using the keyword in a positive context.

I have a lot of plans, backup plans and dreams. And I'm going to chase my dreams, and all the nightmares be damned. I am not a victim. Not anymore. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 210)

Although Fisher predominantly portrays his self-perception in a negative context, towards the end of the book his perception is portrayed positively.

The victim uses 65 keywords in a negative context, making his depictions of the emotional response to the crime predominantly negative. Anger/angry were the most commonly used keywords to depict Fisher's emotional response to the crime.

I argued that I never should have let any of that stuff happen to me. Mike explained that I was a child when it started and it wasn't my fault. In the beginning, I was more afraid of Jerry than I was angry at him. Like I said, I was angry at myself for being such a stupid kid-but when it came to Jerry I was petrified for a long time. As time went on, things balanced, and although I was still angry at myself, I was angrier at Jerry. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 72)



The victim explains that he was angry at himself, the offender, and also his mother. Fisher explains that he was angry for different reasons: at himself for “not catching on” to the offender’s abuse, at the offender for molesting him, and at his mother because “she wasn’t stopping him” (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). Fisher also portrays his emotional response to the crime by using keywords such as cried, cry, or crying and afraid. The victim explains that he often cried while testifying and feared that friends of the offender would hurt him and his family (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012).

The victim equally portrays his physical response to the crime with seven keyword usages in both a negative and neutral context. The most common physical responses portrayed by the victim were hid or hiding and yelled or yelling. Fisher explains that he tried to hide from the offender in the basement to avoid getting abused. The victim also hid at school and at his home to avoid conflict with the offender after he stopped spending time with him (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012).

But because Jerry was who he was, the teachers always let me go. Everyone bent the rules when it came to Jerry Sandusky. Sometimes when they called me down for Jerry, I went and hid in the bathroom. And no one asked me why. The worst part was that all the kids in school thought I was a problem kid. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 45)

Fisher also portrays experiencing nightmares after the victimization, particularly during the criminal proceedings. During these nightmares the victim would cry out, sleepwalk, and would hit his arms or legs on the furniture (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). As a result, the victim feared going to sleep at night because he did not want to disturb his family or scare his siblings. He was also afraid of what he may say in his sleep.

Each time, I could barely get through them and wasn't sure that I would. It was no surprise that after the third one, the nightmares started picking up speed again, but this time I was also sleepwalking. Mom would catch me walking around the apartment in the middle of the night, and when she came up to me, she said I would just start yelling and screaming stuff like "get away" and "leave me alone," like someone was trying to hurt me. Even when I was asleep, I never rested. I still felt threatened. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 155)

The victim also explains that he would get into verbal fights with his mother. He turned to running track as a way to cope with the crime. After wrecking his car, the victim suffered injuries that caused him difficulty running, however the victim continued to run because he had learned to "run through the pain," both physical and emotional.

Although Jerry Sandusky victimized several young men, Fisher did not experience his crime with any other victims. Fisher briefly met other victims during the criminal proceedings; however he did not spend a great deal of time with them because they were not allowed to view each other's testimonies. Due to the fact that Fisher did not experience the crime with other victims and did not participate in the criminal proceedings with other victims, no co-victims were coded for *Silent No More*.

The victim portrays the media in a predominantly negative context and never mentions the media in a positive context. Fisher explains that after the arrest of Jerry Sandusky was announced in the media, his life changed in a negative way. He states that students at his school began threatening to beat him up and adult citizens harassed his mother while she was out shopping. He stated that citizens were angry because Sandusky could no longer coach football and that Fisher and his mother were trying to "get money" from the offender (Fisher, Gillum, &

Daniels, 2012). As a result, Fisher portrays the media in a negative context and explains that the media released his personal information.

Somehow I'd just sneak away and let them go on talking. There was a story in The New York Times that gave everything but my name. The reporter said that the kid who was now called Victim One ran on the track team at Central Mountain High and lived in a public housing complex in Lock Haven. It also said the kid had no father, had two siblings, and had gone to the Second Mile. The reporter even spoke to one of our neighbors, who said I was wearing fancy designer clothes at one point, and then he said that one day he heard me screaming that I didn't want to go with Jerry. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 172-173)

The victim explains that the media released false information, particularly the comments made by the neighbor. Fisher portrays the media in a neutral context when explaining that the offender's sentencing was announced. Overall, Fisher portrays that he felt further victimized as a result of media depictions of his victimization.

### **Overview of Victim Depictions Within the Sample**

After analyzing the depictions of the victims across all five books, several similarities and differences were discovered. Three of the five victims came from a home in which the biological father was absent. Jaycee Dugard had a stepfather for a large portion of her childhood; however, she did not have a positive relationship with him (Dugard, 2011). Although Michelle Knight's biological father was present in her life until she was in her late teens, her living situation was highly unstable (Knight, 2014). Smart is the only victim who was raised in a "traditional" family, in which both biological parents were present for the duration of her childhood. Smart was also

the only victim to come from a middle-class background. The other four victims came from a low socio-economic background. All five victims were Caucasian and four victims were female.

Four victims in the sample were abducted, two during the day in a public place. Jaycee Dugard was abducted from a public street in early June while walking to school (Dugard, 2011). Dugard was shocked with a Taser gun and forced into the offender's vehicle. If a pedestrian or vehicle had passed by at that time, the offender may have been caught in the act. Michelle Knight was abducted leaving a busy Family Dollar at midday (Knight, 2014). Although Knight willingly got into the offender's vehicle and willingly went inside his house, several witnesses saw the victim leave Family Dollar with the offender and enter his home. Knight explains that if someone had "made a big deal" out of her disappearance, several witnesses would have been able to testify that she was last seen with Ariel Castro and she may have been rescued sooner (Knight, 2014).

Katie Beers, Michelle Knight and Aaron Fisher personally knew their offenders and considered them trustworthy people. Beers knew Esposito because he was friends with her mother and godparents. She explains that she "couldn't believe Big John" abused her because he had "never touched" her before (Beers, 2013). Michelle Knight recognized the offender as her good friend's father. She explains that she had seen pictures of Castro and that her friend, Emily, often spoke to her father on the phone and told stories of the time they spent together (Knight, 2014). When Castro offered Knight a ride to her court appointment, she accepted because she "trusted him more than a complete stranger" and felt that it was safe to go with him because he was her friend's father (Knight, 2014). When the offender began to make her nervous, she ignored her feelings for the same reason that she had accepted the ride, he was "Emily's dad" (Knight, 2014). Fisher first met Sandusky at a summer camp, where Sandusky quickly noticed

and praised him for his athletic ability. He explains that Sandusky began taking him on trips and becoming “like a part of the family” (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). Fisher and his mother trusted Sandusky because he was a respected member of the community and because he treated the victim well.

Four of the five victims were minors at the time of their victimization. The youngest victim, Katie Beers, was held captive for the shortest amount of time. Although Beers experienced the least amount of time in captivity, she was abused for the majority of her life before she was abducted at the age of 9 (Beers, 2013). Jaycee Dugard and Aaron Fisher were 11 years old when they first experienced victimization. Dugard grew up in captivity, spending 18 years imprisoned in the offender’s backyard (Dugard, 2011). Dugard’s victimization was the longest in duration. Fisher went from a young boy to a teenager trying to ignore the abuse he was enduring, while worried that the abuse made him or portrayed him to be “gay” (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). Elizabeth Smart was the oldest minor who was victimized. At the age of 14, she was abducted while she slept beside her younger sister and held captive for nine months in the mountains behind her home (Smart, 2013). Although Michelle Knight was a 21-year-old adult when she was abducted, she endured approximately 10 years of abuse during her childhood from a relative. Knight explains that the offender believed she was younger than her actual age and became angry and threw her license away when he learned she was 21 years old (Knight, 2014). Knight appeared to be much younger than she was because of her physical stature and because she was held back in school and mostly associated with young teenagers, like Castro’s daughter (Knight, 2014).

Two of the victims were held captive for longer than one year. Dugard was held captive for 18 years, while Knight was held for 11 years. Both victims became pregnant more than once

by the offender. Dugard was impregnated twice and delivered both children, who lived in captivity with the victim until they were rescued (Dugard, 2011). Dugard was rescued at the age of 29; her two daughters were 15 and 12 years old. Knight became impregnated a total of five times during the 11 years she was abused by Ariel Castro. Each time the offender forced Knight to abort the baby, either by starving her or beating her until she miscarried (Knight, 2014). The victim describes these tragedies as the “most god-awful thing” she lived through and becomes physical ill when reminded of the experience (Knight, 2014).

### **Family**

For the purposes of this study, the concept of family was analyzed within three categories. Family members such as the victim’s parents, stepparents, siblings, children, spouses and adoptive/foster family were coded as immediate family. Extended family members, such as aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents were coded as relatives. Individuals coded as other family were people the victim portrayed as family, but were not biological relatives, such as close friends, godparents, and boyfriends or girlfriends. The names of family members and their titles, such as mother or cousin, were selected to determine how the victims portrayed their family.

Jaycee Dugard was primarily raised by her mother until the age of 11 when she was abducted. The victim also had a younger half-sister and a stepfather. Throughout captivity, Dugard longed to return to her mother and sister and often wondered how their lives had turned out (Dugard, 2011). Table 17 displays the keywords used by Dugard to portray her family.

Table 17: Depictions of Family in *A Stolen Life*

	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Immediate Family</b>				
Dad, Father	4	0	5	9

Daughter, Daughters	6	9	16	31
Mom, Mommy, Mother	36	31	52	119
Shayna, Sister	7	16	16	39
Carl, Stepdad, Stepfather	12	8	22	42
<b>Relatives</b>				
Aunt	3	8	6	17
Cousins	0	0	1	1
Grandma	1	2	5	8
Grandpa	2	0	4	6
Grandparents	0	1	0	1
Uncle	0	0	2	2
<b>Other</b>				
Family	13	20	19	52
<b>Total</b>	84	95	148	327

The family member most commonly depicted by Dugard is her mother. The victim expresses a strong desire to return to her mother throughout her victimization and states that she misses her (Dugard, 2011). She mostly portrays her mother in a neutral context by explaining what her mother said, did, or how she looked. Dugard also mentions her mother in a negative context on 36 occasions. The victim most commonly portrays her mother in a negative context when explaining that she misses her or is afraid that she will never see her again (Dugard, 2011).

I do like to replay memories of home in my head. I don't want to forget. I'm afraid I won't remember what my mom looks like. I don't want to picture her in my head and yet at the same time I do. I miss the times when it used to be just me and her and she would scratch my back or make me macaroni and cheese. (Dugard, 2011, p. 63)

Dugard also mentions her daughters frequently throughout the book. She gave birth to her first daughter at the age of 14 and her second daughter at the age of 17 (Dugard, 2011). The victim mentions the children as her “daughter” or “daughters,” however she mostly commonly refers to them by their first initials, “A” and “G” (Dugard, 2011). Provalis WordStat does not recognize individual letters for coding or analysis purposes. As a result, the portrayals of

Dugard's daughters in which she only refers to them as "A" and "G" were unavailable for analysis within the same analytical method as the other keywords. Due to the fact that the victim never portrays her children using their names, these usages were not coded. When using the keywords daughter and daughters, the victim most commonly portrays her children in a neutral context.

Dugard also portrays extended family members in a predominantly neutral context. The most common keyword used by the victim to portray relatives is aunt, with a total of 17 word usages. Dugard predominantly depicts her aunt in a positive context and portrayed that she was happy to be reunited with her after she was rescued.

I had so many questions and thoughts. Too many for my mind to process. When I was told that my sister and my aunt had come with my mom, I was so excited and nervous that I had to remind myself to breathe. Every time someone would say the word "mom" I would burst out crying. The FBI agents that had been brought in said they were going to brief her and then I would be able to see her. (Dugard, 2011, p. 213)

The victim also portrays relatives such as her grandparents and cousins. These relatives are referenced in predominantly neutral contexts. Dugard also uses the keyword family to describe intimate individuals in her life, including the offenders. The victim explains that during captivity, she viewed Phillip and Nancy Garrido as her family. She explained that she and her children would go on "family" outings with the offenders and that she was led to believe this relationship was normal.

I have learned so many new facts about him, I'm not sure if I have the right to forgive him. I will probably struggle with this question for the rest of my life. Yes, in his mind he wanted us to be a family, but when I think back I can see we were just pretending.



Pretending everything was okay. Pretending the girls didn't need to go to school.

(Dugard, 2011, p. 144-145)

After she was rescued from captivity, the victim began to realize that this relationship was not a family. Dugard also uses the keyword family to depict the relationship she now has with her daughters. The victim explains that they had to “learn how to be a family” once they were rescued (Dugard, 2011). Dugard had to learn how to make decisions for herself and her children, as well as how to be the family’s leader. The victim predominantly depicts the idea of family in a positive context.

The victim in Book 2 has a complex portrayal of family. Katie Beers was raised by her godparents, Linda and Sal Inghilleri; however, her biological mother was also present in her life. After the victim was rescued from captivity, she was placed into a foster home and referred to her foster parents as “Aunt Barbara” and “Uncle Tedd” (Beers, 2013). As time progressed, the foster family adopted Beers and she became more comfortable around them, eventually leading her to call them “Mom” and “Dad” (Beers, 2013). Table 18 displays the keywords used by Beers to portray her family.

Table 18: Depictions of Family in *Buried Memories*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Immediate Family</b>				
Barbara	1	8	10	19
Brother, Brothers	5	3	9	17
Dad, Daddy, Father	2	6	4	12
Foster	4	9	10	23
Husband	0	3	0	3
John	27	8	18	53
Marilyn	49	2	65	116
Mom, Mother	15	6	16	37
Siblings	0	1	1	2
Son	0	1	0	1

<b>Relatives</b>				
Aunt	19	7	32	58
Cousin	0	0	1	1
Grandfather, Grandpa	1	0	3	4
Grandma, Grandmother	12	5	23	40
Helen	6	2	13	21
Sal	2	0	1	3
Uncle	2	5	5	12
<b>Other</b>				
Ann	2	5	10	17
Boyfriend, Boyfriends	3	0	2	5
Family	11	13	16	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>484</b>

Beers most commonly portrays her family in a neutral context. She generally explains who they are or what they did or said. The immediate family member most commonly depicted by Beers is her biological mother, who she most often refers to as Marilyn. Beers only refers to her biological mother, Marilyn, in a positive context on two occasions out of a total of 129 references. Beers depicts her biological mother in a positive context when explaining that she had a good relationship with the victim’s first fiancé and again when she states that Marilyn had the “ability to put other people’s needs ahead of her own” (Beers, 2013). Overall, Beers depicts her biological mother in a neutral context. The victim uses the keywords mom and mother in a predominantly neutral context; however, she uses these keywords in a positive context on six occasions.

It is the anniversary of the day I moved in with my parents. It is the day my life truly began. From the little girl that inched way from Tedd during car rides and lied to Barbara about the smallest things, I grew up to be my mother’s best friend and Daddy’s little girl. I owe them my life, and I know they feel just as deeply for me. I only remember my

father crying twice since I have known him: first, when he dropped me off at college, and later when he walked me down the aisle. (Beers, 2013, p. 262)

Beers only uses the keywords mom and mother in a positive context when portraying her adoptive mother, Barbara. The victim also uses her adoptive mother's name in a positive context on eight occasions before she considered Barbara her mother.

The victim also portrays her relatives in a predominantly neutral context. The keyword aunt refers to both her Aunt Linda, who abused her as a child, and her adoptive mother, whom she first referred to as Aunt Barbara. The keyword aunt is most frequently used and is also the keyword most frequently used in a negative context to describe relatives. Aunt is used in a positive context on seven occasions, six of which are describing Barbara. The one positive usage associated with the victim's Aunt Linda explains that Beers did not have to worry whether Linda would "need" her or whether she would "get in trouble" while at school (Beers, 2013).

Beers also portrays other individuals considered to be part of her intimate life, including boyfriends and Ann, Linda Inghilleri's mother. The offender also most commonly portrays these family members in a neutral context. The victim explains that she was popular growing up and always enjoyed dating, despite the sexual abuse she endured in her childhood.

I wasn't ready to be sexual with anyone, and I didn't want to feel like I was being pressured. When I ended one relationship, there was usually another one around the corner. I was never without a boyfriend for too long-and I changed boyfriends almost monthly so as never to have to get in too deep. In tenth grade, I joined the tech crew building sets for the high school plays. I didn't realize it at the time, but the friend who got me involved in the tech crew actually had a crush on me. (Beers, 2013, p. 204).

The victim explains that her therapist informed her that children of sexual abuse are generally either shy or promiscuous; however, Beers portrays herself as neither. Similar to her usages of the keywords aunt, mom, and mother, the majority of positive usages of the keyword family portray Beers' adoptive family (Beers, 2013).

Michelle Knight also suffered abuse during childhood at the hands of a family member. The victim also explains that she lived in a chaotic household with lots of other children, including her brothers and cousins. Table 19 shows the keywords used by Knight to portray her family.

Table 19: Depictions of Family in *Finding Me*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Immediate Family</b>				
Brother, Brothers	2	1	8	11
Dad, Father	8	1	4	13
Eddie	3	1	12	16
Freddie	1	2	15	18
Huggy Bear, Joey, Son	66	44	62	172
Ma, Mother	7	4	16	27
<b>Relatives</b>				
April	2	6	6	14
Aunts	0	0	2	2
Cousin, Cousins	0	4	16	20
Deanna	0	1	10	11
Lisa	0	1	8	9
Mikey	1	0	9	10
<b>Other</b>				
Carlos	3	1	3	7
Erik	9	8	3	20
Family	26	6	15	47
Kiki	1	3	4	8
Rah Rah	0	1	2	3
Roderick	2	6	17	25
Sniper	1	9	28	38
<b>Total</b>	134	99	241	474

Knight mentions that there was “a lot of pain” in her childhood (Knight, 2014). To escape her chaotic household, the victim ran away from home and lived on the streets when she was 15 years old. The victim most often refers to her immediate family in a neutral context. Her portrayals often explain what a family member was doing or saying. Knight portrays her mother in a mostly neutral context, while portraying her father in a mostly negative context. The victim’s father found Knight when she ran away from home and forced her to return against her will.

“Get in the car!” he shouted. That woman had called father on his cell and told him where she saw me-and he'd sped right over. My father jumped out and dragged me toward the car. He shoved me into the backseat and hit me upside the head. “That'll teach you not to run away again!” he yelled. (Knight, 2014, p. 44)

The victim explains that once returning home, she continued to have negative experiences within her household and at school. After returning home, Knight began dating a boy from her school, which she refers to as Erik. The victim became pregnant and gave birth to her son, Joey (Knight, 2014). The victim’s son is described using the keywords son, Joey and Huggy Bear, the child’s nickname. Knight most often portrays her son in a negative context. The majority of negative word usages associated with the victim’s son is due to the victim’s inability to see him or pain that the child endured. The victim lost custody of her child after her mother’s boyfriend broke his leg. When Knight did not appear for a court appearance because she was abducted by Castro, her son was placed for adoption (Knight, 2014). Once the victim was rescued, she was still unable to see her child because his adoptive family did not want to “disrupt” his life. For these reasons, Knight often refers to her son in a negative context.

I didn't want him to read what I wrote or take away the note- book, so I hid it under my pillow. A few days after he gave me the notebook the movie 101 Dalmatians was on TV. I cried the whole time because it reminded me of Joey. I missed him more than you can imagine. Only a mother can understand what it's like to have her child torn away from her. It's like having your soul ripped right out of your body. (Knight, 2014, p. 141)

Although Knight most often refers to her son in a negative context, she portrays very positive feelings towards her child. The victim refers to Joey as the “light of my life” and “the hope” that kept her alive during her captivity (Knight, 2014).

The victim also refers to her relatives in a predominantly neutral context. Keyword usages in which the victim describes the “relative” or “family member” that abused her were coded as depictions of the offender as opposed to family. The victim most often depicts her cousins and explains that one particular cousin, April, was a positive influence in her life. She explains that April let her “hang out” with her and often took her places such as roller skating and out to eat, allowing her to escape her household for a few hours.

“Get whatever you want,” she would tell me, pulling out a few dollars from the back pocket of her jeans. I usually ordered the fries; they were so good, especially with hot sauce slathered on them. April was mad cool-mainly because she got me out of that house. During the summer when I was eleven April offered to take me skating. “Let's walk down to the rink,” she said. (Knight, 2014, p. 17-18)

Although the victim most commonly portrays her relatives in a neutral context, she expressed positive feelings towards her cousins, particularly April. The victim only refers to her aunts in a neutral context.

Individuals who were considered an intimate part of the victim's life were coded as other family members. While living on the streets, the victim was approached by a drug dealer named Sniper. Sniper recruited Knight as a "runner" and in return provided her with a home, food, and income (Knight, 2014). The victim refers to Sniper and another "runner," Roderick, in a predominantly neutral context. However, the victim expressed positive feelings towards Sniper and Roderick, comparing them to a "small family." For this reason, Sniper and Roderick were coded as other family members. Knight refers to Erik, her high school sweetheart and the father of her child, in a predominantly negative context. When first describing Erik, the victim portrays him in a positive context, stating that she loved him and that it was nice to be intimately involved with someone because she wanted to, not because she was forced (Knight, 2014). Before the victim had the opportunity to tell Erik she is pregnant, he began treating her differently and telling other students that she was not his girlfriend, but rather "someone I fooled around with" (Knight, 2014).

Suddenly I understood what the word heartache meant. I felt like someone had pierced my heart with a thousand stickpins. I began avoiding Erik at school. When our eyes met across a classroom or in the lunchroom, the expression on his face said it all: he knew his girlfriend had told me his secret. A couple of classmates told me that after Cassie had busted him, he began downplaying our relationship. (Knight, 2014, p. 49-50)

As a result, Knight begins to portray Erik in a negative context. The victim references her mother's boyfriend, Carlos, in an equally negative and neutral context, with three keyword usages for each category. Knight portrays Carlos as the reason for having her son taken away from her and exhibits a negative attitude towards him.

The victim in Book 4, Elizabeth Smart, was raised in a middle-class Mormon household. She portrays that she has a strong bond with her immediate family, and even shared a bed with her younger sister. Smart explains that the main reason she did not attempt to escape from Brian David Mitchell is because she believed he would harm her family (Smart, 2013). As a result, the victim remained in captivity for approximately nine months because she felt she had to protect her family. Table 20 displays the keywords used by the victim to depict her family.

Table 20: Depictions of Family in *My Story*

	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Immediate Family</b>				
Boyfriend, Boyfriends	1	2	2	5
Brother, Brothers	3	4	12	19
Dad, Daddy, Father	12	16	23	51
Mary Katherine, Sister	11	2	30	43
Mom, Mother	13	20	41	74
Siblings	0	1	1	2
<b>Relatives</b>				
Aunts	0	1	0	1
Cousin, Cousins, Olivia	7	8	14	29
Grandfather, Grandpa	1	14	6	21
Grandma, Grandmother	0	2	3	5
Grandparents	0	3	2	5
Uncle	5	0	1	6
<b>Other</b>				
Family	64	30	46	140
<b>Total</b>	117	103	181	401

The victim most often refers to her immediate family in a neutral context, with 109 of 194 keywords used in a neutral context. The victim explains what her family endured while law enforcement searched for her and explains what members of her family said and did during this time. The victim most often refers to her mother and father. Smart refers to her immediate family in a negative context when describing that she misses them and is afraid for their safety.



However, after the victim is rescued, she refers to her immediate family members in a predominantly positive context.

Sometime long before I was taken, I had been told that when someone dies, the first thing you forget is the sound of their voice. This thought terrified me. What if I could no longer remember my mother's voice, a sound I had heard every day of my life! I started to think of her, and other members of my family and their voices. I started to think of all the things my mom used to tell me every day: Have a good day at school. (Smart, 2013, p. 4)

The victim also refers to her younger sister, Mary Katherine. Smart portrays her sister in a negative context when explaining the fear her sister experienced when Smart was abducted. Due to the fact that the girls shared a bed, Mary Katherine was inches from her sister and witnessed the abduction (Smart, 2013). The victim explains that her sister was so fearful that she was paralyzed and therefore did not alert her parents that her sister was missing for hours.

Smart portrays her relatives in a predominantly positive context. The victim most often refers to her grandfather in a positive context, explaining that she believed he was her guardian angel. The victim states that this idea brought her comfort and hope during captivity.

That God had never left me. That He was as close as any prayer. The assurance that my grandfather had been called back home so that he could walk beside me, my heavenly bodyguard. The night I had been given a cup of cold water by my pillow. The night that it rained. (Smart, 2013, p. 288)

The victim explains that she felt as if her grandfather was "watching over" her during her victimization (Smart, 2013). She states that this idea, coupled with her religious beliefs, is the

main reason she was able to survive captivity. As a result, the victim exhibits a positive view of the grandfather.

Smart used the keyword family 140 times, with 64 word usages portrayed in a negative context. The victim is most often referring to her immediate family unit as a whole, including her parents and siblings. The offender threatened to hurt or kill the victim’s family on multiple occasions, leading Smart to believe that if she did not comply with the offender; her family would suffer (Smart, 2013). As a result, Smart most often refers to her family in a negative context because she feared for their safety.

Aaron Fisher came from a single-parent household and was therefore recommended to attend Jerry Sandusky’s summer camp for underprivileged youth. Raised by his mother with his two siblings, Fisher excelled in athletics and welcomed the positive attention from Sandusky. Although Fisher explains that he had a good relationship with his family, he also explains that the family relationships changed after his victimization. Table 21 shows the keywords used by Fisher to portray his family.

Table 21: Depictions of Family in *Silent No More*

	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Immediate Family</b>				
Brother, Bubby	3	1	1	5
Dad, Father	1	2	1	4
Katie	1	1	1	3
Mom	29	5	50	84
Siblings	1	0	1	2
Sister	0	2	1	3
Stepdad	0	0	1	1
<b>Relatives</b>				
Aunt	0	0	1	1
Grandfather, Pap	1	3	10	14
Grandparents	0	2	0	2
<b>Other</b>				
Family	3	0	1	4

<b>Total</b>	39	16	68	123
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The victim predominantly portrays his immediate family in a neutral context. He most commonly uses the keyword mom to depict his immediate family. Fisher portrays his mother in a predominantly neutral context and only refers to her in a positive context on five occasions. The victim most often describes what his mother said or did during his victimization and criminal proceedings. Fisher references his mother in a negative context on 29 occasions. The victim explains that he felt angry towards his mother during the victimization because he felt she “should have known” something was not right (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012).

Then I got mad and shoved the keyboard and went outside to hang out with my friends. I was angry. To tell you the truth, I felt my mom wasn't doing her part to protect and help me. How could she still let me keep going off with him? Why wasn't she there to stop him? (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 49)

Fisher explains that although he did not tell his mother about the victimization until after he informed school officials, he still felt that she should have realized something was wrong. The victim uses the keywords dad and father in a positive context on two occasions. The victim explains that his grandfather, whom he refers to as Pap, was like a father figure to him. Fisher also states that when the offender first began showing him attention he did not think of him as a father figure because he had his grandfather. He simply thought it was “cool” that Sandusky was giving him positive attention (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). The victim also mentions that he had a stepfather at one point in time, but that the individual did not have a positive or negative effect on him.

Fisher briefly mentions three relatives; his aunt, grandfather, and grandmother. The victim explains that he was a “grandparents’ kid” and therefore did not feel he needed a father in

his life. Although the victim most often refers to his relatives in a neutral context, he expressed positive feelings towards his grandparents.

I was a grandparents' kid. My grandparents always had me over at their place and bought me things. My grandfather-I call him Pap-had been in my life from the time I was a baby. I wasn't looking for a father figure-I had one in him. So when Jerry was paying so much attention to me, I wasn't thinking, "Wow, this is great. I finally have some kind of a dad paying attention to me." (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 18)

### **Overview of Family Depictions Within the Sample**

After analyzing how the victims portray their families, these depictions were compared across all five books within the sample. Four of the five victims portrayed their mothers more than any other member of their family, regardless of context. All four victims who predominantly referred to their mothers were also minors at the time of victimization. The only adult victim, Michelle Knight, predominantly depicted her son as opposed to other family members. Three of the four abduction victims expressed a strong desire to return to or see their mothers again.

Two of the five victims came from single-parent households. Beers explains that she never knew her biological father, while Fisher states that he never had a father in his life (Beers, 2013; Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). Two victims, Katie Beers and Michelle Knight, experienced abuse in their childhood prior to being abducted. Both victims were victimized by family members for years and felt powerless to stop the abuse (Beers, 2013; Knight, 2014).

Four of the five victims expressed concern that their family would not "want" or accept them due to their victimization. Dugard explains that after being rescued and prior to being reunited with her mother, she feared that her mother would not accept her children (Dugard,

2011). Elizabeth Smart feared that her family would reject her because of the sexual acts she was forced to commit, which violated her family's religion. Smart also expressed concern that she would never get married because "no one would want" her because of the crimes she endured (Smart, 2013). Fisher explains that he was concerned that his family and peers would think he was "gay" because of the abuse he suffered (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012), while Beers states that she feared her adoptive family would think she is "as dirty as the people who raised" her if they knew she had a boyfriend (Beers, 2013).

All five victims expressed a need to protect their family members and individuals they viewed as family. Michelle Knight felt very protective of co-victim Gina DeJesus, and described her as a "little sister" (Knight, 2014). Dugard was extremely protective of her daughters and explains that she lied to law enforcement prior to being rescued because she feared her children would be taken from her (Dugard, 2011). Elizabeth Smart and Aaron Fisher state that they believed their family would be harmed by the offender or the offender's friends and supporters. As a result, Smart did not attempt to escape, while Fisher began carrying a weapon after coming forward about the victimization (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012; Smart, 2013).

### **Criminal Justice System**

For the purposes of this study, the concept of the criminal justice system was analyzed within three categories; law enforcement, courts and trial, and corrections. Law enforcement includes keywords such as law, police, and officers. Keywords used to describe law enforcement officials, such as helped, heroes, and protecting were also coded under law enforcement. The court and trial category includes keywords depicting the criminal proceedings. These keywords include attorney, court, jury, and testimony. The final category, corrections, includes keywords such as agents, parole, and prison.

Book 1 portrays the criminal justice system differently from the other books within the sample. The offender, Phillip Garrido, was on parole for a previous abduction and rape for the duration of the victim’s captivity. As a result, Jaycee Dugard depicts the criminal justice system differently than the other victims because she had regular contact with government officials throughout her victimization. Table 22 displays the keywords used by Dugard to portray the criminal justice system.

Table 22: Depictions of the Criminal Justice System in *A Stolen Life*

	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Law enforcement</b>				
Law	3	0	1	4
Officer, Officers	10	9	22	41
Police	2	2	6	10
Protected	3	1	1	5
<b>Courts and Trial</b>				
Attorney	0	1	1	2
Authorities	1	0	0	1
Jury	1	0	1	2
Lawyer	3	0	11	14
Testify	0	0	1	1
<b>Corrections</b>				
Agent, Agents	4	3	4	11
Parole	8	1	25	34
Prison	1	0	4	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>130</b>

Dugard predominantly portrays law enforcement in a neutral context. The victim most often describes interactions with law enforcement officials during and after victimization. However, Dugard uses the keywords officer and officers in a positive context on nine occasions. The victim portrays two police officers, whom she refers to as Officer Beth and Officer Todd, in a predominantly positive context. Dugard explains that these officers helped her both professionally and personally after she was rescued. The officers assisted the victim in finding

homes for the pets she obtained during captivity, as well as providing necessities such as toiletries after she was rescued (Dugard, 2011).

The victim also most commonly portrays the criminal proceedings in a neutral context. Again, Dugard predominantly refers to interactions she had with court officials after victimization. The most commonly used word to depict the courts and trial is the keyword lawyer. The victim explains that the offender often stated he wanted to seek advice from a lawyer to “get parole off his back” (Dugard, 2011). Dugard also explains that she felt pressured by her lawyer to interact with the media, portraying the lawyer in a negative context.

The day before the shoot, I had second thoughts and decided I did not want to do the photo shoot or give a photo. I was scared. I talked to my lawyer, and he said I could not back out now, that my name would be mud in the media's eyes, and I needed to do the photo shoot. He said that everything would be fine. I said I have not signed a contract, and he said one was being drawn up and I'd have it soon. (Dugard, 2011, p. 252)

Dugard explained that after being convinced to participate in the photo shoot by her lawyer, she realized that she did not have to participate. The victim does not go into great detail regarding the offenders' trials and criminal proceedings.

The victim also portrays corrections in a predominantly neutral context. Dugard explains that the offender was on parole for the entire time she was held in captivity. She also states that parole agents visited the offender's home on multiple occasions and even spoke to her and her children (Dugard, 2011). Although the victim most commonly portrays the keyword parole in a neutral context, she exhibits negative feelings towards the parole agents.

It wasn't even that well hidden. I was in the middle of a neighborhood. There were neighbors all around; the only thing that was camouflaged was the gate leading to the

second backyard. I can't understand why Phillip's parole officers didn't know anything about the property and the size of it. It makes me believe no one cared or was even really looking for me. (Dugard, 2011, p. 58)

Dugard portrays that she feels the criminal justice system failed her. The victim explains that the offender's "backyard" where she was held captive could have easily been discovered if the parole officers had looked (Dugard, 2011). Due to the offender's parole agents failing to discover Dugard, she states that it is difficult for her to trust criminal justice practitioners.

In Book 2, Katie Beers depicts the criminal justice system using a total of 85 keywords. Prior to victimization, Beers encountered law enforcement because of the hectic and abusive environment in which she grew up. After she was rescued from Esposito's bunker, she encountered individuals associated with the judicial side of the criminal justice system as opposed to law enforcement. Table 23 shows the keywords used by the victim to depict the criminal justice system.

Table 23: Depictions of the Criminal Justice System in *Buried Memories*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Law enforcement</b>				
Investigators	0	0	1	1
Officer, Officers	3	0	2	5
Police	8	1	12	21
<b>Courts and Trial</b>				
Attorney	1	0	0	1
Court	2	1	2	5
Jury	4	0	0	4
Lawsuit	1	0	1	2
Lawyer, Lawyer	0	0	2	2
Mary	1	8	11	20
Testify, Testimony	3	0	0	3
Trial	1	1	1	3
<b>Corrections</b>				
Jail, Prison	4	1	5	10
Parole	0	0	8	8



<b>Total</b>	28	12	45	85
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Beers most commonly portrays law enforcement in a neutral context, and only refers to this section of the criminal justice system in a positive context on 1 occasion. The victim uses the keyword police in a positive context when describing the moment during her captivity when she believed she would be rescued.

Big John had chained my neck to the wall before he last left, pointless, I thought, because I wasn't going anywhere. But I snuck out and suddenly, I saw the cops walking up the driveway on the closed-circuit monitor. Finally, police! As soon as I saw the cops on the monitor, I just started screaming-this time truly at the top of my lungs. Maybe the dungeon was not soundproof. (Beers, 2013, p. 54)

Although the victim portrays seeing the police in a positive context, the situation ended negatively. The underground bunker in which the victim was held was soundproof, resulting in law enforcement officials being unable to hear her cries for help.

The victim portrays the courts and trial section of the criminal justice system more often than the other categories. Beers portrays this aspect of the criminal justice system in a predominantly neutral context. However, she uses the keyword jury in an overall negative context.

It was the hardest thing I ever had to do. I was ushered into a big room with a lot of chairs. The grand jury room was empty except for me, Mary, Mr. Catterson, and a few other people I didn't know. Mr. Catterson asked me questions about what Sal had done to me. This was something we practiced a lot to make sure that I was comfortable answering Mr. Catterson's questions. (Beers, 2013, p. 156)

Beers explains that speaking about the abuse she endured as a child was difficult because she had to relive negative memories. As a result, the victim portrays her experience with the jury in a negative context (Beers, 2013).

Portraying the correctional side of the criminal justice system in a predominantly neutral context, the victim explains how the offenders were punished. The victim expresses fear and concern that her godfather, Sal, would not be punished criminally and would continue to harm her.

If those eyes could talk, they were saying to me alone, "If I don't go to jail, you're finished." The searing stares unnerved me. As many times as I was promised Sal would go to jail, I wondered if somehow he would find a way to avoid it and come find me at my foster parents' home in East Hampton. Suffolk prosecutors, in my many visits to their offices, served me bowls of mint chocolate chip ice cream, and assurances that Sal would never do this to anybody else. I would walk from office to office in the DA's Riverhead headquarters, greeting everyone. (Beers, 2013, p. 157)

The victim also explains that John Esposito was sentenced to prison and is eligible for parole every two years (Beers, 2013). She explains that she and her adoptive family fight against the offender being released. Beers also explains that Sal died while incarcerated, which made her happy and relieved.

Michelle Knight also had prior experience with the criminal justice system before she was abducted. The victim explains that she had various interactions with the court system because she was attempting to regain custody of her son. The court system also played a role in her abduction. The offender offered to give the victim a ride to her court hearing, and instead

held her captive in his home for 11 years. Table 24 displays the keywords used by the victim to depict the criminal justice system.

Table 24: Depictions of the Criminal Justice System in *Finding Me*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Law enforcement</b>				
Helped	0	1	1	2
Heroes	0	1	0	1
Officer, Officers	1	1	1	3
Police	5	5	16	26
<b>Courts and Trial</b>				
Court, Courtroom	3	3	3	9
Judge	1	1	0	2
Lawyer, Lawyers	0	4	15	19
Testify	0	0	1	1
<b>Corrections</b>				
Jail, Prison	0	2	1	3
Parole	0	2	0	2
<b>Total</b>	10	20	38	68

Michelle Knight also portrays law enforcement in a predominantly neutral context. The victim most often describes the actions of law enforcement in various situations in her life. However, the victim references law enforcement in a positive context on eight occasions.

He and another neighbor, a Spanish guy named Angel Cadero, kicked out the bottom of the storm door. That must have been the pounding Gina and I heard when we thought someone was trying to rob us. Both Charles and Angel as well as the police and rescue people, the doctors and nurses, and everyone else who helped us out that day will always be my heroes. Here's what else I heard on the news: after Amanda crawled out of the bottom of the front door, she held onto Jocelyn real tight and ran across the street to a neighbor's house. From there she called 911. Just about every news station in Cleveland was replaying the 911 call. (Knight, 2014, p. 228-229)

The victim portrays law enforcement officials in a positive context when describing the day she was rescued. Although the victim predominantly portrays law enforcement in a neutral context, she exhibits very positive feelings towards this branch of the criminal justice system, particularly police officers.

The most commonly used word to describe the judicial section of the criminal justice system is the keyword lawyer or lawyers. The victim also uses keywords such as court and judge to depict the courts and trial. The victim refers to a judge she encountered while attempting to regain custody of her son in a negative context. She explains that the judge scolded her for arriving late to court, even though she had walked for three hours to get there (Knight, 2014). However, Knight refers to the judge she encountered during the criminal trial of the offender in a positive context. The victim explains that the judge gave the offender the worst sentence he could receive, resulting in justice being served.

He [Castro] even had the nerve to say that the sex we had was "consensual" and that there was "harmony" in the house. After it was over I felt like justice was done. The judge gave him the worst sentence he could get: life in prison with no chance for parole, plus a thousand years. About a month after he was sentenced, the woman who ran my assisted living facility came into my room to talk with me. "Did you watch the news today?" she asked me. (Knight, 2014, p. 235)

The victim portrays that she felt the offender received an appropriate sentence. Knight also exhibits positive feelings towards her lawyer, Peggy, although she mainly portrays her in a neutral context. The victim describes her lawyer as a "friend" and even states that she has taken trips with her (Knight, 2014).

Knight (2014) most commonly portrays the correctional system in a positive context. The victim uses four of the five keywords used to describe the correction system in a positive context and never refers to corrections in a negative context. The victim explains that the offender was sentenced to life in prison and was denied the possibility for parole.

But on July 26 he pled guilty to 937 crimes, including rape, assault, and murder. That sounds more like it, I thought. As part of that deal he would get life in prison without the chance for parole -and his disgusting house would be destroyed. Some of what he said in court made me furious. He talked about his porn addiction and how he was abused when he was a kid. (Knight, 2014, p. 231)

The victim portrays the corrections system in a positive context. Knight was satisfied with the outcome of the criminal trial and felt the offender received adequate punishment. However, the victim was upset when the offender took his own life in prison and therefore was only punished for a few months.

Elizabeth Smart focuses on the courts and trial more than the other two sections of the criminal justice system. The victim had multiple encounters with law enforcement during her victimization and references the judicial system after her rescue. Table 25 displays the keywords used by Smart to portray the criminal justice system.

Table 25: Depictions of the Criminal Justice System in *My Story*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Law enforcement</b>				
Helped	0	1	1	2
Investigate, Investigation, Investigators	2	0	5	7
Law	1	1	3	5
Officer, Officers	18	4	32	54
Police	13	5	26	44
<b>Courts and Trial</b>				
Attorneys	1	0	4	5
Court, Courtroom	0	0	8	8

Judge, Judges	0	0	3	3
Jurists, Jury	0	2	2	4
Lawyers	1	0	0	1
Testified	0	0	1	1
Trial	4	1	6	11
<b>Corrections</b>				
Guard	0	0	1	1
Jail, Prison	4	4	3	11
<b>Total</b>	44	18	95	157

Smart predominantly portrays law enforcement in a neutral context. The keywords officer and officers are most commonly used to identify law enforcement. The victim had contact with law enforcement officers multiple times during her victimization, but was not recognized and rescued because her face was hidden under a veil (Smart, 2013). Smart portrays law enforcement in a positive context on 11 occasions.

Of all of the things that could have happened! My dad looked at me sheepishly and tried to smile. It seemed to take forever to get to the police headquarters, but we finally made it and I was escorted to another private room. My mom was waiting for me. Seeing her, I almost felt like I couldn't breathe. (Smart, 2013, p. 280)

The victim portrays law enforcement in a positive context when she believes she is being rescued and when she is actually rescued. Smart never uses the keywords investigate, investigation, or investigators in a positive context.

Smart also portrays the courts and trial in a predominantly neutral context. The victim most commonly uses the keywords trial and court or courtroom to depict the judicial system. Smart only refers to the courts and trial in a positive context on 3 occasions. She most often describes what occurred during the trial, as opposed to her feelings or perceptions of the judicial system.

The victim equally depicts the correctional system as negative, positive, and neutral. Smart uses four keywords for each context and most commonly uses the keywords jail or prison to depict the correctional system. All positive portrayals of corrections involved the keywords jail or prison.

This chapter in my life would be closed forever. I would go on with my life. Mitchell would go back to jail. I would be happy while he'd be . . . what? I didn't care. The trial was long. (Smart, 2013, p. 294)

The victim exhibits positive feelings towards the offender's incarceration. Smart portrays that she is satisfied with the sentence the offender received and that she is now able to live a happy and productive life.

Book 5 also includes depictions of the criminal justice system. Fisher predominantly focuses on the courts and criminal proceedings and explains that he would like to study criminal justice in college. Table 26 shows the keywords used by the victim to portray the criminal justice system.

Table 26: Depictions of the Criminal Justice System in *Silent No More*

	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
<b>Law enforcement</b>				
Agents	0	1	0	1
Helped	0	0	1	1
Investigation, Investigative	1	2	2	5
Law	0	2	1	3
Police	3	0	3	6
Protecting	0	1	0	1
<b>Courts and Trial</b>				
Attorney	3	1	1	5
Courtroom	5	1	1	7
Judge	1	0	2	3
Juries, Jurors, Jury	13	0	8	21
Lawsuit	1	0	0	1

Lawyers	1	0	2	3
Mike	24	14	20	58
Testified, Testify, Testifying, Testimony	10	0	3	13
Trial	8	2	6	16
<b>Corrections</b>				
Jail, Prison	2	0	0	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>146</b>

Fisher portrays law enforcement in a neutral context on seven occasions and in a positive context on six occasions. Although the victim most often portrays law enforcement in a neutral context, he exhibits very positive views of law enforcement officials. The victim expresses such positive views of the law enforcement aspect of the criminal justice system that he wants to study criminal justice in college and become a state trooper (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012).

I don't like being radared [*sic*] myself, and that makes me laugh, but I want to be that guy with the radar gun in my car. I like what those guys do. I like that they enforce the law but they're really protecting people. I want to protect people and make sure that things are right and done right. Since all those interviews with the state troopers, as tough as those sessions were, and everything else that's happened and what I've gone through, now I feel that way more than ever. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 105)

Fisher only depicts law enforcement in a negative context on four occasions. Overall, the victim depicts law enforcement as a positive and necessary part of society. However, Fisher portrays the courts and trial in a predominantly negative context. The victim describes the criminal proceedings as stressful and overwhelming. He explains that it was difficult to explain his story multiple times in front of a courtroom full of strangers (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012).

I couldn't stop crying when I was reading, and when it was finally over and I walked out of that courtroom, I literally cried on my mom's' shoulder. It was like I was that little kid again who wanted someone to know what was happening and save me, but this time I



could tell the truth. Other than what happened to me with Jerry, those three grand juries were the worst experiences of my life. Each time, I could barely get through them and wasn't sure that I would. It was no surprise that after the third one, the nightmares started picking up speed again, but this time I was also sleepwalking. (Fisher, Gillum, and Daniels, 2012, p. 154-155)

The victim also portrays his therapist, Mike Gillum, in a predominantly negative context. Due to the fact that the victim always uses the keyword Mike when referring to his therapist, only his first name was coded. However, these negative word usages most often depict a difficult or stressful situation in which Mike is present, such as testifying in court. Although the keyword Mike is most often used in a negative context, Fisher describes positive feelings towards his therapist. The victim explains that Mike believed him from the beginning and helped him through every step of the judicial process (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). The victim continued to attend therapy with Mike after the criminal proceedings ended and states that he wants to travel with him to educate parents and teachers about the dangers of sex offenders. The victim uses two keywords, jail and prison, to portray the correctional system. Fisher uses both words negatively, explaining that he feared that even if the offender were incarcerated, “someone” would hurt him or his family (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). The victim explains that even though he knows the offender is in prison, he is still on “high alert” and has to search his car before getting inside (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). Although the victim portrays the correctional system in a negative context, he portrays that he fears retaliation for putting the offender in prison. The victim does not appear to exhibit negative feelings towards the correctional system.

### **Overview of the Criminal Justice System Within the Sample**

Similar to third party media depictions of crime, all five victims focus little attention on the correctional system. All victims referenced the offender's criminal proceedings and sentencing at least once. Two victims, Jaycee Dugard and Elizabeth Smart, explained that law enforcement officials were manipulated by the offender at least once during their victimization. Dugard explains that the offender was treated leniently by government officials, despite his previous criminal record. The victim explained that law enforcement could have easily found her if they had looked, explaining that the "secret" backyard was not well hidden (Dugard, 2011). Fisher also states that government officials, particularly the general district attorney's office, treated Sandusky leniently due to his social status (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). The victim also explains that school officials and community members did not believe him and treated the offender differently based on his social status. Overall, the criminal justice system received the least amount of attention across the sample.

## **Conclusion**

Several similarities exist between the victims, the offenders, and how the crimes were committed. Three of the victims came from single-parent households in which the biological father was absent. Four victims came from low socioeconomic backgrounds and only one victim was male. Three of the four victims of abduction were taken during the daytime and three victims were victimized by adults they knew and trusted. All of the immediate offenders were white males. Two offenders relied heavily on religious teachings to commit the crimes and both of these offenders had willing female accomplices. All of the offenders exhibited either physical or emotional control over the victims and all offenders targeted victims that they believed were minors. The victims portray and explain various elements of the crime that are not always depicted by third party media outlets. These first person accounts offer valuable perspectives and

details that may aid in detecting warning signs in the future. Chapter 5 describes the conclusions that can be drawn from the analyses of these texts, the implications of this content analysis, and implications for future research and responses to victims of sexual abuse. These are important in demonstrating why these first person perspectives are important and how they can benefit the criminal justice system and society as a whole.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusion**

Little research has been conducted on crime books and how victims of crime portray their experiences. This exploratory analysis examined how victims of sexual crimes portray the crime, the offender, themselves as the victim, their family, and the criminal justice system in nonfiction books. The results of this study found that victims portray their experiences in a predominantly negative context. Although this study broadens the current knowledge about the experiences of sexual abuse victims, future research should be conducted to determine whether victims of different crimes depict their experiences in similar ways.

### **Empirical Findings**

The current study sought to answer the exploratory question: how do victims of sexual crimes portray their experiences in nonfiction books? A content analysis was performed to determine whether sexual abuse victims portray their experiences in a negative, positive, or neutral context. The results of the study indicated that overall the victims portrayed their experiences in a negative context. The study examined how victims portrayed the crime, the offenders, themselves and others as victims, their family, and the criminal justice system. The findings indicated that three of the five concepts were most often portrayed in a negative context. Four of the five victims portrayed the crime and victim concepts in a predominantly negative context. Three of the five victims predominantly portrayed the offender in a negative context. The family and criminal justice system were most often depicted in a neutral context. No victims portrayed any of the concepts in a predominantly positive context. Although certain keywords were most often used in a positive context, the overall depictions of the five concepts were either negative or neutral.

Findings from the study indicate that although the crimes were predominantly sexual in nature, four of the five victims focused on the general physical aspects of the crime. The male victim, Aaron Fisher, was the only victim who made more references to the sexual aspects of the crime as opposed to physical violence. The victims used very few descriptive keywords to describe the sexual elements of the crime. For example, the victims used keywords such as “slapped,” “kicked,” and “beat” to describe the type of physical abuse they endured. However, the victims also used these keywords to explain how the offender abused them.. For example, statements similar to “he kicked me in the stomach,” “he slapped me in the head,” and “he beat me until I bruised” were used to describe the type of abuse, as well as the part of the body that was assaulted. However, when portraying the sexual aspects of the crime, the victims are not as descriptive. Katie Beers and Michelle Knight use the keywords “butt” and “breasts” to describe the body parts that were sexually violated by the offender (Beers, 2012; Knight, 2013). However keywords depicting sexual body parts, such as “butt,” “vagina” or “vaginal,” and “breasts” or “boobs” are only used by each victim fewer than five times. The victims use the keywords “rape,” “molest,” and “touch” to describe the sexual aspects of the crime. None of the victims explain the sexual elements of the crime in great detail.

The victims also made few references to the criminal justice system. Overall, the criminal justice system was the least described concept in three of the five books. Four of the five victims portray the criminal justice system in a predominantly neutral context, while one victim describes the system in a negative context. Most often, the victims are describing the events that occurred during the criminal proceedings or what actors of the criminal justice system did and said. Aaron Fisher (2012) describes the criminal justice system in a predominantly negative context. The victim explains that the criminal proceedings were an extremely long and stressful

process for him. As a result, the victim portrays the criminal justice system most often in a negative context.

The results of this study indicate that victims of sexual crimes have an overall negative perception of their experiences. Although the victims portray elements of their experiences in a positive context, the majority of their books describe painful and negative experiences. For example, Dugard (2011) explains that although the abuse she endured was a terrible experience, two positive things came out of it: her two daughters. Fisher (2012) explains that although testifying in court and the pain he suffered at the hands of Jerry Sandusky were difficult, he may have prevented others from being victimized in the future by speaking out. Four of the five victims explain that they have used their experiences to make a positive impact on society by becoming victim advocates and raising awareness. All of the victims portray the importance of public intervention and awareness, as well as proactive criminal justice policies.

The results of this study are beneficial for law enforcement, victim advocacy programs, and the general public. Details provided by the victims explain how they view the criminal justice system and its role in their rescue and recovery. As a result, criminal justice officials may be able to use this information to improve training and resources in areas that the victims suggest may need improvement. For example, Dugard (2011) claims that if Phillip Garrido had received stricter punishment and supervision while on parole, she may not have been kidnapped or may have been rescued sooner. Similarly, victim advocacy programs and the general public may be able to improve victim resources to offer a more supportive environment for victims and their families.

The current study aimed to determine how victims of sexual crimes portray their experiences in nonfiction books. Due to the exploratory nature of the study, distinct hypotheses

were not tested. However, these findings pose important topics of discussion for future research. The study found that four of the five victims within the sample were female. Although the sample is small, it is consistent with past research that found that women are more likely to be sexually victimized than men, with 15-20% of college women experiencing rape or attempted rape within their lifetime (Gidycz, McNamara, & Edwards, 2006). The four female victims focused more on the physical aspects of the crime as opposed to the sexual aspects. The only male victim, Aaron Fisher, explains that he was only physically abused by the offender on one occasion when he refused to cooperate with the offender's sexual acts (Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012). However, Fisher (2012) also uses more descriptive words, such as oral and molested, to describe the type of sexual abuse he endured. The female victims most often use the terms sex and rape to describe their experiences. This may be a result of socialization, where females are socialized to explain sexual acts in a nongraphic way. Future research could be conducted to determine whether female victims of sexual crimes experience more physical violence than male victims of similar crimes. Future research could also be conducted to determine whether gender socialization impacts how victims portray their experiences.

The current study also found that four of the five victims came from a low socioeconomic background. Three of the five victims came from families in which the biological father is absent. Future research could be conducted to determine whether individuals from low socioeconomic backgrounds or single parent households are more likely to be sexually victimized. Although the study did not test a hypothesis, the findings revealed valuable information that can be used for future research and the development of criminal justice policy.

### **Theoretical Implications**

Based on the findings of this study, further research should be conducted to determine whether victims of different crimes portray their experiences in similar ways. This study only examined victims of crimes that were predominantly sexual in nature. As a result, little is known about how victims of physically based crimes, such as domestic violence, physical child abuse, and physical assault portray their experiences. Surette (2011) states that third party media outlets depict elements of crime using five frames. These frames blame society, the criminal justice system, racism, and violent media. The victims in the current study explain that had law enforcement been more proactive or if average citizens had reacted to “suspicious” activity, they may have been rescued sooner (Dugard, 2011; Fisher, Gillum, & Daniels, 2012; Knight, 2013; Smart, 2013). The victims portray that although actors of the criminal justice system and the general public could have intervened sooner, the “blame” lies with the offender; not society or the justice system. Future research could be conducted to determine whether victims of different types of crime portray their experiences similarly to sexual abuse victims to third party media outlets by using one of Surette’s (2011) five frames.

Future research could also be conducted to determine whether victims of “sensational” crimes depict their experiences differently than victims of “average” crimes. The victims in the current study all experienced “sensational” crimes, meaning that their stories received local, national, and in some cases, international media coverage. Research indicates that victims often do not receive media attention unless they are celebrities or the crime is especially heinous (Chermak, 1998; Gilchrist, 2010; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Surette, 2011). As a result, victims who did not receive media attention may portray their experiences differently from victims who received large amounts of media coverage.

### **Policy Implications**



Victims' portrayals of their experiences are important to criminal justice policy. Although the victims in the current study most often portrayed the criminal justice system in a neutral context, certain victims express negative feelings towards the justice system. Jaycee Dugard (2011) explains that she encountered the offender's parole officer on numerous occasions. The victim also portrays that she felt the justice system "failed" her and that despite the offender's criminal history and status as a registered sex offender, he was often treated with leniency (Dugard, 2011). These portrayals are relevant to criminal justice policy because it demonstrates a flaw in the current system. This demonstrates that although registered sex offenders are monitored, current policies and practices are not strict enough to prevent crime. According to the victim, Phillip Garrido was able to keep Dugard (2011) hostage for 18 years while on parole. The victim explains that if the offender's parole officer had examined the offender's property more closely, the "secret backyard" may have been discovered sooner. Based on the results of the current study, criminal justice policies for registered sex offenders may need to be altered to prevent similar situations from happening in the future.

The findings also indicate that criminal justice agencies may need to increase public knowledge about how to report suspicious behaviors and situations. Criminal justice agencies could make the public aware of non-emergency numbers to report suspicious activity that is not necessarily dangerous. The public could also be made aware of services such as AMBER Alert that notify the public of missing children. For example, Michelle Knight (2013) explained that she was seen by the offender's neighbors on more than one occasion. The victim explains that the offender let her sit on the porch wearing a wig and weather-inappropriate clothing. Knight (2013) states that the offender's neighbor observed this and that she does not understand why the individual did not think the situation was suspicious and report it. Elizabeth Smart (2013) also

explains that the offender made her wear a wig and strange clothing while out in public. The victim states that individuals would often ask why she was wearing a grey wig or that she received strange looks from people on the street. Despite the fact that the public appeared to think the situation was suspicious, few people intervened or reported the situation. If the general public were encouraged to report suspicious activity and were better informed on the proper way to report such instances, crimes similar to those in the current study may be prevented in the future.

### **Limitations**

Although the current study provided results that could be beneficial to the criminal justice system and the general public, the findings are limited. One limitation of the current study is the sample size. Due to the fact that the current study only examined five books, future research would need to be conducted to determine how more sexual abuse victims portray their experiences. Another limitation is that the current study only examines depictions of sexual crimes. The study does not include crimes that are predominantly physical, emotional, or psychological in nature, such as domestic violence or child abuse. As a result, the findings of the current study are not generalizable to all crime victims. The third limitation of the study is that the findings are not generalizable to victims in other countries. The current study only examines crimes that occurred in the United States. Crime victims in other countries may portray their experiences differently from American victims. The criminal justice system in other countries may also operate differently, meaning that certain depictions of crime in the sample may be legal in other regions. Victims in other countries may also describe the criminal justice system differently based on varying social perspectives on crime that influence reactions to victims, crime, and offenders.

## **Conclusion**

The current study aimed to determine how victims of sexual crimes portrayed their experiences. The researcher used text-driven content analysis to answer the exploratory research question and found that the victims in the sample exhibit an overall negative depiction of their experiences. Although certain elements and keywords were portrayed in a positive or neutral context, three of the five concepts were mainly portrayed as negative. Although the current study is not generalizable to all crime victims or victims in other countries, the results indicate that victim depictions of crime provide an “inside look” at crime. The victims provide details that may have otherwise been overlooked by the criminal justice system and the media. It is important to consider that victim portrayals of crime may aid criminal justice actors in establishing better policies to prohibit future crimes. Victim depictions of crime may also educate the general public on how to better protect themselves, as well as how to recognize and report a potentially dangerous situation, which could prevent future emotional homicides.

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