

# Ladies of Langdon: The Safety & Perception of Gendered Spaces

Geography 565 Final Paper

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## **Abstract**

A popular downtown residential neighborhood in Madison, WI, Langdon Street is home to many of the University of Wisconsin's fraternity and sorority houses. This article examines how women's experiences on Langdon Street, an inherently gendered space, influence their behavior and perceptions of safety. The authors examined through a lens of feminist geography how Langdon St. is experienced differently among sorority women. The authors critically examined Langdon St. and women's experiences through landscape observations, interviews, and both qualitative and quantitative survey data. The results show there is an overwhelming sense of community among the Greek residents that does not always extend to non-Greek members of the neighborhood. Interviews and surveys also highlighted a consensus among female Langdon residents that there is a need for improvements made to the neighborhood to enhance a sense of security. The gender divide is developed through differing social expectations of fraternity men and sorority women, and by normally accepted gender constructs within the Greek system. The women of Langdon St. are victims to a society that normalizes fear and encourages women to take extra precautions when in urban settings rather than placing emphasis on violence reduction. Although the sense of community helps to alleviate these fears, in the case of the Greek system, separation from the rest of the neighborhood causes sorority women to label non-Greeks as outsiders they should be fearful of.

**Keywords:** *gendered space, Greek life, feminist geography, Langdon Street, sororities*

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## **Introduction**

The University of Wisconsin's flagship campus located in Madison, Wisconsin, enjoys a student culture unique to Madison but with an insularity typical of most college campuses. Situated in the middle of a beautiful isthmus and featuring highbrow academics and a strong, prideful history of student spirit and activism, UW-Madison easily functions as its own comfortable bubble.

However, the university and its sprawling campus facilities and associated student neighborhoods are also a significant component of Madison as a city. UW-Madison is the city's largest employer, and the student and staff population totals nearly 65,000 of Madison's 230,000 people (University of Wisconsin, 2012, Wikipedia, 2013). The convergence of many groups of people on the downtown isthmus makes for a rich and varied social geography of Madison. We find ourselves particularly interested in the social geography of Langdon Street, one of the most visible areas of student life downtown. As the residential area housing the university's fraternities and sororities, Langdon Street is a thoroughly gendered space. A central component of campus life, Langdon has a not undeserved reputation as a lively party location, particularly on weekends. Though a minority of UW-Madison students are members of Greek life, sororities and fraternities are a prominent part of student culture, occupying a central section of campus. How do the experiences of women on Langdon Street, an intrinsically gendered space, affect behavior and perceptions of safety, and how does the built environment of Langdon contribute to users' perceptions and behavior? We're interested in using a lens of feminist geography to examine how Langdon Street is experienced differently among women living in sororities.

## **Langdon Street: A Brief History and Present Day**

Before 1850, what is now Langdon Street was part of a forested ridge of land Madisonians determined not useable for houses because of its distance from downtown, and the

harsh climate created by the winds off Lake Mendota in an era before widespread use of central heating (Cartwright 1986: 1). In 1851 Levi Vilas and J. T. Marston, two of Madison's wealthiest men, built the first mansion homes on opposite corners of Langdon Street and North Henry Street, sparking the movement of other wealthy families to the area. This resulted in Langdon Street as one of the most prestigious neighborhoods to own a home in by the end of the century (Cartwright 1986: 2). The University of Wisconsin, located west of Langdon Street, played an important part in the growth of the area in the early 1900s (Cartwright 1986: 2). By 1900, the student population had reached 3,000, and because the University only offered one residence hall, students found housing in nearby residential areas such as Langdon Street (Cartwright 1986: 2). This influx of new residents requiring more affordable housing changed the course of construction on the street; instead of single-family mansions, the market called for apartments and rooming houses (Cartwright 1986: 3).

During the 1920s, Greek activity reached its peak in popularity at the university, and Langdon became the site for sorority and fraternity houses. This radically shaped the culture of the neighborhood (Cartwright 1986: 3). The different Greek organizations competed for the title of best group on campus, and with the help of wealthy alumni, increased their status by building elaborate houses to host chapter business and social events. This made "Greek Row" a lively and hectic area for student socializing (Cartwright 1986: 3). The Great Depression and World War II interrupted Greek life, and many chapters lost houses to creditors or members to the war (Cartwright 1986: 4). However, the 1950s brought a revival to fraternities and sororities in Madison.

**Table 1: Greek House and Address**

<b>House</b>	<b>Address</b>
1. Alpha Chi Omega (Sorority)	152 Langdon Street
2. Alpha Epsilon Phi (Sorority)	240 W. Lakelawn Place
3. Alpha Phi (Sorority)	28 Langdon Street
4. Chi Omega (Sorority)	115 Langdon Street
5. Delta Delta Delta (Sorority)	120 Langdon Street
6. Delta Gamma (Sorority)	103 Langdon Street
7. Gamma Phi Beta (Sorority)	270 Langdon Street
8. Kappa Alpha Theta (Sorority)	108 Langdon Street
9. Kappa Kappa Gamma (Sorority)	601 N. Henry Street
10. Pi Beta Phi (Sorority)	130 Langdon Street
1. Acacia (Fraternity)	201 W. Lakelawn Place
2. Alpha Delta Phi (Fraternity)	640 N. Henry Street
4. Alpha Gamma Rho (Fraternity)	233 W. Lakelawn Place
5. Beta Theta Pi (Fraternity)	622 Mendota Court
6. Chi Phi (Fraternity)	200 Langdon Street
7. Chi Psi (Fraternity)	150 Iota Court
8. Delta Tau Delta (Fraternity)	12 Langdon Street
9. Delta Upsilon (Fraternity)	644 N. Frances Street
10. Kappa Sigma (Fraternity)	124 Langdon Street
11. Phi Gamma Delta (Fraternity)	16 Langdon Street
12. Pi Kappa Alpha (Fraternity)	104 Langdon Street
13. Sigma Alpha Epsilon (Fraternity)	627 N. Lake Street
14. Sigma Chi (Fraternity)	221 Langdon Street
15. Sigma Phi Epsilon (Fraternity)	237 Langdon Street

16. Sigma Pi (Fraternity)	626 N. Henry Street
17. Tau Kappa Epsilon (Fraternity)	216 Langdon Street
18. Theta Chi (Fraternity)	210 Langdon Street

(maps.google.com)

### **Defining Feminist Geography**

Feminist geography is the intersection of feminist theory, values, and methods with the study of geographical spaces and the earth as a human environment. It originated as response to traditional geography's patriarchal perspective and insistence that gender is not a relevant central theme to geography (Rose 1993: 2-3). It seeks to both critique traditional geography and explain the geography of women, often drawing on Marxist feminism to discuss such topics as spatial separation, constraints, and access, ideological divisions of labor, welfare, reproductive politics, and place-based fear and perception. Feminist geography has also continually focused on researching in a way that acknowledges the multiple subjectivities of humans and avoids the oppression or exploitation of any group of people (Clifford, French, & Valentine 2012: 5).

### **Feminist Geography in Context**

When practicing feminist geography and following feminist principles, there is a set of universal concerns used as a tool to best represent research in a broader context. In order to understand the differences in individually lived experiences, terms must be specifically defined to make arguments transparent. In addition, it is impossible to claim transcendent objectivity in feminist research, as feminist geographers recognize that all knowledge is obtained through the knowers of particular subject positions and social context. It is not recommended to claim research methods as distinctively feminist either, but to draw importance to and highlight appropriate research questions and data so that the strength of a particular method can make up

for the weakness of another (Kwan 2002a: 649). And finally, a note about inclusiveness: though researchers must realize that assumptions about people are of scientific relevance (Hägerstrand 1970: 7), we must acknowledge the frequent shortcomings of traditional feminism and its tendencies of exclusion. Though feminism has been an important rallying cry for many women and “allowed for an acknowledgement that there are a range of genders, ethnicities, ages, sexualities, abilities, etc., there is a danger that the power relations between and within categories become ignored” (Scruton & Watson 1998: 126).

## **Gendered Spaces**

A central term in our research is “gendered space”. Gendered space is a concept ascribed to differential access and spatial organization based on gender. Gendered spatial patterns subtly inform and arrange our schools, workplaces, homes, and shopping centers. Feminist geographer Daphne Spain argues that conceptually, gendered space is also anthropological, psychological, aesthetic, and sociological (Spain 1993, 147) in its pervasiveness; gendered space “examines the cultural underpinnings of various spatial arrangements; it identifies the dwelling as a key spatial institution in which socialization reproduces gendered behavior; it emphasizes institutions as sustainers of gender-based status differences” (Spain 1993, 147).

Early feminist geographer Marilyn Frye recounts one woman’s story of gendered space. Upon examination of the small apartment shared with her husband, the woman realized her anger, authority, and emotions were most credible in the kitchen space. Particularly her anger - she was allowed to be angry in the kitchen, somewhat so in the living room, but not at all in the bedroom (Frye in Rose 1993: 142). This may seem an archaic example, especially among young college women today who have grown up with an unprecedented emphasis on delaying marriage and seeking self - rather than a husband’s - empowerment, but it’s a vivid depiction of what gendered

space meant for most women a generation ago, and many other women still today. With space as “the silent language and hidden dimension” in shaping human behavior (Hall in Spain 1993: 139), gendered division of it remains pervasive. Young children experience gender segregation in school from a young age (Thorne in Spain 1993: 139), for example, and women are often limited to jobs physically located near their home or place of childcare (Hanson in Spain 1993: 139-140).

Spain argues gendered space can be geographical or architectural. An Inuit woman who stays near the dwelling while the man fishes at sea is geographical gender segregation; a woman secretary working in an open reception area while the man works behind closed doors is architectural segregation (Spain 1993: 140). Even architectural styles of buildings have gender coding. Architectural traits described as masculine are large, solid, linear, and vertical -- the phallic suggestions of the Washington Monument, for example -- while slender, delicate, and/or curved buildings, such as the Sydney Opera House, are construed as feminine (Jencks in Bondi 1992: 159).

Regardless of whether gendered space is geographical or architectural, it can have dangerous implications; gendered space has historically served for the perpetuation of patriarchal institutions. The very idea of unchecked economic growth has only been possible because of the capitalist spatial arrangements of women tucked away in the suburbs and men in the workplace. Ultimately, spatial segregation effectively reduces women’s access to socially valued knowledge, as resources are not evenly distributed between masculine and feminine spaces (Spain 1992: 140).

Intersecting with gendered space is the idea of spatial behavior: human behavioral interaction with environmental surroundings. As a term, human spatial behavior can describe



travel and wayfinding, migration and residential mobility, decision making and behavior, as well as spatial cognition and environmental perception (Kwan 2000: 86). Acknowledging human spatial behavior allows us to consider the dynamic and highly situational context of human actions (Kwan 2000: 86).

### **Socially Constructed Gender Binaries**

A significant proportion of feminist literature seeks to dispel perpetuated - and often insidious - socially constructed gender binaries. Below we discuss two such paradigms relevant to feminist geographical thought:

#### *Nature vs. Culture*

Traditionally, geography as a discipline has “construct[ed] access to knowledge of geography as a white bourgeois heterosexual masculine privilege,” sourced in the original practitioner demographics of white European men (Rose 1993: 109). With landscape reading’s position of centrality to the subject, combined with Western art’s traditionally ubiquitous depiction of women as nature, it was nearly inevitable that cultural and geographical thought alike would arrive at the Mother Nature and Father Culture paradigm (Rose 1993: 89). Merely perpetuated by a lack of criticism of the acceptance of Western art as the highest and truest form of human expression, women are continually posited as nature, complementing men at their vanguard of culture (Rose 1993: 110). As the feminist geographer Allison Hayford pointed out about women’s association with the home, the perception of women as synonymous with nature is entirely ideological and lacks any natural or biological basis (Hayford in Rose 1993: 118-119). It’s a dangerous dichotomy, and has traditionally allowed for the exclusion of women from geography. For in landscape reading, equating nature with femininity protects masculine

rationality. If women are not equal purveyors of the landscape - merely the purveyed - then “the pleasure of the masculine gaze at beautiful Nature is tempered by geography’s scientism” (Rose 1993: 88).

#### *Private vs. Public*

Structural and ideological changes to Western society throughout history have influenced the creation of a gendered dichotomy between the public and private spheres. Ideological changes in Great Britain during the 1700s led to an alignment of masculinity with public spaces and femininity with private spaces (Bondi & Domosh 1998: 272). The economic shift away from feudalism led society to adapt new values such as individualism and egalitarianism, which redefined public spaces (Bondi & Domosh 1998: 275). However, this understanding of public space was dependent on who was included in the public, and at the time of the emergence of the modern bourgeoisie, women were excluded (Bondi & Domosh 1998: 277). Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century New York City saw similar ideological and economic systems enforce constructed boundaries for women. Within the city, different activities and areas were deemed more appropriate for a person based on their gender. Women stayed near retail areas, churches, and museums, a part of the city deemed the “Ladies Mile”, while men often spent their leisure time at restaurants, bars, casinos, and clubs where they could meet women of “dubious character” (Bondi & Domosh 1998: 279). Therefore, the public spaces of the city were clearly gendered, and prescribed what was considered appropriate female behavior; women found in the wrong place were at risk of jeopardizing their middle class, feminine identity (Bondi & Domosh 1998: 279). During this time period, there was a shift to feminize consumer culture, and many stores began targeting women as their main customers. This created a new dichotomy that aligned the masculine with the producer and the feminine with the consumer (see Fig. 1), which further reinforced ideas of

keeping women in the domestic realm and away from the working realm (Bondi & Domosh 1998: 280). Although women were able to utilize public areas, it was in a very limited and socially constructed way. Bondi and Domosh argue that “this ability to access the public did not happen by diminishing the ideological differences between men and women or between the private and public, but instead it simply shifted the boundaries (spatial and ideological) of those differences” (1998: 281). These historically constructed separations are still a part of Western modern day cities. Fenster argues women who experience gender controlled power relations at home are unable to fulfill their right to the public, and that private power struggles affect women’s sense of freedom of movement and use of public spaces (2005: 222). Because their role in the private sphere limits their role in the public sphere, many women lack a sense of belonging to their city, and therefore are less likely to use it (Fenster 2005: 222). Women experience urban spaces as qualitatively different from the space of their homes, and are constrained by their gender to access public spaces at certain times of day, but do not question their right to move freely about their own cities (Bondi & Domosh 1998: 283).

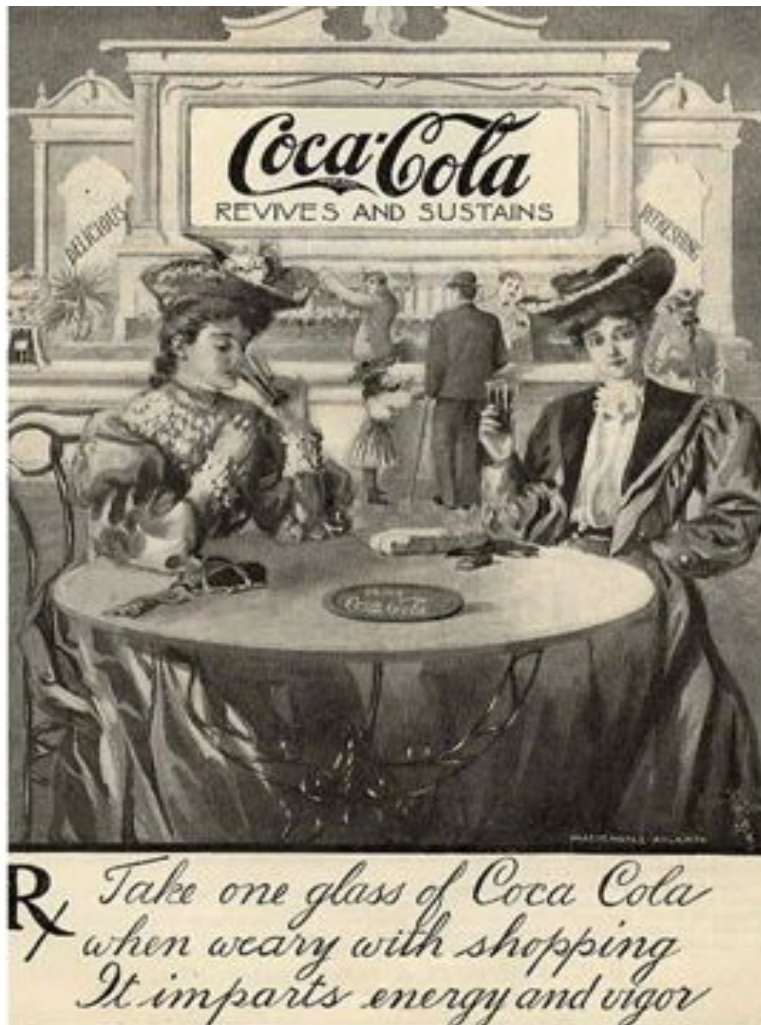


Figure 1. Early 1900s Coca Cola ad depicting women as consumers and men as producers. Via Google Images.

### **Women in the City**

Due to socially constructed ideas about space, women are excluded from public areas (Koskela 1999: 111). Parental warnings, discussions among female friends, the media, and normalized expectations of femininity construct fear of urban space (Koskela 1997: 312).

Koskela argues these factors are a constant reminder that it is normal to be afraid, that is not normal to have courage to walk wherever you want, and that women are meant to be afraid (1997: 312). Fear, especially fear of violence, restricts women's access to and activity within urban space (Koskela 1999: 111). Results of an American crime survey revealed 61 percent of

women in the twenty-five largest cities reported feeling “very unsafe” or “somewhat unsafe” when alone at night in their own neighborhoods, and showed that women are more afraid in large open deserted areas, such as public parks, or closed spaces with limited exits, such as alleyways (Koskela 1999: 114). Fenster argues that city planners do not pay enough attention to gender sensitivities and design spaces that go unused by females because they create feelings of anxiety among women (2005: 224.)

Exclusion by fear reveals gendered power dynamics and brings up issues of inequality for women in cities. In order to be able to move freely throughout urban spaces, many women feel the need to make ‘sensible decisions’; however, this idea of sensibility shows that women’s presence in many urban spaces is tolerated only within certain limits, which vary temporally (Bondi & Metha, 75). Public space can be considered a territory where men hold greater rights than women, and a territory from which women are often excluded by harassment and fear of male violence (Koskela 1999: 112). Fear creates a ‘curfew’ that is only imposed on women, and makes the night a time that is more accessible to men (Koskela 1999: 112). Women’s fear of male violence cannot be viewed as a reflection of gendered power structures within a society because that would imply women in places with a relatively high degree of gendered equality should feel confident using public space (Koskela 1997: 302). However, as the survey results previously mentioned from America show, there is not a connection between gender equality within a society and feelings of security in public spaces. Although public spaces tend to be viewed as genderless landscapes for individuals and citizens, female fear in these places reflect larger issues of harassment and discrimination against women, and therefore limit female rights as citizens (Gardner 1998: 54). Experienced violence, the threat of violence, sexual harassment, and other events that increase a woman’s vulnerability reinforce masculine dominance over

space (Koskela 1999: 121). Spatial relations, including restricted access to public space and limited mobility because of fear of violence, should be used as a test for equality within a society and a parameter for empowerment (Koskela 1997: 303).

All people in public spaces practice a healthy suspicion of strangers, but it is more widespread and habitual for women to fear the people around them (Gardner 1998: 45). Many women adapt strategies or alter their behavior in order to alleviate fears of their surroundings. When women use strategies to keep themselves safe, it can be seen as a way to gain control over the treatment of their bodies and to render potentially hostile spaces at least marginally more predictable (Bondi & Mehta 1999: 75). One widely used strategy that includes a spatial component is when women will avoid certain spaces or change routes if they feel threatened by the area. By avoiding certain routes and places, women construct safe and dangerous places within the city, and add to the divide between masculine and feminine spaces (Koskela 1999: 112). Although this strategy helps alleviate apprehension, it reinforces gender inequality within the city. Many women also feel they put themselves at risk when they walk around a city alone at night, and either walk with people they know, or make it seem like they know the people around them (Bondi & Mehta 1999: 74). Women may also alter wardrobe choices, adjust clothing, or wear objects that shield them, such as sunglasses, to ward off unwanted attention (Gardner 1998: 49).

### **Data Collection and Methodology**

In our review of gendered space and feminist geography literature, two clear areas of interest for our research on Langdon Street emerged: the perceived safety of Langdon among women residents, and how Langdon's gender segregation and built environment has shaped the social experience of the street's residents.

We combined a handful of qualitative research methods in our data collection: landscape reading, surveying, and interviews. Our research design is largely *intensive* rather than *extensive*; though we were able to obtain a relatively sizeable sample population for surveying (or at least  $n$  is greater than 30), the nature of our research question asks how, what, and why using specific experiences and qualitative data from a small sample population, rather than attempting to generalize trends to a larger population (Clifford, French, & Valentine 2012: 11). Landscape reading consisted of several trips up and down Langdon Street for visual observations of primarily the built environment. We profiled and photographed each fraternity and sorority house, noting the presence of fences and hedges, distance of doors from the street, yard space, evidence of socializing, and any other relevant observations. Our landscape reading occurred primarily during the weekday when there was less activity happening on the street. Additionally, we walked from the end of Langdon Street near the libraries and Memorial Union to the east end of the street at night, counting streetlights and recording the number of students who were walking with headphones in. These observations supplemented our survey and interview questions about Langdon Street's built environment.

Surveying consisted of 21 questions distributed online to the UW sorority presidents serving on the Panhellenic Council, who in turn sent the survey link to their sisters. Web-based questionnaire surveying was chosen for the inexpensive administrative costs and convenience for both us as researchers and the research participants. Internet surveying, however, did result in some loss of control on our part; for example, we could not be certain that all respondents were actually sorority members at UW (Clifford, French, & Valentine 2012: 84). For further research limitations, see page 32.

62 women completed the survey. We collected information on the respondent's year in school, chapter affiliation, primary reason for joining Greek life, their perceived safety of Langdon Street, when and where they feel most and least safe on Langdon, a specific example of when they've felt unsafe (if applicable), if they've ever altered their behavioral patterns for safety, if they've ever been the victim of crime, and the factors that influence their sense of security. The question formats were a mix of single or multi-choice selection, Likert scale, and open response.

For the interview component of our research, we discussed with three different women their understanding and experience of Landon Street as a gendered space. Our three interviewees were acquaintances, and all were happy to talk with us upon being asked. The interviews were conducted in State Street coffee shops, and took 30-45 minutes each. After getting a sense of how much time the women spent on Langdon and their initial thoughts on safety, we expounded on the survey questions, and had a more general discussion with interviewees about their experiences on Greek life and on Langdon Street.



## The Built Landscape



Map 1. Author: Brooke Harding Data Source: OpenStreetMap Projection: NAD 1983  
This map emphasizes spatial relationships between sororities and fraternities and serves as reference to the observations made throughout our research.

Our landscape observations revealed the built environment contributes to socializing, issues of access, privacy, and safety throughout the neighborhood. Visible spaces for socializing is not a common trend among the houses; only three sorority houses have large spaces conducive to socializing outside of the house. Alpha Chi Omega (1) and Kappa Alpha Theta (8) both have outdoor decks. At Kappa Alpha Theta, lounge chairs and tables are clearly visible. These pieces seem to create an environment of relaxation and luxury, and locations along Lake Mendota give

members exclusive lake views from the decks. The Alpha Phi house (3) has an extensive backyard that extends down to the lake with a yard decorated with tiki torches and party lights along the fence. The yard also includes a patio with a grill, tables, and chairs. Although it is not visible from the street, in her interview Jamie shared that Pi Beta Phi (10) has a private dock behind their house the women enjoy using in the warmer months. By making some of these spaces visible from the street, they contribute to a social hierarchy within the neighborhood; the members of these houses have access to some of the most coveted areas in Madison, while non-Greek members do not. Prominent institutions in the city such as the Memorial Union Terrace and the Governor's Mansion have the same lake view as sorority houses, elevating the sorority houses to a level of privilege and prestige that non-Greek students do not enjoy. Though the iron fence around Alpha Phi physically prevents outsiders from accessing the property, it does little to obstruct an outsider's view of the luxuries they are not privy to. This aspect of the built environment thus functions as a constant reminder of the perks sorority members are given by being in the Greek system.

Fencing around the sorority houses also enhances the privacy for the members. Along with Alpha Phi, Kappa Kappa Gamma (9) and Gamma Phi Beta (7) are both completely surrounded by fencing. Gamma Phi Beta is also slightly raised off the ground by a brick foundation, which increases the height of the fence and creates a greater distance between the house and street level. The most common privacy pattern among the houses is the positioning of the front door. Only Alpha Chi Omega (1), Delta Delta Delta (5) and Pi Beta Phi (10) have doors positioned directly in the center of the house. Delta Delta Delta's bright red door stands out against the white house, and Pi Beta Phi's door is lined by window panels that allow people to easily see into the foyer. Both doors decrease the level of privacy associated with the houses. The

remaining seven houses are designed so the front door is either off to the side, or obstructed by awnings and archways. Chi Omega's (4) door is only visible from certain angles on the street. A plaque on the side of the house indicates the front stoop and door were part of a recent addition, so this privacy strategy is new to the house. At Delta Gamma (6), the door is almost hidden by the alcove formed by the awnings, creating a quasi-indoor space. However, an interesting contrast to the obscured door is the large anchor statue in the front lawn. The anchor is the chapter's symbol, so while they take some precautions to maintain privacy, this house clearly wants to show the neighborhood who they are and that they are proud of their identity.

The built environment both adds and detracts to the overall safety of the neighborhood. Three of the houses, Pi Beta Phi (10), Kappa Alpha Theta (8), and Alpha Epsilon Phi (2) are located on side streets, off the main part of Langdon. Only people who have prior knowledge of these houses would be able to easily find them in the Langdon neighborhood. However, there are downsides to living in a more isolated house. The most densely populated section of sororities falls directly along Langdon Street, between N. Henry Street and N. Carroll Street, and is also one of the better lit parts of the street because of the extra light coming from the houses. This part of the street also experiences more foot traffic because of the number of people living in the area. While making observations, we saw a noticeable difference between street lighting, number of people walking, and overall use of the street once we crossed N. Carroll Street and arrived at Alpha Phi (3). For women living on Langdon, an area that frequently becomes crowded with rowdy and intoxicated college students, privacy and safety are connected. Although a desire for privacy can be viewed as a way for sororities to remove themselves from their neighbors, it can also help create a sense of security for the women who live in this urban setting. This desire for

safety can create conflicts for women in urban neighborhoods, as some safety strategies are isolating from the community and be viewed as an intentional distancing from neighbors.

### **Langdon Community: Internal Greek life**

Right away, Jamie was quick to tell us how much she cared about her experience as a sorority sister in Delta Delta Delta. “I love everything about living on Langdon,” she says. “It will be hard to leave it next semester.” This echoes similar sentiments gathered in our survey responses (Fig. 2).



Figure 2. Word cloud displaying the most common words survey respondents used when discussing their inspiration for rushing: the most appealing aspects of Greek life include community, people, and sisterhood.

In discussing what attracted them to Greek life and their inspiration for joining, the women gave a wide variety of responses. They cite philanthropy, networking, leadership opportunities, and academic support. The overwhelming response, however, is community. “The

sense of community and meeting new people. Plus lifelong friendship!” writes one woman, while another simply says, “The idea of having 150 fantastic people by my side.” In response to the survey question *What aspect of Greek life was most appealing to you?* 55 out of 58 responses mention community, social bonds, and/or friendship. However, this desire for community seems to be limited to mostly building a community inside one’s own sorority as opposed to the Greek system as a whole. Currently, three sorority houses are fully surrounded by tall fences; two houses use smaller fences and/or hedges to obscure the view of the front door; and five houses have nothing obstructing access to the entrance. 51% of survey participants feel the overall landscape plan of their house promotes an equal balance of privacy and socializing, and 35% of respondents feel their house mostly creates a private environment. One woman writes, “I would like fences on either side of our house, especially to prevent people from walking down to (Lake) Mendota on our property.” She was not the only respondent who would like to see more fencing to prevent trespassing and increase security around houses.

This emphasis on privacy seems contradictory to fostering a sense of community with the greater Greek system. Natalie and Sophie speak of how Greek neighbor relations do not feel the same as they would in a more typical family neighborhood. They both agree that there are not frequent interactions between houses other than planned festivities, and these events are mostly socials between fraternities and sororities. According to Natalie, sororities are allowed to host socials with each other but it does not happen often. Sophie said that when these events happen, they occur outside of the houses; usually groups rent a venue to host an event rather than having it in their home.

Jamie, however, has a different understanding of the Greek community, telling us how “community is emphasized above everything else, despite differences.” Jamie has friends in

many different chapters, and she often stops by other houses to pick up friends to walk with on their way to class. Jamie firmly believes the Greek system promotes friendship and unity on campus, especially throughout the sororities. A common mantra heard in Jamie's house is 'Individually unique, but whole complete', which she believes can be applied to the whole Greek community. It's worth noting that Jamie has been a member of Greek life for longer than either Sophie or Natalie, and has thus had more time to foster a sense of inter-chapter community.

### **Langdon Community: Greek and non-Greek residents**

Though Langdon Street is known among UW students as the unofficial home to the university's sororities and fraternities, there are several non-Greek houses and apartment buildings occupied by students on Langdon. Many chapter members relocate to other apartments on Langdon Street after their allotted time in the chapter house, but the street's non-Greek student population does compose a sizeable minority. All three women interviewed agree there is a bond among Langdon Street residents that transcends Greek membership, one not typically found in other off-campus neighborhoods. Jamie explains how it feels more like a general community rather than just Greek life: "The Langdon community is closer than other neighborhoods with off campus housing. You always see people that you know or recognize."

She also cannot really distinguish between Greek and non-Greek students on Langdon. "Often I will be walking home from the library and talk to someone else on Langdon and not really know if they are Greek or not," she says. Natalie, however, feels there is an assumption from most of the student body that Langdon is synonymous with sororities and fraternities, explaining, "When you say you live on Langdon Street, people definitely assume you're in the Greek system."

Sophie believes students outside of the Greek community are attracted to Langdon because they like to go hang out with the Greek scene, explaining “Greek life influences the type of social scene on Langdon.” She thinks that Langdon is different from other student neighborhoods because it is livelier, and there is always something going on at a house. Natalie agrees with this, noting how the street often feels “electric,” especially on game days.

### **Neighborhood Aesthetics**

Natalie is particularly drawn to Langdon because it feels more like a traditional neighborhood than other parts of the city, explaining that the beautiful houses are different from the “small junky houses” found in other student housing. Sophie, a new member living off Langdon this year, agrees, and says that though her chapter house is a long way from her apartment, she doesn't mind the walk much because the houses are so pretty. Upon hearing of plans to replace some of the old houses on Langdon Street with apartment complexes, Natalie and her sisters tried to speak to the city in protest. “The Greek houses won’t get taken down anytime soon, but our chapter didn’t want [any new construction] because we felt that took away from the feel of Langdon,” she explains.



Figure 3. Sorority houses on Langdon Street.

Jamie doesn't mind how the regulatory environment that prohibits alcohol in the sorority house because it helps keep the old houses in good shape. The sorority houses are historical and beautiful, and Jamie feels it's important to preserve their historic character - something the fraternity houses that host parties have not been as successful at. "The Kappa Sigma house is nice on the outside, but the inside is gross," she says.

### **Safety**

Relative to other areas of campus, Langdon Street evokes mixed responses about safety. 49% of survey respondents feel the same level of safety on Langdon compared to other parts of campus, 44% feel less safe on Langdon, and 7% feel safer on Langdon. However, when asked to consider feelings of safety solely on Langdon, 90% of surveyed women expressed that at least some point, they have felt afraid. There are varying levels of security the women feel on Langdon Street, influenced by both cultural and physical aspects of the street (Fig. 4). Research previously done on women in urban spaces identified street lighting, police presence, the number of people out, and accepted social norms that can alter a person's behavior such as alcohol consumption as important factors that can impact how women experience their environment (see page 14).



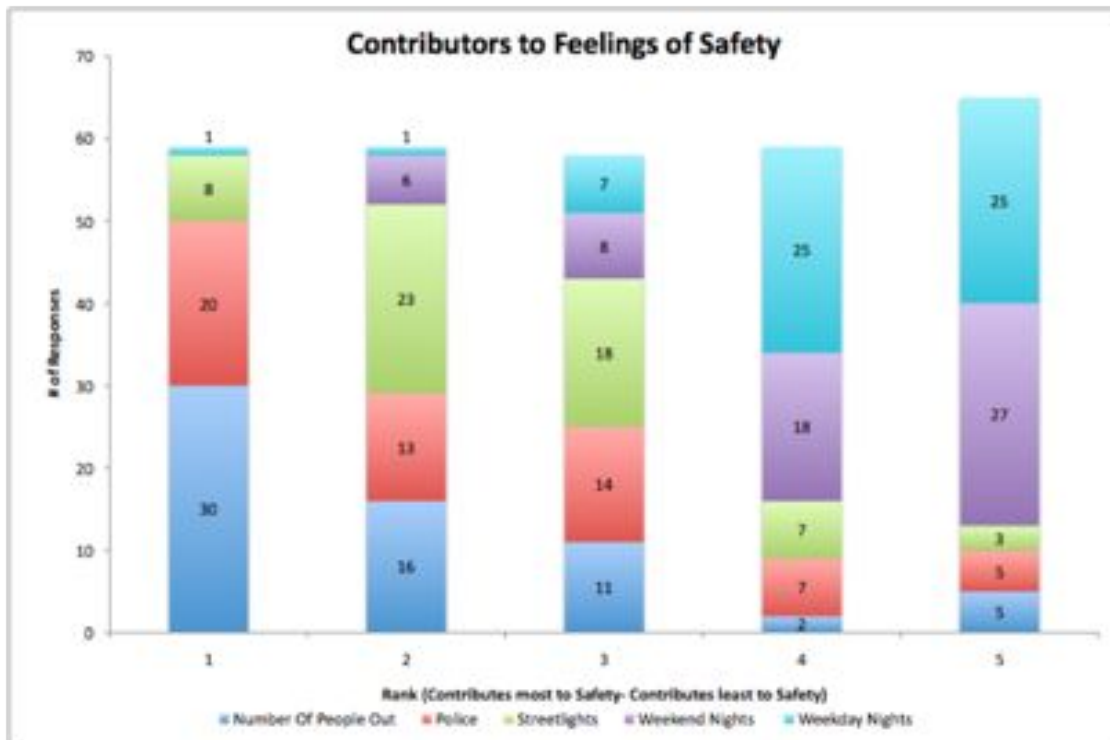


Figure 4. Survey participants rank the aspects of Langdon Street that contribute most to safety. Women reported feeling most safe when there are multiple people out on weekend nights. Adequate street lighting is ranked as the second greatest contributor to feelings of security.

### *People on the Street*

Survey results revealed that women who are regularly on Langdon are strongly influenced by the number of people who are out on the street with them. Natalie explains how weekend nights are when she feels safest because lots of people are out. She feels most unsafe after 11:30pm on weeknights coming home from the library or a friend's house when the street seems emptier. Natalie's feelings are echoed by survey participants who, when asked to describes times when they felt unsafe on Langdon Street, responded with: "Dark and late with not many people out", "Leaving the library after dark when the streets start to empty... It feels safer on weekends because groups of people are always around", and "As I walk farther down Langdon (away from State Street) because it is not as crowded there". 67% of surveyed women agreed with the statement that they feel safer on some parts of Langdon than others. When asked

to elaborate on the specific areas that women felt safer, the most commonly mentioned places were areas that are almost always being utilized by other people such as near Memorial Union, Lake Street, and State Street. These areas are also relatively well-lit.

However, the rankings reveal an interesting contradiction. Weekend nights, when there are more people out on Langdon, was most commonly ranked as the 4th or 5th contributing factor to safety. This could point to some of the cultural aspects of a college town on a weekend night. Langdon is one of the most popular destinations for students to go to parties where alcohol consumption occurs. This could create a sense of unease for people on Langdon Street because of the increased risk to safety that can occur with drinking. Sophie, who does not live on the street but walks it regularly, says she does not feel unsafe on Langdon specifically, but she is always conscious of her surroundings, particularly when drinking. She acknowledges there is occasionally greater potential for risk on Langdon because of the drinking culture, and because there are “a lot of guys.”



Map 2. Author: Brooke Harding Data Source: OpenStreetMap Projection: NAD 1983  
Shows the approximate location of streetlights throughout the Langdon neighborhood.

41 streetlights on Langdon Street, and 33 on Langdon's side streets with Greek houses, were counted during observational walks and drives through the neighborhood. The other main source of light on the street comes from the houses themselves. Many of the houses observed at night had all their lights on, and it was noticeably darker towards the end of the Langdon with fewer Greek houses. Streetlights was the second highest ranked factor that contributes to feelings of safety, but there is a general consensus of opinion in our data that Langdon is inadequately lit.

When asked to respond to the statement, “There is adequate lighting on Langdon Street”, 43% strongly disagreed (Fig. 5).

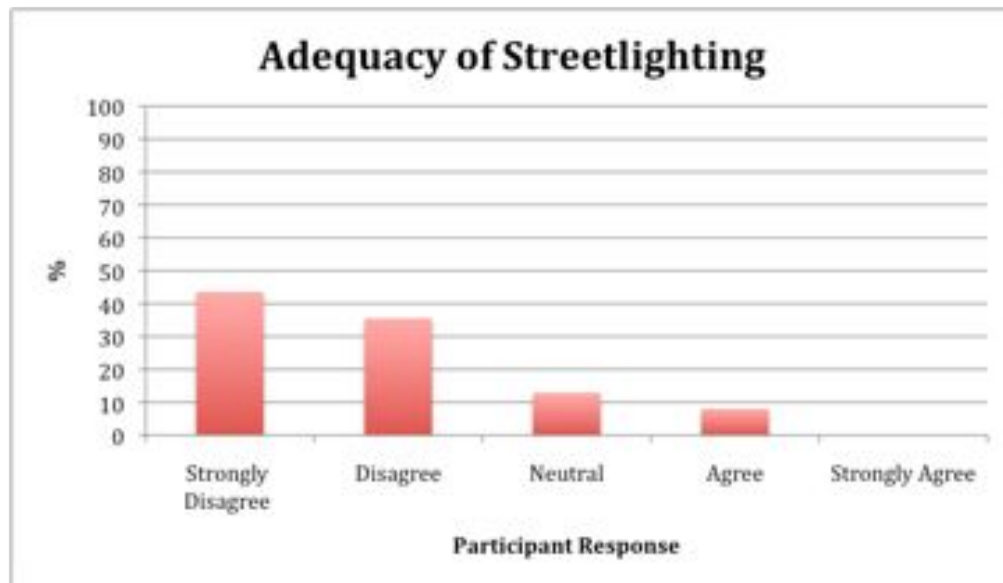


Figure 5. Women throughout UW’s Greek system share a common belief there is not enough lighting on Langdon Street.

Many women who were surveyed associated good lighting with safer areas on Langdon. One participant wrote, “I feel most safe near the Sig Chi/Sig Ep houses (200 block) where there are bright lights on the front porch. More visibility equals more awareness of one’s surroundings, which equals less chance of anything out of the ordinary happening.” Other respondents also addressed the ability to be able to see all of their surroundings. One participant said, “I feel safe at the corner of Carroll and Langdon, it is very open and lit.” Another woman feels that well-lit sidewalk corners are safe areas because one can see in multiple directions. These results suggest that women are not inherently afraid of the dark, but lose a sense of security when they are not fully able to observe their surrounding environment. It’s this feeling of a lack of control that

causes Natalie to simply say, “Yeah I feel unsafe on Langdon.” She elaborates. Lots of houses are close together so the alleys seem really dark. You’re not really sure what’s in there.”

### *Police*

55% of women who responded to the question, “What could the University do to improve your life on Langdon Street?” mentioned some form of increased police presence in the neighborhood. Sophie suggests assigning police officers to do rounds on Langdon Street, but she fears many people would not like this because of negative connotations associated with police and college parties. Many fraternities hire private security at parties to ensure things do not get out of control, and Sophie feels this does add to the police presence on the street. One woman is of the belief that although Langdon is technically off-campus, the UW police should patrol the area because of the high student population. Along with more physical police officers in the area, women would like the addition of blue-safety light buttons that would automatically dial the police when pushed. In reference to these buttons, one woman wrote, “they would help make the street feel safer and give students another option for help in case they were alone and their phone died.”

### *Experienced Danger*

8% of surveyed women have witnessed a crime on Langdon Street. One respondent describes an upsetting recollection of seeing a man dragging an unconscious woman by her feet down the street. Jamie was quick to recount several incidents that have happened recently to her sorority. Most chilling was her account of two years ago, at around 3am on the Friday before finals week when many people were out late studying. One of Jamie’s sisters woke up to a middle-aged man standing in her room in the sorority house. He was looking for someone named Kathleen, but there was no one named Kathleen in the sorority. She screamed, and the man ran

out. When the police arrived, they searched the house but did not find the man. The security system revealed two doors had been opened within 30 seconds of each other, which could not have been possible for just one person. After this incident, the house installed a more advanced \$5,000 security system with surveillance cameras.

Jamie also told a more recent story of her sisters' experience walking back to the house and finding an older man outside exposing himself. He said he was only peeing, and it made the women feel uncomfortable, but not necessarily unsafe. Jamie suspects he was squatting in the empty building at 126 Langdon Street, which is right in front of the Pi Beta Phi house, and "is really creepy." It has apparently become a place for homeless people to take shelter in.

Additionally, this fall has had some campus members even more on edge after a highly publicized incident on September 18, when the Langdon area was on lockdown. A shot was fired at the end of the street closest to campus, and the suspect was at large for several hours. The campus community received several 'Wiscalert' e-mail updates on the situation. Jamie remembers it well: "That was also on my property. I heard it happen --- it was between us and Kappa Sigma, right next to my car! It had nothing to do with us. But we were the ones who called the police, so they used our address in all the campus reports."

Students were alerted to the incident well before the sun had set, which has made Jamie overall much more cautious since. "Before that, I felt more unsafe at night, but that happened at 5 or 6pm, before it was dark," she said. Now, she makes a point to always stay alert and walk with a friend when possible. Her house also promotes staying alert and not walking alone, and requires the girls to do a mandatory self-defense class every year. Jamie has friends who carry pepper spray, but she has never heard of anyone actually needing to use it. Despite her several

stories of safety spooks, she has also never heard a woman on Langdon having to use violence to fight off an attacker.

### *Strategies to Increase Safety*

Other researchers have identified different strategies that women use to increase their sense of security in urban spaces, and survey results show the women who use Langdon Street are consciously making decisions that they feel help them stay safe (Fig. 6).

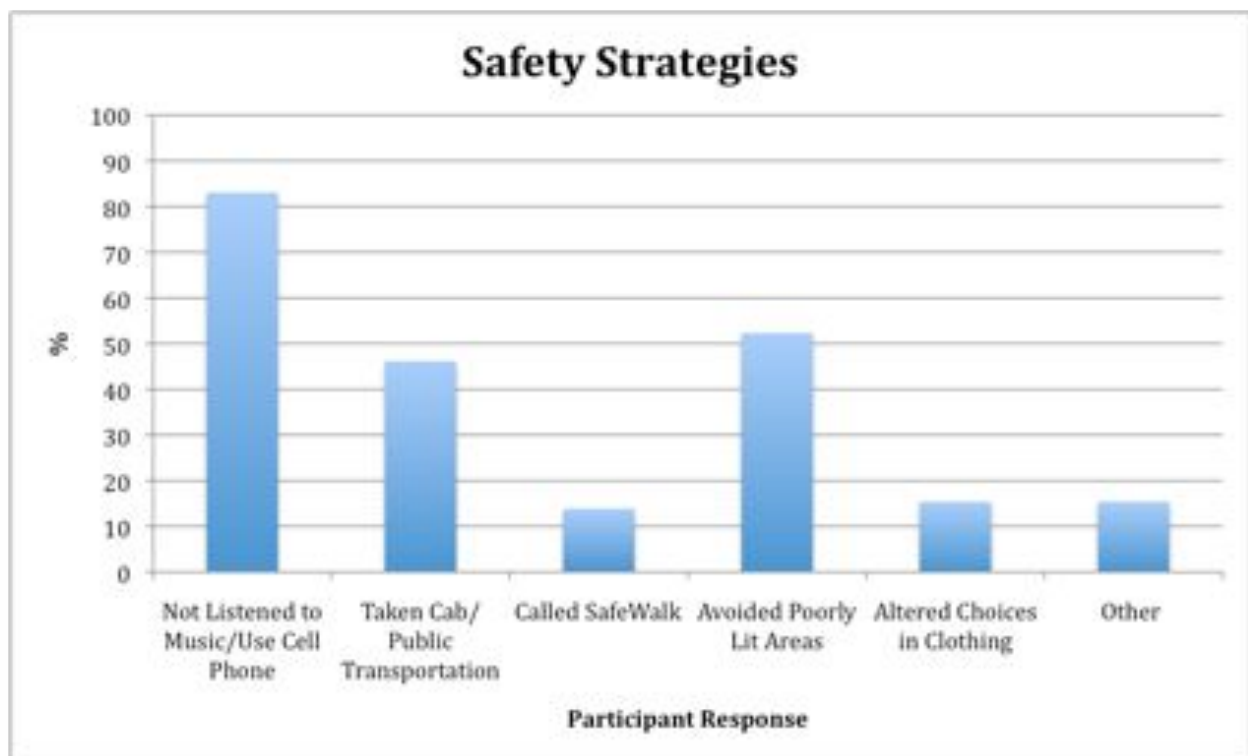


Figure 6. Common safety strategies utilized by women on Langdon Street.

By taking certain precautions, women are able to alleviate a sense of vulnerability in urban areas. The most commonly adopted strategy is not listening to music or talking on a cell phone to remain vigilant and avoid distractions. More than 50% of women surveyed actively

avoid poorly lit areas, which relates to previously discussed feelings of insecurity caused by darkness and the inability to fully see one's surroundings. Although 46% of women said they have used cabs or other methods of public transportation, the survey did reveal many people are unsatisfied with their public transportation options and would like to see more consistent bus routes running later into the night on Langdon Street. Safewalk, a program offered by the University that provides students with two people to accompany them as they walk from one part of campus to another, is the least utilized strategy. Generally, the Safewalk program does not seem to be taken very seriously by UW students. "Safewalk is such an ordeal and it closes way early," one survey respondent said. Other women agreed, explaining how the program does not run past 1am, and most students feel they do not need to take precautions that early in the night. With a laugh, Jamie was quick to assert she would never consider calling Safewalk. Finally, 15% of women say they have altered their clothing choices in preparation of or while walking on Langdon Street. This is further reason to believe that UW women are somewhat limited in how they are able to experience the street (see page 11).

Madison's Greek system is taking action to promote safety for its members. The Panhellenic Council has recently established a new system that allows Greeks to access a Google Doc that connects people who are in College Library at the same time to coordinate walking home together at night. Jamie says her sorority and most of the Greek community have actively been pushing this program to increase safety for all Greeks who live on Langdon. Additionally, Jamie's house requires all members to participate in an annual self-defense class.



## Influence of Gender

When surveyed women were asked to respond to the statement, *I am more conscious than usual of my gender as a woman when I am on Langdon Street*, 85% had a stronger response than neutral. This is consistent with the ideas and sentiments expressed by Jamie, Sophie, and Natalie when discussing Langdon as a place with a perceptible gender divide. (Fig. 7).

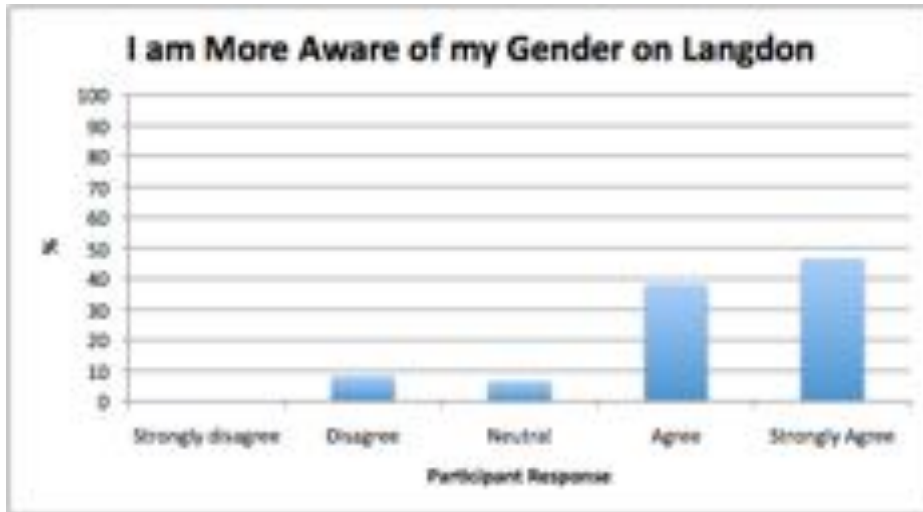


Figure 7. Women become more self aware when they use Langdon Street.



Map 3. Author: Brooke Harding Data Source: OpenStreetMap Projection: NAD 1983  
Displays the ratio of men in fraternities to women in sororities in the Langdon neighborhood.

Jamie feels that despite the nearly 2:1 ratio of fraternities to sorority chapters on Langdon, there doesn't seem to be an unequal number of men and women on the street. "Some sororities are very large, and some fraternities are very small. The largest fraternity is not even close to the smallest sorority," she explains. The social experience, however, definitely depends on the user's gender. Sophie notices there is a gender divide, and feels stereotypes of how "frat guys" are supposed to act contribute to the divide, explaining how she perceives there are "a lot of douchey guys who think they are cool because they are in a frat. Some guys treat and talk to girls differently because they are in a frat house."

Jamie sees the gender divide as more functional. For men, Langdon Street is a distinct place to party and have fun because of their expected duties to host social events and pre-gaming. For women living in sororities, Langdon may be seen as more of an “overall lifestyle,” particularly since alcohol is prohibited in the sorority houses. This is reinforced by the architecture of the sorority houses; so few have visible areas for socializing that it makes it more practical for fraternity houses to host parties. Natalie notes how though it’s the men who facilitate the party scene by hosting, it’s the women who often have greater agency and influence, socially. “Speaking as girl, you can go to any of the frat parties on the weekend,” she says. “But as a guy, they can’t really get into a lot of the frats. And a lot of girls not in sororities will come to parties [on Langdon], because they can.”

### **Larger Discussions**

Our final survey item was an open-ended question: *What can the University do to improve your life on Langdon Street?* 52 of the 62 total respondents offered suggestions and requests. The overwhelming majority of responses were focused on increasing safety measures, from reasonable requests for more lighting and emergency response buttons to slightly more indulgent requests for University budgets spent on repaving sidewalks or policing drug users: “Repaving some of the sidewalks. Sometimes I feel like I am more likely to break my ankle or fall in a sidewalk crack than I am of being assaulted,” says one woman, while another politely requests, “I would also like persons on drugs walking down the street to be prosecuted.”



members as promiscuous. Indeed, the underlying ideas in this woman's response hint at internalized misogyny; her assertion that she dresses modestly, and thus is not immodest or inappropriate, allows for the ideas that there are more appropriate and less appropriate ways for a woman to dress, that how a woman dresses is indicative of her behavior and vice versa, and that while she personally may not behave or dress 'immodestly', other women who do are inferior. In our research, we did not ask any of our interviewees or survey respondents about this harmful stereotyping, as it was topically peripheral to our research. Moreover, the label of "slut" is ultimately another social construction (see page 9), and until it's no longer leveled at women as a means to shame and control, we didn't wish to further validate its use with superfluous interview provocations.

### **Resource Restraints**

Acknowledging that the Greek community and gendered spaces on campus feature stories beyond the women living on Langdon Street, our limited time and financial resources constrained our research pool. As such, and considering this is research conducted about women's experiences with a feminist perspective, we focused our data collection exclusively on the stories of women. Our planned comparative analysis of public versus private space was also limited by restrained direct access to private spaces on Langdon, and the opinions and experiences of the 62 women surveyed should also not be considered representative of all 1500 sorority members on campus.

Additionally, the distribution of chapters that responded was skewed. Two of the ten chapters on campus had no members participate in the survey, which may have been because of our survey distribution method. After sending the electronic survey link to the Panhellenic Council, we had no control over whether or not the chapter presidents actually forwarded it to

the other members. This removed distribution on our part also resulted in disproportionately high responses from a few chapters compared to other chapters; the majority of survey participants were from only three houses: 34% from Delta Delta Delta, 27% from Delta Gamma, and 22% from Kappa Alpha Theta.

In future research, and assuming unlimited time and financial resources, we'd like to expand our surveying and interviewing to include a more balanced sample from each of the sorority houses, as well as men in each of UW's fraternity chapters. Data collection could be more thorough, such as distributing in-person written surveys to a greater number of Langdon residents or actually visiting each chapter with a brief presentation on our research. This might be followed by a discussion of gendered space and safety and collection of personal testimonies from willing participants. This could also further expand research on the differences in social experiences for men and women Greeks as an opportunity to assess the interior of chapter houses and observe any potential differences between sorority and fraternity residencies. Finally, we'd take into greater account the voices of non-Greek life students and their perceptions and experiences on Langdon Street, particularly the non-Greek minority of the street's residents.

## **Conclusion**

One of the strongest pieces of data we collected shows 85% of surveyed women become more conscious of their gender when they are on Langdon Street. This overwhelming majority speaks to the initial assumption that Langdon Street is an inherently gendered area because women do become more aware of the differences between themselves and men. Because this question made the respondent consider Langdon instead of other parts of campus, it validates the reasoning for choosing Landon Street as the study area over another part of the city. Due to the nature of the Greek system, men and women are intentionally separated into different

organizations, which reinforces this self awareness. The street is lined with houses that people cannot access based on their gender, making it easier for people to notice their limitations within the community. Women may also become more aware of their gender because they are proud to be apart of a women's only organization, and they feel empowered and supported by being in a sisterhood. The factors that contribute to this consciousness are not as important as the actual recognition, because that awareness is at the core of what defines a gendered space.

The most common trend the surveys revealed is the importance of safety to women in the Langdon neighborhood. Women feel safer on weekend nights when there are more people out on the street; however, the irony is that more people are out because of the drinking culture, which in turn, leads to greater uncertainty of how people will act, and an overall riskier environment. Perceptions of safety influences how people respond in situations when they feel unsafe. Our participants identified a variety of strategies that they have used to enhance their overall sense of security. What is most striking about this data is not which strategy is most used, but that 59 out of 62 participants have felt the need to alter their behavior to avoid feeling unsafe. This shows how normalized fear is within the Greek community. Within our society, it is not okay for crimes and violence to be committed, but it is encouraged and normalized for people, especially women, to be afraid that these acts of violence will happen to them. This is a flaw in how our culture handles crime because it is passively dealing with potential victims, instead of actively finding solutions to deter potential perpetrators.

Our landscape observations contributed to the discourse of safety on Langdon Street. Streetlights was the most cited physical aspect of Langdon that women felt enhanced safety. At night, sorority houses remain well lit, which adds to the overall lighting on the street. However, the lighting on Langdon Street is unequally distributed throughout the area, and women would

like to see more lights added along the street. The most concentrated area of sororities provides the best lighting for the women on Langdon Street because of the number of houses that leave their lights on. However, although an individual house may provide enough lighting for its members once they reach a certain proximity to the house, the routes women must take to get to their homes may not be adequately lit. This desire to come home to a well lit, inviting house, may not be as much of a priority for fraternity houses, as not all of those observed had their lights on.

Along with safety, our surveys showed there is a desire for privacy among the women of Langdon Street. When asked if the overall landscape plan of their house promoted privacy or socializing, 51% of respondents felt that their house contributed to both, 35% felt their house mainly created a private environment. 5 out of the 6 women from Pi Beta Phi (10), a house that cannot be seen from the street, answered this question and felt their house plan favored privacy over safety. In contrast, 14 out of 22 women from Delta Delta Delta (5), a house that draws pedestrian attention with its bright red door, believe their house favors both privacy and socializing. Other aspects of the landscape observed contributing to privacy are fencing and obscure door placement. However, no house truly denies outsiders from getting a glimpse into the life of the sorority women. Fences physically restrict people from entering the property, but the spaces between the iron bars allow everyone to see extensive backyards leading down to the lake front. This contrast in access between sorority members and non-Greek students can potentially foster feelings of resentment, because these women have coveted privileges that they are selectively keeping private.

The importance of privacy for sorority women brings up an interesting question of how privacy relates to safety. In urban settings, women may feel the only way they can keep



themselves safe is by living a private life. Some houses are intentionally placed in obscured areas, removing itself from the popular landscape; other houses use physical barriers to clearly show that not all are welcome. Sorority chapters must choose if they want their house to be fully accessible to the community or if they want to remove themselves somewhat in the name of safety. The fact that women have to make choices like this or question their behavior in the name of safety denies them certain aspects of the urban experience. Women do not get to fully access the cities they call home when they sacrifice things for safety. Overall, the dichotomies of the landscape, safety and danger and privacy and socialization, create an ambiguous environment where women must constantly question their surroundings and their actions within those surroundings.

Two significant themes emerged in our collective interview data: safety and community. All three women expressed in their interview a consistent experience of feeling either unsafe or more cautious at certain times or areas on Langdon. Sophie, Jamie, and Natalie all cited common factors perpetuating this, such as a lack of proper lighting, an empty late-night street, and commonly told or witnessed anecdotes of harassment or security violations. However, there is some discrepancy between the women in what they perceive to see as the main ‘threat’ to safety. For example, Jamie’s direct experiences with non-students posing a danger to Langdon residents, such as the man who broke into her sorority house, a squatter exposing himself and urinating, as well as the highly publicized shooting on her property, has formed her perception that the most significant threat to women are outsiders and people with no affiliation with Langdon. Sophie, on the other hand, attributes the need for extra caution and awareness to Langdon’s drinking culture and the fact that “there are a lot of guys.” Each woman’s schema is formed by her prior experience with Greek life on Langdon Street. Having been part of Greek life for more than two

years longer than Sophie, Jamie's deep-rooted sense of Langdon as a community posits all danger as non-students outside of Greek life.

Community was the second significant theme identified in our interviews. As mentioned earlier (see page 20), the sense of community and friendship was the most cited reason the woman had for rushing, and all three were quick to explain how much they appreciated the bonds formed in their sorority. In general, the University of Wisconsin-Madison's student culture has a strong rhetoric centered around community, Badger pride, and ideas of the "Wisconsin Experience". Formal and informal student forums, such as social media, sporting events, or student-produced media, frequently express messages about always helping fellow Badgers and the endurance of the Wisconsin Experience. Indubitably, such a strong sense of community is a healthy and positive thing. However, we speculate that in the case of the Greek community - a small, exclusive fraction of the student body with deeply-rooted traditions, heightened social bonds and conformity - perhaps this sense of community inhibits safety. If students in the Greek system may fear the social consequences of reporting a friend or acquaintance for harassment or assault, it becomes easier to describe the danger as 'outsiders'. Several survey responses reference "sketchy people", "random people", "low-income non-students", "suspicious people", and "a middle-aged drunk guy yelling in the street". Two other incidents described - "some drunk guy wouldn't leave me alone" and a "guy" who tried to grab one respondent and her friend after following them - are more ambiguous in describing the perpetrator as student or non-student, and it is possible the women couldn't tell in the moment. But only one survey respondent explicitly mentions fear of other students, and describes her discomfort between Henry and Lake Street, saying "I don't necessarily trust a lot of fraternity men who have houses in that area."

Feminist geography examines the intersection of race, gender, and class. Our work is nearly entirely focused on gender, but we have tried to be conscious of race and class as well. As researchers, we found ourselves conflicted by both our solidarity as women who have also experienced fear on campus, and by our status as outsiders to Greek life. We note also that the ornate houses and exclusive social networks sorority women enjoy are class and race-based privileges not accessible to most other women on campus. Feminist geographers seek to represent the oppressed, underrepresented, and minorities, and while women across the spectrum are oppressed and underrepresented in many areas, in capitalist modern-day America, class often trumps gender. As a luxury extra-curricular, the Greek system favors upper class students. While we've worked to contribute to the discourse on gendered space and place-based fear - and acknowledge that any fear women have in their cities speaks to an unjust and patriarchal society - we also ruminate on the extent to which a community that's so class-based can be critiqued fairly from a feminist perspective.

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## Appendix 1 – Survey Questions

### Geography 565: Langdon Street Safety

Q1 What is your current standing?

- ☐ Freshman (1)
- ☐ Sophomore (2)
- ☐ Junior (3)
- ☐ Senior (4)
- ☐ Other (5)

Q2 What sorority are you in?

- ☐ Alpha Chi Omega (1)
- ☐ Alpha Epsilon Phi (2)
- ☐ Alpha Phi (3)
- ☐ Chi Omega (4)
- ☐ Delta Delta Delta (5)
- ☐ Delta Gamma (6)
- ☐ Gamma Phi Beta (7)
- ☐ Kappa Alpha Theta (8)
- ☐ Kappa Kappa Gamma (9)
- ☐ Pi Beta Phi (10)
- ☐ Prefer not to say (11)

Q4 How long have you lived on Langdon Street?

- ☐ Less than one semester (1)
- ☐ 1-2 semesters (2)
- ☐ 3-4 semester (3)
- ☐ More than 4 semesters (4)

Q6 Do you live in your sorority's house, or other non-Greek housing on Langdon?

- ☐ Sorority house (1)
- ☐ Other housing on Langdon (2)
- ☐ I do not live on Langdon. (3)

Q7 What aspect of Greek life was most appealing to you?

Q9 What inspired you to rush?

Q10 Please respond to the following statement.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat Disagree (3)	Neutral (4)	Somewhat Agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly Agree (7)
There is adequate street lighting on Langdon. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q11 Do you think the landscape plan at your sorority house - the overall arrangement of hedges, fences, lawn, patio, deck, outdoor furniture, and the positioning of house relative to the street - should favor privacy or public socializing (choose one)?

- ☐ Privacy (1)
- ☐ Socializing (2)
- ☐ Equal amount of both (3)
- ☐ Neither (4)

Q12 What changes, if any, would you like to see to the landscape/built environment of your house?

Q13 Have you ever felt afraid while walking on Langdon Street?

Q14 If so, where on Langdon Street did you feel afraid and why?

Q15 Have you ever witnessed a crime on Langdon Street?

- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

Q16 If yes, what type of crime?

Q17 Do you feel safer in some places of Langdon Street than others?

- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

Q18 If yes, where do you feel safer and why?

Q19 How safe do you feel on Langdon Street relative to other areas of campus?

- ☐ Less safe (1)
- ☐ More safe (2)
- ☐ About the same (3)

Q20 Living in a sorority house makes me feel safer in the neighborhood.

- ☐ True (1)
- ☐ False (2)

Q21 I am more conscious than usual of my gender as a woman when I am on Langdon Street.

- ☐ True (1)
- ☐ False (2)

Q22 Have you ever taken any of the following precautions while walking on Langdon? (Check all that apply.)

- ☐ Not listened to music or used your cell phone (1)
- ☐ Taken a cab/public transportation (2)
- ☐ Called SafeWalk (3)
- ☐ Avoided the dark (4)
- ☐ Altered choices in clothing (5)
- ☐ Other (please describe) (6) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ None of the above (7)

Q23 Please rank the following factors that make you feel safest on Langdon Street at night, from safest to least safe:

- \_\_\_\_\_ Police (1)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Street Lights (2)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Number of People Out (3)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Weekend Nights (Thursday-Saturday) (4)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Weekday Nights (Sunday-Wednesday) (5)

Q24 What could the University do to improve your life on Langdon Street?



## Appendix 2 – Interview Notes

(Names have been changed and biographical details removed to maintain anonymity)

### **Interview with Jamie, 11/11/13**

#### **Where have you lived on Langdon Street? For how long? Do you like/enjoy living on Langdon?**

Jamie is currently in her third semester of living in her house, which is not very common because women are only allowed to live in the house for a second year if holding an executive position. This worked out in Jamie's favor because she will be studying abroad next semester and now does not have to worry about finding a subletter. The house is able to room 50 women, but there are usually between 55-60 women who want a spot in the house every year.

#### **What are your favorite and least favorite parts of living on Langdon Street?**

"I love everything about living on Langdon...it will be hard to leave it next semester."

Housing on Langdon goes very fast, and a lot of people want to stay close to their houses once they move out. "I am not the most proactive person and it's all gone now." Jamie enjoys living right on the lake; her house has a private dock. Members of the sorority are allowed to have guests on the dock, but liability is always a concern. This is less of a concern for fraternities who are more willing to let others use their private space. Jamie is a member of Hoofers, and loves sailing, windsurfing, and being close to the water in the summer and fall. She also feels that Langdon has more homey aspects than other student neighborhoods. "The trees and the houses make the neighborhood feel more like the one I grew up in." She does not like that Langdon is far from her classes: "It's about an 18 minute walk."

#### **How do you perceive Greek life to influence the social life and built landscape of Langdon Street?**

Jamie cannot really distinguish between Greek and non-Greek people on Langdon. "Often I will be walking home from the library and talk to someone else on Langdon and not really know if they are Greek or not."

The Langdon environment facilitates bonds between all neighbors; it feels more like a general community of Langdon rather than just Greek life. "The Langdon community is closer than other neighborhoods with off campus housing, you always see people that you know or recognize." Fraternities are always very cautious that they keep events on their own property to not intrude throughout the neighborhood.

#### **Have you ever felt unsafe on Langdon Street? If so, how/why/when/where?**

"I actually have a lot of stories about safety."

Fall 2011: Around 3am on the Friday before finals week (many people were out studying late), one of Jamie's sisters woke up to a middle aged man standing in her room in the sorority house. He was looking for someone named Kathleen, but there was no one by that name in the sorority.

She screamed, and the man ran out of the house. When the police arrived, they searched the house but did not find the man. The security system revealed that two doors had been opened within 30 seconds of each other, which could not have been possible for just one person. After the incident, the house installed a more advanced \$5,000 security system with surveillance cameras.

Last Week: Some of Jamie's sisters were walking down to house and there was an older man exposing himself. He said he was only peeing. It made the women feel uncomfortable but not really unsafe. 126 Langdon, which is right in front of her sorority house, is an abandoned building, and "is really creepy." It seems like it has become a place for homeless to find shelter in.

"You know the gun incident? That was also on my property. I heard it happen --- it was between us and Kappa Sigma, right next to my car! It had nothing to do with us. But we were the ones who called the police, so they used our address in all the campus reports. Before that, I felt more unsafe at night, but that happened at 5 or 6, before it was dark. I just always try to be safe and stay alert. I study at the Chapel and try to go with a friend. If it's just me alone, I am super alert."

Jamie's house promotes not walking alone, staying alert, and requires the girls to do a mandatory self-defense class every year. Jamie knows of girls who carry pepper spray but has never heard of anyone actually needing to use it. She has also never heard any stories of someone having to use violence to fight off an attacker or be afraid for their life.

**Are you aware of the gender divide on Langdon Street? There are 18 fraternities and 10 sororities on Langdon Street ... do the demographics you encounter on Langdon reflect this?**

Jamie feels that there is an equal mix of males and females on Langdon. "Some sororities are very large, and some fraternities are very small. The smallest fraternity is not even close to the smallest sorority."

Jamie is glad that sororities do not host social events, because it creates a quiet and clean living environment. The sorority houses are historical and beautiful, and it is important to preserve their historic character. "The Kappa Sigma house is nice on the outside, but the inside is gross."

**What do you see as the biggest difference between a man and a woman's experience of Langdon Street?**

"I think for a man, Langdon has more of a party fun feeling, while a sorority is more of an overall lifestyle. You can't drink at all in the sorority houses but its opposite in frats."

Expectations of society for frats to have parties on game days, frat houses harder to focus, likes that parties are kept out of the house (keeps the house cleaner and beautiful), frat houses are disgusting on the inside, glad she can preserve the historic beauty of the house. On the weekends, it is very convenient for social interactions to live next door to a fraternity. Many of the women in her chapter are good friends with the men in the chapter next door.

**What changes would you like to see on Langdon Street to improve the safety and comfort of users?**

Jamie would like to see more lighting, even though this is not a personally issue for her, but has heard others talk about it. She also thinks better bus routes would enhance safety. “The 81 goes down Langdon, but a lot of the times its late or doesn’t come at all; people are not really sure when they can ride it down Langdon.” She has noticed that the Greek community has began to strongly emphasize a new Safewalk Program from College Library down Langdon, but “I would never use it.”

She has also noticed that there are no blue safety lights on Langdon, but think they would be a great idea. “I’d just call 911 if emergency, or non-emergency, in case anything came up.” “I just think I have a responsibility to report anything I see. If not an immediate threat, could it be a threat down the road – to a sister or anyone on campus, not in the Langdon community?” “I am not so concerned about my safety so much as the safety of others.” Jamie feels like people within the Langdon community have to obligation to look out for one another. “If not me, it could be my best friend.”

**What sort of neighborly relations do you have with surrounding frats/sororities?**

Many women from different houses walk to class together. “I have friends in different houses, and I will just go by their house on the way to class to pick them up.”

There are a lot of inter-house friendships, and the relationship between houses is more friendly than competitive. The Greek system promotes friendship and unity on campus, especially in sororities. “Community is emphasized above everything else, despite differences.” “In our house we say *Individually unique, but whole complete*, which could be applied to the whole Greek system.”

## **Interview with Natalie 11/14/13**

### **Where have you lived on Langdon Street? For how long? Do enjoy living on Langdon?**

Natalie rushed fall 2012 as a sophomore, after transferring from St Thomas. This is her first semester living in the sorority house.

"I love it, I think it's a really great location, I love the atmosphere." It's "really electric" on game days ... really casual, but very campus orientated, even though it's off-campus because residents are almost exclusively students. Natalie lived in Ogg Hall last year, and is living on Langdon next year in an apartment with a sorority sister, because she wanted to be close to house and State Street.

Some seniors get "sick" of Langdon and want to move off campus, but most prefer to stay near the house because of all meetings ... chapter meetings, planning meetings, humo (?) practice ... even if members don't live on Langdon, they still have to go twice a week at least.

### **What are your favorite and least favorite parts of living on Langdon Street?**

Favorite: convenience – close to campus and classes in Grainger Hall, State Street. Nice being around lots of other students who are also in Greek orgs.

Least favorite: at times does feel unsafe, as do other parts of campus, but Langdon seems to have more crime and it can be intimidating walking alone.

### **How do you perceive Greek life to influence the social life and built landscape of Langdon Street?**

Since most of the sororities and fraternities are based on Langdon, it does affect how students refer to it – "when you say you live on Langdon Street, people definitely assume you're in Greek system."

"The Greek houses won't get taken down anytime soon, but they're taking down a lot of houses to build apartment complexes – our chapter didn't want that because we felt that took away from the feel of Langdon. ... we talked to the city about it."

Natalie sees Langdon as more of a neighborhood than a city ... "beautiful houses, not just small junky houses like on some parts of campus."

### **Have you ever felt unsafe on Langdon Street? If so, how/why/when/where?**

"Yeah I feel unsafe on Langdon. Weekend nights aren't bad because lots of people are out – it's worse after 1:30am, but feels most unsafe after 11:30pm on weeknights coming home from library or friends'. Lots of houses are close together so the alleys seem really dark and you're not really sure what's in there."

### **Are you aware of the gender divide on Langdon Street? There are 18 fraternities and 10 sororities on Langdon Street ... do the demographics you encounter on Langdon reflect this?**

"I've never noticed or thought about it."

**What do you see as the biggest difference between a man and a woman's experience of Langdon Street?**

"Speaking as girl, you can go to any of the frat parties on the weekend. But as a guy, they can't really get into a lot of the frats. But a lot of girls not in sororities will come to parties because they can."

"Haven't talked to any of them about it, but I would assume not." –on guy friends feeling not safe on Langdon Street

**What sort of neighborly relations do you have with surrounding frats/sororities?**

"Humo with Pike" the house two doors down, have gotten to know a lot of the guys ... "They invite us over on the weekend, we see them on the street." Doesn't feel like there's lots of communication or interaction between other houses. People will come to chapter meetings to make announcements.

"You can have socials with a sorority, but ... we don't, that often. I don't know."

"People will have friends over."

**What changes would you like to see on Langdon Street to improve the safety and comfort of users?**

More police presence, more security; "you don't see police on Langdon that often." More lighting in alleys, more Safety Buttons ... "they do a really bad job of those on campus ..." [they aren't very many.]

Natalie would consider using a Greek Life GoogleDoc to find people to walk home with – but "I don't really use SafeWalk – most dangerous hours are often SafeWalk is closed."

**What role do you feel you play in the Langdon neighborhood, both as an individual and as a member of your sorority?**

"I'm queen." (lol)

I just see myself as a resident ... I like telling people I live on Langdon, I'm proud of it, I'm proud of bring in a sorority. There are a lot of people who live there – I don't really feel like I play that big of a role."

Mostly uses main street of Langdon, doesn't go into alleys like Lakelawn place – "I would be terrified there at night."

## **Interview with Sophie, 11/10/14**

### **Where have you lived on Langdon Street? For how long? Do you like enjoy living on Langdon?**

Sophie has never lived on Langdon Street, but she utilizes it on a regular basis. Every Monday she is required to attend chapter meetings where all the sisters gather in the house to discuss general business such as upcoming events, discipline matters, or important updates. She also attends weekly social events with fraternities.

### **What are your favorite and least favorite parts of living on Langdon Street?**

“It is far from where I live, which is annoying, and walking at night can be obnoxious.”

Sophie enjoys that there are always people around and she finds the houses on the street pretty.

“It is really convenient for social stuff, overall it’s fun and I don’t have a lot of problems with it.”

### **How do you perceive Greek life to influence the social life and built landscape of Langdon Street?**

“Probably the majority of people on Langdon are Greek, and there probably wouldn’t be as many people around without Greek Life.” Sophie feels that students outside of the Greek community are attracted to Langdon because they like to go hang out with the Greek scene, which increases the number of people on the street especially on weekends. She thinks that Langdon is different from other student neighborhoods because it is livelier and there is always something going on at a house. “Greek life influences the type of social scene on Langdon.”

### **Have you ever felt unsafe on Langdon Street? If so, how/why/when/where?**

Sophie has never felt unsafe on Langdon St. “In Madison, I am always more conscious of my surroundings in general, and Langdon is no different than other parts of campus.” She said that there is potential to be in risky situations of Langdon because of the drinking culture and because there are “a lot of guys.” She takes steps to make sure she doesn’t feel unsafe; she tries to always walk with other people.

### **Are you aware of the gender divide on Langdon Street? There are 18 fraternities and 10 sororities on Langdon Street ... do the demographics you encounter on Langdon reflect this?**

Sophie has never noticed or thought there was a difference in the numbers of males vs. females on the street; she feels that it is pretty equal. She does notice that there is a gender divide and feels that stereotypes of how “frat guys” are supposed to act contribute to the divide. There are “A lot of douchey guys who think they are cool because they are in a frat, some guys treat and talk to girls differently because they are in a frat house.”

### **What do you see as the biggest difference between a man and a woman’s experience of Langdon Street?**

Sophie feels that men and women differ in what they want to get out of Greek life. “Guys are really into being with their brothers, it’s a big deal to get to hang out with your brothers.” She said that girls seem to want to experience more of the Greek community than just their own house. “How you view what you want to get out of Greek life changes your experience.”

“As a girl walking down Langdon, I have never felt unsafe, but knowing that I am a girl in a big

school, makes me more aware of walking down the street. A guy doesn't have to think about that stuff."

Women tend to be a little more cautious, but men were not brought up to be worried about their surroundings.

**What sort of neighborly relations do you have with surrounding frats/sororities?**

The fraternities and sororities do not interact in the same way as how you would think of normal neighbors. The sororities stay mostly confined to their own houses, and most of the interactions with other groups happen outside of the private aspects of sorority houses. There is more interaction between groups when there are planned social events.

Before socials members of the sorority all meet at the house to get ready and be picked up the fraternity with whom they are socializing. When the fraternity men arrive at the sorority house they sing to one another (an act of tradition), and then men and women are paired up as dates. "One time they had us all put one shoe into a pile, and the guys would have to pick up a shoe and then find the girl with the matching shoe, and that's how we got our date." Women are not required to be with their dates all night, but "some guys expect that they will go home with their date." Socials usually take place in bars or other space that is reserved by the groups, outside of the house. Sororities never host any of the socials. "I think it has to do with traditional values, where the guys are trying to impress the girls by hosting them."

Alcohol is technically restricted from sorority houses, although women in the house will break this rule, and there are certain hours that men are not allowed to be in sororities and men are never allowed to spend the night. There are not these same rules in fraternity houses, which is why socializing happens there. Sororities also have house mothers who live in the house and make sure things run smoothly and that the girls are "being good."

Sororities do not plan many events with each other, and Sophie has never heard of certain sororities being particularly close with one another. "Sometimes sororities talk about their closeness with frats, and that there are frats that they want to do more things with." "It is expected that sororities and fraternities do stuff together."

**What changes would you like to see on Langdon Street to improve the safety and comfort of users?**

Sophie suggested a police car assigned to do rounds on Langdon, but she knows that there are negative connotations associated with the cops. Many fraternities hire rent-a-cops for their parties so in some ways there is a greater security presence on the weekends. "It makes me feel better at parties." She also thinks Langdon could be a good place for blue safety lights, but feels that people could use them inappropriately. "I think that Langdon is pretty well lit, and the fact that there are always houses having parties adds to the light."

"I find comfort in the fact that there are always people around you, and you hope that they would help you out." "I feel way less safe walking on the lakeshore path because what are the chances that people are going to walk by you at night."

**What role do you feel you play in the Langdon neighborhood, both as an individual and as a member of your sorority?**

Sophie feels unsure of her place in the neighborhood, but her upbringing contributes to how she acts on Langdon. “I was raised with really good values, to be someone who watches out for others and makes good decisions.” “In terms of being there for my sisters or anyone else on Langdon, its always nice to know that there are people on the street who care about other people.” “Not everyone plays into classic Greek stereotypes, there are good people in the Greek system.”

**Other Comments about the Physical Landscape:**

Most interactions happen inside the house. During recruitment events, houses with large patios or big backyards that display the lake do use spaces outside of the house. Also, when fraternities host football pre-games, those are usually outside in backyards.



## Appendix 3 – Sorority House Profiles

### *Sororities*

**Map Reference Number:** 1

**Chapter:** Alpha Chi Omega

**Address:** 152 Langdon Street

**Number of Members:** 162

**Fences/Hedges:** No

**Distance (approximate) from Front Door to Street:** 20 ft

**Yard Space:** Front yard, well kept, flowers and bushes along side/front of house

**Evidence of Socializing:** No

**Entrance Way:** Open, easy to access, 3 stairs leading up to large front porch

**Privacy:** The house has a relatively low level of privacy. The most obvious restricting element is bars on the first floor windows. The house has large decks on the top floor that can provide spaces for socializing in public view. The front door is easily seen from the street and there are no physical barriers that prevent someone from approaching the door.



**Map Reference Number:** 2

**Chapter:** Alpha Epsilon Phi

**Address:** 220 Lakelawn St

**Number of Members:** 145

**Fences/Hedges:** Some bushes obstructing view of front door

**Distance (approximate) from Front Door to Street:** N/A

**Yard Space:** No

**Evidence of Socializing:** No

**Entrance Way:** Located on side of the house, difficult to see

**Privacy:** The house has a high level of privacy. It is located on a smaller street, behind Langdon St. The windows on the first floor are barred, and the front door, which is not visible from the main street, can only be accessed by going down a small side street. There are no spaces outside of the house that could be used for socializing. The house also has a private parking lot for members, which decreases the amount of time members with cars need to spend walking in the Langdon neighborhood.





**Map Reference Number:** 3

**Chapter:** Alpha Phi

**Address:** 28 Langdon St

**Number of Members:** 167

**Fences/Hedges:** Tall fence all the way around property

**Distance (approximate) from Front Door to Street:** 30 ft

**Yard Space:** Small front yard, clearly defined walkways. Very large backyard with access to lake

**Evidence of Socializing:** Party lights, tikki torches, grill, large back deck

**Entrance Way:** Front porch, open, large columns

**Privacy:** This house has a high level of privacy. The tall gate is a physical barrier between the house and the neighborhood. There are also signs around the house indicating private property. Although there is space for socializing outside of the house, it is exclusive to the public because of the fencing.



**Map Reference Number:** 4

**Chapter:** Chi Omega

**Address:** 115 Langdon St

**Number of Members:** 150

**Fences/Hedges:** Small chain fence, purpose seems to be keeping people off grass

**Distance (approximate) from Front Door to Street:** 40 ft

**Yard Space:** Small side lawns, very nice landscaping

**Evidence of Socializing:** No

**Entrance Way:** Off to side of the house, not very accessible, not visible from street

**Privacy:** This house has an average level of privacy. The door is only visible from certain angles on the street.





**Map Reference Number:** 5

**Chapter:** Delta Delta Delta

**Address:** 120 Langdon St

**Number of Members:**

**Fences/Hedges:** No

**Distance (approximate) from Front Door to Street:** 15 ft

**Yard Space:** Small front yard, some bushes near front of house, well kept

**Evidence of Socializing:** 2 benches (decorative but could be used for small social space)

**Entrance Way:** Open, easily accessible, large red door

**Privacy:** This house is the least private house. It is located in a central part of Langdon St., and has no barriers that restrict people from approaching the house. The front door creates a sense that the people in this house want to be noticed by their neighbors.



**Map Reference Number:** 6

**Chapter:** Delta Gamma

**Address:** 103 Langdon St

**Number of Members:** 163

**Fences/Hedges:** No

**Distance (approximate) from Front Door to Street:** 30 ft

**Yard Space:** Small front yard space, well kept

**Evidence of Socializing:** No

**Entrance Way:** Somewhat accessible, front door set back and under an awning

**Privacy:** This house has an average level of privacy. The door is not the most easily accessible, but that is the only barrier. Besides displaying letters this house also has a large anchor (chapter's symbol) statue in the front yard. This shows that this house is proud of their identity and wants show the neighborhood who they are in a very public manner.





**Map Reference Number:** 7

**Chapter:** Gamma Phi Beta

**Address:** 270 Langdon St

**Number of Members:** 145

**Fences/Hedges:** Small fence all the way around on raised wall

**Distance (approximate) from Front Door to Street:** 15ft but raised above street level

**Yard Space:** Front yard well kept, small garden

**Evidence of Socializing:** Bench on front porch (decorative)

**Entrance Way:** Somewhat accessible, door is under large arches

**Privacy:** This house has a high level of privacy. It is fenced all the way around, the front door is set far back from the street, and there is little visible space for socializing outside the house.



**Map Reference Number:** 8

**Chapter:** Kappa Alpha Theta

**Address:** 108 Langdon St

**Number of Members:** 157

**Fences/Hedges:** No

**Distance (approximate) from Front Door to Street:** Back in alley, not visible from street

**Yard Space:** No

**Evidence of Socializing:** No

**Entrance Way:** Very hidden from main part of Langdon St., columns, large front door

**Privacy:** This house has a high level of privacy. Its location makes it impossible to see from the street. There are signs in front of the house restricting parking from non-members. There are decks that appear to be used for social spaces outside of the house.





**Map Reference Number:** 9

**Chapter:** Kappa Kappa Gamma

**Address:** 601 N Henry St

**Number of Members:** 164

**Fences/Hedges:** Tall fence all the way around

**Distance (approximate) from Front Door to Street:** 100 ft

**Yard Space:** Large front yard space

**Evidence of Socializing:** Carved pumpkins (decorations)

**Entrance Way:** Off to side of the house, stairs leading up to front door

**Privacy:** This house is the most private house. The fence all the way around the property creates a physical barrier between the house and the neighborhood. The door is set back very far from the house and is not fully visible from Langdon St. Although there is a large front yard, there was no evidence of using the yard except for keeping bikes and mopeds.



**Map Reference Number:** 10

**Chapter:** Pi Beta Phi

**Address:** 130 Langdon St

**Number of Members:** 159

**Fences/Hedges:** No

**Distance (approximate) from Front Door to Street:** Back in alley, not visible from street

**Yard Space:** No

**Evidence of Socializing:** No

**Entrance Way:** Open, large windows able to see into foyer

**Privacy:** This house has an average level of privacy. Due to its location, it is not visible from the street, but once back in the cul-du-sac, the entrance way is easily accessible. There are no visible spaces for socializing outside the house.



## Appendix 4 – Langdon Street Observations and Light Count

### Street Light Observations Langdon

#### **Lake Street:** 6 total

- 4 on left
- 2 on right

#### **Langdon St (Lake – Francis):** 9 total

- 5 on left
- 4 on right

#### **Francis St:** 9 total

- 4 on left
- 5 on right

#### **Langdon St (Francis – Henry):** 13 total

- 8 on left
- 5 on right

#### **Henry St:** 3 total

- 2 on left
- 1 on right

#### **Langdon St (Henry – Carroll):** 11 total

- 6 on left
- 5 on right

#### **Carroll St:** 5 total

- 2 on left
- 3 on right

#### **Langdon St (Carroll- Edgewater):** 8 total

- 4 on left
- 4 on right

#### **Lakelawn Area:** 5 total

#### **Mendota Court:** 5 total

- 2 on left
- 3 on right

- Observations only made while driving down Langdon towards the Edgewater hotel
- Right side refers to side nearest to the person in the passenger seat



Map 1. Author: Brooke Harding Data Source: OpenStreetMap Projection: NAD 1983

This map emphasizes spatial relationships between sororities and fraternities and serves as reference to the observations made throughout our research.



Map 2. Author: Brooke Harding Data Source: OpenStreetMap Projection: NAD 1983  
Shows the approximate location of streetlights throughout the Langdon neighborhood.





Map 3. Author: Brooke Harding Data Source: OpenStreetMap Projection: NAD 1983  
 Displays the ratio of men in fraternities to women in sororities in the Langdon neighborhood.