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Strategic responses to the geographical problems of women's fear: a case study of Concordia University's Student Safety Patrol

Clearlight Gerald

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Geography

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Abstract

Strategic responses to the geographical problems of women's fear: a case study of Concordia University's Student Safety Patrol

Clearlight Gerald

The purpose of this study is to gain insight into how a university community can best respond to women's fear of crime and its restrictive effects such as self imposed limitations on the use of public space. This investigation draws from feminist geographical research on women's fear of crime to evaluate the policy mandate and service provision of the Concordia Student Safety Patrol (CSSP). Some of the issues examined in the case study include the degree to which the CSSP has considered the characteristics and effects of the geography of women's fear, the nature of the messages communicated by the CSSP concerning the geography of fear and danger, and the quality of the links to similar initiatives on and off campus. The study concludes by evaluating the CSSP for its success in providing a liberating and informed alternative to fear, and by offering recommendations to enhance the effectiveness of the service in fulfilling its mandate to reduce fear. Conclusions are based on the argument that universities have both the opportunity and responsibility to emphasize strategies that encourage individuals to understand and overcome their fear and become empowered to freely access the public sphere.

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PREFACE

In 1994, a survey of members of the Concordia community showed that over 33% of Concordia women restrict their campus activities out of fear for their personal safety, as compared with 4.15% of men.[1] Such statistics are by no means unusual; women restrict their activities in response to fear across North America — for instance, a survey in Toronto found that over 40% of women tried to always be with others when they go out after dark.[2]

I chose to research strategic responses to women's fear of crime because I have witnessed countless women (including myself) struggle to balance considerations of fear and safety against a natural inclination to access public spaces freely and independently. Over the years, my own tactics have ranged from wearing combat boots, to walking with my dogs, to avoiding certain areas at night. Other women carry weapons, or call accompaniment services to walk them home, or just don't go out. Let me state at the outset of this study that I have never used a university accompaniment service, and have always felt uncomfortable about patrol/accompaniment organizations. My discomfort has stemmed from my feeling that such organizations encourage women to depend on other people instead of themselves for feelings of security, safety and wellbeing. Yet, I have also been attracted by the concept of a group that promotes a collective responsibility in solutions to deal with fear, and I knew that the potential of groups such as the CSSP was great. Most informal discussion with friends about issues of safety illuminated a predominant fear of danger in the streets, specifically the danger of sexual assault and

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[1] The survey findings were published campus-wide in The Personal Safety Audit Report, Concordia University, 1994-1995.

[2] This and related statistical information can be found in Metrac pulications, this particular statistic is contained in Planning for Sexual Assault Prevention, 1989.

rape. Accompaniment and patrol services have responded to a very specific demand — high levels of fear of danger in public space and the practical need for people to walk in the streets safely and without fear. My intention in this study is to examine one such service, the Concordia Student Safety Patrol, at Concordia University in Montreal, in order to gain insight into how a community can best respond to women's fear of crime and consequent limitation of the use of public spaces.

I want to preface further discussion with the acknowledgement that the CSSP has not been designed specifically to target women's fear of crime. That being so, it may seem unfair to do a case study on strategic responses to women's fear of crime on a service that is not defined solely by this objective. However, because the patrol service exists at Concordia University in part to accompany fearful students (I equated that to fearful women as I guessed there wouldn't be very many men asking for a walk to the bus stop), the CSSP seemed to me to be fertile grounds for an inquiry into community responses to women's fear and associated patterns of their use of public city spaces. Early on I realized that not only was the CSSP not feminist, but also that it did not focus explicitly on women's fear. This really sparked my interest: the CSSP was the only service specifically focused on reducing fear and increasing feelings of safety on campus, yet it does not outwardly respond to prevalent patterns of fear experienced by half of its community population. The following study traces the story of the CSSP, evaluates its overall success as a strategy to reduce fear, and offers suggestions for changes that would enhance the service's effective fulfillment of its mandate. The first chapter provides an overview of the theoretical issues contained in current discourse within the literature pertaining to women's fear of crime; the second chapter presents the methodological

approach that I adopted in the design of this case study of the CSSP; the third and fourth chapters present the findings of this research; and the last chapter critically evaluates the CSSP's vision and service provision, and concludes with several recommendations.

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

The objectives of this thesis are 1) to explore the rationale behind Concordia's Student Safety Patrol and to examine how it was implemented and how it has changed; and 2) to describe the service's position on several key issues associated with women's fear of crime and to evaluate its success in providing a liberating and informed alternative to fear.

This literature review examines theoretical issues associated with women's fear of crime. It focuses on general geographic and sociological literature, feminist literature, and feminist geographic literature, and it informs my examination and evaluation of Concordia's Student Safety Patrol. In particular, it examines how women's fear of crime is understood within texts that have a general focus, how feminist literature theorizes about women's fear and experiences of violence (and how this fits in with a broader theory of oppression), how feminist geographic literature views the meaning and accessibility of public and private spheres to be shaped by fear and violence, and finally, it presents an overview of the kinds of collective initiatives that have been devised in Canada in response to women's fear of crime.

General Social Scientific Literature on Fear of Crime

Research into the nature of fear of crime that maintains a general focus (versus research that is women-centred) is dominated by empirical enquiry within the disciplines of geography, sociology, criminology, psychology and urban design.[3] I briefly examine

[3] I have categorized the relevant literature into two categories, general texts that do not specifically emphasize the category of gender, and texts that are women-centred and/or pro-feminist, in order to highlight certain trends in research on fear of crime. As with any generalization, there are 'grey areas' in which certain texts do not neatly fit into either category. The readers should be aware that these

some methodological issues concerning the general study of fear of crime and then review the main theoretical issues within this body of literature, namely, who is afraid, the sources of this fear, women's high levels of fear and low victimization rates, and finally, the social effects of the fear of crime.

Definition and Operationalization of Fear of Crime

Throughout the literature, "fear" escapes a comprehensive definition. Because most non-feminist studies of fear of crime are empirical investigations seeking to understand who is afraid and why, a major challenge has been the application of stringent objective standards to a subjective feeling. Although actual definitions of fear vary (or are simply assumed), most literature distinguishes between fear that results from an immediate threat of physical harm, and fear that reflects a generalized concern for personal safety and with criminal activity (Garofalo 1981b (actual vs. anticipated fear); Garofalo and Laub 1978; Gordon et al. 1980 (actual vs. anticipated fear); Keane 1992 (concrete vs. formless fear); Maxfield 1984b (actual vs. potential fear); Riger and Gordon 1981; Van der Wurff and Stringer 1988). Smith (1983) and Garofalo and Laub (1978) contend that owing to the difficulty of defining and measuring fear, many studies which attempt to measure fear of crime actually tap into a generalized anxiety about a breakdown in community life, social relations and urban living.

There is some brief commentary within empirical literature concerning the effect of the operationalization of fear on study findings. Notably, Maxfield (1984b, 4) contends that the typical survey questions which measure fear of crime, such as "How safe do you feel walking alone in this area after dark?," limit findings in part by equating

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categorizations remain generalizations, and in some instances I will identify certain 'grey areas' throughout

crime feared to street crime. Similarly, Gordon et al. (1980) and Keane (1992) argue that disparate findings concerning predictor variables of crime are the result of differences in the operationalization of fear.[4]

Who Is Afraid?

While a comprehensive definition of fear remains elusive, the most researched issue, "who is afraid," has resulted in one consistent finding: gender is the most significant variable related to the fear of crime (Baumer 1978; Box et al. 1988; Gordon et al. 1980; Keane 1992; Kennedy and Silverman 1985; Lab 1992; Maxfield 1984a and1984b; Warr 1985). The literature also concludes that fear generally varies with age, the elderly being the most fearful age group (Baumer 1978; Box et al. 1988; Keane 1992; Kennedy and Silverman 1985).[5]

Empirical studies have also illuminated patterns of fear that vary with urbanization, ethnicity, and income. It is widely accepted that fear is largely an urban problem, with people in cities being up to twice as fearful as those in rural areas (Keane 1992; Lab 1992; Smith 1987; Van der Voordt 1988). More debate surrounds the impact of variables such as ethnicity and income on levels of fear of crime, although most studies agree that ethnicity and low income are related to higher fear (Baumer 1978; Box et al. 1988; Garofalo and Laub 1978; Keane 1992; Lab 1992; Maxfield 1984b; Nuttall 1988; Smith 1987). Finally, differences between countries are not generally considered

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this chapter.

[4] The research of Gordon et al. constitutes a 'grey area' that eludes categorization and thus has been included in both sections of general and women-centred literature.

[5] The impact of age on fear of crime is qualified in two studies. Keane (1992) argues that the elderly experience the highest levels of "formless" generalized fear, whereas younger people are most fearful of "concrete" crimes. Maxfield (1984a) argues that age is not a significant variable in urban neighbourhoods where crime is a regular feature of life.

in the literature, an exception being Nuttall (1988), who notes that fear of crime in Canada and the U. S. is similar despite a greater actual extent of crime in the United States.

Several studies consider the interplay of demographic and locational variables in relation to fear. This literature rejects the sole focus on demographic variables as the dominant factors associated with the fear of crime. The framing of fear of crime as a social phenomenon recognizes the patterns evident in demographic data, but seeks to contextualize fear in the specific social and physical space of urban neighbourhoods and communities (Box et al. 1988; Cohn et al. 1978; Garofalo and Laub 1978; Kennedy and Silverman 1985; Maxfield 1984a; Smith 1987; Van der Wurff et al. 1988). This body of literature views the ambiguous relationship between victimization and fear of crime to be an indication that fear must be understood in relation to social aspects of the community.[6]

Susan Smith, an urban geographer, is a principal advocate of contextualizing fear in urban space.[7] Smith (1987, 6) argues that "*where* people live is often more important than *who* they are in determining the extent of anxiety." According to Smith, the nature of fear of crime is more characteristic of the urban neighbourhood in which people live than it is of the individual social groups. She argues that although fear is experienced in both high-crime and low-crime neighbourhoods it varies in its origins, meanings, and social significance; for example, she notes that fear in low crime neighbourhoods is often

[6] The ambiguous relationship between victimization and fear of crime is illustrated by several studies which show that fear is more widespread than the direct experience of crime (Baumer 1985; Henig and Maxfield 1978; Maxfield 1984b; Warr 1984).
[7] Susan Smith has been included in the section on general texts because in the works cited she does not specifically focus on the impact of gender on fear. This categorization is not intended to misrepresent Susan Smith, who has written from a feminist perspective.

socially discriminatory whereas in high crime neighbourhoods it crosses individual social groups and is all pervasive.

Other scholars concur with Smith's idea that individual fear must be viewed in a neighbourhood or community context, but depart from Smith's conception of fear as predominantly characteristic of urban locales. Instead, there is a greater focus placed on understanding how individuals' relationship to their physical and social community mediates their fear of crime. Skogan and Maxfield (1981) demonstrate that high levels of fear are associated with a loss of social cohesion; Cohn et al. (1978) find that individuals who participate within community organizations report less fear. Another study argues that what people express as fear of crime is actually a measure of their concern for their community (perceived social instability, anxiety about strangers, moral decline, individual freedom, etc.) (Garofalo and Laub 1978). Hunter and Baumer (1982) observe that high levels of fear are often accompanied by a sense of neighbourhood anonymity. Kennedy and Silverman (1985, 276) focus on the impact of social diversity on fear of crime, arguing that "the more people see those around them as different in terms of age, sex, income, and other demographic indicators, the more fearful they will be."[8] Although it is argued by Box et al. (1988) that the effect of gender can be tempered by the variables of age and neighbourhood cohesion, and by Gordon et al. (1980) that women's fear varies by neighbourhood within cities, Maxfield (1984a) maintains that the effects of gender on fear remain a consistent individual-level predictor in comparative neighbourhood analyses.

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[8] It is notable that the authors do not measure the variable of ethnicity or race. I believe that this absence casts doubt on their conclusion that age group is the only variable in which a "preference for social homogeneity appears as an important predictor of fear" (Kennedy and Silverman 1985, 291).

The literature that focuses on demographic variables associated with fear of crime shows that the variable of gender has the strongest relationship with fear and that fear also varies with ethnicity, income, age, etc. Some of the literature departs from describing who is afraid and seeks to explain why fear is more widespread than actual victimization. These analyses find that individuals' perception of and links to their communities play a large role in determining the extent of their fear.

Sources of Fear of Crime

The identification of sources of fear of crime is a recurrent theme throughout the literature and seems to be related to the question of why people experience more fear than seems to be warranted by crime occurrence. Some of the literature focuses on urban disintegration and social breakdown as a major source of fear. This view is supported by previously mentioned literature, such as that of Henig and Maxfield (1978) and Smith (1987), who identify the potential impact of community characteristics on fear of crime. Garofalo and Laub (1978, 249) argue that fear of crime is a "dramatic reflection of the disrupted sense of community." The literature also identifies results of the breakdown in community support mechanisms that may contribute to fear of crime, including lack of confidence in bystander response (Shotland and Straw 1976) and lack of social support in the event of victimization (Box et al. 1988).

Other sources of the fear of crime identified by the literature include fear of police and lack of confidence in the justice system (Box et al. 1988; Smith 1987); fear of strangers and sense of anonymity (Hunter and Baumer 1982; Smith 1987); and fear of social and ethnic diversity (Kennedy and Silverman 1985; Smith 1987). Smith (1989, 198) argues that "fear of crime may be conceptualized as an expression of the sense of

powerlessness and uncertainty that accompanies much of urban life... ." Although much of this literature rests on the idea of a progressive decline of social integration and community life, I found no examination within these studies as to how, why, or even if, this disintegration is taking place.

There are studies of how the media and other sources of information enhance fear by distorting the prevalence, location and nature of crimes committed. The most widely identified source of misinformation contributing to an enhanced fear of crime is newspapers' and television's pervasive and sensationalized crime coverage. Various studies argue that the media consistently disproportionately covers the most serious and violent crimes, with a general focus on those that are public and anonymous in nature (Garofalo 1981a; Gebotys et al. 1988; Gordon and Heath 1981; Henig and Maxfield 1978; Lab 1992; Maxfield 1984b; Voumvakis and Ericson 1984). Other sources of (mis)information identified in the literature include rumors, hearsay and gossip (Kirk 1988, Maxfield 1984b, Skogan and Maxfield 1981).

Other studies focus on how the physical environment can be a potential source of fear. Several authors mention that "incivilities" (such as vandalism, vacant and decrepit buildings, litter) can be seen as signs of a breakdown in social order, and maintain that these signs alert people to the prospect of criminal activity and lead to a generalized sense of danger (Hunter and Baumer 1985; Kirk 1988; Lewis and Maxfield 1980; Maxfield 1984b; Nasar and Fisher 1992; Nasar and Upton 1995; Smith 1986, 1987, 1989; Wilson and Kelling 1982). Urban design literature emphasizes micro-level cues in the built environment as contributing factors to a heightened sense of fear and anticipation of

attack (Box et al. 1988; Henig and Maxfield 1978; Kirk 1988; Nasar and Fisher 1992; Nasar and Upton 1995; Van der Wurff and Stringer 1988).[9]

In summary, literature that does not focus specifically on gender identifies three source areas of fear of crime: a breakdown in urban community, sources of (mis)information, and physical cues of danger.

The Question of High Fear and Low Victimization

It is notable that although the literature consistently recognizes that gender is the most consistent and strongest variable associated with the fear of crime, little or no attempt is made to explore *gender specific* sources of fear. The only focus within the general literature specifically concerning women's fear of crime is in response to the following apparent empirical anomaly: women express the highest levels of fear but have the lowest victimization rates.

One explanation given for higher levels of fear among women (and the elderly) is that these groups are generally both physically and economically vulnerable (Lab 1992). Some authors suggest that lower victimization rates among women and the elderly are not in fact due to lower total risk but are in part a result of greater precautions and changed routines that have lowered their exposure to risk (Baumer 1978; Gordon et al. 1980; Warr 1984). Other authors suggest that women's high level of reported fear is

[9] According to Nasar and Fisher (1992) and Nasar and Upton (1995), the micro-level cues of the built environment which directly relate to an anticipation of attack are ordered within the following three categories: *blocked prospect, concealment,* and *blocked escape*. *Blocked prospect* indicates a lack of an open view or visual access necessary to preserve one's safety. *Concealment* refers to space created by the built environment (or landscaping design) which offers a potential attacker protection from visual exposure. *Blocked escape* refers to the lack of clear exit routes, access to others or escape from boundedness (anything which isolates an individual from others) (1992, 2) (1995, 49-50).

largely due to the terrifying nature of rape, of which, it is noted, women experience the highest rates of victimization (Maxfield 1984b; Smith 1987; Warr 1984 and 1985).

The studies' examination of women's high levels of fear and low victimization rates focuses specifically on crime and risk from unknown offenders in public places (see Gebotys et al. 1988; Gordon et al. 1980; Warr 1984). The debate concerning women's apparent high levels of fear but low victimization rates rests on a concrete faith in empiricism, as well as the idea that women's fear is unjustified given the risks. Most of the literature, however, demonstrates an appreciation that the relationship between women's fear and victimization is not a simple "paradox."

Social Effects of High Levels of Fear

General social scientific literature identifies negative effects (non-gender specific) of fear of crime at both the individual and community level. The individual effects of the fear of crime identified include alienation from social life, social withdrawal and isolation, and generalized distrust (Garofalo 1981b; Smith 1987). Nasar and Upton (1995) characterize fear of crime as a "major urban background stressor" that can have cumulative detrimental effects on psychological and physical health. Garofalo (1981b) argues that an individual's responses to fear of crime can have broad social consequences, including the prevention of "a fully social existence."

The major community-level effect of the fear of crime identified in the literature is the undermining of community ties (Skogan 1988; Smith 1983 and 1987). Hartnagel (1979) argues that fear of crime does not negatively affect neighbourhood cohesion or social activity, but rather it is related to the degree of satisfaction with the neighbourhood and city. In contrast, Smith (1987) and Skogan (1988) argue that fear prevents full

community participation. Smith (1987, 12-13) argues that fear is associated with "suspicion of neighbours and the fragmentation of communal sentiment" that inhibits cooperative action against crime. Skogan (1988) argues that actual crime and disorder cause a spiral of community decline, which begins with fear and withdrawal and leads to declines in residential commitment, informal social control mechanisms and organizational capacity.

In summary, literature which does not highlight the category of gender in the examination of fear of crime firmly establishes that gender is the strongest variable associated with the fear of crime. Empirical studies find that individual fear may be shaped by attachment to, perception of and strength of one's community, as well as by the physical environment and information about risk. Studies of women's fear in this body of literature are restricted to the examination of high levels of reported fear, despite apparently low victimization rates.

Pro-Feminist , Women-Centred Literature on Women's Fear of Crime and Experiences of Violence

General literature on fear of crime firmly establishes gender as the strongest variable associated with fear of crime, but neglects to explore how and why experiences particular to women would result in higher levels of expressed fear, or what the social effects of fear are on women's lives. Literature that focuses on the category of gender in the research of women's fear of crime provides a comprehensive examination of women's fear that goes beyond highlighting the inadequacies of general literature, thereby establishing an independent discourse on gender and fear. I first examine the nature of pro-feminist analyses and then illustrate their diverse nature through an examination of

mainstream feminist theory and marginalized feminist theory.[10] I conclude this section by reviewing the theoretical contributions of women-centred literature to the subject of women's fear of crime.

Defining Feminism

Feminism is a dynamic discourse that eludes generalizations. There exists a plurality of feminisms, encompassing diverse theories and views concerning the nature of oppression, action and liberation. Personal perceptions of the meaning of feminism vary. Take, for example, Klein (1983, 89), who describes her view of feminism as "...a perspective in which women's experiences, ideas and needs (different and differing as they may be) are valid in their own right, and androcentricity — man-as-the-norm — stops being the only recognized frame of reference for human beings," or hooks (1981, 194), who writes:

> To me feminism is not simply a struggle to end male chauvinism or a movement to ensure that women will have equal rights with men; it is a commitment to eradicating the ideology of domination that permeates Western culture on various levels—sex, race, and class to name a few—and a commitment to reorganizing U.S. society so that the self-development of people can take precedence over imperialism, economic expansion, and material desires.

The categorization of feminism into "schools," including liberal, socialist, Marxist and radical feminism is adopted in some of the literature (MacGregor 1995), and criticized elsewhere as leading to "oversimplification and distortion, as similarities within and contrasts between the various perspectives are necessarily overemphasised" (Edwards 1987, 15). Some authors identify their personal views of the meaning of

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[10] I have categorized feminist literature into mainstream feminist texts and marginalized feminist texts. I have done so to illustrate certain trends within feminist discourse, however there should be an awareness that these categories are somewhat artificial and do not account for the multitude of 'grey areas' in which certain texts do not neatly fit into either category.

feminism as a preface to their writings (Elizabeth Stanko, Rachel Pain), but many more do not attempt to "define" their feminism and instead allow its meaning to unfold in their writings (this includes Fonow et al. 1992; Gardner 1990; Hanmer 1978; Hanmer and Saunders 1984; Radford 1987).[11] According to Reinharz (1992, 6), feminism's lack of orthodoxy is a source of "freedom of thought and action." hooks (1984, 26), on the other hand, argues that the lack of an adequate definition of feminism has made it easy for bourgeois women to maintain their dominance over the leadership and direction of the feminist movement.

Mainstream Feminist Theory: patriarchy and the struggle of the sexes

Mainstream feminist literature shares two common factors: the identification of patriarchy as the primary oppressive context, and the framing of the struggle against oppression to be between the sexes.[12] Patriarchy is comprehensively defined by DeKeseredy (1994, 77) as "a hierarchical organization of social institutions and social relations that enable (sic) men to maintain positions of power, privilege, and leadership in society." Several authors identify patriarchy as the social system through which women experience oppression (Brownmiller 1975; DeKeseredy 1994; Edwards 1987; Hanmer 1978; Radford 1987; Stanko 1990a).

This same body of literature identifies male violence (particularly sexual violence) and the threat and fear of this violence as a mechanism of social control that protects the patriarchal order as the dominant social system (Brownmiller 1975; Edwards 1987; Hanmer 1978; Radford 1987; Stanko 1990a). Hanmer (1978, 229) summarizes this

[11] Occasionally literature is feminist but is not labelled as such. An example is a study by Gordon et al. (1980) which tests a "feminist assertion" but does not identify their approach as feminist. Such literature can best be described as pro-feminist and/or women-centred in its approach.

argument, writing in reference to male-female relations: "force and its threat is never a residual or secondary mode of influence rather it is the structural underpinning of hierarchical relations; the ultimate sanction buttressing other forms of control." The literature's identification of male violence and its threat as the primary mechanism of social control is associated with the conviction that the primary struggle is between men and women. This assumption is exemplified by references to the "problem of men" (Hanmer 1978, 234) and the problem of "men's dominance" (Stanko 1990a, 175).[13] Mainstream feminist literature is characterized by a women-centred perspective that views patriarchy as the primary oppressive circumstance that all women must resist and overcome.

Marginalized Feminist Theory: a matrix of domination

Black feminist texts, among others marginalized from mainstream discourse, do not identify the major category of oppression as patriarchy or the primary struggle to be that between the sexes. Rather, they view women's victimization to be part of a more complicated political, social and economic system (Collins 1991; Crenshaw 1994; hooks 1981 and 1984; Smith 1990).[14] According to hooks (1984), patriarchy and sexist oppression are results of the philosophical and ideological notion of hierarchical rule and

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[13] Mainstream feminist analyses identify violence as a mechanism of social control that enforces patriarchal power; however, some of the literature (notably Valentine 1989; Stanko 1990a; Hanmer 1978) uncritically adopts traditional conceptions of women as passive victims with limited agency. One example is Hanmer (1978, 220), who writes that a definition of violence should be feminine, which she defines to be "based on the perspective of the victim." Such assumptions have been criticized in other feminist literature, notably by Pain (1991), who asserts that women are not universally passive, and by Los (1990), who urges feminist services to steer away from the predominant focus on women as rape victims and instead devote more attention to confronting the roots and reduction of rape.
[14] Collins (1991), hooks (1984) and Lorde (1984) argue that Black feminist thought, among other discourses that have departed from the feminist mainstream, has been actively suppressed and marginalized at both personal and institutional levels.

coercive authority. Black feminist literature rejects the versions of feminism that view patriarchy as the primary oppressive mechanism because this view is seen to negate the experiences of poor and non-white women who experience intersecting systems of oppression based on race, class and gender (Collins 1991; Crenshaw 1994; hooks 1984). hooks (1984, 25-31) argues that the advocacy of feminism must be a political commitment to "eradicate the underlying cultural biases and causes of sexism and other forms of group oppression," requiring a recognition that race and class oppression have as much relevance as sexism.[15] According to Collins (1991), the vision of black feminism that has emerged from various Black intellectuals resembles less a "woman's struggle" than it does a "people's struggle," rooted in a humanist vision of community.

Black feminism's agenda of liberation expands beyond freedom from just patriarchal rule to the broader interlocking systems of domination, and thus necessarily rejects the discourse of the struggle between the sexes. A common theme in black feminist literature is that an exclusive focus on male/female difference and conflict is a tool of social control that diverts attention from other kinds of conflict (Childers and hooks 1990; Lorde 1984). hooks (1984, 18) notes that the notion of "men as the enemy" is not central to the experience of black women, who experience a shared oppression with the men in their lives, as well as common knowledge that all women do not share a common social status.

Black feminist literature argues that the scope of mainstream feminist thought on fear and violence is restricted to the experience of white, middle-class women, and does

[15] hooks (1984, 29-30) argues that the statement "I am a feminist" could be replaced by "I advocate feminism" in order to emphasize feminism as a political commitment instead of an identity or lifestyle. hooks notes this approach does not negate the possibility of supporting other political movements and would encourage greater exploration in feminist theory.

not represent the experiences of women of color. A common observation within this body of literature is that black women's reality is negated both by mainstream feminist thought, which is shaped by a presumption of whiteness, and by Black social and political thought, which is shaped by a presumption of maleness (Collins 1991; Crenshaw 1994; hooks 1984; Lorde 1984; Smith 1990). Crenshaw (1994, 99-100) writes: "The failure of feminism to interrogate race means that the resistance strategies of feminism will often replicate and reinforce the subordination of people of color, and the failure of antiracism to interrogate patriarchy means that antiracism will frequently reproduce the subordination of women." hooks (1984, 14-15) argues that black women's marginality results in a lived experience that allows a special vantage point to criticize dominant racist, classist and sexist hegemony and to envision a counter hegemony.

Black feminism and other feminist perspectives marginalized from mainstream feminist discourse envision liberation from the interlocking domination of patriarchy, racism and capitalism. This literature argues that sexism cannot be separated from the effects of race and class oppression, thus the resulting vision is essentially humanist.

Feminist Contributions to Knowledge about Fear of Crime

Feminist literature rejects certain assumptions made by the general literature about fear of crime and provides an expanded and comprehensive picture of the problem of women's fear of crime. I review the following contributions of feminist literature to the understanding of women's fear of crime: the nature of women's fear, gender-specific sources of fear, the problem of measuring risk and victimization, and the convergent effects of gender, class and ethnic oppression.

Non-feminist literature refers to women's "fear of crime;" however, most feminist researchers argue that women's fear of crime is in fact dominantly a fear of sexual danger and/or rape.[16] Feminist literature explains women's heightened fear of rape and sexual assault to be due in part to certain beliefs about rape: its associated emotional damage, the blaming of the victim, links with gratuitous violence, and the perception that rape is impossible to successfully resist (Fury et al. 1990; Junger 1987; MacLeod 1989; Pain 1991; Riger 1981; Scheppele and Bart 1983; Stanko 1987, 1990a and 1990b). Feminist literature also provides an expanded understanding of the processes that produce fear and lead to restricted behavior.

Sexual harassment, a common form of intimidation, is identified as a significant contributor to women's fear of victimization (Junger 1987; MacLeod 1989; Pain 1991; Valentine 1989). MacLeod (1989, 30) writes that sexual harassment "serves to remind women that their worth is too often calculated in terms of their sexuality as it is interpreted by men who do not care about them." According to Gardner (1989), harassing remarks made in the street also function as a mechanism of social control by warning women of danger in public places.

According to much feminist literature, socialization processes are partly responsible for higher levels of fear because they teach women to be passive, because they suggest that the threat of sexual violence is inevitable, and because they teach "there is a series of boundaries in the physical and social worlds which they must not cross if they wish to remain safe" (Fox 1977; Hanmer 1978; Pain 1991, 423; Valentine 1992). Riger and Gordon (1981) document feelings of physical vulnerability among women,

[16] An exception within the general literature is Warr (1984, 1985): his study finds that, among young women, rape is feared more than any other offence.

which they attribute to the socialization process that teaches passivity.[17] Some feminists argue that sex-role socialization can cause women to see themselves as possible contributors to the victimization. According to the literature, socialization, in conjunction with the view that rape is avoidable if women take precautions, buttresses pervasive societal blaming of victims of sexual violence (Fonow et al. 1992; MacLeod 1989; Scheppele and Bart 1983; Williams 1984).

The non-feminist literature (reviewed earlier) relies heavily on traditional empirical research to determine risk and, according to resulting statistics, sexual violence is found to be a relatively uncommon occurrence. Feminist literature identifies several problems inherent in quantitative studies of sexual violence that undermine the reliability of official rape and sexual assault statistics. Johnson (1980) and Kirk (1988) cite alternative sources of data, such as those from rape crisis centres, that estimate 70-90% of all rapes go unreported. According to Williams (1984), reasons for nonreporting include fear of retaliation, avoidance of notoriety attached to rape prosecution, embarrassment, shame, fear of rejection by family, fear of publicity and lack of faith in the justice system. Radford (1987) argues that the anticipated nature or lack of police response also discourages women from reporting. Furthermore, several feminist studies show that sexual violence that is most likely to be reported occurs in public spaces by unknown offenders, thus statistics underrepresent violence (particularly domestic violence) from known offenders (Johnson 1980; MacLeod 1989; Pain 1991; Radford 1987; Riger 1981; Stanko 1987 and 1990b; Williams 1984).[18]

[17] Riger and Gordon (1981) documented that 63% of women felt that they were less physically competent than the average man or woman — a statistical reflection of a mass inaccuracy of self image.

[18] Williams argues that "classic rape" cases — in which an unknown assailant in public space forcibly rapes a woman — is most likely to be reported because the woman views herself as a true crime victim.

Feminist literature rejects the legitimacy of the debate surrounding women's high levels of fear and apparent low victimization rates found within non-feminist literature. Feminist literature argues that women's high levels of fear are justifiable due to the widespread violence of which women are victims (not reflected in official statistics) and due to the serious consequences and women's greater risk of sexual violence. (Junger 1987; MacLeod 1989; and Riger 1981 engage in an in-depth look at this debate.)

In the article, "Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color," Crenshaw (1994) stresses that the convergence of gender, race and class shape the way in which women of colour experience violence. Crenshaw cites high rates of poverty, limited access to jobs and housing, language barriers, distrust of police, and marginalization from women's groups as some of the factors that can shape many women's experiences of violence. She argues that dominant feminist and antiracist discourses have not only failed to consider the intersections of racism and patriarchy, particularly in the case of women of colour's experiences of male violence, but have functioned in tandem to marginalize the issue of violence against women of colour. Crenshaw argues that intervention strategies (both against violence and racism) must recognize the "intersectionality" of racism and patriarchy in the lives of women of colour. She suggests that an intersectional approach to issues of male violence and racism will overcome the portrayal of race and gender as mutually exclusive by confronting the existence and effects of racial stratification among women and by recognizing intraracial violence against women of colour.

Williams argues that the disinclination to report rape by known men is due to victims' questioning of their role and responsibility in the incident.

Marginalized feminist perspectives draw attention to mainstream feminist's frequent reference to "women" as a homogenous entity, which implies a universal character and interest that overcomes difference. For example, Edwards (1987), Hanmer (1978), and Stanko (1990a) make repeated general references to "women's" experiences of violence and "women's" oppression. Some mainstream feminist literature does explore differences among women as they pertain to experiences of fear. Riger and Gordon (1981) and Riger (1981) empirically examine how fear varies among women, particularly along the lines of race, class, income, etc. Pain (1991) articulates the need within geographical feminist enquiry to develop a theory that takes into account the effects of race, class, age and sexuality. These efforts notwithstanding, there is a clear absence of theoretical work within mainstream feminism concerning differences among women as these pertain to women's fear and experiences of violence. Black feminist literature argues that feminist theories that advance the universal interests and experiences of "women" conceal a presumption of whiteness and are applicable only to the white, middle-class backgrounds of their proponents (Collins 1991, 7; hooks 1984; Lorde 1984; Smith 1990, 271). hooks (1984, 5) writes that the common assertion that all women are oppressed "implies that women share a common lot, that factors like class, race, religion, sexual preference, etc. do not create a diversity of experience that determines the extent to which sexism will be an oppressive force in the lives of individual women."

Feminist literature contributes to a better understanding of women's fear of crime by redefining women's fear as a fear of sexual violence, by identifying sources of fear such as harassment and socialization, by revealing a greater extent of actual violence, particularly by known offenders, and by stressing that many women's experiences of fear

and violence are shaped not only by gender but also by ethnicity, class and sexual orientation. This body of literature accepts the complexity of women's fear of crime — a matter that is essentially ignored in non-feminist literature. Differences within feminist theory contribute to an enhanced understanding of women's fear of crime. Black feminist thought, which criticizes mainstream feminism for its inattention to difference between women and exclusive focus on patriarchal power relations, argues that experiences of fear and violence are shaped by a variety of power relations.

Feminist Geography: Spatial Analysis of Women's Fear and Experiences of Violence

Geographical feminist literature redirects the focus of both the geographic and feminist analyses of women's fear of crime. Rachel Pain (1991, 417), an advocate of the integration of geographical and feminist analyses, writes: "A mistaken assumption common to a more traditional geographical approach is that the *physical* areas women fear are more important than *symbolic* connotations of space." Pain notes that the labelling of space and the construction of spatial identities are of central importance in feminist geography.

This section reviews the geographical feminist literature on the significance of public spaces and the symbolic division between a male public sphere and a female private sphere, and examines two recurrent issues: the geography of women's limitation of their use of public space, and the mismatch between women's geographies of fear and violence.[19]

[19] Much of the literature is not self-identified as geographic feminism or feminist geography and some of it, while written from the perspective of sociology, is particularly applicable to feminist geography. Thus, I included literature in this section that is openly feminist and adopts a geographic appreciation of spatial relationships and analysis.

The Significance of Public Space and the Public/Private Divide

The appreciation of the importance of full access to public space is central to much non-feminist geographic literature. Examples include the work of Beckett (1994) and Boddy (1992), who view public space as an arena of public life and political power. These authors lament the trend in urban planning towards privatization of space (malls, underground cities, gated communities) which, they argue, is fueled by urban and social agendas to stratify class and race. Feminist geographic literature shares the appreciation that the trend towards restricting public spaces to specific groups is indicative of a society characterized by hegemonic power relations. Gardner (1989, 56) argues that public places are arenas for the enactment of inequality in everyday life...;" and Rose (1990, 395) writes: "The meaning of certain places and spaces is bound into particular configurations of power and resistance; locations may become significant through often violent attempts to control them, or through painful struggles of the exploited for a place of their own in which they can become themselves."

Feminist geographic literature focuses on the social and spatial stratification of gender. This literature laments the ideological and often physical exclusion of women from public spaces, which, it argues, limits women's access to a public voice, identity and power. Feminist geographers argue that the symbolic division of spaces into, on the one hand, the public sphere that is masculine, urban, and political and, on the other hand, the private sphere that is feminine, suburban and domestic, reinforces women's exclusion from public space and associated power (Gardner 1990; MacGregor 1995; Rose 1990; Saegert 1980; Valentine 1992). Rose (1990, 397) suggests that the feminist rejection of

the public-private division of space challenges traditional geography which, she argues, has historically adopted a "masculinist geographical imagination" that asserts "certain issues are 'private' rather than social and political constructs, and are therefore of no concern to a social science."

Women's Restricted Use of Public Space and the Mismatch between the Geographies of Fear and Danger

The connection between the symbolic division of space and women's fear of crime becomes evident in the literature's examination of the geography of limitation (women's restricted use of public space) and the mismatch between women's geography of fear and violence. Scheppele and Bart (1983, 64) argue that "women's personal landscapes have been posted with cultural signs, warning of the 'do's and don'ts' in their travels." The result is what they call 'the geography of limitation and fear.' Klodawsky and Lundy (1994, 130) note that these cultural signposts have both temporal and spatial elements: women's perception of danger is increased by darkness, isolation and spaces with restricted access or escape. Whitzman (1992) illustrates temporal and spatial elements that contribute to women's fear (see Table 1.1). According to Valentine (1989, 1992), women's restricted use of public space allows men to appropriate it, further reinforcing women's self confinement to the private sphere. Valentine (1989, 389) argues: "Women's inhibited use and occupation of public space is a spatial expression of patriarchy."

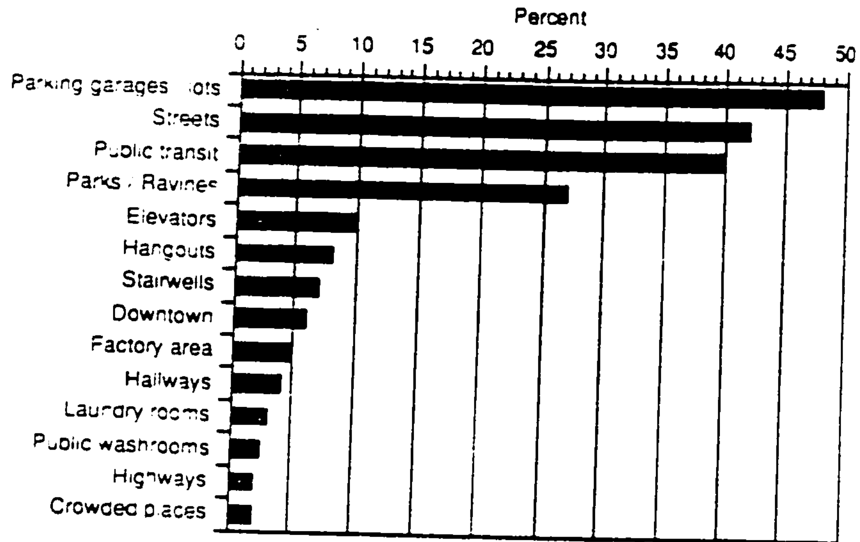
The geography of limitation is closely linked to another major focus of feminist geography concerning women's fear of violence, namely, the mismatch between the geographies of fear and danger. Feminist geographic literature stresses the significance

of the finding that women's spatial patterns of fear do not correspond with patterns of violence and victimization. It is well documented that women's greatest fears are of public spaces, particularly those which are dark, isolated or restrictive (Furby et al. 1990; Gordon et al. 1980; Radford 1987; Warr 1985; Valentine 1989). Feminist geographic literature points out that this fear of public places is bolstered by statistics that severely distort the geography of women's experiences of violence. Williams (1984) illustrates the inaccuracy of statistics in communicating the location of danger; she finds that rape in social situations is considerably underreported, particularly in comparison with rape in public space (see Figure 1.2).

Despite the difficulty of gathering conclusive data on women's victimization, the literature demonstrates a widespread agreement that women are in equal or greater danger in private spaces from men generally viewed as "safe," even though women express more fear of public spaces and strangers (Furby et al. 1990; Pain 1991; Radford 1987; Scheppele and Bart 1983; Stanko 1987, 1990a and 1990b; Valentine 1989 and 1992; Williams 1984). Feminist geographic literature qualitatively and statistically demonstrates the mismatch between the geographies of fear and danger. Furby et al. (1990) and Warr (1985) provide empirical evidence that women view potential rapists to be strangers and rapes to occur outside of the home, reflecting that a large part of women's fear of crime is fear of 'stranger danger.' Williams (1984) cites a series of studies completed in the 1970s which show that almost half of all rapes occur in the daytime, and that 18- 56% of all rapes take place in women's homes. Other literature cites estimates that 20-84% of all rapes are committed by known offenders (Pain 1991; Stanko 1987; and 1993; Valentine 1989). While these statistics are wide-ranging, even

official statistics accused of systematically underrepresenting and misrepresenting women's experiences of violence support the literature's contention that women are at least in as much danger in private spaces as they are in public spaces (see Figure 1.3). Other feminist literature documents women's personal stories of domestic violence and sexual assaults that have occurred in social situations at unexpected times and places (Hanmer 1978; Hanmer and Saunders 1984; Radford 1987; Stanko 1985 and 1987). MacLeod (1989, 28) writes: "Women's fear is increased by their understanding that they have no 'safe' place."

According to Scheppele and Bart (1983), the geography of limitation and fear, shaped by the mismatch between the geography of fear and danger, is characterized by the common view that the risk of rape is controllable if certain strategies (particularly of avoidance) are adopted. Valentine (1989, 385) argues that assigning responsibility for rape avoidance to women and blaming women who were in public places at the time of their victimization, "encourages all women to transfer their threat appraisal from men to certain public spaces where they may encounter attackers," thus reinforcing the mismatch in geographies. Feminist geographic literature does not imply that there is no danger in public spaces; however, it is argued by several authors that the danger from known offenders and in private space must not be underestimated (Pain 1991; Radford 1987; Scheppele and Bart 1983). Pain (1991, 415) summarizes a central feminist geographic contention: "The spatial patterns of women's perceptions of risks, of the actual risks they are exposed to and of their behavioural responses have implications for their equal participation in society." According to Hanmer and Saunders (1984, 65-67), the mismatch between geographies of fear and violence perpetuates the division



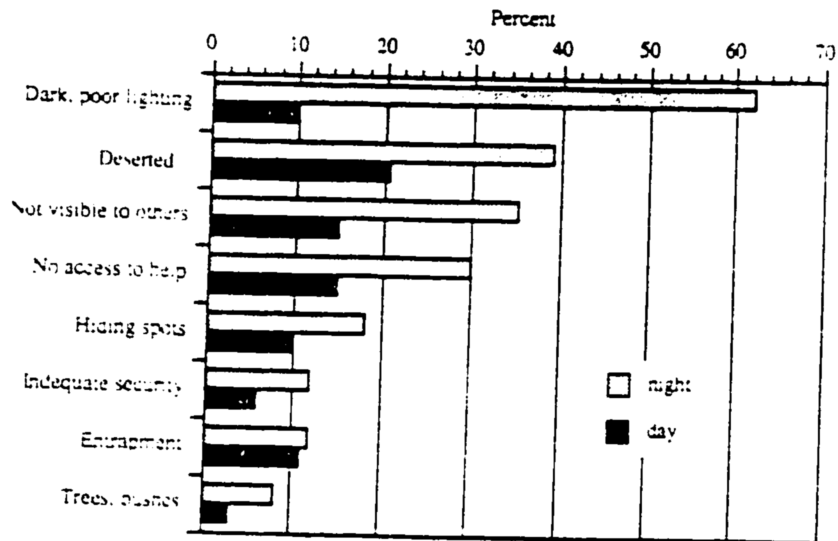


FIGURE 2. Design characteristics that contribute to women feeling "unsafe / uncomfortable," (source: METRAC).

Figure 1.1: Temporal and spatial elements that contribute to women's fear, compiled by Whitzman (1992, 172)

Variables Which Significantly Affected Victim Reporting to the Police

Variables	Percent Reporting	Total Number	χ^2	p*
Relationship Between Victim and Rapist				
Stranger/Acquaintance	63	196		
Friend/Relative	44	49	5.49	.02
How They Met				
In Public/Break In	72	131		
Social Situation	47	111	15.57	.001
Use of Force				
High	81	58		
Low	54	131	11.72	.001
Threat of Force				
High	80	60		
Low	57	119	9.13	.01
Degree of Injury				
High	76	43		
Low	54	191	7.19	.01
Medical Treatment				
Yes	75	162		
No	25	77	49.21	.0001

Note

* Degrees of freedom = 1 for all tests.

Figure 1.2: Underreporting of rape in social situations, as illustrated by table compiled by Williams (1984, 463)

Table 14. When and where rapes of women occurred, by whether the rape was completed or attempted, 1979-87

	Rape of women		
	Total	Completed	Attempted
Time of occurrence			
Total	100%	100%	100%
Dawn	1*	1*	**
Day	31	25	34
Dusk	3	2*	3
Night	65	72	61
Before midnight	34	33	34
After midnight	30	36	25
Don't know	1	3*	**
Place of occurrence			
Total	100%	100%	100%
At or in own home	35	41	31
Near own home	8	3*	10
At or near friend's home	15	19	12
On the street	20	18	21
Inside commercial buildings	4	2*	5
On public transportation	0*	0*	1*
In parking lot or garage	6	5	7
On school property	4	1*	5
In a park	3	2*	4
Other places	5	8	4
Number of victimizations	1,382,800	495,900	886,800

Note: References to women include adolescents but not children under age 12. Detail may not add to total because of rounding and omission of "don't know" and "not ascertained" categories.
"At or in own home" includes vacation homes.
*Too few cases to obtain a statistically reliable estimate.

Figure 1.3: Women's danger in private space illustrated by U.S. government statistics compiled by Harlow (1991, 7)

of public and private spheres in women's lives. They summarize their findings as follows:

1. Fear of violence in public places is socially sanctioned and increases the belief that the home is a safe place.
2. This fear lessens women's public participation by restricting the places, times and means governing use of public space.
3. This causes women to become more dependent on individual men for protection and become more isolated in private space, enhancing circumstances of domestic violence.
4. Inaction on the part of the police in the event of domestic violence causes women to see them as unhelpful and ineffective, which in turn reinforces the fear of attack from strange men and the belief in the relative safety of the home.

Geographic feminism demonstrates that the geography of limitation and fear, driven by the mismatch between geographies of fear and violence, plays a major role in maintaining the distinction between a male public sphere to which women enjoy only restricted access, and a female private sphere which can isolate women and does not ensure women's safety from violence.

Individuals' Coping Strategies

The literature identifies various individual strategies that are used in response to fear of violence, including avoidance strategies (actions taken to decrease exposure to danger), self-protective strategies (actions taken to minimize risk when in presence of perceived danger) and the use of escorts (protection from a group or individual). Avoidance strategies include staying home, avoiding certain parts of the city, or walking quickly through areas thought to be dangerous. Self-protective actions include developing street savvy, carrying a weapon, training in self defense and altering dress to facilitate escape or resistance. Escort strategies involve walking with a friend, walking in or near groups, or

using a walking service (Gardner 1990; MacLeod 1989; Nasar and Fisher 1992; Radford 1987; Riger and Gordon 1981; Riger, Gordon and LeBailly 1982).

According to Furby et al. (1990), Gardner (1989) and Day (1995), typical coping strategies place the responsibility for prevention on individual women and reflect certain misconceptions — for example, that a potential assailant would most likely be a stranger and that rape would take place outside, in public areas. Scheppele and Bart (1983, 65) argue that rape avoidance strategies are not necessarily helpful in avoiding rape, because the geography of fear does not correspond with the geography of rape, that is, "the risk of rape cannot always be confined to strange men in strange places."

Most of the feminist and feminist geographic literature concurs that the large majority of coping strategies detrimentally affect the quality of women's lives. No evidence is provided in any of the reviewed literature that these coping strategies reduce fear or increase safety in public space. Cohn et al. (1978) report the only exception: women reported feeling braver, more active and more in control after self defense training.[20] The literature suggests that avoidance of public spaces and increased dependence on men can actually increase exposure to risk in private space (Riger and Gordon 1981; Scheppele and Bart 1983; Stanko 1990a). Feminist literature identifies a range of effects caused by precautionary behaviours. According to Stanko (1990a), coping strategies can result in emotional costs (anger, anxiety, resentment), financial loss (locks, transport, safer housing) and social isolation. Other literature argues that these strategies foster social withdrawal and result in lost social, academic, political and work opportunities — that, in short, they limit women from being active participants in public life (Gardner 1990; Klodawsky and Lundy 1994; MacLeod 1989; Radford 1987; Riger

and Gordon 1981; Valentine 1989). A large-scale study by Gordon et al. (1980, 152) illustrates the restrictive effects of these coping strategies. When asked how often they did not do things they wanted to do because of fear, 30% of women (75% of men) responded "never"; similarly, when asked how often they restricted their outside activities to the daytime, 26% of women (72% of men) responded "never." Such statistics support the general contention within feminist geography that many individual coping strategies reinforce women's restricted use of and access to public space.

Collective Initiatives in Canada

Unlike an individual's coping strategies, most collectively organized initiatives are formed with the goal of reducing fear and increasing women's autonomy in urban environments. These collective initiatives are formed in response to the detrimental effects of women's fear and experiences of violence, as well as the isolating and fear-enhancing effects of individual coping strategies.

Canada is internationally recognized for its locally-based, collective initiatives created to reduce fear and violence (Whitzman 1995). An example of this recognition can be found in the OECD conference report, *Women in the City* (1995, 98), which states that "Canada has gone further than most countries in addressing the problem of safety for women, at both federal and local levels." The report argues that Canadian initiatives, particularly those organized in Toronto, have been at the international forefront of policy to increase women's safety.

It is unanimously recognized in the literature that Toronto's municipal and community initiatives have been an inspiration to similar initiatives around the country.

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[20] Gordon et al. (1980) found that only 17% of women surveyed had ever taken self defense classes.

The two primary initiatives based in Toronto are METRAC (Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children), created in 1984 with municipal funding and an independent board of directors, and the Safe City Committee, formed in 1989 by the Toronto City Council, consisting of both municipal and community representatives (Whitzman 1995).

METRAC was created in response to public concern over a series of rapes and murders in the Toronto area, and was given a broad mandate including criminal justice advocacy, public education, research, support for existing services, training and law reform (METRAC 1989). In conjunction with community organizations such as Women Plan Toronto, several reports and guides have been produced that have been used by community organizations both nationally and internationally: these include METRAC's *Women's Safety Audit Guide/Kit* (1989), *Women in Safe Environments [W.I.S.E.] Report* (1987), *Moving Forward: Making Transit Safer for Women* (1989), *Planning for Sexual Assault Prevention* (1989) and the *Women's Campus Safety Audit Kit* (1991).

The Safe City Committee was created to develop policy to enhance women's safety and to implement recommendations of the Safe City Report (1984), which advocated changes in urban design/planning, community involvement in crime prevention, public transit and policing (City of Toronto 1989, 1990). The Safe City Committee has implemented initiatives aimed at reducing violence in both public and private spaces, including education programs, free self-defense classes and community funding, and has produced reports such as *Take Back Toronto: A guide to preventing violence against women in your community* (Gilmore 1991).

During the late 1980s and 1990s, local initiatives inspired by the Toronto example were implemented across Canada to increase women's safety and to reduce debilitating fear. In Montreal, CAFSU (Comité d'Action Femmes et Securité Urbaine), a coalition of community and municipal groups, has organized conferences on women and urban safety, conducted safety audits in Montreal, launched educational campaigns about violence, and promoted urban planning as a tool to improve safety and the accessibility of public areas (CAFSU 1993; Femmes et Ville 1989; Lahaise 1993; Secrétariat d'État du Canada et Tandem Montréal 1992; Ville de Montréal 1993). In Ottawa, the Women's Action Centre Against Violence (WACAV) has sponsored professional education for planners, developers and architects, as well as a coalition on workplace harassment, and has sponsored safety audits which consider the diversity of concerns among women and stress the implementation process (WACAV 1996a, 1996b; Whitzman 1995). According to Whitzman (1995), other initiatives inspired by the Toronto programs include Winnipeg's Taskforce on Violence Against Women and Children, the Saint John Safe City Committee and Vancouver's Safer City Taskforce.

There are several themes common to Canadian collective initiatives that become evident in an examination of the primary and secondary documentation. One common theme is the assertion that it is a woman's right to live without fear and violence and to freely use public space. The proceedings of the Conférence montréalaise sur les femmes et la sécurité urbaine (Secrétariat d'État du Canada 1992, 46) asserts a rights argument in the first of a set of a working principles:

> Toute femme a un droit inaliénable à la jouissance des attributs de sa ville, de son quartier et de sa rue sans qu'aucune contrainte liée à sa sécurité ne vienne, de quelque façon que ce soit, limiter l'exercice de ce droit.

A City of Toronto publication (1990, 3-4) argues that "the right to a safe city" should be included as an objective of the municipal Official Plan. The report supports this argument by quoting from a Greater London Council, (UK) document (1986), which states:

> Women have a right to use the city when and how they choose. Fewer women out at night means that they are less secure and have their rights to use the city undermined.

The application of a feminist perspective to issues of fear and violence is another commonality among local-level initiatives. Many groups preface reports with the acknowledgement of either a feminist or a "gender specific" perspective, as seen in the following statements:

> We believe that violence against women is part of a continuum of sexist power relationships which define our roles in the home, the workplace, and society in general. Inequality, poverty, and alienation spawn further violence and make women more fearful for their physical safety, which in turn causes them to limit their right to participate fully in City life. (Toronto City Council 1989, 1)

> A gender-specific analysis of crime and violence is based on the premise that violence against women is the consequence of women's inequality. Municipal governments are increasingly aware of the link between inequality and violence against women as demonstrated in their safer communities task force reports. (Federation of Canadian Municipalities 1994)

> Le CAFSU (Comité d'action femmes et sécurité urbaine) a circonscrit son mandat à la sécurité des femmes dans les espaces publics du territoire de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal. Les membres partenaires du CAFSU ont convenu qu'il était essentiel de fonder leur intervention commune sur une analyse féministe de la problématique. Ils reconnaissent ainsi: le sentiment d'insécurité des femmes comme un indicateur privilégié d'évaluation et d'analyse; les inégalités sociopolitiques entre les hommes et les femmes; la nécessité pour les femmes de réduire leur vulnérabilité, de briser leur autonomie en ayant accès à une information réaliste concernant les agressions. (CAFSU 1993, 5)

The centrality of feminist analyses within the discourse on the prevention of violence is identified by Andrew (1995) in her case study of WACAV - - a theme which seems to be

representative of other locally based initiatives. Andrew notes that this discourse includes a recognition of the pertinence of feminism to municipal policy, and specifically that "only by understanding violence against women as being rooted in unequal power relations of society could effective policies be implemented" (115).

The centrality of feminist analyses is coupled with a second discourse, also a characteristic theme of Canadian collective initiatives, which incorporates the idea that municipal governments have responsibilities in the areas of urban safety and crime prevention and thus the responsibility to enact policies to reduce violence against women. The pattern of cooperation between community groups and municipal governments is characterized by a recognition that the grassroots must be actively involved in providing vision and direction. Andrew (1995, 109) summarizes the trend towards the community-based model in recent Canadian municipal initiatives:

> Municipal government is seen as a focal point for community action, but this action must remain firmly rooted in the community. The formal/informal dichotomy must disappear, and municipal resources must support and enhance the community network.

Andrew notes that this trend parallels a shift in the function of Canadian municipalities from being "relatively insignificant political actors" focused primarily on infrastructure provision, to municipalities as active shapers of social policy (1995, 104-105). Andrew argues that the increasing trend of municipal policies concerning violence against women is primarily the result of pressure from women's groups, but that this success has stemmed in part from "the compatibility of the issue of violence against women with urban safety and crime prevention, areas where the legitimacy of municipal government involvement is established" (106).

Canadian collective initiatives are also characterized by an integration of physical design improvements with proactive social policies to reduce fear and violence. Whitzman (1995) argues that the integration of the physical and social spheres of policy (requiring the active participation of urban planners), coupled with an incorporation of a feminist analysis of fear and violence, is necessary for the successful promotion of urban safety and reduction of violence. *The Safe City* report (1989) illustrates the integration of the physical and social spheres in its recommendations, which include changes in urban design and planning, community participation in crime prevention, public transit and policing. A WACAV report (1996a, 2) states: "Changes in the physical environment alone will not end sexual assault and harassment of women, but they will reduce the risk and increase women's access to public spaces. At the same time, it is essential to look at attitudes and behaviors that encourage violence against women." Locally based collective initiatives are consistently working towards this integration, notably through the use of safety audits (used by municipalities, community groups, campuses and others), and the promotion of social policy (support and advocacy programs, educational campaigns, etc.).

Although the primary emphasis within collective initiatives has been on the prevention of violence occurring in public spaces, there has been consideration of violence occurring in private space. This consideration is evident in the following excerpt concerning the City of Montreal's role in response to domestic violence:

> We in no way believe that the City can solve this problem [conjugal violence] on its own but it can use its power to indirectly intervene by clearly showing its support to initiatives seeking to reduce conjugal violence. The City can put pressure on higher levels of government to ensure the financing of shelters for battered women and the financing of support services. The City can also ensure that zoning and bylaws allow

the establishment of the shelters. Finally, the City can offer them financial support and/or material, such as loaning them space.
(Femmes et Ville 1989, 48)

The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) (1994) outlines several ways that municipalities can and should address domestic violence, including social assistance, lobbying of provincial governments to increase funding to shelters, and the provision of crisis intervention training for police officers. Some collective initiatives incorporate community-level responses to violence in private space. For instance, a WACAV report (1996b, 32) includes several case histories of community actions to prevent violence and reduce fear, including the following concerning domestic violence:

> In Ottawa, Ontario, women in a housing project who were upset at hearing a woman being regularly beaten by her husband decided to take matters into their own hands. Equipped with pots, pans and spoons, they would bang their pots in front of the abuser's home when the abuse started. They were soon joined by other pot bangers and attracted the attention of the whole neighbourhood. The abuser, threatened and embarrassed by all this attention, stopped beating his wife after only two pot-banging events.

Most collectively organized initiatives demonstrate a recognition of the fact that differences among women affect the experiences of fear and violence. WACAV (1996a, v) recognized this by updating the safety audit process to include "the concerns of women with disabilities, francophone women, women living in rural areas, Aboriginal women and immigrant and women from racial minorities." Another example is found in the FCM report (1994, 9), which states:

> Violence is not only linked to gender inequality, however, it is also linked to race, class, ability, sexual orientation and age. A woman of color, for example, suffers two forms of inequality: one because of her sex, the other because of the color of her skin. She is more vulnerable to violence

because she must not only face the fear of an attack based on sexism, but also the fear of an attack based on racism.

During the mid-1980s, collective initiatives in Toronto were formed to increase women's urban safety. As already noted, these initiatives inspired the creation of similar locally-based programs across Canada. Canadian collective initiatives share several common themes, which include:

> • the assertion that it is women's right to live without fear and violence and to use public space freely;
>
> • the belief that the application of a feminist analysis of fear and violence is necessary if effective policies are to be created that reduce fear and violence;
>
> • the sense that municipalities have a responsibility to support policies and programs designed to reduce fear and violence, but that collective initiatives must remain rooted in community and women's groups;
>
> • the common effort to reduce fear and violence by relying on strategies which integrate physical design improvements and proactive social policies; and
>
> • the shared understanding that violence occurring in private spaces and the impact of differences among women should not be overlooked in programs and policies designed to reduce fear and violence.

Feminist geography views women's free use of public space to be essential for full and active participation in society. Women's restricted use of space is seen to be a physical manifestation of the ideological separation of public and private spheres. According to feminist geographic literature, women's lives are characterized by temporal and spatial limitations to their activities in response to perceived danger from strangers in public spaces. The literature argues that this geography of fear does not correspond to the geography of danger from violence, which is characterized by dominant risk from

familiar men, especially in private space. The mismatch between women's geographies of fear and experiences of violence is identified as one mechanism that restricts women's free use of space and maintains the distinction of public and private spheres. Most of the individual strategies that women use to cope with fear are shaped by the mismatch between these geographies and are seen by most feminist and feminist geographic literature to actually reinforce fear, dependence and restricted access to public space. Collective initiatives organized at the community and municipal level have sought to reclaim city spaces from fear and the threat of violence through changes in physical design and social policy, with the goal of enhancing women's autonomy, reducing women's fear and increasing women's access to public spaces.

Summary

My examination of general, pro-feminist and feminist geographical literature reveals the following:

> • Geographical and sociological literature that does not highlight the category of gender lacks substantial analysis of women's fear of crime, despite the universal finding that gender is the most significant variable associated with fear of crime.
>
> • Women-centred literature rejects an exclusive focus on the theme of danger from strangers in public spaces, and argues that sexual violence is widespread in extent and is often committed by men known to women.
>
> • Some feminist research argues that women's fear and experiences of violence are symptomatic of patriarchal power relations, while other feminist perspectives stress that an intersectionality of oppressions (racist, economic, sexist, etc.) shapes many women's experiences of fear, safety and violence.
>
> • Feminist geography demonstrates that two geographic results of women's fear — a limitation on the use of public space and the misidentification of the location of most danger — function to maintain the physical and symbolic division of the public/male and private/female spheres and their associated power.

• Feminist geography generally agrees that individualized strategies (implemented in response to fear) are shaped by misconceptions about the geography of danger and actually reinforce fear, dependence, isolation in private space and reduced participation in work and social activities.

• Feminist geographic literature and primary-source documentation clearly indicate that most collectively organized community and municipal initiatives designed to reduce women's fear and the threat of violence share an understanding of the geography of women's fear, and are thus beneficial strategies to reduce fear and increase safety.

As stated at the outset of this literature review, the objectives of this thesis are 1) to explore the rationale behind Concordia's Student Safety Patrol and to examine how it was implemented and how it has changed; and 2) to describe the service's position on several key issues associated with women's fear of crime and to evaluate its success in providing a liberating and informed alternative to fear. The literature raises several issues associated with these objectives that will be explored in my case study of the University's walking service. Feminist literature demonstrates that conceptions of oppression and visions of liberation profoundly shape women's fear and experiences of violence as well as the strategies employed in response. The vision of a strategy will likely suggest the nature of its policy implementation; likewise the nature of a strategy's feminist analysis will likely determine the extent to which intersecting oppressions are considered. Feminist geographical literature highlights the misconception evident among many women and most crime prevention advice that women are in greater risk of sexual violence in public spaces and from strangers. Thus, an organized strategy's degree of awareness about the geography of fear and violence would greatly shape its effectiveness in promoting women's safety. Accordingly, the literature suggests that most individualized strategies perpetuate fear and dependence and foster patterns of isolation, whereas most collective initiatives that recognize the geography of women's fear and

danger seek to reduce fear and promote women's safety in both public and private spheres.

The following questions are formulated in response to the themes and issues that the literature has identified to be pertinent to the investigation of the thesis objectives:

1. What was the original mandate/vision of the Concordia Student Safety Patrol (CSSP) program?

2. Has the CSSP considered how differences among women (such as ethnicity, income, etc.) affect their experiences of fear and violence? If so, has this understanding been incorporated into the design of its service provision?

3. In what types of places does the CSSP consider women to be at greatest risk, and who are considered to be typical perpetrators of violence? Does the service recognize or address the risk that many women face from known offenders, often in private space?

4. Has the CSSP program attempted to define or analyze its effect on women's fear of violence and perception of public and private space? Are there any indications that its services have increased or decreased fear among its users?

5. Has the Concordia Student Safety Patrol collaborated with other safety and anti-violence initiatives? If so, what are the connections to and influences of these other collective initiatives?

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Feminist Methodology

Feminist methodology has been defined as the "broad theory of how to do feminist research" (Jayaratne and Stewart 1991, 92). This statement is deceptively simple as there are many debates concerning the nature of feminist research and inquiry.[15] For instance, is there a distinctive and unified feminist methodology or a diversity of methodologies? Can feminist research incorporate aspects of traditional empirical research, such as quantitative methods? I will briefly examine these questions before discussing the methodology that I used in my study of Concordia's Student Safety Patrol (CSSP).

Distinctive Feminist Methodology or Diverse Feminist Methodologies?

It is sometimes claimed that the feminist approach to research is one that is fundamentally consistent and characterized by a cohesive set of values and beliefs, to such a degree that it constitutes a distinctive and unified feminist methodology — perhaps even a new paradigm (as advocated for example by Joyce McCarl Nielsen, Renate Duelli Klein and Maria Mies). For instance, Nielsen argues that the "irreducible element" in feminist discourse that provides the basis of a "distinctive feminist methodology" is "its focus on the distinctive experience of women—that is, seeing women rather than just men in centre stage, as both subject matter of and creators of knowledge" (1990, 19-20). Both Klein and Nielsen acknowledge a variety of feminist

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[15] There is less controversy concerning the definitions of *method* and *methodology*. I feel the following definitions provide the simplest and most straightforward meanings, and it is these meanings to which I refer in this paper. Sandra Harding defines a research method as a "technique for gathering evidence" (1987, 23). Mary Fonow and Judith Cook define methodology as "the study of actual techniques and practices used in the research process" (1991, 1).

methods. but view them to be a product of differing research needs and not a reflection of fundamentally different analyses (Nielsen 1990, 19 and Klein 1983, 89).

Another point of view is that there is a diversity of feminist research methodologies (rather than a distinctive "feminist methodology"). Sandra Harding dismisses the search for a distinctive feminist method of inquiry as misguided, arguing there can be no "simple recipe to produce powerful research and research agendas" (1987, 33). Barbara Du Bois argues that feminism offers a critical view and departure from the norms and functions of traditional social science, but not one that necessitates one distinctive feminist method. Instead she argues in favour of the application of feminist scientific methods that "require seeing things *as they are*: whole, entire and complex" (1993, 109-111). Shulamit Reinharz prefaces her book by arguing that such a diversity of feminist research methodologies exist that they should not be explicitly defined, but instead recognized for the plurality of approaches (1992, 4).[16] These feminist scholars and others argue that not one, but several methodologies are characteristic of feminist research.

The various criticisms of the concept of a "distinctive feminist methodology" reject the identification of gender as the primary (or sole) lens through which social relations and oppression may be understood, and the presentation of mainstream feminist experience as the archetypal "woman's experience." The identification of gender as the primary or sole determining factor in women's oppression results in the seemingly logical framing of the feminist struggle as that of women against male domination. This assumption is evident in the writings of several feminists (such as Klein 1983; Nielsen

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[16] Reinharz overcomes the difficulty in identifying what research constitutes feminist research by stating that a methodology may be considered "feminist" when stated by the author as such (1992, 5-9).

1990) but is rarely acknowledged to be a product of the researcher's life experience shaped by class, ethnicity, time and space. Several feminists, notably black feminists and others marginalized from mainstream conception of women's oppression, object to the simplistic and often inaccurate framing of the struggle as being between the genders (as reviewed in Chapter 1). Audre Lorde writes: "As a tool of social control, women have been encouraged to recognize only one area of human difference as legitimate, those differences which exist between women and men" (1984, 122). Jayaratne and Stewart argue that a discourse and methodology dominated by questions of women's experiences versus those of men's renders differences among women "invisible" (1991, 94). Similarly, a discourse that identifies gender to be the primary root of oppression against women, as seen in the arguments in favour of a distinctive feminist methodology, reflects the experiences of a very small minority of women. Feminist methodologies characterized by the assumption of the primacy of gender and an inattention to class, ethnicity, etc., may be more likely to produce biased and incomplete findings. Lynn Weber Cannon et al. (1988) demonstrate this in their study, showing that certain feminist methodologies have a tendency to produce biased findings due to inattention to the effects of women's ethnic and class backgrounds on rates of voluntary participation in studies.[17] They argue that many feminist methodologies either deliberately or inadvertently exclude the experiences of women outside of the white mainstream, resulting in empirical generalizations of "social realities" that in fact represent white and middle-class experiences (1988, 459-60).

[17] Specifically, Cannon et al. referred to a qualitative methodology that relied on volunteers for participants. They showed that white, middle-class women were the most likely to volunteer, particularly to media solicitations or letters, thus supporting the notion that qualitative methods can produce biased results.

Feminist and Traditional Methodologies: Quantitative vs. Qualitative Methods

Feminist methodologies share some common criticisms of traditional empirical research, especially of positivist social science research. Positivism is seen to describe "social reality as 'objectively constituted' and so insists that there is one true 'real' reality" that can be revealed through scientific observation (Stanley and Wise 1983, 194). As a result of positivism, social science methodology relies on "linear and hierarchical conceptions of reality, on dualistic models of human nature and intercourse, on dichotomous modes of thought, discourse and analysis" (Du Bois 1983, 110). The success of this methodological principle is dependent on a hierarchical, neutral and uninvolved approach of the researcher with the research subject (Mies 1983,120).

Most feminist researchers reject positivist methodology because it necessitates the incompatible difference of subject/object, true/false, reality/illusion, which overlooks the complexity of reality that people experience daily. Mies argues feminism has had to reject this dualism because its acceptance necessitates that women "repress, negate or ignore their own experience of sexist oppression" (1983, 121). Du Bois identifies feminism's basic opposition to traditional research: "We literally cannot see women through traditional science and theory" (1983, 110).

The debate over the degree to which traditional empirical research can or should be included in feminist methodologies is a recurring theme in feminist methodological literature. Most feminists object to the idea that the validity of research relies on an exclusive use of positivist methodological models. Many feminist researchers, however, object to the idea that a complete rejection of the traditional social science method of inquiry is necessary, realistic or preferable. There are varying conceptions of the degree

to which feminism can borrow aspects of traditional methodology while still remaining within the "framework" of feminist methodologies.

The debate is centred on the use of quantitative methods. The major arguments against their use are based on the assertion that they are inconsistent with feminist values and that they reflect an integral "part of patriarchal culture's monolithic definitions of 'hard facts'" (Jayaratne 1983, 145-146; Reinharz 1992, 86-87). Arguments against the use of quantitative research methods (compiled from Jayaratne and Stewart 1991, 86; Jayaratne 1983, 146; and Reinharz 1992, 87-90) include the following :

> 1) frequent selection of research topics that are used to support sexist and elitist values;
>
> 2) oversimplification and narrow focus resulting in tendency to underestimate the extent of a problem (ex. crime statistics minimize women's victimization in the private sphere);
>
> 3) simplistic and superficial nature of quantitative data (and associated inability to convey an in-depth understanding of the persons studied);
>
> 4) use of statistics to obscure phenomenon;
>
> 5) characteristic exploitative and hierarchical relationship between the researcher and subject;
>
> 6) tendency of relevant research and methodological rigour to be overlooked when expedient; and
>
> 7) its illusion of objectivity.

In reaction to the idea that quantitative methods have concealed women's real experience, many feminists have relied solely on qualitative methods which are seen to "permit women to express their experience fully and in their own terms" (Jayaratne and Stewart 1991, 89). Mies argues that qualitative methods are more useful for women's research because, "despite ideological distortion, [they] do not break living connections in the way that quantitative methods do" (1991, 67).

Despite a prevalent distrust of quantitative methodology to provide an objective view of reality, many feminists continue to use these methods in their research. One reason for this is that qualitative methods are not always appropriate, given a specific research question. As Cannon et al. demonstrate in their study, the use of a qualitative methodology does not necessarily prevent unfair generalizations or unbiased results. Furthermore, the value of quantitative methods has not been discounted. Sandra Coyner argues that "...we [feminists] are wrong to blame the tools when the real problem is mainly that they have been used by people not focused on women" (1983, 65). Reinharz (1992, 80-83) identifies several aspects of quantitative research that demonstrate their potential usefulness as a feminist research tool. She argues that quantitative research (particularly survey research) can

> 1) show that a problem is more widespread than previously thought;
>
> 2) show how a problem is distributed in a particular way throughout a population;
>
> 3) identify differences among groups and changes through time;
>
> 4) demonstrate similarities and differences among women; and
>
> 5) test theory.

Toby Epstein Jayaratne and Abigail Stewart argue that the debate over the benefits of qualitative versus quantitative methods is in itself flawed because it "essentializes" the issue (implying that women have inherent qualities and aptitudes). They argue that the emphasis on the difference between the two methodological approaches is based on the assumption that there is male research (in which the self is defined in terms of distinctness and separation from others), and female research (which defines the self in terms of connections and relationships). They argue that the debate entrenches the misleading notion of quantitative research as objective, irrelevant and

superficial and qualitative research as subjective, relevant and descriptive (1991. 94). The essentialist position also assumes that women researchers are inherently more contextual in approach and are more likely to implement a multivariate approach to their research (which the authors point out has not been demonstrated to be true). I believe the major danger in essentializing the issue is that it attributes a specific character to women researchers. thus obfuscating difference among women and limiting women to "acceptable" methodological parameters.

My examination of the different conceptions of the nature of feminist research has clearly indicated that it is more constructive to recognize a diversity of feminisms and feminist methodologies. The conception of the "distinctive feminist methodology" relies on a singular vision of feminism in which primary attention is paid to gender oppression. thus marginalizing the experiences of many women. While it is evident that feminists generally reject the existence of "objective" knowledge and the exclusive use of a positivist methodology. the incorporation of traditional empirical techniques varies according to philosophy and research questions.

Thesis Research Methodology

In developing the research design for my case study of the CSSP. I adopted different aspects of feminist methodologies that I felt best complemented the research questions at hand. Sandra Harding provides a definition which I believe best identifies the common denominator of feminist research; she writes: "...feminist research is distinctive in its focus on gender as a variable and an analytic category. and in its critical stance toward gender" (1987. 29). Instead of identifying the factors that diverse feminist methodologies share, she reframes the task by identifying the qualities that are inherent in powerful

feminist research (1987, 28). Harding (1987, 29-31) identifies the following characteristic qualities of successful feminist methodologies:

> 1. A critical examination of gender and its consequences: "They ask how gender— and, especially, tensions between its individual, structural and symbolic expressions—accounts for women's oppression."[18]
>
> 2. The use of women's experiences as scientific resources: "...feminist inquiry asks questions that originate in women's experiences."
>
> 3. Recognition of the subjectivity of the researcher: The inclusion of the assumptions, background and behaviour of the researcher in the results of the research process.

In designing the case study, I incorporated Harding's outline of qualities of powerful feminist research into my own approach, as well as an appreciation of the limitations of traditional empirical research. I therefore avoided creating a hierarchical relationship between myself and the study participants. Throughout the research process, I have attempted to be aware of the impact of my subjectivity and my own assumptions on the research process and subsequent analysis. Furthermore, I have embraced the complexity of the case study and have resisted describing reality in objectively constituted terms, or engaging in an either/or dichotomous analysis, which as Collins (1991, 68-69) points out, categorizes people, things and ideas in terms of their difference from one another (bad/good, true/false, subject/object, black/white, reason/emotion, etc.).

Selection of the Interview Method

I believe that feminist researchers can incorporate traditional empirical methods into their methodologies without compromising the effectiveness or independence of their research. As long as there is an awareness of the limitations of each type of method, the choice of

whether qualitative or quantitative methods are used should be determined by the demands of the research questions. Although open to quantitative inquiry, it was immediately evident to me that I would need to conduct individual research interviews to capture the complexity of the CSSP case study. Interviews would allow for the expression of personal perceptions of safety and fear, for the revelation of details, feelings and personal insights, and provide the opportunity to learn new information. The use of interviews for case studies is supported by Steinar Kvale's insight (1996, 105) that they are particularly suited for "studying people's understanding of the meanings in their lived world, describing their experiences and self-understanding, and clarifying and elaborating their own perspective on their lived world."

Interview Design

Before writing the interview guides or contacting potential participants in the interview process, I made certain decisions about the research design of the interview process based on the demands of the research questions. According to Brannigan (1985, 198), interviews can be either structured, in which case the interview guide is closely followed and responses of participants can be compared, or unstructured, in which case a topic is defined and the interviewer probes into areas that seem productive. I chose a semi-structured approach; I would follow the interview guide (and in the analysis compare responses), but would allow for deviation to pursue interesting comments, to clarify a thought, or to accommodate the natural flow of conversation. The interviews would be designed to address the research questions, but also to discover issues and dynamics of

[18] I do not believe this implies an exclusive focus on gender. This principle can be understood to include and examine gender's place among other relevant variables such as ethnicity, class, age, sexual orientation, religion, etc.

which I was unaware. Thus, the interviews would function both as an exploratory device to "help identify variables and relations" and as the "primary instrument in collecting research data" (as outlined by Brannigan 1985, 199). Similarly, I felt that the interviews must capture both intellectual and emotional responses. The intellectual responses would be necessary to learn things such as the history of the CSSP, its service provision and its organizational reasoning, etc., whereas the emotional responses would be necessary to capture the dimension of personal perceptions of fear and safety.

At the outset, I realized that the small number of people involved in the founding and administering of the CSSP (most of whom work together or know each other), would prevent the confidentiality of participants' identities. Fortunately, the information required to address the research questions did not necessitate sensitive disclosures that would require confidentiality of identity. I believe that the disclosure of a participant's identity is preferable to confidentiality, as it is more likely to foster dialogue and constructive insight that could be shared between the participants and others involved in the CSSP. (I planned to give the completed analysis of my study of the CSSP to each interview participant, in the hope that it could contribute insight to the CSSP's self-evaluation process.) In order to provide each participant an opportunity to share information or feelings that they wanted to keep confidential, each participant was informed (in writing and verbally) that any remark he or she made would like to make "off the record" would remain confidential.

I planned that all interviews would take place at Concordia University, either in the participant's office or in an office at the Geography Department, and this was the case with the exception of one interview (conducted at a participant's home for her

convenience). Prior to the interview process. I anticipated that some questions relating to perceptions of fear, safety and violence could potentially cause discomfort, as these are topics that many people associate with negative experiences. I believe it was ethically acceptable to risk this potential discomfort, because at no time did I pursue obviously sensitive subjects, and the participants were reminded at the outset that they could stop the interview at any time.[19] Furthermore, all of the people I interviewed had voluntarily become involved or associated with initiatives that confront issues of fear, safety and danger, and thus had already taken steps to be active participants in this area. I purposefully maintained a research interview atmosphere in order to avoid a "therapeutic relation" that would risk the sharing of information that the participant might later regret. I refrained from pursuing certain questions when I sensed that a participant was uncomfortable with a topic.

The research design did not require any deception in the form of misleading information, deliberate presentation of false material or suppression of material information, although I did feel that it was necessary to refrain from revealing details concerning the thesis objectives or questions in order to elicit spontaneous responses. For instance, I felt that if, prior to the interview, I disclosed that I was researching the degree to which differences among women were considered by the service, a participant might alter the expression of his or her natural views in favour of a scripted or "ideal" response. In order to debrief each participant fully after the interview, I gave out an information sheet that fully explained the study and the research questions.

[19] In April 1998, the Concordia Geography Department Ethics Committee reviewed and accepted the ethical implications of the case study (as stated in the completed Summary Protocol Form).

Newspaper Search

To prepare for the interviews, to gather adequate information to write informed interview questions and to create a list of potential participants, I had to first gain familiarity with the walking service. To do this, I undertook a thorough review of Concordia University's student newspapers, The Link and The Concordian, for the period of 1993-1998, to locate all articles pertaining to the CSSP since the year of its proposal. The issues of the newspapers are not indexed by subject, but are instead bound by date. It was therefore necessary to skim over each weekly issue and photocopy any article, editorial, letter or advertisement pertaining to the CSSP and the issue of women's fear and safety on campus. I then created an annotated bibliography of the articles for future study and analysis. The newspaper search provided a basic time line of the service's operation, (beginning in 1993), as well as facts and associated issues concerning the organization of the CSSP. This essential information was used to formulate informed interview questions.

Recruitment of Participants for Interviews

Using the information compiled from the newspaper search, I divided potential participants into three groups: former students who were instrumental in the formation of the CSSP, past and current coordinators, and past and present members of the CSSP advisory council.[20] To initiate the first round of interviewing, I contacted potential participants by sending them an introductory form letter that described my study and

[20] After completing the research questions, my intention was to interview members of the Concordia community who were not involved with the CSSP, but were involved in issues of women's fear and/or safety. I discovered that potential contacts such as the Coordinator of the Women's Centre and the Advisor on Rights and Responsibilities (formerly the Sexual Harassment Officer) were both on the CSSP advisory committee.

requested their participation in an interview. I sent this letter directly to those with Concordia addresses, and stated my intention to follow up the letters with a phone call approximately one week after mailing. For those who did not have a Concordia address (former students), I sent the introductory letters via the Concordia Alumni office, and requested that they respond by telephone or return the response form (that I enclosed with a self-addressed stamped envelope).

The second round of interviews was to consist of discussions with active CSSP volunteers and people recommended to me from the first round of participants. I received the name of only one new contact, namely, that of the former Dean of Students, who was involved in the creation of the CSSP. After meeting with the current CSSP coordinator, I obtained a mailing list of sixteen volunteers who were active during the summer of 1998. I sent an introductory letter to each volunteer and invited each to contact me to schedule an interview.

I received an enthusiastic and quick response from all of the past and current members of the CSSP advisory committee, the 1997-1998 coordinator of the CSSP and a past coordinator of the CSSP. To my great disappointment, however, I did not get a response from the founding members of the service, despite two letters being forwarded in an attempt to elicit a response (including the suggestion of a quick telephone interview). Of the volunteers who were sent letters requesting participation in the case study, two women volunteers contacted me and agreed to schedule interviews.

Formulation of Interview Questions and Interview Guide

Steinar Kvale (1996, 129-131) outlines several general guidelines for formulating interview questions, including the following: the questions should be brief and easily

understood; the interview should begin with general, impersonal and information-gathering questions and end with direct questions on personal impressions on more sensitive subjects; and, the interviewer should know why the question is being asked in order to allow for unambiguous clarification.

With Kvale's advice in mind, I began by operationalizing each research question into several interview questions. After formulating the interview questions for each research question, I integrated all questions into a comprehensive interview guide that I designed to flow smoothly and logically. I adapted the interview guide for each participant according to his or her role in the administration of the CSSP (coordinator, members of the advisory council or a volunteer) and the time of their participation (during the creation of the service, after the founding of the service or as a currently active member). Appendix A contains examples of interview guides used for current members of the advisory committee, the 1997-1998 coordinator and volunteers.

Interview Process

I conducted ten interviews during May to September 1998. The average length of each interview was one hour. Figure 2-1 contains a comprehensive list of the participants, listed in chronological order by date interviewed.

Prior to each interview, the participant was given time to read the consent form, which outlined the conditions of participation and the procedures of the study, including the fact that their participation in the study would not be confidential. At the end of each interview, I provided the information sheet explaining the study and my research questions. This sheet included my mailing address and phone number, and I verbally emphasized that I was available at any point to discuss the study if a participant had any

questions or concerns. At this point I also asked the participants if they had any questions about the interview or my study, or if they had any comments to add on the subject. Before ending each meeting, I asked the participants if they would like to review the interview transcript; only one participant chose to do so.

Sally Spilhaus	Adviser on Rights and Responsibilities Member of CSSP Advisory Committee	5/19
Michel Bujold	Director of Concordia's Public Security Department Member of CSSP Advisory Committee	5/26
Nathalie Léveillé	Coordinator of Concordia's Women's Centre Member of CSSP Advisory Committee	5/26
Roger Côté	Acting Dean of Students (1997-1998) Director of CSSP Advisory Committee	6/15
Laurie Newell	Coordinator of the CSSP (1997-1998) Graduate student (Apss)	6/16
Erin Selby	Former Coordinator of CSSP (1995-1996)	6/23
Brian Counihan	Former Dean of Students	6/23
Jessica Greenberg	Volunteer Patroller 1997-1998	8/04
Satoko Yoshizaki	Volunteer Patroller 1997-1998	9/17
Margo Lacroix	Former Coordinator of Concordia's Women's Centre Former member of CSSP Advisory Committee	9/22

Figure 2-1: Participants Interviewed in the CSSP case study, 1998

Overall, the interviews were very successful. The participants were very helpful and interested in the study, and each gave complete and well-considered responses. As I became used to interviewing, the interviews went increasingly smoothly. I was able to cover the interview guide within approximately an hour, while also exploring interesting responses, clarifying questions and engaging in conversation on the subject matter. Some of the challenges that arose during the interview process included the following: intellectual responses were more readily given than responses concerning feelings of fear and safety; questions posed concerning feminism to the few people unfamiliar with such

analysis resulted in incomplete or confused responses; finally, the audio recording equipment borrowed from the University was unreliable, causing instances of delay and poor recording quality.

CHAPTER THREE: CREATION, ADMINISTRATION AND FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF THE CSSP

During the last decade, universities across North America have instituted walking accompaniment and safety patrol programs with the intention of creating safer campuses and learning environments. Many Canadian universities offer such programs, including Carleton University, Concordia University, McGill University, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Queen's University, Trent University, University of Alberta, University of New Brunswick, University of Victoria, University of Waterloo, and the University of Windsor. The names of the programs, including Foot Patrol, Safety Patrol, Safewalk, Walksafe, and Walkhome, reflect the similarity of visions and service provisions. Some of the walking programs are administered and run through the universities' campus security departments, often with the help of trained student assistants (e.g. University of Victoria, University of Waterloo, University of New Brunswick). At other universities (including Carleton, Concordia, McGill, and Queen's), the programs are student-run and primarily student-funded. The internet sites of these university initiatives reveal several common characteristics concerning their service provision: volunteers of the patrol and/or accompaniment programs work in pairs after dark (each team usually consisting of at least one woman), they wear highly visible uniforms and carry radios and flashlights, and the teams pick up students who have called a central dispatch number and walk, or in some cases drive, the students to a destination on campus or in the surrounding vicinity. The Concordia Student Safety Patrol (CSSP) is one of many such services and although my in-depth examination of the CSSP may not be directly applicable to all university accompaniment and/or patrol programs, I believe that the resulting analysis and

recommendations of this study will be generally relevant to other Canadian university accompaniment and/or patrol services.

The Creation of the CSSP

Prior to the creation of the CSSP, students in Concordia's Communications Department organized a small-scale pilot project named Students Looking Out for Students. This program provided a student patrol presence in the Bryan building (the relatively isolated location of the Communications department) on the Loyola campus during the spring semester of 1993.[21] The program was organized by Communications students to reduce the fear felt by those who had to work alone late at night in labs and sound booths as required by their program curricula (Davis 1992; Selby 1998).

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1993, there were two separate proposals for a campus-wide patrol/escort program submitted to the Dean of Students, one by physics student Sammy Hokayem, and the other by political science student Stuart Letovsky (also a student politician and a campus fraternity president). While the plans differed in scope and proposed cost, both envisioned the creation of an escort service to accompany students on campus at night. Although likely inspired by the Students Looking Out for Students project, neither Hokayem nor Letovsky developed their ideas in conjunction with the organizers of this program (Fair 1993a; Fair 1993b)

Brian Counihan, the Dean of Students at that time, was instrumental in assimilating the proposals of Hokayem and Letovsky and in setting up meetings between interested students and members of the Concordia administration. As the proposal took

[21] Concordia University consists of two campuses: the Loyola Campus, a traditional campus setting in the residential west-end of Montreal characterized by centralized buildings and green space; and the Sir George Williams Campus located in the downtown core of Montreal, characterized by various types of buildings connected by public streets and interspersed with non-University properties.

shape. Counihan appointed Hokayem and a former patroller of the Students Looking Out for Students program. Jennifer Robertson. to develop and organize the proposed campus-wide accompaniment program.[22] Counihan recalled in our interview that he appointed the two as co-coordinators to provide a balanced administration of the service. adding: "I thought it would be very important for the success of the project from the beginning to have a balance, that it not appear to be what people objected to two or three years prior to that elsewhere in the country — this big brother sort of thing." Erin Selby. an early volunteer and the 1995-1996 CSSP coordinator. recalled that despite conflicts between Hokayem and Robertson, their partnership did indeed result in a good balance. According to Selby. Hokayem and Robertson's working relationship was often characterized by arguments which stemmed from differing visions of the program. Selby recalls that "Jennifer felt that Sammy was looking at it more from a lets-protect-people. where she wanted it more from a lets-empower-people [perspective]."[23]

As the CSSP proposal took shape. an Advisory Council to the CSSP was organized with the following permanent members: the Dean of Students (Brian Counihan at the time) who would be the Chair. the Director of Security (Michel Bujold). the Advisor on Rights and Responsibilities (Sally Spilhaus)[24]. the coordinator of the Women's Centre (Margo Lacroix at the time), and the student representatives from the various student unions (Jeszenszky 1994). The Advisory Council continues to meet

[23] As Hokayem or Robertson did not respond to my requests for an interview. all of the information pertaining to their involvement is secondary and is based on impressions of people present at the time of their involvement.
[24] At the time Sally Spilhaus was the Sexual Harassment Officer. a position that is now incorporated in her position as Advisor on Rights and Responsibilities.

periodically to discuss relevant issues such as administration, service delivery and the overall direction of the program.

The CSSP was created as an independent student organization and, as such, falls within the University structure under the administration of the Dean of Students office. As Robert Côté (the Acting Dean at the time of the interviews) explained to me, the predominant role of the Dean of Students office vis-à-vis the CSSP has been to provide office space, oversee the budget, accounting and payroll, and provide support in the interface between the University community and the CSSP. In the fall of 1993, students in the faculties of Arts and Sciences and Fine Arts approved the funding of the CSSP in a referendum on the matter. The students of the Faculties of Commerce and Engineering and Computer Science similarly approved funding in later votes. The fees were assessed per student at $1.70 in the first year, and $1.00 in subsequent years, with the resulting available annual budget averaging about $45,000. The CSSP budget covers the expenses of the coordinators' salaries,[25] office equipment, walkie-talkies, jackets and flashlights, computer costs, advertising and promotion, snacks and self defense courses (Counihan 1998; CSSP 1998; Jeszenszky 1994).

Prior to the creation of the CSSP, an article was published in the Link that reviewed an incident at an Ontario university in which a male student patroller was charged with sexual assault by a female patroller who had been paired with him in a similar accompaniment service (Chiose 1993). The CSSP Advisory Council and coordinators, obviously aware of the possibility that a patroller could constitute a

[25] Initially, there were two paid coordinators of the CSSP, but this later changed to one paid coordinator and two paid assistant coordinators (those selected for paid positions are Concordia students selected from a pool of interviewed applicants).

potential threat to the personal safety of other students, instituted a screening process of all volunteer applicants. The coordinators first interview the students, and then carry out a criminal record background check. Finally, the names of the CSSP applicants are published in the school paper with a message urging anyone in the University community to come forth if they have any reason to believe that an applicant would be inappropriate for the position (Counihan 1998; Newton 1994; Poole 1994). A group-training session is the second step in ensuring that volunteers are adequately qualified for positions as patrollers. Volunteers attend a one-day seminar to receive instruction about self-defense techniques, sexual-assault awareness and to listen to speakers from the community, the Women's Centre and other groups on topics of personal safety and violence. The screening process and training/orientation sessions have continued to be implemented, although Laurie Newell, the 1997-1998 CSSP coordinator, noted that due to constant recruitment many volunteers miss the initial training session.

The CSSP and Campus Social Climate

In interviewing those familiar with the creation of the CSSP, I wanted to learn if there was a climate of fear on campus, or if specific incidents of violence inspired the creation of the CSSP. According to Bujold, Counihan, Spilhaus, Lacroix, Selby and Léveillé there was a widespread awareness of personal safety issues on campus, but no particular climate of fear or danger. Michel Bujold stated that aside from very minor incidents (having to deal with a peeping Tom) there were no particular events or circumstances that would have directly led to a perceived need for the service (and this was reiterated by Counihan, Selby, and Lacroix). One reason for the general awareness of personal safety issues was the work of the Sexual Assault Committee, which, in part, resulted in the 1994

Concordia Personal Safety Audit.[26] Sally Spilhaus, a member of the Committee, noted: "I think people saw McGill had a well publicized WalkSafe program and people had perhaps some anecdotal personal information about women feeling afraid in various parts of the campus. I didn't ever get the feeling then or now, that it [CSSP] grew out of a widespread insecurity on campus or out of specific incidences that were well known or publicized."[27] Counihan noted that although the campus has been relatively safe, one of the CSSP's goals was to reduce fear. He states: "Fundamentally that if there was even the perception, even an erroneous perception on a campus that it wasn't entirely safe, this effectively is depriving students of a comfortable atmosphere in which to learn." I got a sense in the interviews that the campus social climate around 1993-1994 was characterized more by an awareness of personal safety issues than a real climate of fear or danger, and that the creation of the CSSP stemmed from personal visions of individual students rather than a collective perceived need for the service. According to Bujold, "It was the type of thing you don't want to say no to because it was a good idea, so we never really guessed is there a need, there were people who wanted to put it together ... so it was sort of a prevention tool for us." Spilhaus had this to say:

> My own personal feeling is that it did not when it began and it still does not arise out of some ground swell of public interest and concern. It was always in my opinion the brainchild or project of a relatively small

[26] The Audit "assessed a wide-range of environmental conditions, including those found in physical spaces, adverse conditions in the social climate, and organizational capacity to prevent and respond to risks of personal safety" (Concordia Personal Safety Audit Task Force 1995, 21). The Audit Task Force included a representative from the CSSP as well as the Women's Centre (Erin Selby and Margo Lacroix respectively). In the report there is a paragraph supporting the founding of the CSSP as a "community oriented approach to addressing personal safety concerns." There is no further evidence in the report of a specific collaboration between the Taskforce and the CSSP.

[27] Although Spilhaus and others were clearly familiar with the community and municipal collective initiatives vis-à-vis women's safety and fear, no one I spoke to seemed to think that the CSSP was inspired, or possibly even aware of, such initiatives. Léveillé and Selby both noted that the CSSP was inspired by the pilot project, Students Looking Out for Students, and similar University student accompaniment and patrol strategies, but not by other types of initiatives.

number of more or less committed people who thought it was a good thing to do and there was never any serious opposition to that notion. So it has hung around.

The CSSP Mission Statement and Service Provision

With periodic input from the Advisory Council, Robertson and Hokayem articulated the CSSP's mission statement (see Figure 3.1) during the summer and fall of 1993 (Counihan 1998). Although not explicitly mentioned in the mission statement, the CSSP was designed with a strict nonintervention policy in mind, as stressed by Robertson in a Concordian article: "the patrollers are not there to jump in and beat people up" (Newton 1994). The nonintervention policy means that patrollers are instructed to call campus security or the policy and not get involved in the event they are confronted with aggressive or criminal behaviour. A later CSSP volunteer recruitment advertisement reflects the incorporation of this policy: "We are not here to be the police. We are not here to protect you. We are not here to watch over you. We are your patrol, here to work *with* you to ensure that everyone at Concordia can exercise the right to work and study in safety" (CSSP 1997).

Founded in February 1994, the Concordia Student Safety Patrol aims to help ensure that all people live without fear while at Concordia. This is achieved through the provision of a patrol, accompaniment, and drop-by service, as well as raising general community awareness.

Based on the belief that a campus that is safe for women is a campus safe for all, we work to provide the Concordia Community with the awareness and tools required for increasing and maintaining personal safety.

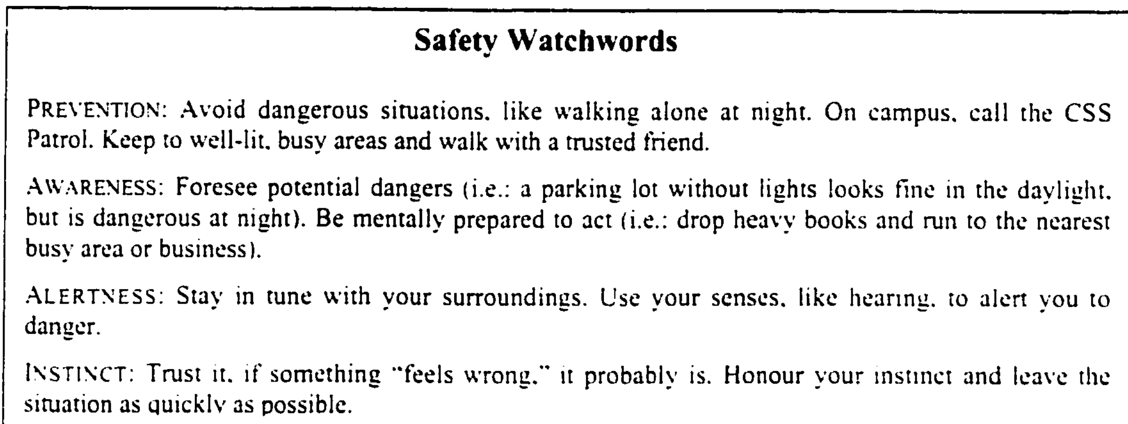
Figure 3.1: The CSSP Mission Statement

In order to fulfil its mandate, the CSSP was designed to provide three services. First, it provided campus patrols teams that consist of pairs of volunteers who walk specified routes on the Loyola campus, reporting any problems to Security such as criminal or suspicious activity, and functional problems such as unlocked doors, fire hazards or burned-out light bulbs. It was this patrolling service that was to allow the

CSSP to be the extra eyes and ears for the Security department, a function identified by Bujold, Spilhaus and Selby in interviews. Michel Bujold likened the relationship between the CSSP and Security to that of a police department and a neighbourhood-watch program, each sharing information and consequently augmenting each other's service. The second service offered by the CSSP was the accompaniment of individual students by patrol teams and the drop-by service. Students could request an accompaniment by telephoning a central dispatch number, and a team would be sent to escort them to their cars, to metro stations, or elsewhere. (Initially, the accompaniment service was restricted to the immediate vicinity of the campus; more recently, patrollers have accompanied students on public transit to their homes.) Upon request for a drop-by service, the patrollers would also check on students or staff members who were working late on campus. The third service to be offered by the program was to be the provision of community education and awareness on issues of personal safety. Whereas the patrolling, accompaniment and drop-by services continue to constitute the core activities of the CSSP, its educational role has remained largely undefined.

Since its creation the CSSP has focused mainly on providing a good patrol service. Erin Selby (1998) stated that during her involvement, "we just seemed so preoccupied with trying to fill our ranks and get the schedule full that we didn't devote enough time to educating people outside [of the CSSP]." Léveillé (1998) made a similar observation concerning the current service provision: "There is a tremendous opportunity for education and that hasn't been their main focus, their focus has been to get the shifts out." Spilhaus and Bujold both recalled the original idea that patrollers could act as resource people who could share safety strategies and campus resources with students. The CSSP does currently have a card with campus phone numbers and safety watchwords (see Figure 3.2); however, due to the low number of accompaniments and explicit instructions to volunteers not to initiate questions or conversations of a personal nature, there is little if any shared verbal advice or information. The 1997-1998 CSSP

coordinator, Laurie Newell, observed: "For me, I think it is the educational component that we really don't have a grip on at all, that is the biggest piece missing." Although Newell acknowledges the lack of focus on the educational role, she expressed doubt that there would be much emphasis on this aspect in the near future. She stated that the immediate emphasis would be placed on more "visible patrolling."



Safety Watchwords

PREVENTION: Avoid dangerous situations, like walking alone at night. On campus, call the CSS Patrol. Keep to well-lit, busy areas and walk with a trusted friend.

AWARENESS: Foresee potential dangers (i.e.: a parking lot without lights looks fine in the daylight, but is dangerous at night). Be mentally prepared to act (i.e.: drop heavy books and run to the nearest busy area or business).

ALERTNESS: Stay in tune with your surroundings. Use your senses, like hearing, to alert you to danger.

INSTINCT: Trust it, if something "feels wrong," it probably is. Honour your instinct and leave the situation as quickly as possible.

Figure 3.2: Safety-advice contained on cards distributed by the CSSP

Although the mission statement makes reference to "a campus safe for women is a campus safe for all," the CSSP has avoided targeting its service to women as a group. When asked whether the service was designed specifically for women, those interviewed who were familiar with the creation of the service clearly indicated it was not, although at the time of its inception it was understood that women would be the primary users and beneficiaries of the service. Erin Selby (1998): " I don't think it was implemented just for women, but I think women would take more advantage of it than men because of perceived fear, because of real issues of safety or because it is okay for us to say, 'I am a little nervous can I have some help,' whereas not many men are aware that there might be an issue of safety for them." Sally Spilhaus: "I think it was pretty clear that most people had women students in mind, there was no anticipation that there would be an equal number of men students." Michel Bujold: "I think it is targeted to the two genders, but

mostly has always been looked at, at least by the coordinators, as a woman's issue, even when we had a male coordinator." The service was officially designed to accommodate both genders, despite likely anticipation that women students would be the primary beneficiaries. This remains the case today, according to Newell: "We try to really make it clear that our service is available to everybody, but we don't pretend that a lot of men are ever going to use it."

In 1998, the Dean of Students office began a process of reevaluating the mandate and services of the CSSP by commissioning a marketing firm to present a study of the program. Referring to this study, Newell recalled resistance among the focus groups (recruited to provide feedback on the CSSP) to the part of the mandate that states that "a campus safe for women is a campus safe for all." Newell states: "People had questions about that, both women and men. Some thought it was condescending, some thought it was exclusionary, some thought it simply was not accurate — maybe it should read 'a campus safe for black gay men is a campus safe for all.' I mean who is really more at risk here?" The market research specifically concluded that among those interviewed there was a consensus that women were the ones who needed and used the service. Despite this awareness, the CSSP appears to be moving increasingly away from a gender-based service delivery.

Although the CSSP mission statement makes reference to concerns relating to both fear and safety, it was not immediately evident to me whether the CSSP was created with the intention of reducing fear or increasing people's safety, or both. During the interviews, I asked the participants whether they felt that the CSSP was designed to address people's fear or people's safety on campus. The most common response was that the CSSP primarily functions to address people's fear. For instance, Sally Spilhaus reflected: "I think it was set up as something that was there to help people overcome fear rather that protect people from a theoretically known source of violence." Laurie Newell remarked: "We are a nonintervention service. What we sell is the perception of safety .

... I don't think we fundamentally deter anybody."[28] Although the CSSP program does not make any overt distinction between 'fear' and 'safety', those involved seem to agree that its primary motive is to reduce fear and increase feelings of safety.

Past and Current CSSP Administration

According to articles published in the Concordian, in January of 1994 there were 100 student applicants for the volunteer positions of patrollers, and by September 1994 there were over 200 applicants (Newton 1994; Poole 1994). The service was, and has continued to be, available to students between approximately 6 p.m. to midnight, Monday to Friday. Originally, patrollers were to be organized into teams of two, either two women or a man and a woman, and would be equipped with bright yellow jackets, flashlights and walkie-talkies. The policy of mandatory inclusion of a woman on each team was in effect up to 1997, when the policy was changed to allow two men on the same patrol team. This decision, Newell notes, was:

> made basically to pair whoever was available. We have had lots of conversations about the principle of understanding that a woman who calls to use the service may be uncomfortable about being accompanied by two men, so we have that awareness, and at the same time, there is another set of thinking that goes, aren't we perpetuating the kind of myth that says all men are dangerous, if we are afraid to put two men together, whom we've screened and on whom we've done a criminal record check, whose names have been published, who we have known for four or five months, and trust them or we wouldn't have them on the patrol in the first place. This is part of our rationale.

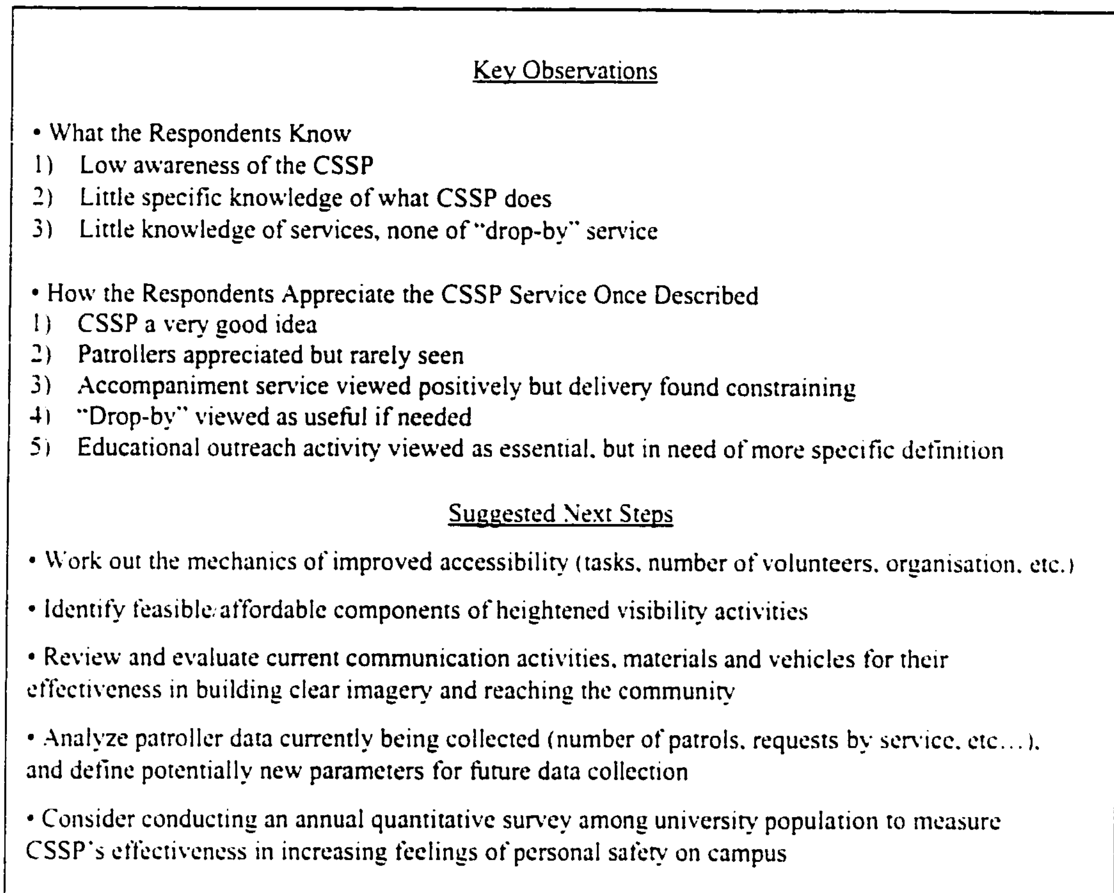
Initially the CSSP operated only on the Loyola campus, and comprised three patrol teams per evening (Poole 1994). By April of 1995, the CSSP expanded its patrolling and accompaniment operations to serve the downtown campus as well. The 1997-1998 CSSP patrolling schedule required two teams for the evening shifts (6 p.m.- 9 p.m. and 9 p.m.-midnight), for a total of 16 volunteers nightly (80 volunteers weekly).

[28] As an example of the CSSP's non-deterrent effect, Newell recounted an incident in which a theft of office equipment occurred in an Annex on the downtown campus, just minutes after a CSSP patrol team walked through the building.

Newell noted that as the number of active volunteers during the 1997-1998 year varied from 45 to 90, the schedule was subject to change. Newell pointed out that students volunteer for many different reasons: she gave examples of well-intentioned men who want to play a protective role, students who plan to join police or security forces, and people who want to get involved on campus and meet people. Newell suggested that the high turnover rate of volunteers has been caused by expectations that the bulk of the work would be accompanying other students, which is in reality only a fraction of the time spent on each shift. In fact, one of the volunteers I spoke with had never accompanied a student in the two semesters of her volunteer patrol duty. According to Newell, the number of accompaniments per evening during 1997-1998 varied from zero to three (she noted that three requests was a cause "to celebrate"). Erin Selby noted a similar statistic during her involvement. I could not gain access to the user statistics, but was told by Newell that there had been no notable increase or decrease in user statistics over the past few years.

The low number of accompaniments was one factor in the decision to commission the 1998 evaluation of the CSSP (RTA Publicité Inc. 1998). The evaluation was carried out by a marketing research firm that conducted group interviews with a small number of patrollers, students and faculty and staff to obtain opinions and perceptions about the service. Figure 3.3 contains a summary of the study's main findings, which, according to Newell and Côté, will help guide the future direction of the CSSP's administration and service delivery.

One of my research questions was this: "Has the CSSP collaborated with other safety and anti-violence initiatives?" According to Côté, Spilhaus, Counihan and others, the CSSP has been aware of and in communication with other university accompaniment and patrol services since the creation of its service. However, I did not get any indication


Key Observations

• What the Respondents Know
1) Low awareness of the CSSP
2) Little specific knowledge of what CSSP does
3) Little knowledge of services, none of "drop-by" service

• How the Respondents Appreciate the CSSP Service Once Described
1) CSSP a very good idea
2) Patrollers appreciated but rarely seen
3) Accompaniment service viewed positively but delivery found constraining
4) "Drop-by" viewed as useful if needed
5) Educational outreach activity viewed as essential, but in need of more specific definition

Suggested Next Steps

• Work out the mechanics of improved accessibility (tasks, number of volunteers, organisation, etc.)

• Identify feasible/affordable components of heightened visibility activities

• Review and evaluate current communication activities, materials and vehicles for their effectiveness in building clear imagery and reaching the community

• Analyze patroller data currently being collected (number of patrols, requests by service, etc...), and define potentially new parameters for future data collection

• Consider conducting an annual quantitative survey among university population to measure CSSP's effectiveness in increasing feelings of personal safety on campus

Figure 3.3: Excerpt of findings of the 1998 RTA Group Report on the CSSP

from the interviews, the newspaper articles or the CSSP publications that the creators of the service, or its subsequent coordinators, were inspired by or initiated links with any municipally based or feminist organizations that focused on safety and anti-violence issues.[29] Although several of the members of the Advisory committee, including Nathalie Léveillé and Sally Spilhaus, were obviously knowledgeable of the network of such collective initiatives in both Montreal and Toronto, they did not think that the CSSP was directly inspired by these groups, nor did they recall any direct contact with them. Erin

[29] An exception is the line in the CSSP mandate that states, "a campus that is safe for women is a campus safe for all." This is clearly adopted from the Toronto-METRAC initiatives; however, it is not evident whether the founders adopted this from studying such initiatives or from other university accompaniment/patrol services.

Selby was on Concordia's Safety Audit Task Force as the CSSP's representative, and in our interview told me that she found the experience frustrating and not mutually beneficial. The volunteers and coordinators (past and present) with whom I spoke did not have any prior work or volunteer experience with such groups. It was brought to my attention, however, that the CSSP provides volunteer security services for fundraising events for organizations such as the Easter Seals.

Feminist Critique of the CSSP Proposal

When I asked Margo Lacroix, the coordinator of the Women's Centre at the time of the CSSP's creation, whether Robertson or Hokayem applied a feminist perspective or analysis to the theory behind the founding of the service, the answer I received was a resounding no. Brian Counihan, Erin Selby and Sally Spilhaus shared the same impression, namely, that neither Robertson nor Hokayem adopted a specifically feminist perspective. Several of those interviewed, however, noted that a feminist perspective played some role in the creation of the service. For example, Sally Spilhaus had this to say: " I think it [feminist analysis] did guide the way the organization set itself up and the way it designed its services. I don't think it was the sort of founding principle of the people who actually set it up and did the work: but they were open to getting advice from people who did adopt that analysis." When Margo Lacroix recounted her involvement with the CSSP, she noted that Jennifer Robertson seemed open to the feminist message: however, she did not feel that feminist analyses were seriously considered in the service's creation and design. In the text of a conference presentation on the subject of accompaniment services, Lacroix (1993b, 3-4) writes that after being invited to participate in the consultation process on the proposition of the CSSP, "j'ai vite réalisé que non seulement il n'avait pas de place pour la remise en question, mais qu'il s'agissait en fait d'amadouer le plus possible mes préoccupations 'feminisantes' en incorporant au programme des mesures qui puissent apaiser celles-ci." The common message of those

interviewed was that the guiding principle of the service was not feminist, although the founders were aware of (but did not necessarily apply) feminist analyses and perspectives as they pertained to issues of women's fear and safety.

In each of the interviews with those familiar or involved with the creation of the CSSP, I asked questions concerning the degree and nature of discussion or debate on campus concerning the founding of the CSSP. Overall, I got the sense that it was not actively debated or discussed among the general student body and administration, with two exceptions: a letter published in The Link, and a more substantial critique from the Concordia Women's Centre.

The letter, published in October of 1993 and written by a Political Science student, objected to the use of student funds to provide "protection" for Concordia women with a foot patrol. It pointed out that most rapes are committed by men that are known to women and not by strangers in the street, and that therefore the same money could be used instead to empower women by providing up to 600 of them with free self-defense courses (O'Quinn 1993). A second letter, written by a McGill Walksafe representative, rebutted these criticisms.[30] The letter argued that although most rapes are committed by men that women know, women feel most vulnerable alone at night, and went on to claim that : "Walksafe may help women regain control of their environment and feel more empowered to use their physical space at night" (Brady 1993).

During the founding of the CSSP, the Concordia Women's Centre played a consultative role in offering insight and providing a feminist critique to the developing vision of the service. During my interview with Margo Lacroix, the coordinator of the Women's Centre at the time of the CSSP creation, she recalled her concern that there was too great a rush to start the service, which she felt prevented adequate discussion of

[30] Walksafe, founded in 1992, is McGill University's accompaniment service. It places its primary emphasis on accompanying students in the streets after dark. Walksafe's written philosophy emphasizes that it is not a "protection agency" but an "empowering alternative to walking or using public transportation alone at night" (McGill Walksafe Press Release Kit 1998).

relevant issues. She also recalled her concern that the CSSP was reinforcing a pattern of protecting, instead of empowering women. In a letter to the Dean of Students (dated 12 October 1993), Lacroix outlined the concerns of the Women's Centre. The letter states that although the Centre did not oppose the principle of establishing an accompaniment service, it did have the following concerns:

> a) the proposal of the CSSP was based on the premise that assaults happen at night in public spaces and reinforces this idea, despite the fact that 75% of assault victims know their assailant;
>
> b) the CSSP was not designed to deal with harassment and pressures that women students, staff and faculty can experience in classrooms, laboratories or studios, off campus streets, at home, at parties and in the workplace;
>
> c) there had been no actual needs assessment or consultation with women students.

The letter went on to offer the following possible directions for discussion and service provision to place "the issue of safety within the widest possible pedagogical framework," in order that effective, innovative and long-term solutions could be pursued:

> a) develop a program designed to give women students "the tools and skills necessary to deal on their own with the greatest range of situations";
>
> b) create long-term benefits by "empowering women individually and collectively, and by providing opportunities to question and overcome a form of social conditioning that convinces women that they are weak and cannot defend themselves";
>
> c) provide an opportunity for the examination of the role and attitudes of male students, including devising "strategies to incite male students to fully question this role of protector and to look at the roots of violence against their female counterparts . . ."

The question of whether university accompaniment services function as an extension of a protectionist attitude or as a mechanism of empowerment extended outside

the campus forum.[31] In November 1993, when the CSSP was being organized, Montreal's CAFSU (Le Comité d'Action Femmes et Sécurité Urbaine) hosted a conference entitled "Agir pour une ville sans peur." Representatives of community initiatives to reduce women's fear and danger in urban environments came from Ontario and Quebec to share experiences and insights. Two presentations were given on university accompaniment services: "Walksafe: Les Étudiantes et Étudiants de McGill S'Avancent Vers la Sécurité un Pied Devant L'Autre" (Brady and Di Ruscio 1993); and "Les Services de Raccompagnement sur les Campus Universitaires: Autre Visage du Protectionnisme?" (Lacroix 1993b), from the point of view of the Concordia Women's Centre. The Walksafe presentation provided an overview of the service, stressing that one of Walksafe's fundamental objectives was to heighten community awareness concerning "la question de la violence commise à l'endroit des femmes" through its presence and educational campaigns (Brady and Di Ruscio 1993, 32). This presentation also stressed the importance of collaborating with other groups concerned with women's safety. The Concordia Women's Centre presentation (the full text of which was given to me directly by Margo Lacroix) outlined the points expressed in the above mentioned letter and highlighted other concerns. For instance, Lacroix argued that although the CSSP may not have been specifically designed to remedy violence or harassment by known offenders, the program was not therefore exempt from this consideration. She elaborates as follows (1993b, 4-5):

> ...étant donné les sommes et les énergies énormes déployées pour mettre en place et faire fonctionner un tel service - on parle de centaines de bénévoles et de dizaines de milliers de dollars, qu'adviendrait-il si celles-ci étaient plutôt ré-orientées vers l'éducation, la sensibilisation, l'élaboration de mesures plus efficaces, et la mise en place de politiques adéquates? Vue sous un certain angle, l'instauration de services de

[31] This issue of a potentially protectionist role of the CSSP is still present in the service today. Both Laurie Newell and Robert Côté mentioned that some volunteers were men who were motivated by the desire to provide a protective service to fellow students. Newell states: "... we don't systematically politically educate people about the dynamics of power and why this is so valuable, why women should or shouldn't be afraid. Some people have an awareness of that and some people come for really different reasons."

raccompagnement semble ainsi être une réponse tout à fait disproportionnée par rapport au problème qu'elle prétend résoudre, et à l'ampleur de ce dernier.[32]

In the conference text, Lacroix also criticizes the tendency for those involved with accompaniment services to place the responsibility for fear and violence on the "other" — that is, on an aggressor on the streets of another class or race; and to place too much emphasis on the traditional male role of noble chivralous protector and the female role of vulnerable helpless victim. Lacroix asserts that education is of primary importance in the prevention of violence, and that the nature and message of the educational role of the accompaniment services should thus be closely examined. Lacroix concedes that the positive role model of a fearless female CSSP volunteer could be beneficial, and that the training program of the volunteers could provide an opportunity to discuss questions of violence against women (a sentiment that was echoed in our interview (Lacroix 1993b, 6).

Due to the resistance from the Women's Centre, Counihan recounted that negotiations were necessary so that the CSSP would be acceptable to all those involved.

> *One of the ways I remember that we were able to arrive at pretty much consensus was to emphasize the educational aspect of this whole program.* That it was not a matter of burly big men protecting shrinking violet women by any means, but it was a general elevation for people's concern for safety, and that could be accomplished in a number of ways, one of which was self defense training courses. (emphasis added)

The understanding that the educational aspect of the CSSP would be emphasized is significant, given the fact that to date its educational role has remained undefined.

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[32] This statement concurs with Sally Spilhaus' remark in our interview: "I didn't get the sense so much that the Women's Centre thought it was a waste of time and money, they thought that maybe if you were going to have to set priorities and there were limited resources, that you should put your resources to giving women the tools to help themselves rather than have them escorted around the place."

In addition to emphasizing the educational role of the CSSP, compromise was extended by ensuring that a portion of the budget would be annually allocated to the Women's Centre to subsidize self-defense courses (offered three to four times a year). Currently, the subsidy to the Women's Centre for these courses constitutes approximately 3-4% of the total annual CSSP budget (CSSP 1998). Furthermore, the Women's Centre would be given an opportunity to participate in the training of CSSP volunteers to present issues associated with women's fear and experiences of violence from a feminist perspective. Self-defense courses, taught by the Montreal Assault Prevention Centre and incorporating a feminist approach, have continued to be offered to women students, staff and faculty at a reduced price through the Women's Centre. In our interview, Margo Lacroix expressed her feeling that this was an acceptable compromise for both the CSSP and the Women's Centre. Lacroix noted that the Women's Centre had recently undergone budgetary cutbacks, and that, consequently, the subsidy for self-defense courses was a great help. Lacroix also recalled her particular enthusiasm for the educational role of the CSSP, particularly in the training of volunteers, which she saw as an opportunity to initiate discussion and awareness of a feminist perspective of women's fear, safety and experiences of violence. She went on to note that more radical women within the Women's Centre completely rejected the idea of the CSSP, and that within the Women's Centre she stood alone in the belief that there were positive possibilities in the educational role of the CSSP.

Nathalie Léveillé, coordinator of the Women's Centre and member of the CSSP Advisory Committee since 1996, seemed to share similar concerns about the CSSP, but noted that the compromise to fund self-defense courses has resulted in the coexistence of the disparate approaches to safety and fear promoted by the CSSP and the Women's Centre (accompaniment and self-defense techniques). When I asked her whether there was tension caused by these different visions, she commented as follows:

> I have kind of just kept silent about it because it is a kind of agreement to live and let live, because I appreciate their [CSSP's] funding of the [self-defense] course. To me their funding of the course means we can offer it to women who could not normally be able to take it. I understand the need for the service for some women, but I think it would be nice if they had a little bit more of a feminist approach. And I haven't brought that up. I have sort of felt weird about bringing that up, because I feel oddly outnumbered.

In 1998, the Women's Centre was not invited to participate in the CSSP's fall training session.

The CSSP has remained officially non-feminist since its creation. Erin Selby told me that she identified herself as a humanist, and that she never felt the CSSP was a feminist organization. Laurie Newell said she considered herself a feminist, but did not apply this perspective to her role in the CSSP because feminism was not part of the mandate or spirit of the service. She offered several reasons for the absence of feminist perspectives in the administration of the CSSP:

> One, because people have a fear of the word feminism, its the f word! And also, here I am totally guessing, [. . .] I think historically a number of the staff people have been men and I think there is a general public misconception about what the word feminism means. And so, if the Patrol were to identify itself in that way, I think there are volunteers that we have now that would not volunteer. Some of them being men, some of them being women. And not knowing anything about most of the men who have ever worked for the patrol, my guess is that it is harder for men to credibly create an entity that calls itself feminist. I think those are some of the reasons. [. . .] I think it is safer for the Patrol not to call itself feminist. I think it is more, in a way, palatable to the general public, both to volunteers, to the students that pay for it, and to users.

Léveillé perceptively echoed these concerns: "I think they are afraid of possibly losing the involvement of men that they depend on and the involvement of women who are not feminist."

Summary

The CSSP was not created in response to specific incidents of violence or a heightened climate of fear on campus. Instead, it arose from the vision of several individuals and a more general public awareness of safety issues. The CSSP was formed with the mandate to "help ensure all people live without fear while at Concordia," and it is mandated to meet this objective through the provision of safety patrols, an accompaniment and drop-by service and general community awareness-raising and education. The CSSP's primary service provision has been the coordination of patrol teams on the two campuses. These teams also offer accompaniment and drop-by services as requested. Although it was understood during the creation of the CSSP that these services would likely be used exclusively by women (and this has become increasingly evident since), the founders and subsequent coordinators of the program have chosen not to target or design any of its services with women's fear or safety specifically in mind. During the creation of the CSSP, the Concordia Women's Centre expressed concern that its services would reinforce patterns of protectionism, as well as misperceptions concerning the geography of violence. The Women's Centre also objected to the lack of an assessment to determine whether there was a need for the service, and the absence of consultation with women students. In order to move forward with the creation of the CSSP, a compromise was reached to the effect that the CSSP would subsidize the Women's Centre self-defense courses and would emphasize the educational aspect of the program with input from the Women's Centre. Although the funding of the self-defense courses has continued to date, the educational role of the CSSP has remained largely undefined.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CSSP AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF WOMEN'S FEAR

In the previous chapter I described the creation of the CSSP, discussed its mandate and administration and presented a feminist critique of the service. It became increasingly clear during the interviews that gender specific effects of fear, violence and prevention strategies have not guided the design or delivery of the CSSP's services. Therefore, specific enquiry into issues such as the degree to which the CSSP has considered the impact of differences among women on their experiences of fear and violence were not fruitful in the way I originally had anticipated when designing the study. The persons I interviewed, however, had very relevant personal insights concerning the geography of women's fear and experiences of violence that are directly relevant to the role of the CSSP. In this chapter, I present insights shared in the interviews concerning the following questions:

- Has the CSSP considered how differences among women (such as ethnicity, income, etc.) affect their experiences of fear and violence? If so, has this understanding been incorporated into the design of its service provision?

- In what types of places does the CSSP consider women to be at greatest risk, and who are considered to be typical perpetrators of violence? Does the service recognize or address the risk that many women face from known offenders, often in private space?

- Has the CSSP program attempted to define or analyze its effect on women's fear of violence and perception of public and private space? Are there any indications that its services have increased or decreased fear among its users?

CSSP and Considerations of Differences Among Women

The questions I asked in the interviews concerning the degree to which the CSSP considers the impact of differences among women on experiences of fear and violence evoked very little response or insight. I did not so much get the sense that the participants were not aware of how differences among women may affect experiences of fear and

violence, but rather that the lack of responses pointed to the CSSP's inability to grapple with these questions at an organizational level, particularly because addressing issues of women's experiences of fear and violence have not been part of the program's purpose.

The CSSP's annual training/orientation program was mentioned by Erin Selby, Laurie Newell and others as a forum for discussing differences in ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. The purpose of the presentations concerning such issues was to encourage awareness of differences and avoid lack of judgement on the part of the patrollers concerning the students they may accompany or encounter. Here is Erin Selby on the matter:

> We certainly wouldn't tolerate anyone making a [prejudiced] judgement in terms of having to walk someone of a different colour, or different orientation. People were made aware coming into the Safety Patrol that we were very open to any differences in people and if you weren't comfortable with that then you should leave.

I did not get the sense from any of the interview participants that differences among women in terms of experiences of fear and violence were discussed or stressed in the training program or through any other means within the CSSP. Neither Sally Spilhaus nor Nathalie Léveillé recalled specific discussions within the Advisory Committee concerning the issue, although both were clearly knowledgeable of the ways that fear is experienced differently among women. Similarly, Laurie Newell mentioned that age, life experience, race and ethnicity may cause people to experience fear and violence differently, although she noted that these characteristics were not specifically targeted by the CSSP. Michel Bujold remarked, "I don't think we have really gotten into demographics, about culture, race and language, we are just offering a service whether it is men or women it doesn't really matter."

Locations of Danger Identified by the CSSP and its Participants

My initial intention was to examine how the CSSP's organizational activity conveys messages concerning the location of danger. I discovered, however, a striking difference between the types of places and the kinds of perpetrators identified to be dangerous by the CSSP and those identified by the people involved in its administration. I will therefore elaborate on these differences in perspective.

I learned about the situations that the CSSP communicates to be dangerous by examining the nature of its activities and services. The CSSP does not explicitly identify or advertise dangerous areas or types of people. The exception to this is the listing of potentially dangerous places in the information card which is distributed by patrollers (see Figure 3.2). For instance, the card mentions walking alone at night and dark parking lots as potentially dangerous situations requiring avoidance or preparedness for escape. In other words, the CSSP's service design reflects an identification of danger with public spaces at night. Although the nightly patrol teams walk through the library and other buildings, the bulk of their patrolling has been done in outside areas that are often dimly lit or isolated such as footpaths, streets, and alleys. Bujold notes that the patrol routes are those areas identified to be potentially dangerous by the individual coordinators, and are thus subject to change depending on that individual's perceptions.

Although the CSSP does not identify certain spaces to be specifically dangerous to women, its activities communicate information concerning women's fear and safety. The CSSP services are not officially targeted at women, but because it is commonly perceived that women are unsafe when walking alone, and since it is known that women are the users of the accompaniment service, it appears that the service's activities reflect

concerns about women's fear and safety. The perception that the CSSP is primarily for women is reflected in one of the results of the 1998 market research report, namely, a general consensus that women are the ones who most need the CSSP service (RTA Group 1998, 9). Other clues include the card that is distributed by patrollers (see Figure 3.2), which gives prevention advice such as walking with a friend and dropping heavy books to run to the nearest busy area — advice frequently given to women and almost never to men.

One implication of the CSSP patrols' focus on public spaces is that any potential perpetrator would be a stranger to the potential victim, perhaps from outside the University. Newell remarked that the primary focus of the CSSP has been on danger from "the person you don't know." She added, however, that on occasion the drop-by service has been used by women who are being harassed by an ex-boyfriend. The sense of danger from outside the Concordia community was reiterated by Michel Bujold, who remarked that the presence of the CSSP increases safety because "its jackets and walkie-talkies say to somebody from the outside, we are taking care of ourselves here, watching out for ourselves".

The two women volunteers with whom I spoke cited areas such as metros, elevators, unpopulated side-streets and dark alleys as places that they feared the most. However, the other people involved in the administration of the service or with the Advisory Committee, expressed a much different conception of the location of danger. When I asked these participants to identify the types of locations where they thought women were at greatest risk, I received, in addition to an acknowledgement that danger from strangers in public spaces can and does exist and that such spaces can be fearful,

much more forceful responses concerning the danger women experience in semi-public and private spaces from men with whom they are at least familiar. For instance, Bujold identified 'at-risk-places' to include home, work, school and nightclubs, and observed that in his experience the most likely perpetrators of harm are men known to women. Similarly, Léveillé and Newell both said that women are typically at risk in their homes from known people. Those participants who identified semi-public and private spaces to be frequent locations of danger, and familiar men as perpetrators of violence, offered insight into the mismatch between their perceptions and those the CSSP's. Erin Selby commented that: ". . . if somebody had a specific person they were worried about, [private space] is probably the most dangerous spot, it is just there wasn't much we could do about it," and Laurie Newell stated that the CSSP

> exists to meet a different kind of fear, a much rarer, random kind of physical attack, or to help people who already know and have themselves identified that there is violence within a relationship, that they are being stalked, or harassed by somebody that they know. Walking out on the streets is not going to stop somebody from being beaten at home. If our mission is to reduce fear of violence on campus, when most people don't live on campus, then maybe violence at home is not our agenda, maybe it is somebody else's.

The possibility of integrating messages about the dangers of date rape, domestic violence, and related matters, into a future educational role within the CSSP was supported by Léveillé, who suggested that the CSSP could run workshops or class presentations to create an interaction and dialogue among students on the issues; by Côté, who suggested a CSSP presence at Reggie's (campus bar) to communicate safety strategies to students; and by Bujold, who mentioned the potential preventative role that the CSSP could play in educating the community on safety issues. Côté emphasized the necessity of the role of education within the CSSP and notes that because feelings of insecurity expand beyond

geographic opportunity, the strategy of the CSSP should recognize that people need to feel safer in their lives both in and out of Concordia. He states,

> If your emphasis is on patrolling that might help, but if nothing is being done towards facilitating helping raising awareness or education around safety in general, maybe we are defeating ourselves by dealing with only one aspect of it. Not that I don't think it is important. I think it is, we need to work on both fronts.

The CSSP's visible organizational activities communicate messages that public spaces are locations of danger, especially from strangers. The CSSP coordinators and administrative staff, however, demonstrated personal perceptions that women are usually in the greatest danger in semi-public and private spaces from familiar or known men. The CSSP is able to respond to women who have already identified a risk from a known offender (through accompaniment or the drop-by service) but the service does not address (outwardly or within the organization) the specific issues associated with this type of danger.

CSSP's Effect on the Geography of Women's Fear

There was never a needs-assessment when the CSSP was created, nor has there been an assessment of the service's effectiveness since its creation. Sally Spilhaus mentioned that there have been annual discussions about the possibility, but that the lack of resources to fund such a study have prevented the realization of the idea. Similarly, there have been no official investigations into the effects of the CSSP's services on women's fear of violence and perception of danger in public and private space, or its effects on the degree of women's fear. The commissioning of the market research report, together with experience at the individual level among CSSP administration and volunteers, provide valuable clues concerning the effect of the CSSP on the geography of women's fear.

The goals of the market research report (as discussed in Chapter 3) included learning about how students feel about their safety on campus, what contributes to student fear, what would be the best way to reduce or eliminate fear, and the familiarity of the University community with the CSSP.[33] The study found that the most fearful people are women who have to either teach or work late in isolated and/or dimly lit areas on campus; and that these women predominantly fear random personal attacks and harassment from strangers in public or semi-public areas. Recommendations to reduce or eliminate fear made by members of the focus groups included improved outdoor lighting on the Loyola campus and in the Hall building at the downtown campus, restricted access to campus buildings, installation of panic buttons in isolated areas and an increased visibility of the CSSP. One of the findings states: "All agree that knowing the patrol is around is a major contributor to feelings of personal safety. It generates a sense of comfort and security knowing it is there" (RTA Group 1998, 9). As CSSP visibility was found to be severely lacking, an increased profile was one of the major recommendations of the report (see summary of findings, Figure 3.3). It was not in the scope of the study to determine the effect of the CSSP on women's fear or women's identification of the locations of danger; instead it considered how the CSSP has affected or could provide increased security or feelings of security in the face of these fears. While neither the CSSP nor the commissioned market study has attempted to define or analyze the service's effect on women's fear of violence and perception of the danger of public versus private spaces, it appears that it is commonly understood that the CSSP exists

[33] The study design was qualitative in nature and used focus groups to collect its data. Group discussions were held with 8 CSSP patrollers, 8 female students, 4 male students, 8 faculty and staff, and 2 users of the CSSP accompaniment service (RTA Group 1998, 2).

primarily to respond to fear of personal attacks by strangers in public and semi-public spaces.

The CSSP's primary goal is the alleviation of fear (see Chapter 3). One of the goals of my research was to gain insight into the impact of the CSSP's services on fear among its users and those involved with the service. I did not speak with members of the University community outside the CSSP, nor did I undertake the large-scale study that would be necessary to research this issue adequately. Instead, I spoke with those involved in running the service to listen to their insights concerning the service's effects on fear in the community.

Most of the study participants agreed that the CSSP accompaniment services had a temporary effect on reducing fear during the accompaniment or presence of a patrol team, but that they were ineffective in reducing fear in general. Jessica Greenberg, a 1997-1998 CSSP volunteer, remarked that fear is an important mechanism to alert one of potential danger. However, "I think fear will always be there" she added, "even if for every single day you are walked by people to your car for a full year, the next day if you do it by yourself, you are going to be scared. It doesn't make you more comfortable walking by yourself, it just makes you more comfortable for that time." Sally Spilhaus commented that she did not think the act of accompanying someone would make a person better at dealing with fear, adding that:

> It's a stop-gap measure to get you through a period when you can't really anticipate the next act by somebody who is threatening you and so both psychologically and physically you need that help, and I think it is a wonderful thing to have. If somebody just tends to be a fearful person, and for example cannot cope with coming to school at night unless they have that kind of accompaniment, again the accompaniment seems to be useful as a stop-gap measure, but in the long run, if this person wants to increase their independence to go out and act in the world, they need to go and

> have some other kind of help, to conquer that fear so that they can be more independent.

Nathalie Léveillé shares the doubt expressed by other participants that the CSSP is able to adequately address fear beyond the moment of accompaniment:

> I don't really think it addresses fear, because it is kind of like, this is just me personally, the I-will-protect-you kind of mentality because you are scared and afraid so I will walk you to your car, and that is fine I guess for some women, but I have a problem with that because they are not really addressing the problem, they are not really teaching any kinds of skills, where I feel that at least the self defense course is giving women the tools to know that if they want to, if they don't want to be dependent on someone they don't even know necessarily to take care of them, there are other options.

Erin Selby indicated that the CSSP fell short in many areas, with the result that it was often ineffective in reducing fear. Selby told me that the CSSP had not been effective in reducing her personal fear when she was a student, because the service was not offered at the times she felt she needed it (after midnight coming home from studying). She also noted that because the CSSP is unable to accompany women directly home (if far from campus), the service is ineffective in reducing fear once the accompanied person is dropped off at a bus stop, or gets off public transportation to walk home. Selby also indicated that the CSSP had the tendency to actually increase fear for those volunteering or working for the service, noting that

> I also think that being in the atmosphere of the Safety Patrol can sort of grow fear, where you might not have had some. I found this in the two years that I was involved in the Safety Patrol, I was a lot more afraid once I got out. And it sort of escalated some fears that might not have been necessary. It took a year or so of being out of it to realize I am safe and I don't take risks and I know certain things, stand near the buttons in the elevator, and trust your instincts and all that sort of thing, but I was taking it over the top being around all the safety issues. And I don't know if all volunteers would have gotten the same feeling from it as I did.

When I spoke with Satoko Yoshikzaki, a 1997-1998 CSSP volunteer, she noted a similar trend in her personal fear, namely, that her volunteer experience at the CSSP educated her of the dangers on the streets, causing her to be more aware of danger and afraid to walk alone. Nathalie Léveillé, although not directly involved in the administration of the CSSP's administration, noted that at times the presence of the service has introduced the issue of fear where it previously was not in her mind. "If you are walking around campus," she explains, "or going to class, whatever, going home, and you happen to see a few patrollers in their red jackets and walkie talkies on your path, you perhaps were not even thinking of feeling fearful, and you see these people and wonder, maybe I have reason to feel afraid, maybe I shouldn't feel so safe, maybe I am a little naïve... ."

The general consensus that emerged from the interviews was that although the CSSP patrols provide a temporary relief from fear when the patrols are present or are accompanying a student, the service does not have the effect of reducing fear at any other time or providing empowering tools for women when they are alone or fearful. There is some indication that the CSSP may inadvertently increase fear by highlighting the presence of certain types of dangers.

Some Reasons for the Low Use of the Accompaniment Service

In order to investigate attitudes and personal feelings about the CSSP, I asked the participants of this study for their insights concerning students who were familiar with the CSSP but did not use the service. I have included the spectrum of responses because I believe they lend awareness of the weaknesses of the current service, and suggest a possible future direction for the CSSP.

One response concerned barriers and deficiencies in the organization of the CSSP's services. Barriers cited included the limited schedule, the impersonal nature of the service (telephoning an unknown person in an unknown location), and the inconvenience of scheduling an accompaniment. For instance, Michel Bujold underscored the inconvenience of telephoning for a patrol accompaniment and the waiting time necessary for the patrol to arrive. Robert Côté noted that while men don't feel they need the accompaniment service, women avoid the service due to the complication of organizing an accompaniment and the fact that the current service provision constitutes an "impersonal strategy to request a service which is of a highly personal nature".

Another reason given for the low use of the CSSP accompaniment service (other than its low profile) were that women who are fearful may want to maintain their feelings of independence and avoid the embarrassment of being escorted. Erin Selby told me she knew of people who didn't use the service because they felt silly standing around and then being approached by two people in bright jackets. She said that because the accompaniment is so visible and cannot be construed as 'three friends walking together ,' potential users of the service are discouraged. Selby also suggested that some people are discouraged by the perception (which she stated is erroneous) that the CSSP is about protecting women and not empowering them. Jessica Greenberg noted that she did not use the service despite feeling fearful, because she purposefully walks where there are many people in well lit areas and because she feels strong and able to run quickly: she also mentioned the element of embarrassment in being escorted by a team. Léveillé suggests that women may be wary of students that they don't know, preferring to make

arrangements with friends. She also suggests that many women prefer to feel empowered. able to take care of themselves, rather than disempowered:

> I'd rather feel on the empowered side than the disempowered side, and so through whatever means that might be, different women do different things like take a self-defense course or carry pepper spray, or they have a safety whistle, whatever, I'd rather err on the side of being a little too empowered and cocky than to feel disempowered all the time.

In our interview, Laurie Newell recognized the hesitancy of many women to call for an accompaniment or drop-by service, commenting that "To call us is to admit that they have some kind of problem or some kind of vulnerability, or is to say I am not as strong as I think I should be."

Summary

The CSSP encourages an awareness among the patrollers of the diversity of students they may encounter and accompany, but the service has not directly considered how differences among women may affect their experiences of fear and violence. This is largely because the CSSP does not target its services specifically for women, and thus has not directly explored the specific nature of women's fear and experience of violence.

The bulk of the CSSP's organizational activity conveys information about danger, especially potentially from strangers, in public and semi-public spaces. Most of the individuals involved in the administration of the CSSP, however, commented on their perceptions of danger in private spaces, from men that women know. The discrepancy could be caused by the fact that the CSSP responds to women's fear of danger, which usually involves fear of random attacks in public and semi-public areas. Despite the recognition of the danger that many women experience in private spaces from known

men, there is no evidence that the CSSP conveys such information formally through educational campaigns, or through informal exchanges between patrollers and students.

The CSSP has not defined or analyzed its effect on women's fear of violence or their perception of public and private spaces. This is due to a lack of resources to fund a study of these issues, as well as the CSSP's lack of focus on issues surrounding women's fear and experiences of violence. Although a recent study commissioned by the Dean of Students office to examine the effectiveness of the CSSP confirmed that women are the most fearful group, as well as the group seen to benefit most from the services of the CSSP, the study did not analyze the CSSP's effect on this fear, nor did it contextualize these fears in relation to risk. No quantitative study has been done to measure the CSSP's effects on women's fear, although those interviewed agreed that the presence of patrollers temporarily decreased women's fear. Many remarked that the CSSP had no effect on a person's fear when the patrols are not present.

The interviewees identified several aspects of the service that discouraged women from using it. In addition to the fact that many people are unaware of the CSSP, other discouraging factors include the impersonal nature of the service, the inconvenience of arranging an accompaniment and the service's limited schedule. Other drawbacks involve the high visibility of the accompaniment service, as well as the perception of some women that the service is not empowering and that its impedes feelings of independence.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

So far, I have focused on the descriptive aspect of this study's objectives by exploring the CSSP's rationale and its creation and evolution, and by describing the organization's position on several key issues associated with women's fear of crime. In this chapter, I incorporate my impressions and insights to meet the study's other objective, namely, to evaluate the CSSP's success in providing a liberating and informed alternative to fear. In the spirit of a feminist methodological approach, I am not seeking to describe reality objectively (i.e. to determine impartially the service's success or failure); instead, I intend to evaluate the service's effectiveness according to my own experience and knowledge. Is this service effective in providing a liberating and informed alternative to fear, given what I know from my research and experience?

Before I suggest improvements to the service, the CSSP deserves to be recognized for its various strengths. For example, it has

1) clearly stated that it is unacceptable for people to be fearful at Concordia and proactively addressed feelings of safety within the University community;
2) taken away the responsibility for fear and danger prevention from the individual and made it a collective concern;
3) consistently dedicated a portion of its budget towards self-defense classes given by the Women's Centre;
4) annually organized training sessions for volunteers that represent a broad range of perspectives on issues of fear and violence;
5) provided the community with positive role models of women patrollers;
6) established a mandate to educate the community about fear and safety awareness; and
7) provided a needed service to people who have identified a specific risk for which they need support and/or protection.

These are substantial contributions to the University community. In a subsequent section I suggest changes that would further increase the service's effectiveness.

CSSP's Mandate and its Policy Implementation

The CSSP's vision is for "all people to live without fear while at Concordia." When the CSSP was created, questions of fear and safety on university campuses were on the national agenda due to the creation of similar university patrol and/or accompaniment services elsewhere, the activities of METRAC and similar groups, as well as the massacre of women at the Ecole Polytechnique in Montreal. The CSSP was not, however, initiated due to widespread panic or unusual fear, nor was it formed in response to an obvious community demand. Instead, the CSSP was the product of the labour of a few students who articulated its mandate and organizational form.

The fact that the articulation of the CSSP's vision came from a relatively small number of people (each of whom had a specific idea of how to best address fear) significantly affected the service's strategies and policies. The lack of direct grassroots support and broad-based participation has thus far prevented the creation of a unified, holistic vision, which is an essential characteristic of other Canadian collective initiatives. The lack of a community voice may also be responsible for the differences between the CSSP and other collective initiatives, these including the absence of a feminist perspective, the integration of physical design changes with proactive social policies, and the recognition of danger in private spaces. Furthermore, while the CSSP was formed with good intentions and has participated in taking collective responsibility for fear prevention, the founding vision resulted in a service that has many of the failings of an individual's coping strategies. These include a lack of awareness concerning the mismatch between the geographies of fear and danger, and the reinforcement of fear, dependence and isolation in private space.

Probably because it attempted to be too all-inclusive, the mandate and vision of the CSSP lack perspective and focus. Clearly, the CSSP's mandate is to reduce fear, but it does not provide any perspective or analysis concerning the causes of fear, the effects of fear, why fear must be reduced, and finally, how fear can best be eliminated. Also it would appear that conflicting visions of the organization have coexisted since its founding, especially between emphasis on the CSSP as a protective service versus a vision of it as a vehicle for empowerment. It has never clearly operated as one or the other. Thus, the CSSP's vision reflects both aspects: it is protective in its accompaniment activities, and empowering in its mandate for an educational role in the University community (and is potentially either protective or empowering in its patrolling activities — depending on how such activities are administered).

The CSSP's educational role, which was intended to balance its service provision, has remained underdeveloped largely because the service communicates ambiguous messages concerning fear and danger. The people with whom I spoke (as well as those interviewed by the recently commissioned marketing study), expressed some enthusiasm for the educational role of the CSSP, as well as the knowledge that this aspect of the service has never been actively implemented. Although the neglect of the educational aspect stems in part from the service's preoccupation with its patrolling and accompaniment roles, I think the lack of a broader analytical perspective on fear has been primarily responsible for the absence of the natural evolution of an educational strategy. So far, the lack of an organized educational campaign has cost the service a significant opportunity to effectively reduce fear.

Another aspect that has prevented the CSSP from being fully effective is the absence of a gender specific analysis of fear and danger. Although part of the CSSP mandate states that "a campus that is safe for women is a campus safe for all," — any reference to women's fear and safety stops here. The choice of the founders and subsequent coordinators not to incorporate a gender specific analysis of fear into the CSSP's mandate or organizational activities has created a paradox that has limited the service's ability to adequately respond to all people's fears. Women experience the highest levels of fear and are the most likely (if not the only) potential users of the accompaniment and drop-by services, as well as the probable targets for the CSSP's safety advice. Despite this profile of women's fear of crime and the CSSP's mandate to "ensure that all people live without fear while at Concordia," the service has not examined the nature of women's fear —specifically the geography of limitation (or limited use of public areas) and the mismatch of the geographies of fear and danger. This paradox is complicated by the fact that almost all of the participants in the administration of the CSSP are clearly aware of the issues surrounding the nature of women's fear (including places feared versus places where women are most in danger, the geography of limitation caused by fear, and the intersecting impact on fear of factors such as ethnicity, poverty and sexual orientation).

In light of this paradox, it is discouraging to note that the CSSP seems to be increasingly moving away from its few specific considerations of women's fear. This is evidenced, for example, by the recent decision to allow two men together on a patrol team and the apparent discomfort with the service's reference to "a campus safe for

women is a campus safe for all."[34] I believe this trend reflects the CSSP's well-intentioned effort to be open to all aspects of existing fear within the University community, and a feeling, perhaps, that a specific focus on women's fear may detract from addressing the needs of the community at large. This shift also seems to be due to the perceived need of the CSSP to dissociate itself from feminist analyses in order to maintain a "neutral" legitimacy and to appeal to a broad spectrum of student support. The CSSP's specific vision and mandate to address all people's fear has been interpreted to require the exclusion of specific considerations of fear, despite many participants' knowledge about these issues. Thus, the organizational purpose and structure of the CSSP has eclipsed individuals' knowledge and insight. Closing the door to a gendered analysis of fear (a hint of which is present in the mandate) in favour of broadly addressing all people's experiences would actually prevent the service from adequately addressing fear within the University community. An intimate understanding of the different ways in which fear is experienced is essential to design policies that effectively reduce fear of all segments of the population. Therefore, an analysis of women's fear of crime must be made an integral part of the collective knowledge within the CSSP to truly target community fear. The CSSP must address its paradoxical treatment of fear and incorporate the existing knowledge of individual participants.

In the remaining analysis, I will argue that the CSSP's success in providing an empowering remedy to fear will not only involve the incorporation of a gendered analysis of fear, but will specifically be dependent on the inclusion of geographical feminist knowledge in a rearticulation of the service's purpose and policy implementation. I

[34] I suspect that these changes are not viewed by the those involved with the CSSP as purposeful moves away from concerns that are specific to women's fear; however, in my view, these changes are eroding

should emphasize that I am not arguing that the CSSP's mandate necessarily become feminist; rather, I am arguing that the contributions to the understanding of women's fear and safety provided by feminism and feminist geographical research need to be integrated into the CSSP's self-evaluation, organizational knowledge and policy implementation so that, in the future, the service can adequately and effectively address *all people's* fear of crime.

CSSP and its Communication of the Geography of Danger

Feminist geographic literature highlights the misconception among many women (and most crime prevention advice) that they are in greater risk of sexual violence in public spaces and from strangers. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that a collective strategy's degree of awareness about the geography of fear and violence would shape the service's effectiveness in promoting women's sense of safety and actual safety.

The CSSP's founders perceived a need to address people's fear of crime and assault in public spaces by strangers. Understandably, the service's creators hoped to increase feelings of safety and they therefore designed a service to provide patrols in fear-filled areas and accompaniments for those who were afraid of walking alone.

As previously mentioned, although many of the individuals currently involved with the CSSP have a high degree of awareness of danger in private spaces, the service has remained focused on fear and danger in public spaces and on crimes committed by strangers. In sum, despite participants' knowledge of the geography of danger, the CSSP has consistently and openly responded to the geography of fear. Accordingly, its organizational activity, i.e., nightly patrol and accompaniment teams, focuses on perceived areas of fear (darkened and/or public spaces), and its advice distributed on

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what little recognition is given to the specific nature of women's fear.

cards refers to surprise attacks in public spaces. The CSSP's focus on patrolling the edges and isolated areas of the campuses reinforces the sense that a potential assault would most likely come from an outsider or campus intruder. Although not advertised as such, the CSSP has designed its services to directly respond to the fears typically expressed by women: fear of violence occurring in public or semi-public spaces by unknown perpetrators.

The CSSP's activities respond directly to the geography of women's fear, despite the participants' awareness that the service does not respond to the geography of women's danger. This is problematic because the CSSP's activities may appear to the University community to be aimed at increasing safety. Hence by responding to the geography of fear, the service inadvertently reinforces the perception that the geography of fear corresponds with the geography of danger. The CSSP's activities misinform the community of the prevalence of certain dangers (thereby proportionately under-representing others), as well as reinforces and legitimizes fear of public spaces. Figure 5.1 summarizes the mutually supportive relationship between the CSSP and women's fear. In response to a fear of 'stranger danger' in public spaces, the CSSP provides patrol and accompaniment services. These services may temporarily decrease women's fear during the CSSP's presence, but overall they reinforce the idea that public spaces are dangerous places (specifically due to crime committed by strangers), and thus the CSSP reinforces the prevalent geography of fear.

Some may argue that since it is the CSSP's mandate to ensure that people live without fear, there is nothing wrong with responding to women's predominent fear of crime and assault in public spaces by strangers. This point is relevant because, after all,

the CSSP is a student-funded and student-run service which responds to the fear of personal assault that many students (particularly women) experience. Furthermore.

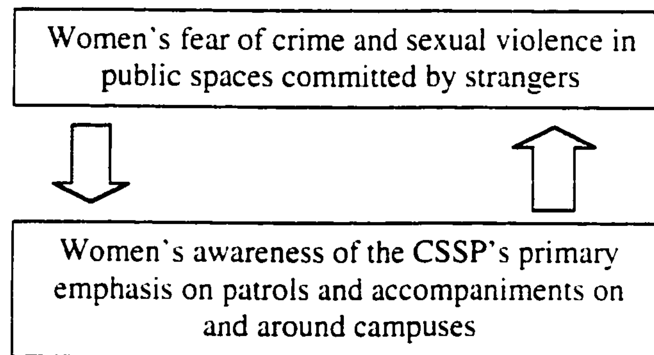

Figure 5.1: Mutually supportive relationship between the CSSP's activity and women's fear of crime

although rare in comparison to the other types of violence. assaults in public spaces by strangers do indeed occur and constitute a certain risk. I believe that the potential costs of patrolling and accompaniment activities (namely. the reinforcement of the geography of fear). outweigh the short-term benefit of these approaches (a temporary relief of fear). Although well-intentioned. placing the *primary emphasis* on patrolling and accompaniment may actually be a disservice to the University community. as these activities can reinforce the mismatch between the geography of fear and the geography of danger.[35] For instance. the message that public spaces are dangerous areas where women should ideally be provided an accompaniment is not conducive to reducing fear. or ultimately to the free and full use of the public arena. An alternative and perhaps complementary approach that identifies the mismatch between the geographies of

[35] As I suggest in the "Recommendations" section. other services should be promoted in conjunction with the patrolling activities to provide a more balanced service provision.

women's fear and danger would ultimately be more effective in reducing both fear and the geography of limitation.

The CSSP and the Symbolic Division of Public and Private Spheres

Feminist geographic research demonstrates that two geographic results of women's fear, a limitation on the use of public space and a misidentification of the location of most danger, function to maintain the physical and symbolic division between the public/male sphere and the private/female sphere. Feminist geography argues that free and full access to public space and the public sphere (and its associated power) is restricted according to gender (this analysis can also be extended to restrictions according to class, race, sexual orientation, etc.). The geography of limitation and fear, driven by the mismatch between the geographies of fear and danger, helps maintain an exclusive male public sphere to which women's access (as well as that of other routinely excluded groups) is restricted. Women's self-imposed limits on their use of public spaces and consequent access to the public sphere results in frequent isolation in the private sphere, thus preventing the full expression of an individual and collective public voice, identity and power.

The CSSP has tried to increase students' confidence in the safety of public spaces through the presence of patrols, and by providing accompaniments to those who are fearful.[36] The CSSP's goal of reducing fear is well placed, yet the way the service has gone about meeting this goal is problematic, and, I believe, has rendered the service ineffective in making the public sphere more accessible to women (as well as to other traditionally excluded groups). The effectiveness of the CSSP's presence in addressing

[36] My study did not measure the impact of the CSSP on the community's confidence over the use of public spaces, but I would guess that to some extent the CSSP does provide a sense of security. I believe, however, that any confidence in public space that the CSSP creates is dependent on patrollers' presence, and is thus very temporary in nature.

women's fear and limited use of public space has been undermined by several factors. As previously discussed, one factor is that while temporarily reducing fear, the CSSP's activities reinforce the geography of fear by communicating the idea that there is reason to be fearful in public space. Ultimately, this reinforces women's perception that they can enjoy only limited access to the public arena. A second factor responsible for the CSSP's reduced effectiveness is that the service does not provide programs that encourage people to reduce their fear while increasing independent access to public space. The CSSP offers its presence to reduce fear, but this is ineffective when the CSSP is not available, or if the fearful person is off campus or has left university. Increased emphasis on self-defense techniques, for example, would encourage people to feel more at ease in public spaces, thereby increasing access to the public sphere. A third and related factor is that the CSSP does not provide information concerning the geography of danger, or any instruction on the typical differences between the geography of danger and the geography of fear. Such information would allow women to contextualize their fear and to identify the frequent mismatch between the places feared and the places that are typically dangerous. Information concerning the nature of women's geography of limitation would also be helpful to share with the University community to gain perspective on effects of fear. For instance, a perspective on the significance that 50-70% of women either restrict their activities because of considerations of fear, or restrict their outside activities to the daytime to remain 'safe' at home (see Chapter One), may encourage members of the University community to become involved with a service provision that encourages women to gain unrestricted access to public space. Given the limits of the effectiveness of the current service, a fundamental review of the direction of service provision is

necessary to fulfil its valuable purpose of reducing fear and to take complete advantage of the tremendous opportunity given by the resources of the annual budget and interested volunteers.[37] Suggestions regarding the elements that should be included in this fundamental review (including a restructuring of the CSSP's administration, an assessment of the CSSP's vision and a redistribution of organizational activity) are contained in the following 'Recommendations' section.

The CSSP offers a basic, well-intentioned level of service provision that was designed to respond to the fear of public spaces such as streets, metros, alleys and parking lots. At an organizational level there has been no perspective on or sense of why, or how, this fear is detrimental or why it is important that it be dissipated.[38] I believe that the incorporation, or at least the consideration of, a geographic analysis of women's fear and danger would propel the CSSP from a well-intentioned service to a well-intentioned and effective service. This would require contributions from feminist geographical research concerning the location of fear versus the location of violence, the nature of women's self-imposed limitations on their use of public space, and finally, the implications of this restricted access to the public sphere. The inclusion of a geographical perspective on the significance of public space and the need for all members of the community to be empowered in this space, would make the CSSP an essential part of the University community.

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[37] As previously mentioned, the CSSP's annual budget averages about $45,000, and the average number of volunteers ranges from 45 to 90 students.

[38] It was mentioned by at least one participant that women's fear should not be "too discouraged," as it is seen to be essential to ensure one's own self-preservation in the face of danger. My view is that the "benefits" of such fear (an increased awareness of potential danger) are far outweighed by the costs of fear, which include restricted free access to public spaces, long-term stress, and patterns of isolation and dependence.

Recommendations for the Implementation of Revised Policy Goals

I have freely criticized the CSSP's shortcomings, not because I think that the group should cease to exist, but because I know the CSSP has enormous potential and a real capacity to play an essential role in reducing fear at Concordia University. Fear prevents people from communicating with one another and from working together, and it leads to silence and isolation. As was pointed out in Chapter One, collective strategies to reduce fear can lead to community and individual empowerment. I believe that the CSSP can be transformed to play a vital role not only in the University community but also in the surrounding municipal communities. For this to happen, I would argue that the CSSP must establish and adopt a guiding perspective on and analysis of fear that includes an understanding of the specific nature of women's fear. I believe that the incorporation of the contributions of feminist and geographical feminist research would aid the CSSP in reducing the gap between the geography of fear and the geography of violence, which would in turn help to reduce women's self-imposed limitations on their use of public spaces. There are several possible methods of implementing change and creating effective ways for the CSSP to meet its fundamental objective "to reduce all people's fear while at Concordia." These changes in organizational direction, structure and policy should include a restructuring of the CSSP's administration, an assessment and renewal of the CSSP's vision and direction, and an evaluation and redistribution of the CSSP's organizational activity.

1. Restructuring of the CSSP's Administration

In order to create a more dynamic and flexible service, and to maintain a continuity in direction and momentum from one year to the next, changes should be made to ensure an

on-going contribution of participants' knowledge. Instead of annually hiring one or two coordinators, a board of directors should be appointed that would coordinate and administer the CSSP's direction and activities. The involvement of a team of dedicated people should prevent stagnation while infusing the CSSP with a variety of ideas and experiences. Group decision-making would require that issues surrounding fear and safety be thoroughly discussed and that a consensus on policy action be reached that reflects different viewpoints and experiences. Positions on the board should be open to all students; however special attention should be given to enlisting recruits from student groups that represent specific interests in order to provide a broad spectrum of input on issues of safety and fear.[39] The tenure of board members should be staggered to ensure a continuity of experience and maintenance of organizational momentum.[40] Once established, the directors could meet monthly as a group, and with the volunteers occasionally. The goal of this restructuring would be the creation of continuity of vision and purpose, and even more importantly, the creation of a context in which the directors and volunteers can collectively shape the organization on an ongoing basis. There should also be an ongoing mandate for working groups to examine specific issues and strategies related to reducing fear, as well as to undertake program evaluations.

2. Assessment and Renewal of the CSSP's Vision and Direction

Assuming the basic mandate for reducing fear is to remain the same, the CSSP's participants need to identify and adopt informed perspectives concerning the meaning of

[39] Possible student groups to target for recruiting purposes include the Women's Centre, the Queer Collective, QPIRG, Peer Educators, Sisterhood of Black Women, and the Urban Studies Students and Geography Students Associations.
[40] The hiring of board members should be done by a committee of current and former members of the CSSP in conjunction with the Advisory Committee in order to further ensure the continuity of vision and purpose.

fear, its causes and effects, and the importance of and methods for its reduction. This essential work is necessary to clarify the ultimate purpose of the CSSP, and is a prerequisite for an effective program of fear reduction. The renewal of the CSSP's vision and direction should be shaped by a strategy that does not duplicate activities that may have inadvertently reinforced the very fear that the service is attempting to reduce. This means that a reactive stance to fear should be avoided (such as an emphasis on patrolling), in favour of a proactive stance that would emphasize information and education, community involvement and promotion of unrestricted movement.

As I argued in the previous sections, the incorporation of a gendered or feminist analysis of women's fear is essential to understand the specific nature of the impact of fear on women's lives. An understanding of this analysis, coupled with an awareness of the responsibility that comes with the ability to communicate messages about the nature and location of danger and safety strategies, is an essential step in providing a service that will reduce fear within the community. Thus, a renewed examination of the service should closely examine the subtle messages that are communicated to women about the geography of dangerous places and the geography of fear-filled places. Equipped with the knowledge of the detrimental impacts caused by the mismatch of the geographies of fear and danger, and particularly the resulting geography of limitation, I believe the CSSP's activity in the community would naturally gravitate towards strategies that empower individuals.

A serious consideration and dialogue with feminist critiques concerning the current nature of CSSP services would assist in identifying areas that need improvement so that fear can be more effectively addressed. This would include awareness concerning

the impact of protectionist strategies, the extent of violence and danger experienced by women from men they know (in all locations), and the need for services that individually and collectively empower women. When incorporating a gendered analysis into the broader organizational perspective of fear, it is essential that there be a concurrent awareness of the myriad of oppressions experienced by members of the University community. In order that the diversity of experiences within the community be recognized, a gendered analysis of fear must not be diverted by an exclusive focus on male versus female conflict; instead, the effects of intersecting circumstances surrounding racial, economic and homophobic oppressions (among others) should be recognized for their impact on experiences of fear.

3. Evaluation and Redistribution of Organizational Activity

A renewed sense of purpose and a guiding perspective, complemented by a thorough understanding of women's fear of crime, will likely lead participants to conclude that a reliance on patrolling and accompaniment activities are insufficient to fulfil the mandate of reducing fear. The patrolling and accompaniment services of the CSSP should continue to be offered on a limited basis, as they provide a visible presence and a necessary service to students experiencing fearful or dangerous situations. However, the current emphasis on service provision should shift from the patrolling and accompaniment activities (which would become secondary, complementary activities) to a greater emphasis on educational campaigns, community involvement and sponsorship of empowerment training programs. In order to provide continued perspective and new ideas, it would be beneficial to create ongoing annual working groups on each of these three aspects of renewed service provisions.

a) Education

Once the purpose and direction of the CSSP has been refined and clarified, the nature and importance of the educational role should become evident. Educational campaigns could entail the dissemination of information and the stimulation of community dialogue. The techniques employed by such a campaign might include distributing pamphlets, setting up campus information tables on an ongoing basis, and creating a small resource collection featuring publications on issues relating to fear, violence, sexual harassment, and hate crimes that would be available for student research. In order to encourage dialogue among all members of the community on relevant issues, the CSSP could organize workshops, institute 'awareness days,' offer brief introductory presentations about the service to first-year classes, and contribute a monthly column to one or both of the student newspapers. A much greater emphasis on the educational aspect of the CSSP is perhaps the most important change that needs to be made. Promoting education, dialogue and reflection are excellent ways to bring about change in attitudes and behavior at an individual level, which may in turn benefit the collective.

b) Promotion of self-defense and empowerment strategies

Self-defense techniques have been shown to increase confidence and feelings of strength (see Chapter One). They empower women in particular (who are socialized to feel weak and incapable of self defense) to access public spaces more freely and confidently, and without dependence on a friend or accompaniment service. I recommend that the CSSP dedicate a significantly larger portion of its budget (10-15%) towards subsidizing self-defense courses (taught as an empowerment technique) administered through the Women's Centre. The CSSP should play a vital role in promoting and advertising the

courses' availability. By emphasizing the goal of encouraging women to be strong and independent, I believe that more women would be inclined to become involved with both self-defense courses and the CSSP. Information that contextualizes the importance and benefits of empowerment strategies, such as self-defense training, should be integrated into the educational material promoted by the CSSP.

c) Community dialogue and involvement

Increased emphasis on education and the promotion of empowerment strategies would stimulate communication within the Concordia community concerning issues of fear and danger. The CSSP could take advantage of its potentially increased campus profile to build working relationships with other groups on campus. Creating stronger links with student groups such as the Women's Centre, the Peer Educators and QPIRG (to name only a few possibilities) would encourage a community context in which students, by pooling their resources, could work cooperatively towards related goals, such as building healthy communities and promoting anti-violence and anti-racist initiatives. The CSSP should also continue to pursue building stronger links with members of the Concordia administration, making its services known and available to offices such as Campus Security, Counselling and Development, Office of Rights and Responsibilities/ Ombudsperson, and New Students Office. The CSSP may also want to consider initiating a follow-up to the Safety Audit conducted by the University in 1994-1995 (see Chapter Three).

The evaluation and redistribution of the CSSP's organizational activity should involve creating links with the community surrounding Concordia University. The CSSP should attempt to become aware of other collective strategies designed to reduce fear and

violence, and ideally should become part of the local and national network of such community efforts. A first step in situating the CSSP within the collective network would be to redirect volunteering efforts away from security duties for organizations such as the Easter Seals, as these groups have little or nothing to do with issues relevant to the mandate of the CSSP. Instead, the CSSP's energy could be devoted to fund-raising and working with groups off-campus that share similar goals (such as sexual assault centres, community anti-racism initiatives, women's shelters, municipal safety organizations and neighbourhood safety audit initiatives). The CSSP could provide information to students concerning these other community groups, as well as integrate some of its services with these other initiatives. The CSSP could also benefit from connections to other community strategies through a mentoring program. People experienced in administering and organizing other strategies may be willing to provide some of their time to mentoring the board of directors (particularly in the redefinition phase), or at least in contributing their experience and perspective to solutions to reduce community fear and violence.

The CSSP should become involved with other relevant initiatives to create lateral links to the community of people who share similar goals. The sharing of information, strategies, ideas and perspectives would strengthen the CSSP's service provision and, in turn, the CSSP would be contributing to the cause of reducing fear at a community level. The possible affiliation of the CSSP with the network of related local and national collective initiatives could lend the service the confidence needed to pursue strategies necessary to truly reduce fear: knowing that the service is part of a larger network of similar strategies could provide both inspiration and motivation.

An emphasis on community and educational activities would help to solve the current problem of the CSSP's low visibility (the marketing study found that many people on campus were not familiar with the CSSP). Talking to students in class, contributing columns to newspapers, participating in joint efforts with community initiatives, setting up information tables on campus, organizing workshops and promoting the availability of self-defense empowerment training – by these and other means the CSSP would become an integral part of campus and community life. Students attracted to the dynamism of an organization not afraid to tackle the tricky and difficult issues of fear and violence within our community would replace those who may wish to withdraw their involvement due to a discomfort with the CSSP's outward affiliation with anti-violence, feminist or anti-racist strategies.

A summary of my recommendations is contained in Figure 5.2. It is crucial, in my view, that the insights provided by feminist geography and the perspectives of marginalized groups be considered in the renewed design of the CSSP's services. Only then will the CSSP ultimately effectively fulfil its mandate to reduce all people's fear.

Suggestions for Further Research

There is scope for several research topics that could further explore the role of Canadian accompaniment services in relation to women's fear of crime. Three potential topics are 1) a needs-assessment of the CSSP and other service provisions related to fear and violence at Concordia University; 2) research into the impact of such services on fear in universities and on communities' confidence in the safety of their public spaces; and 3) research into the significance of the relatively recent appearance of university accompaniment services across Canada.

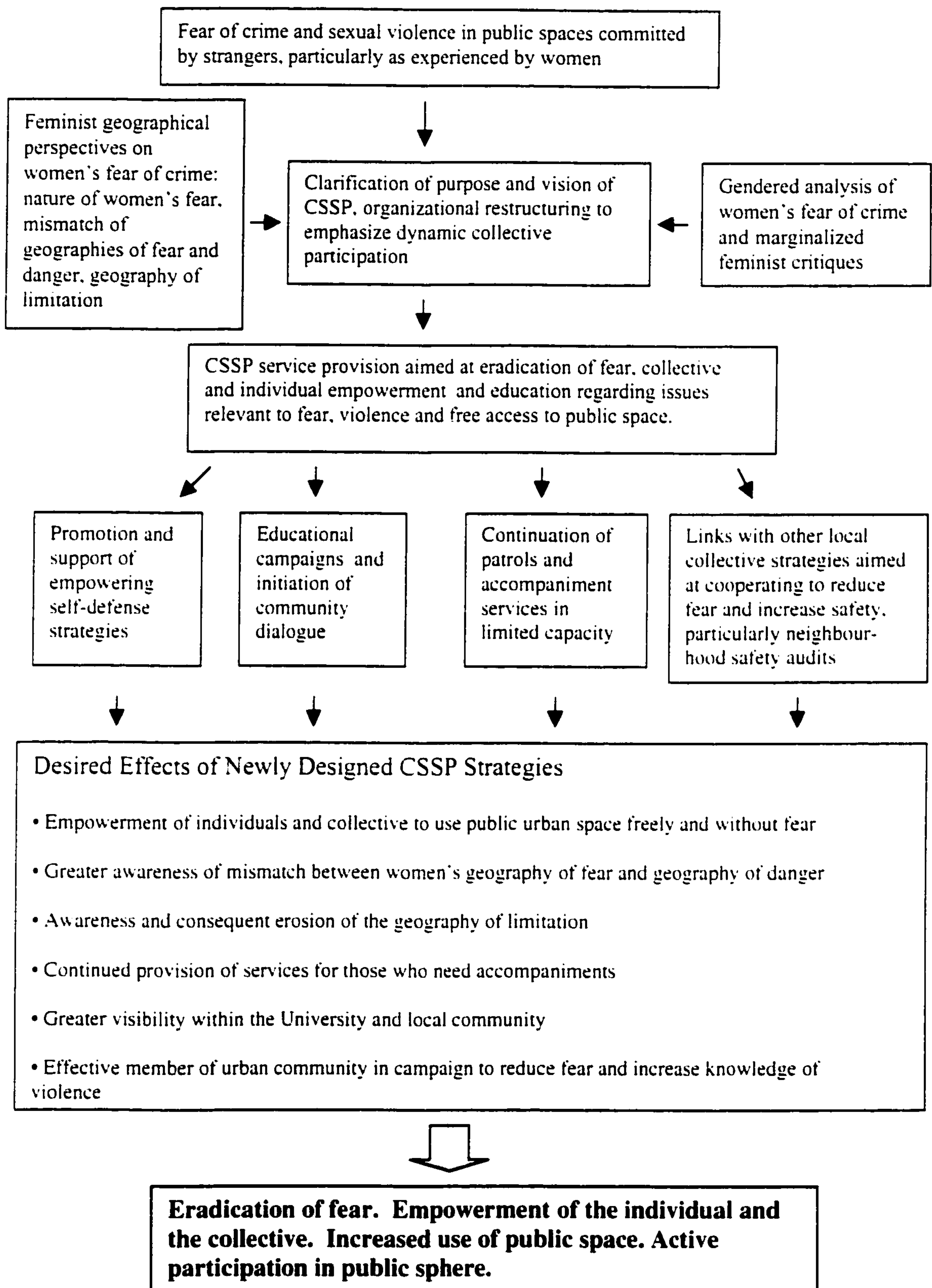

Figure 5.2: Summary of Recommended Changes in the CSSP's Policy and Service Provision

There is a need for follow-up research at Concordia University to assist with the future direction of the CSSP and University policies relating to fear and violence. The CSSP was created due to the vision of few dedicated students, and was founded without a needs-assessment and without a well-identified mandate. The service has continued to operate by virtue of its annual budget from student fees and the work of its dedicated coordinators (and because no one has had any particular reason to object to the service). A needs-assessment is clearly necessary to determine whether the University community wants and/or needs the services of the CSSP (this is especially necessary in light of the budgetary cut-backs across the University). The goal of such research should be to learn how student and university funds can best be used to support initiatives to reduce fear and violence within our community. A related goal would be to learn whether people, women in particular, are indeed fearful (those I interviewed indicated they do not believe there is a great deal of fear at Concordia). Another aspect of research would be to learn whether the Concordia community would prefer empowering or protective services, and whether there would be much interest in self-defense classes should they become more available and publicized. Research along these lines would shed light on the recommended stages of assessment and redefinition within the CSSP (see Figure 5.2).

Other research could include a local and/or province-wide examination of the impact of accompaniment and/or patrol services on fear, as well as on community confidence in public spaces. The individuals I interviewed believed that the CSSP temporarily reduces the fear of accompanied persons; however, they also indicated that the CSSP did not have any effect on fear when its services were not being used or when the patrols were not visible. It may be helpful to learn the effects of accompaniment

and/or patrol services on fear so that more concrete and specific conclusions can be drawn concerning the beneficial or detrimental impact of these services. It may also be worthwhile to investigate whether fear experienced in university communities is significantly different from the ways in which fear is experienced in non-university communities. Ideally, the services and policies of universities should aim to prepare students for the reality of life after university.

A comparative study of university accompaniment and/or patrol services could reveal the conditions that have led to the nationwide provision of university accompaniment and/or patrol services. My study of the CSSP can be applied in a general sense to other universities' accompaniment and/or patrol services. For instance, it suggests that such services should be clear about their mandate and purpose, be open to addressing how fear is experienced differently among different groups, seriously consider the contributions of geographical feminist research to issues related to women's fear of crime, encourage community involvement through links to other campus and neighbourhood initiatives, and ultimately broaden their activities to include educational and proactive strategies to reduce fear and increase independent use of public space. In order to provide more specific recommendations, a study of Canadian accompaniment and patrol services should investigate the common trends and notable differences among these campus services. Another goal of such research might be to learn why these services have appeared during the last decade, a time of declining crime rates. Another area of research is the "security" feature of these organizations; that is, it may be worthwhile to investigate whether these services reflect a reinforcement of the trend in

urban spaces towards the privatization of public and semi-public spaces, or whether they are truly community-based initiatives to make spaces more accessible to all people.

I chose to research the CSSP because I felt that Concordia University should have the best possible service to address fear and violence on campus. I encourage the members of the CSSP and its Advisory Committee to examine my research and the recommendations that flow from it, and to consider shifting the current direction of the Safety Patrol to a proactive approach that empowers individuals in our community. I believe that we must end University policies and services that cater to the needs created by fear, and emphasize instead those strategies that encourage individuals to understand their fear and become empowered to overcome it. Universities have both the opportunity and responsibility to promote the individual's full and free participation in the public arena. The Concordia Student Safety Patrol can support this responsibility by reducing the detrimental impacts of fear, thereby promoting all people's access to the public sphere.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Interview Guide for Current or Recent CSSP Coordinators

1. -What is your role as coordinator of the Concordia Student Safety Patrol?
-How long have you been working with the service?
-Have you been involved with other groups related to issues of fear, safety and violence or women's advocacy?

2. I would like to learn more about the CSSP's mandate and service provision.
- Could you please describe the services the Safety Patrol offers?
- Where do volunteers escort students and at what times?
- Is there an adequate number of volunteers? How are the volunteers trained?
- Are volunteers paired for their shifts? (How and why is this done?)
- Who uses the Safety Patrol? Approximately how many calls per evening do you receive?
- What has been the trend in your user statistics over the past few years? (Has the number of users increased or decreased over the past few years, and at what rate?)
- Does the Safety Patrol cooperate with other services on or off campus? (Concordia's Women Centre, McGill's Walksafe program, etc.) Can you describe the nature of this relationship?
- Does the Safety Patrol offer safety advice, referrals or educational materials? If so, can you describe the nature of the advice and materials distributed?

3- How would you describe the Safety Patrol's current vision or mandate?
- Has this changed since the founding of the service?
- What problem or problems do you feel the Safety Patrol has been designed to address?
- How do you feel the Safety Patrol helps the users of the service?
- Do you feel that the service functions to reduce fear or increase safety?
- Are the underlying causes of fear and violence discussed within the CSSP?
- Do you think the Safety Patrol has been influence or inspired by other collective initiaives that have been formed in response to issues of fear and violence (specifically safer community initiatives, safety audit initiatives, etc.)?
- Has the CSSP worked with other community or municipal initiatives in Montreal? (Details...)

4. - Does the CSSP identify its approach as feminist?
If so, in what ways does the service incorporate feminist analyses?
If not, why do you think this is so?
- To your knowledge, has this changed over the years?
- Is the CSSP designed specifically with regards to needs of women students?
- Is there consideration within the Safety Patrol of how differences among women may affect experiences of fear and violence? What sorts of differences in experience are discussed?
- How would you describe the relationship between the CSSP and the Women's Centre? Is there ever tension caused by differences in vision of the Women's Centre and the CSSP? (Self-defense vs. Accompaniment?)
-What portion of the Safety Patrol budget goes to help fund the self-defense classes?

5. What is the nature of advice and educational material offered by the CSSP?
How and where is the educational material disseminated?
How central is the educational component to the CSSP's overall service provision?
Does the educational component of the CSSP incorporate issues of domestic violence, date rape and other dangers women experience from men they know?

6. I would now like to ask you questions concerning your perceptions of some issues that are related to women's fear and safety and the role of the Safety Patrol.

- What types of places do you believe women are at greatest risk of violence? (Probe if comfortable: public or private spaces, and the time of day affecting perception of danger.) Do you feel the CSSP responds (or is able to respond) to this risk?
- Who do you think are the most likely perpetrators of violence? (Probe if comfortable: unknown assailants, casual acquaintances, men known well to the victim.) Do you feel CSSP responds (or is able to respond) to this risk?
- Do you believe the CSSP reduces fear among its users? Why do you think this is? What are some indications and examples that cause you to believe that fear (is / is not) reduced?
- Do you believe the CSSP increases safety among its users? Why / Why not? What are some indications and examples that cause you to believe this?
- What do you think are some factors that cause women to experience fear and violence differently?
- Can you describe some of the safety concerns you do not feel are addressed by the Safety Patrol?
- What do you think are the reasons some students choose not to use the Safety Patrol services?
- Do you feel there is a need for other types of service provisions within the University to address issues of violence and fear? (What types, what are some of your ideas...)
-What are some of the problems you encounter in your job?
- If you could change anything about the CSSP what would it be?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for persons on CSSP Advisory Committee

1. I'll begin the interview by asking some general questions.
- What is your role as a member of the Concordia Student Safety Patrol Advisory Committee?
- How long have you been on the advisory committee?
- How does your position on the Advisory Committee relate to your position as (Acting Dean of Students/Advisor on
Rights and Responsibilities, etc)
- What is the relationship between the CSSP and the Dean of Students Office?

2. I would like to learn more about the CSSP's current mandate and service provision.
- How would you describe the mandate and purpose of the Safety Patrol?
-What problem or problems do you feel the Safety Patrol has been designed to address?
    -How do you feel the Safety Patrol helps the users of the service?
    -Do you feel it is designed to reduce fear or increase safety?
- Are the underlying roots of (fear/risk) identified and discussed within the CSSP or committee meetings?
-Are you aware of any attempt by the CSSP to evaluate its services or measure its effectiveness?
- Is the CSSP designed specifically with regards to the needs of women students?
- Do you think the CSSP has been influenced or inspired by other collective initiatives that have been formed in response to issues of fear and violence? (This would include METRAC, safety audit initiatives, sexual assault centres, other walking services, etc.) Has the CSSP worked with other community or municipal intiatives in Montreal?
- Do you know if the CSSP identifies its approach as feminist?
    If so, in what ways does the service incorporate feminist analyses? What are some of the feminist influences on the service? Is there a particular feminist analysis concerning fear and violence which is preferred?
    If not, why do you think this is so?
-Is there consideration within the CSSP of how differences among women may affect experiences of fear and violence? How is this reflected in the service provision?
- How would you describe the relationship between the CSSP and the Women's Centre? Is there ever tension caused by differences in vision of the Women's Centre and the CSSP? (Self defense vs. Accompaniment strategies)
(Education):
-What is the nature of advice and educational material offered by the CSSP? Is the educational component an important aspect to this service?
- Does the educational component of the CSSP incorporate issues of domestic violence, date rape and other dangers women experience from men they know?

3. I would now like to ask you questions concerning your perceptions of issues related to women's fear and safety and the role of the Safety Patrol.
- What types of places do you believe women are at greatest risk of violence? (public or private spaces, and the time of day affecting perception of danger.) Do you feel the CSSP responds (or is able to respond) to this risk?
- Who do you think are the most likely perpetrators of violence? (Unknown assailants, casual acquaintances, men known well to the victim.) Do you feel CSSP responds (or is able to respond) to this risk?
- Do you feel the CSSP is able to address the safety concerns of all students?
    -If no: Can you describe some of the safety concerns you do not feel are addressed by the Safety Patrol? Ways in which they could be addressed.
-What are some of the ways that you believe fear and risk are experienced differently? (What do you think are some factors that cause women to experience fear and violence differently?)
- Do you believe the CSSP is effective in reducing fear? Why do you think this is? What are some indications and examples that cause you to believe that fear (is / is not) reduced?

- Do you believe the CSSP increases safety among its users? Why / Why not? What are some indications and examples that cause you to believe this?
- Many students do not to use the Safety Patrol services, why do you think this is? Do you believe it is because they are not fearful?
- Do you feel there is a need for other types of service provisions within the University to address issues of violence and fear? (What types, what are some of your ideas...)
-In consideration of limited resources, do you believe that the CSSP is the most efficient or optimal way to promote women's sense of wellbeing and safety?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide: CSSP Volunteers

1. I'll begin the interview by asking some background questions.
-What program are you currently studying at Concordia?
-Are you a full or part time student?
-What is your role within the Concordia Student Safety Patrol?
-How long have you been working with the service?
-What are some of the reasons that caused you to volunteer with the Safety Patrol?
-Have you been involved with other initiatives or groups related to issues of fear, safety and violence or women's advocacy?

2. Could you please describe the services the Safety Patrol offers?
- Does the Safety Patrol offer safety advice, referrals or educational materials? If so, can you describe the nature of the advice and materials distributed?
-To your knowledge do the patrollers offer informal safety advice to those accompanied? What is the nature of this advice?
-Are the dangers women experience from men that they know discussed within the Safety Patrol?

3. How would you describe the Safety Patrol's current vision or mandate?
- Do you feel the CSSP's approach is feminist in nature?
    If so, in what ways does the service incorporate feminist analyses?
    If not, why do you think this is so?
- Would you feel comfortable working with the Safety Patrol if it was outwardly feminist in its approach?
-What problem or problems do you feel the Safety Patrol has been designed to address?
-How do you feel the Safety Patrol helps the users of the service?
-Do you think the Safety Patrol reduces fear, actual risk, or both?

4. I would now like to ask you questions concerning your perceptions of some issues that are related to women's fear and safety and the role of the Safety Patrol.
- What types of places do you believe women are at greatest risk of violence? (Probe if comfortable: public or private spaces, and the time of day affecting perception of danger.) Do you feel the CSSP responds (or is able to respond) to this risk?
- Who do you think are the most likely perpetrators of violence? (Probe if comfortable: unknown assailants, casual acquaintances, men known well to the victim.) Do you feel CSSP responds (or is able to respond) to this risk?
- Do you believe the CSSP reduces fear among its users? Why do you think this is? What are some indications and examples that cause you to believe that fear (is / is not) reduced?
- Do you believe the CSSP increases safety among its users? Why / Why not? What are some indications and examples that cause you to believe this?
- What do you think are some factors that cause women to experience fear and violence differently?
- Can you describe some of the safety concerns you do not feel are addressed by the Safety Patrol?
- What do you think are the reasons some students choose not to use the Safety Patrol services?
- Do you feel there is a need for other types of service provisions within the University to address issues of violence and fear? (What types, what are some of your ideas...)
-What are some of the problems you encounter in your job?
- If you could change anything about the CSSP what would it be?

Appendix 4: Sample Introductory Letter

May 1998
Name/Address

Dear ,

I am a graduate student currently pursuing a M.A. in Public Policy and Administration (in Geography). I am about to begin the field research for my thesis, entitled "Strategic responses to the geographical problems of women's fear: a case study of Concordia University's Student Safety Patrol." This thesis will examine the origins and evolution of the CSSP programme and participants' perspectives on issues relating to fear and safety.

In order to learn about the Concordia Student Safety Patrol, I plan to conduct a series of interviews with past and present coordinators, members of the advisory committee and recent volunteers. (As a member of the CSSP advisory committee/ as a recent volunteer/past or present coordinator), I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to interview you about the Student Safety Patrol and related issues concerning fear and safety. The interview would be audio taped and last approximately one hour and, if convenient for you, would take place at Concordia University within the next several weeks.

I hope you will consider participating in this study. Your insight would greatly contribute to a balanced and informed examination of the Student Safety Patrol, and ultimately to a better understanding of collective strategies formed in response to concerns about fear and safety.

I will follow up this letter by telephone to discuss the possibility of your participation, or you may contact my at 933-8671 at any point if you wish to discuss the study or interview process.

Thank you for your time and consideration,

Yours truly,

Ms. Clearlight Gerald

address

Appendix 5: Consent Form

I agree to participate in an interview conducted by Clearlight Gerald as part of her M.A. thesis entitled "Strategic responses to the geographical problems of women's fear: a case study of Concordia University's Student Safety Patrol" under the supervision of Dr. Robert Aiken of the Geography Department at Concordia University.

A. Purpose

I have been informed that the purpose of the interview is to gather information about the origin and evolution of the CSSP, as well as my perceptions of related issues of fear and safety.

B. Procedures

The interviews will be conducted in a private room at Concordia University or, if this is inconvenient, at a location of your choosing. The interview will last approximately 45 minutes - 1 hour and will be audio taped. (The audio tapes of the interview will be securely stored and erased upon completion of the study.) You may refrain from answering any question which makes you uncomfortable and may end the interview at any point. Your identity will not be confidential and your statements may be attributed to you by name in the study report. In the event you wish to share personal impressions that you indicate you would like to keep off the record, your confidentiality will be assured.

C. Conditions of Participation

• I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime without negative consequences.

• I understand that my participation in this study is not confidential (i.e., my statements may be quoted and my identity may be disclosed in the study report), the exception being any statements I make which I indicate are "off the record" (in such cases the researcher will know, but not disclose my identity).

• I understand that the data from this study may be published and may be presented in a public forum (including within Concordia University and the CSSP).

• I understand the purpose of this study and know that there is no hidden motive of which I have not been informed.

• I understand that upon request I will be given the opportunity to review the interview transcriptions before inclusion in the study report.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT.
I FREELY CONSENT AND AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

Name (please print) ________________________________

Signature ________________________________

Witness signature ________________________________

Date ________________________________