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**SECURITIZING SCHOOLING: POST-SECONDARY CAMPUSES AS SECURITY
PROJECTS**

By

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B.A (Honours), Wilfrid Laurier University, 2016

THESIS

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts in Criminology

WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

Societal pressure to increase security after violent incidents on post-secondary campuses such as the Virginia Tech shooting in 2007, combined with the pressure for universities to have high recruitment rates, has led to an emerging climate of security on campuses across North America. The present study uses Valverde's (2001; 2008; 2009; 2011a; 2011 b; 2014) security projects framework to examine the lived experiences of security measures on a Canadian urban-integrated campus. Through semi-structured interviews with administrators, campus police officers, students, and faculty, and constructivist grounded theorizing, this study provides an in-depth examination of security from multiple perspectives within one institution. Specifically, the study explores how the jurisdiction and logic of security projects have shaped perceptions of safety and security on campus. This research demonstrates how differing definitions of campus space have resulted in negative perceptions of the legitimacy of campus police. Further, by exploring the logic and use of security projects, I uncover how the growing securitization of campus is driven by both the desire to provide physical security and the increasing corporatization of academia. This study fills a gap in the security studies literature by demonstrating a practical application of Valverde's framework within a Canadian context.

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Chapter One: Introduction

University campuses are synonymous with learning, youth, freedom and expression. However in recent times they have also become associated with a series of tragic events, and the resultant need for increased security. Keele (2004) argues that crime now characterizes the post-secondary experience, and that post-Columbine and 9/11, violence on campus has become normalized and defining. Infamous shootings at Virginia Tech (Hauser and O'Connor, 2007), Northern Arizona University, the University of Texas and many others have endured sensational coverage, bringing the topic of securitization of post-secondary campuses throughout North America to the forefront of countless minds. Many scholars argue that a new climate of security emerged across American and Canadian universities as new measures were implemented to make post-secondary institutions preventative instead of reactive (Fox and Savage, 2009; Bosselait, 2010; Randazzo and Cameron, 2012).

The objective of this study was to examine the use and perceived effectiveness of security measures on a Canadian university campus. This was accomplished through 18 semi-structured interviews with administrators, campus officers and students. In order to advance the state of scholarship on campus security, the project adopted a security projects framework (Valverde, 2001; 2008; 2009; 2011a; 2011b; 2014) to understand the perceptions of safety and security on post-secondary campuses. Valverde (2014) defines a security project as “the governing networks and mechanisms that claim to be promoting security at all scales” (p. 382). Vital to Valverde’s security projects framework is the questioning of the underlying assumptions of a project, which are often seen in the lived experiences of that project.

The present study sought to understand how campus security is experienced by those designing security measures, those enforcing them, and the students being protected by them in

order to provide a holistic picture of the goals of a security project, and the intended and unintended consequences of measures employed to achieve them. The research was organized around three primary research questions:

- (i) What are the similarities and differences between students', campus police officers' and university administrators' perceptions of safety and security?
- (ii) What are each group's perceived objectives of the use of security measures and what are the intended and unintended consequences of the security projects?
- (iii) How do the findings reflect or not reflect the security projects framework?

For the purposes of this study, a security 'measure' is used similarly to Ericson (2006), as a technique or technology used to enforce the dominant security goals of the society or institution it is present in. The studied campus is unique in its structure as it is located and integrated throughout the downtown neighbourhood of a mid-sized Canadian city. As such, the jurisdictional interplay between private (campus police) and public (municipal police) security forces was influential to the scope component of the project in this framework.

Valverde's framework emphasizes consideration of security policies and the governing bodies and institutions in which they take place. It is comprised of three key components; the logic of a project, its scope, and the techniques used within it. To address these components, I examined the security measures used on campuses and the way security policies are created, implemented, and experienced on a Canadian university campus. The lived experiences of security measures on post-secondary campuses is a topic that has not been covered in detail, especially in Canada (Bosselait, 2010) and rarely from a qualitative perspective. This study, therefore, contributes to the literature by providing an in-depth, qualitative application of the

security projects framework. To this end, my study will approach the questions of campus security and its implications for the community through the following chapters.

Chapter Outline

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework begins by providing the context for this study in light of previous events on university campuses, before moving into a description of Valverde's security projects framework, and reviewing other relevant security literature. Literature regarding jurisdictions of campus police, the concept of security theater and university branding are also included.

Chapter Three: Methodology provides an overview of the constructivist grounded theory methodology, as well as the justifications for various approaches as informed by previous research on security issues on campus (Asumussen and Creswell, 1995; Heinsler, Kleinman and Stenross, 1990; Jacobson, 2015). The chapter gives a detailed description of the case study before providing information on the processes of data collection and analysis.

Chapter Four: Space, Jurisdiction and Perceived Legitimacy discusses how definitions of campus 'space' and the campus police jurisdiction relate to experiences of security on campus and the perceived legitimacy of the campus police. This chapter illustrates how these differing definitions held by university officials and students affected the relationships between students and the campus police, as well as their use of the campus police as a service.

Chapter Five: Dueling Interests details the use of visible and invisible techniques, and how these shed light on the logic, or goals and assumptions, at the studied campus. This chapter connects to concepts of corporatization, institutional risk management, security theater and university branding in relation to how the university brands itself as a 'safe' environment. It also

examines what the goals of the university appear to be, and how they may at times compete with each other.

Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion provides an analysis of how the findings relate to Valverde's security projects framework, and discusses what contributions this research has made to the fields of security studies and research on post-secondary campuses. It concludes by offering suggestions for future research in the same fields, and how this study can be built upon for further investigations.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Introduction

Acts of violence on post-secondary school campuses have been heavily publicized, leading security on post-secondary campuses to become a hotbed issue in the media and in the daily lives of those who attend them. School shootings and resulting media coverage have been found to create concern about the future potential of their occurrence, and disproportionate responses in relation to their frequency (Schildkraut, Elsass, and Stafford, 2015). With extensive media coverage of events such as the attack on Jeanne Clery, and the mass shootings at Northern Illinois University, Umpqua Community College in Oregon and Virginia Tech, many post-secondary schools are working to enhance their security practices (Bosselait, 2010; Schildkraut, Elsass, and Stafford, 2015). These incidents are important to consider as Crawford and Hutchinson (2014) argue that shifts in climates of security may cause what was once considered politically indefensible to become readily accepted. For example, the sweeping security measure of mass collection of online data may have once been an unthinkable invasion of privacy, but is now framed as a necessity (Lyon and Haggerty, 2012). In what follows, I introduce current literature about security measures on post-secondary campuses. Next, I review the available research on campus police, with particular attention to their jurisdiction and public perception. I conclude by providing a detailed description of Valverde's (2001; 2008; 2009; 2011a; 2011b; 2014) security projects framework, and discuss how my research contributes to the field of security studies.

Security Measures on Campuses

The landscape of security on university campuses has been significantly influenced by two historical acts of violence: the murder of Jeanne Clery at Lehigh University in 1986 (Keels, 2004; Jennings et al., 2007; Janosik and Gregory, 2003), and the Virginia Tech mass shooting in 2007 (Fox and Savage, 2009; Randazzo and Cameron, 2012; Bosselait, 2010). In one of the first events to have a serious impact on post-secondary campuses, the brutal sexual assault and murder of a Lehigh University student named Jeanne Clery led to the enactment of the Clery Act (Keels, 2004). The Clery Act is an American federal law which universities and colleges must follow by reporting information about their security policies and crimes that occur on campus (Clery Act, 1990; Keels, 2004; Jennings et al., 2007; Janosik and Gregory, 2003). This Act codified post-secondary institutions' obligation to report violent incidents, and the right of students and parents to know this information to make informed decisions about the perceived safety or security of a university campus.

The security of post-secondary campuses was again subject to the media gaze and politicization following the 2007 Virginia Tech shooting, which added a further dramatic change in security measures (Fox and Savage, 2009; Randazzo and Cameron, 2012; Bosselait, 2010). Randazzo and Cameron (2012), for example, argue that the depth of the tragedy and media coverage caused a call for an intensification of security measures on campus to prevent future acts of violence. Fox and Savage (2009), in their analysis of twenty American universities' and colleges' internal reports following the Virginia Tech shooting, found that campuses attempted to increase security through the creation of: emergency response plans, mass communication systems (see also Bosselait, 2010), multidisciplinary threat response teams, training programs around privacy for personnel, connections with local health agencies, practicing emergency

plans, and educating all members of campus communities about their roles during an emergency. Although many additional measures are in use today, not all recommendations were adopted, such as the suggestion that all incoming graduate students should have to go through mental health examinations (Fox and Savage, 2009).

Similarly, Bosselait (2010) found that the University of Pittsburgh, James Madison University and the University of South Carolina changed their security policies after the Virginia Tech shooting in 2007. For example, she noted the introduction of policies around guns and violence, emergency plans, active shooter training, wearing identification in residences, communication systems, privacy of students, threat assessments, and mental health. She also found that among post-secondary institutions, the construction of mass communication systems was the most common change after the Virginia Tech incident. While many of these changes have occurred due to the fear of active shooting events on campus, they affect many other areas of campus life such as the lived experience of students (Bosselait, 2010).

In addition to highly publicized incidents in the United States, Canada has faced its own tragedies on post-secondary campuses and their repercussions. On September 13, 2006, a tragic shooting took place at Dawson College in the Canadian city of Montreal. One of the recommendations that came out of that attack was to pay more attention to the internet usage of students who show other warning signs, as the perpetrator left many troubling messages on chat rooms and websites that encouraged violent acts (Cohen-Almagor and Haleva-Amir, 2008). Howells (2012) surveyed the media coverage of all Canadian school shootings in the previous twenty-five years and found that the shooting at *École Polytechnique* (also known as the *Montreal Massacre*) in 1989 garnered a substantial amount of media attention. However, due to

the nature of the attack and the motives of the offender, much of the media attention focused on women's rights (Howells, 2012) as opposed to security issues.

Examining securitization on campus is especially crucial during or following periods of intense media coverage because it is important that recommendations adopted by post-secondary campuses are effective and appropriate, instead of knee-jerk reactions. Gregory (2012) argues that often universities use the addition of visible, promoted security measures, or perceivable 'securitization' of the campus as a way to extend a narrative of a university as safe. Many of these recommendations are costly, and smaller campuses with less resources may have a hard time implementing all of them (Patton and Gregory, 2014). While security measures on campuses are important, they are not created or experienced in a 'bubble' and the impact of them must be addressed in a holistic manner, rather than from only an efficacy, branding, or financial perspective.

Campus Police

As campus police are a significant and visible security measure on campus, there has been a great deal of scholarly attention paid to them, particularly in the United States. Campus police services are regular features on modern university campuses, and the first campus police service was established at Yale University in 1894 (Paoline and Sloan 2003; Patten, Alward and Thomas, 2016). Campus police officers have varying tasks dependent on their location, and their jurisdiction varies as well. At many universities, they have jurisdiction that is limited to property owned by the university. However, in the ever-emerging urban university (Horvat and Shaw, 1999) these boundaries may be unclear (Jacobsen, 1995). Some scholars have noted that any discrepancy or over-stepping of jurisdiction by a campus police officer, such as arresting

someone on the wrong side of the road (Jacobsen, 1995), could lead to a lawsuit or case dismissal (Hopkins and Neff, 2014).

Of course, in order for the campus police to respond to calls, reports have to be made. Aiello and Lawton (2018) began by questioning how students at universities viewed the legitimacy of their respective campus police forces, and how that was related to whether they were willing to report crimes to them. They found that these perceptions of legitimacy were related to reporting probability, and that many students did not view their campus police as legitimate authorities. This perception was often based on previous contacts with the campus police, and how the student felt they performed (Aiello and Lawton, 2018). Similarly Wilkinson (2016) found that campus police services often used social media to attempt to engage in ‘legitimation work’ which often manifested in responding to public questioning of their authorities, tactics and behaviour (such as officers smoking in non-smoking areas). Furthermore, Wada, Patten and Candela (2008) noted that campus police officers are stuck in a liminal state between being viewed as a civilian and a perceived legitimate authority. Their training, uniforms and positions made them more than a regular staff member at the university, but the officers were unable to complete the transition of legitimation that other police officers undertake (Wada et al., 2008).

Private Security and Mass Private Property

This thesis also builds on existing international theory and research regarding the use of private security services at mass private properties. Beckett and Herbert (2008) have noted that large private spaces have proliferated particularly in urban areas such as shopping centres, office complexes and gated communities. Many of these spaces are staffed by private security companies that are often empowered to enact trespass orders on the property or restrict access

from those who may be deemed unwanted. Hutchinson and O'Connor (2005) describe this empowerment as occurring through the state legislating private officers in these spaces to have rights that often only state employees, such as public police, have. While special constables are a unique instance as they are mandated by the public police but operate on private property only, they have many of the same powers and face the same challenges as security officers who are strictly private. Rigakos and Greener (2000) offer the example of airports as a unique case study of the interaction between public and private policing, where some duties of the public police can be contracted out to private security firms such as administering parking tickets. Arguably a university provides a similarly intricate balance of jurisdiction, particularly in an urban area. The urban context is especially important to consider as when these mass private spaces become more prominent in the urban landscape, the areas that marginalized or unwelcome citizens can access are further threatened and narrowed (Beckett and Herbert, 2008). Later, the urban context of the studied university will be described and considered, with the discussion of the urban renewal efforts often intertwined with the introduction of mass private properties.

Security Projects Framework

Valverde (2001), in her critique of security studies, argues that the various definitions and discourses surrounding security are often dominated by those with professional interests in security, creating a biased view of solutions. Much of the research on security, she argues, focuses on security as a thing – a noun – that renders most analysis of security as defining it as either ‘good’ or ‘bad’. Yet she argues that social scientists contribute to the study of security more substantively when they focus on security ‘projects’, instead of the concept of security itself (2014). She defined these projects as the systems and apparatuses that claim to enhance security in various spatial and temporal scales, and may include policies and measures that have

been instituted to fill a goal of ‘security’, through visible or non-visible methods (Valverde, 2014).

Valverde (2011b) presents three questions that must be answered to assess a security project. First, one must consider the *logic* of the project, which includes the justifications, reasoning, discourse and goals of the project. Second, Valverde proposes questioning the *scope* of the project which is comprised of the temporal and the spatial scale, and the jurisdictions both formal and informal, involved in the project. Lastly, the *techniques* of the projects must be examined in terms of their governance and reflexive effects. The techniques often include the technologies or implementation of security measures. These three areas will be discussed further in the next sections.

Logic

Valverde (2001) introduces security not as a state of existence but rather an idealized goal. Framed as an objective, security can then be operationalized beyond practice to include techniques, relations and institutions. Valverde’s view of the necessity of questioning the logic of security projects draws from Rose and Miller’s (1992) discussion of ‘political rationalities’. They define political rationalities as the discernable regularities within political discourses that justify and formulate the idealized structures of security. For example, political rationalities are often employed to interpret penal populism, where being tough on crime is accepted by politicians and their supporters as standard political discourse. The outcomes stemming from these practices, such as mandatory minimums and high incarceration rates, are not focused on in the resultant popular discourse and thus become idealized. By the same measures, then, using these mechanisms to rationalize security projects on campuses must also be questioned. It is important to consider whether they were implemented primarily as a means of protecting the institution’s

community, or as a response to idealistic constructions of the university campus as a ‘safe haven’ (Fisher and Smith, 2009).

The conflict in the ‘moral justification’ for the measures through which power is exerted, is often illustrated in the inconsistencies between different projects with similar goals. Valverde (2011b) argues that security projects themselves often display internal inconsistencies, or conflict with other existing projects that may have the same aims but differing temporal or spatial measures. For example, Valverde (2001) compared the damaging of the physical security and wellness of cancer patients in Ontario, who suffered longer waiting lists due to budgetary cutbacks, to the budgetary allowances for the maintenance and expansions of conventional security projects. While the cutbacks contributed to the sickness and suffering of Canadians, they were not considered a threat to the security of Canadians. Valverde (2011b) argued that this paradox demonstrates internal inconsistency by juxtaposing the attrition of lives due to inadequate funding against the securitization of society, which carries the supposed goals of protecting Canadian lives. Temporal and spatial inconsistencies are often unacknowledged by dominant security discourses, which Valverde links to political rationalities. The conflict in the ‘moral justifications’ for the measures through which power is exerted is often illustrated in the inconsistencies between different projects with similar goals. Crawford (2014) further notes that the expansion of security discourse and the political rationalities inherent within them has infiltrated more political arenas than just national, as security is no longer just a matter of the nation state.

Securitization is now present on an institutional governing level, in both the public and private realms. In Ontario, the ‘private security’ industry is flourishing, with many contract agencies providing services to corporations without regulation or oversight (O’Connor, Lippert,

Greenfield and Boyle, 2004). Private and public institutions, inclusive of corporations and universities, are now active in their own securitization through enacting their own protections and creating their own definitions of risks. Beck (1992) argues that what is considered a risk is often due to ‘reflexive politicization’, where collective thinking about definitions and solutions is encouraged. This subjects institutions and the state to arbitrary and reactionary democratic processes, themselves influenced by the manufactured uncertainty (Beck, 2009), so that the issues that are politically identified as risks become what security measures are focused around. On post-secondary campuses, securitization may jeopardize feelings of inclusivity, and the openness to criticality or activism that characterize many constructions of the university environment. While security measures are not always visible, it is imperative that some of them are in order to quell the negative perceptions surrounding the manufactured risk, such as the narrative of a secure campus often put forward by universities (Gregory, 2012). For example, the widespread implementation of emergency notification systems on university campuses give the appearance that universities are more prepared for large-scale incidents that many incoming students now fear.

Scope

Valverde (2011a) argues that a key component of any security project is its’ scope; measured on temporal and spatial scales and through jurisdictional relations. The decisions made in these elements of the project can often illuminate where risks were seen, and what assumptions were drawn, calling back to the logic of the project. When assessing the temporal scale of a security project, Valverde (2011a) proposes that one should consider the techniques in use and whether or not they are rigidly associated with security measures. The timing of a security project, which influences when their measures are active or visible, provides insight into

the nature of threats defined by current political rationalities. For example, the technique of a regular nightly patrol security guard at private properties suggests a political rationality founded upon 1) an assumption that property crimes will occur in the evening (hence nightly patrols); and 2) an assumption of continuous and unpredictable threat from burglars (hence the continuous deployment of the technique).

Other techniques have their temporality defined by how they manifest fluidly depending on the situation. These changes might be in response to a threat, exemplified by the 2017 decision by American airports to ban laptops on in-bound planes from certain countries. Homeland Security became aware of a threat that laptops may be used as explosive devices and subsequently banned them on flights from countries they deemed most at-risk (Zhang, 2017). Again, the temporality of these are indicative of political rationalities: the specific ban suggests that threats are understood to come from certain individuals, while the limited timing suggests confidence in authorities' abilities to mitigate this specific risk. Additionally, one should examine whether all parts of the project align in temporal terms, or whether conflicts in the structures exist that may influence when certain techniques can be used. This may be exemplified on campuses through the increased presence of campus and municipal police during freshman orientation weeks. Crawford and Hutchinson (2014) find that the temporal scale is crucial to all projects and is central to how security is experienced within those projects. Temporality can define when measures are being used and when they are not, which has implications on what or whom may be perceived as threats. Valverde (2014) also notes that temporality is influential on the spatial scale of a project, which in turn also impacts jurisdiction.

Valverde (2011a) explains that the spatiality of a security project and its consistency is crucial to choosing the security mechanisms or techniques that it will use. The spatial scale of a

project can include the planning of land use, exclusionary zoning, or urban planning (Valverde, 2011a). To this end, Jennings, Gover and Pudrzynska (2007) relate campus victimization reduction strategies to the integration of walkways and parks within the institution. As an example, having a park may make a campus appear more student friendly for some projects; for others, it provides an area for the congregation of a non-student homeless population. The decision to add or incorporate a park could shed light on the perceived risks of that institution. Even the location of a campus in an urban or rural area could greatly affect the spatial scale of its security measures, as a more centrally contained campus could be a spatial measure in itself. Spatiality and temporality, therefore, both influence the types of techniques used in a security project such as a post-secondary campus, as do the jurisdictions that often intersect on campuses.

The intersection of authorities on campus is important to the third measure of Valverde's (2014) definition of scope, 'jurisdiction'. Valverde (2014) defines jurisdiction as the 'governance of governance' (p.155) and ties it to shifts in spatial scale that may be governed by or cause conflict along lines separating various actors. For this definition of jurisdiction, it is not only who will govern, and what will be governed, but how the subjects will be governed (Valverde, 2014). For example, in their study on the use of behavioural threat assessments on campuses, Randazzo and Cameron (2012) noted that many Canadian post-secondary institutions do not have campus law enforcement and thus may rely on municipal or provincial police assistance – in this manner, the jurisdiction of the local police force is expanded into the pseudo-private domain of the college or university campus. Exploring how their presence is mandated, and what powers they can exercise is vital to understanding their impact. Many criticisms of law enforcement come from within universities, and this expansion of their service could create a conflict of having to maintain a critical gaze on those tasked with protecting you.

Additionally, in a security project framework, the reliance on multiple police departments presents jurisdictional issues which are further complicated when a campus has its own officers. Campus officers may have their own security measures that may not align with the interests of the public police. There could be confusion around jurisdictional boundaries, or a conflict of interest. For example, recalling Gregory's (2012) view on the importance of the safe campus narrative, institutions may have a different emphasis on formal reporting of certain acts compared to the local police service. Thus, a thorough assessment of how jurisdiction guides and influences measures is critical to examining the jurisdictional issues on campuses. Much of the research available on security has neglected to analyze legal mechanisms of security projects and the influence that jurisdiction has over them (Valverde 2011a). Valverde (2014) argues that conflicts most often arise over jurisdiction in territories that are governed by multiple authorities and points to urban settings as a prime example.

It is also important to address the measures that have been used to try and avoid conflict by incorporating multiple levels of jurisdiction simultaneously when addressing the conflicts in jurisdiction. The need for this in a campus assessment is clear in Randazzo and Cameron's (2011) article. They point to the additional layer of jurisdiction in the authority of upper level administration over security measures on campuses rather than just local or campus police. They note that threat assessment training extended beyond response teams to include the presidents and vice presidents of the schools as well. This occurred so that administrators could properly develop policies and practices around the technique; however, there is no guarantee that this will avoid conflicts with those not bound by the policies, such as the public police. It is important to question the training of administrative personnel in relation to the security measures they implement to inform their authority. Jurisdiction, therefore, is important not only to assess who

has legitimate authority over a security project, but also from the perspective that who has authority often determines how that authority will be used.

Techniques

While the objectives and decision-making processes in security projects are crucial, the methods through which they are supposedly achieved are as well. Techniques are the measures used in security projects to implement the goals, and thus the logic, of that project (Valverde, 2001). This assumption is based on Rose and Miller's (1992) exploration of technologies of governance (the strategies, techniques, and procedures designed for program delivery), which they argue form the avenues through which political rationalities, and thus the logic of security projects, get deployed and implemented. Furthermore, they explain that these technologies are mechanisms for connecting authorities' interests with individual activities, translating idealized goals into reality. For example, the use of wide-spread internet surveillance by government agencies is founded in the rationality that privacy is overshadowed by the greater need of protection from enemies. Who is targeted by this surveillance would shed light on the assumptions around who those enemies are, and catching them before they attack could be the idealized goal. In terms of techniques, other scholars have pointed to technologies as being favoured solutions for politicized security issues over laborious police work (Lyon and Haggerty, 2012). Referring to the previous example of wide-spread internet surveillance, it is an example of a technique that relies on technology rather than man-intensive techniques such as ground surveillance by officers.

Valverde (2001) proposes that due to reflexivity, the most effective techniques are ones that build horizontal connections between citizens rather than the top-down approaches favoured by the state. An example of a top-down technique is that of surveillance such as the plethora of

security cameras in public spaces and the collection of mass amounts of personal data online, which Lyon and Haggerty (2012) argue has been a key element of this ‘security era’. State-sponsored surveillance tactics, such as those undertaken by the US National Security Agency (NSA) and exposed by Edward Snowden, were done outside of the law and imposed on citizens by the state in the name of ‘security’. Valverde (2011b) argues that surveillance in this manner produces a reflexive cycle, where the intensification of security measures leads to more innovation by the criminal, in turn leading to more security measures. She describes this as a never-ending quarrel between a certain type of security and those who gain from undermining it. This continuous spiral is crucial to examine in terms of techniques of security projects because as the measures become intensified, there is often a greater risk of the loss of rights of the population being governed. Techniques may also be inherently self-reinforcing, as Valverde (2011b) exemplifies with risk profiling. She argues that when a group is identified as being of a high-risk nature, they will be policed and arrested more frequently, which in turn raises the risk score, and results in increased policing and so on until it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus, when studying a security project, it is important to examine whether techniques have these less visible recursive effects, or what Valverde (2011b) terms “anticipatory reflexive governance” (p.8). In a post-secondary campus environment, these effects are best uncovered through interviews with those who are being governed, the students, and those implementing the governance, the security officers.

Conclusion

My examination of security measures at a Canadian post-secondary institution will fill multiple gaps in the literature. To date, as described above, much of our knowledge on campus security is oriented in the United States. Yet as Bosselait (2010) argues, there is a pressing need

for expanded investigations of security measures on campuses outside of the United States in order to understand how situational characteristics and reactions may be very different, leading to very different findings. If measures are based on only American studies, they may be ineffective. Further, due to the infrequency of Canadian campuses with their own campus police (Randazzo and Cameron, 2012) they have been largely left out of the literature and it is important to acquire a Canadian perspective from the campuses that do employ their own officers. Interestingly, Patton and Gregory (2014) found that students at schools in rural campuses felt safer than students on urban campuses and noted that this should be expanded on further. By examining the lived experiences of students on urban campuses, I am providing an understanding of some reasons why this may be the case.

Additionally, Valverde (2011b) argues that a practical analysis under this framework should be dynamic in nature. A dynamic rather than rigid approach would give a more accurate picture of governance under the guise of security, and the impacts of its implementation. In her 2014 article, she suggests that studies into security should no longer focus on security as thing, but rather the actual policies and practices that are enacted under its name. By regarding the scope, logic, jurisdiction and techniques separately, Valverde (2011b) maintains that the assumptions around using particular types of governance for certain problems will become clear. Lastly, Crawford and Hutchinson (2014) identify the need to empirically explore the connection between Valverde's ideas and culturally specific experiences of security To this end, Ranasinghe (2013) argues that there is a need for an approach that investigates how security is created, by what actors and dependent on what values. To address this gap in knowledge, the completed study explores students' perceptions of threat and security measures, as well as the perceptions

of those often responsible for its implementation - campus police officers and university administrators.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes the methods used to conduct this research project. It begins by explaining the research questions, before describing the case study location. As the university has been anonymized, this section contains relevant information to provide necessary context. Next, I explain how I chose my location, and what steps were necessary in order to gain access to participants. Subsequently, I detail my methods of data collection such as recruitment and interviewing, and finally I describe the data analysis procedure before finishing with a few final reflections on the process.

My original research questions were chosen to broadly reflect the type of information I wanted to gather, and to provide a focus for the semi-structured interview guides that I created.

The questions were as follows:

- 1) What are the similarities and differences between students', faculty's, campus security officers' and university administrators' definition and perceptions of security?
- 2) What are the perceived objectives of the use of security measures, and what are the intended and unintended consequences of the security projects?
- 3) How do the findings reflect or not reflect the security projects framework?

Qualitative methods are best suited these research questions, as they provide open-ended questions and the ability to probe for more information, uncovering the intricate connections between experiences. For example, in other methods, concepts such as 'security' or 'campus' would have been pre-defined. However, with in-depth interviewing I was able to have

participants explain how they defined those concepts, and observe the gaps or similarities between them.

To address the creation of security policies, I interviewed the administrators at a Canadian university campus who are responsible for shaping, designing and initiating policies. I also interviewed campus police officers, (called ‘special constables’ at this institution), who are responsible for the implementation of security policies and measures across the campus. Interviewing officers was important to assess the way in which they interpret and implement the security policies that they are responsible for (Heinsler et al., 1990). I inquired about their training, their jurisdictions, their opportunities for input or feedback, and their use of, or experience with, specific measures. These groups (i.e., students, administrators, faculty and special constables) were chosen to explore the varying perspectives of those at different stages in the cycle of security policy: creation, implementation, and experience. The host university was given the pseudonym CANUN, with the studied campus being noted as CANUN2. All of the interviews were in reference to CANUN2 only, and while several participants had experience with multiple campuses, only their information about the studied campus was requested and explored.

The selection of CANUN2 as the case study site was made for two principal reasons. First, the intention was to study an urban-integrated campus, rather than the traditional campus setting. Many studies on campus security often take place on more standardized, “closed” campuses (Cresset, Benedict and Macdonald, 1996; Bosselait, 2010; Jennings, 2007), and by researching an urban-integrated campus, a contribution could be provided to the field of security studies (Horvat, and Shaw, 1999). The unique demographic challenges (such as socio-economic status and crime rate) faced by the city have made the study of its security policies more relevant.

This importance is evidenced by Volkwein, Szelest & Lizotte (1995) who found that while crime rates on university campuses are generally much lower than the national average, students are more likely to be victimized in the communities surrounding their campuses. For urban campus students, their campus is directly integrated into those communities. Additionally, the application of the security projects framework (Valverde, 2001; 2008; 2009; 2011a; 2011b; 2014) to an urban campus setting appeared to be a unique way to explore its elements of jurisdiction, and spatial and temporal scope. Second, the campus is a satellite campus of a larger university, but maintains its own individual identity and programming thereby providing the opportunity to explore how a university navigates the creation of security policies for an individual campus, while addressing standards and consistency across a university.

Case Study Description

CANUN is a larger Canadian university with approximately 20,000 students. It has 4 campuses, with eighty percent of students attending the main campus (CANUN1), and the majority of the remaining twenty percent attending the studied campus (CANUN2). The main campus contains the features of a closed campus (Cresset, Benedict and Macdonald, 1996; Bosselait, 2010; Jennings, 2007), such as a large area designated as campus property where most of the university buildings are housed and their campus security service having jurisdiction over that complete area. Conversely, CANUN2 is an urban campus, with buildings integrated into a populated, urban area (Horvat and Shaw, 1999). There are some similar security measures on both campuses, such as the presence of security cameras, the use of a student-run system that provides students with people to walk them home at night if needed, an emergency notification system, and emergency response plans particular to each campus. While CANUN1 has a system of emergency poles spread throughout the campus that directly connect to the campus police,

CANUN2 only has one such pole. One dispatch unit is used for both campus police services, and is housed at CANUN1. According to university administration, CANUN itself has around 700 security cameras, 250 of which are located at CANUN2.

CANUN2's 'urban campus' consists of approximately 20 buildings spread throughout the downtown area, with local businesses and city property in between. Walking from the two farthest university owned buildings takes less than 10 minutes. City2 is a medium sized urban centre with a population of roughly 100,000 and has six larger urban areas within a one hour drive. Sixteen percent of its residents are on the low-income index, (Statistics Canada, 2016) and in the downtown core more than thirty percent of residents live below the poverty level (Statistics Canada, 2011). Eighty-seven percent of residents list English as their first language, and the city has one of the highest rates of hospitalization due to opiate overdoses in the country (Canadian Institute for Health Information, 2017). The university has been in the city for around 25 years and while growth has been relatively slow, it is often the location for new and emerging programs and contains many of the same services offered on the main campus. In recent years, the downtown area has experienced rapid gentrification from the influx of students both as buildings get purchased by the university, and as students become the main occupants of rental properties. This change has resulted in what participants often described as a palpable tension between the students and the local community members who frequent the downtown area. Lastly, City2 repeatedly ranks quite high on the Canadian Crime Severity Index, especially in relation to other cities in its home province.

City2 was chosen for the introduction of the studied campus for many reasons, one of which was an effort to engage in the renewal of an impoverished urban area. Mass private spaces are often introduced into such areas to attempt to spark an influx of economic growth and

resultant raising of standards of living (Helms, Atkinson and MacLeod, 2007). Helms et al. (2007) term this effort ‘urban renaissance’ and note that developments in infrastructure and revitalizing dilapidated buildings are often closely linked with attempts to increase social cohesion in urban areas. A university such as CANUN2 is an interesting example of such an attempt, as it contains many original city structures that have been renovated and restored. Often part of this renewal effort is the attempted reduction in crime or disorder within the surrounding areas, particularly when the spaces will garner increased attention as part of the revitalization (Boyle and Haggerty, 2011). As Boyle and Haggerty (2011) describe, focusing on an urban areas ‘livability’ or desirability in general can often mean clamping down on the existence of those who are seen as contributing to any ‘undesirability’ in the first place, as noted in their analysis of programs introduced in Vancouver ahead of the 2010 Olympic Games. They argue that during such endeavors, certain segments of the populations and their wishes are often prioritized over those who do not have the same representation, money, or power. Considering the urban renewal effort in City2 is important for understanding the town-gown tension described by many participants.

Both campuses have their own units of campus police, who while separate, operate under the same university administration. The reason they are separate is that both units also hold a mandate from their respective municipal police services. While they are paid by the university, the municipal police services provide them with mandatory training such as use-of-force, and they report to an inspector at their local police forces. Special constables are different from other private security contractors that are common in many provinces in Canada, who are less-regulated and do not hold the same legal standing (O’Connor et al., 2004).

The campus police service only have jurisdiction over university-operated structures; all other buildings and spaces are considered to be under the jurisdiction of the municipal police. The special constables do not carry guns, but at university buildings they have every other right of a police officer. Outside of those buildings, they return to having the same rights as a civilian. Decisions around security policies are often made in a hierarchical manner at both campuses. Participants generally described the structure as having one main director over both campus services, who approves the standard operating procedures officers create before they are implemented, and is responsible for gaining approval from university administration when needed. They also help to facilitate the introduction of policies created by university administration.

The unique campus structure of CANUN2, and the social and economic context of the city it is situated in, has created numerous potential challenges to security policies and implementation that may not be present at ‘closed’ or rural campuses. Additionally, its status as a satellite campus rather than the main campus of a university means that policies may be implemented that are not initially designed for its campus type. Interviewing administrators who have experience with both campuses will help to illuminate any conflicts of this nature, present or potential. Security policies are not experienced in a vacuum, and understanding the context in which they are created is crucial to understanding potential assumptions and justifications throughout.

Data Collection

Sampling and Recruitment

I was solely responsible for identifying and recruiting participants. In total, I interviewed eighteen people, for approximately 60 minutes each. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) posit that

fifteen interview subjects is the standard, with a buffer of ten. Due to the limited number of administrators and special constables, eighteen interviews allowed for sample saturation. Due to the small numbers of special constables and administrators on the CANUN2 campus, I identified those people that had the relevant job positions and reached out with a brief description of my study and my recruitment letter [Appendix B]. I also contacted administrators via email who were housed at CANUN1 that were also responsible for policies or direction on the CANUN2 campus.

I began with a purposive sampling framework for recruiting members of each group. This is a common method employed in qualitative studies that targets individuals who are most likely to provide information pertaining to the research questions (Marshall, 1996), and is particularly effective when working within closed sampling frames like those encountered at a post-secondary institution (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003). With this framework, I contacted only the people whose roles would allow them to have contact with security policies. Unfortunately, I encountered significant challenges when attempting to unravel the institution's bureaucratic structure, undermining the effectiveness of a purposive framework. Therefore, I employed a snowball sampling structure by asking participants to direct me to other relevant people. Snowball sampling has been used by other studies on campuses as it is an effective method when conducting research in areas with low numbers of staff (Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Jacobsen, 2015). For example, Noy (2008) found that snowball sampling can help researchers gain access to groups that are primarily work-related, and still produce valuable information. In fact, he found that this type of sampling can produce interactive, dynamic information as participants may direct you based on your questions, to someone who has more familiarity with what you are looking for

(which is what I experienced, particularly with administrators). In the end, I conducted five interviews (four males and one female) with administrators.

I encountered various difficulties recruiting special constables for interviews for a number of reasons. First, there were some human resources barriers with contact information, and the turnover rate at the time of study. Secondly and most importantly, I encountered a lot of hesitancy about participation in my study. This hesitancy began with pushback during my attempt to gain access to documents to inform my interview questions. Later, when attempting to recruit participation, any officers who eventually agreed to participate informed me that they had to receive permission from their superiors beforehand. Many others refused, and/or did not answer repeated emails, or respond to recruitment materials. I attempted to overcome recruitment challenges by explaining that my lines of questioning were non-invasive, and would not reveal confidential information.

I recruited students by placing recruitment posters throughout campus buildings, and in sanctioned areas (Appendix C). I also targeted large clubs on campus and had them post my flyer on their Facebook page, or attended the meetings in person to give quick presentations about my research. I also reached out to places where many students are employed on campus to capture a larger prospective audience. These activities recruited several students who acted as catalysts for the snowball sampling frame. I interviewed seven female students and one male student. In order to reach theoretical saturation, where I was able to capture a thorough variety of experiences, I interviewed students in all stages of their undergraduate degree, and across many program disciplines. While the sample contains more females than males, the campus population reflects this disparity as well. However, many female students also discussed gendered experiences with security policies (e.g. feeling less safe walking at night due to their gender) so they may have

been more willing to participate for this reason. Many of the students had experience in multiple capacities across campus as student employees and volunteers, and therefore had interaction with security measures from multiple perspectives. For example, student participants who did not also work on campus were often unfamiliar with measures that their working-counterparts were, such as panic buttons. To recruit faculty, I learned their email addresses online and sent recruitment materials to them, along with a brief description of my research. I was able to interview one male faculty member and one female, both of whom are tenured. There is not a large permanent faculty population on the campus, and their interviews captured a broad range of experiences.

Interviewing

Semi-structured interviews were employed due to their flexible nature. Rather than defining a strict question-answer protocol, I framed the interviews as guided conversations. The semi-structure framing of the interviews enabled me to probe for more information, while also providing an opportunity for participants to expand upon topics they thought were important. Semi-structured interviews have been the preferred method of many other studies investigating issues of security on campuses (Asumussen and Creswell, 1995; Heinsler, Kleinman and Stenross, 1990; Jacobson, 2015), and the use of separate interview guides for each participant group allowed me to fully explore their functions, assumptions and definitions. All interviews were, wherever possible, digitally voice-recorded with two separate recorders and transcribed verbatim. When participants chose to not be recorded, I took detailed notes on the interviews while they spoke and related them to each question that I posed.

I employed a semi-structured interview approach to address these questions, focusing on participants' perceptions of threats on campus as well as their perceptions and experiences of security measures. Maxfield and Babbie (2014) argue that semi-structured interviews allow for

probing or further questioning of topics that the researcher may not have anticipated.

Additionally, they note that the limited but present structure allows answers to be comparable for purposes of coding and analysis. Semi-structured interviews with students and faculty allowed for an in-depth exploration of the participants' perspectives of their lived experiences of security policies in their own words, in ways that other methods do not. For example, administering surveys to students would have allowed for more participants, however, in order to construct the questions I would have had to impose presupposed beliefs or make assumptions about how they define security in the first place. Thus, instead of presupposing definitions, I was able to ask participants how they defined terms such as 'threat' or 'security' and probe about how those definitions affected their perceptions of, or experiences with, security policies on campus.

At their core, the interviews were guided by the research questions provided above. This helped to narrow the interviewing process by establishing boundaries to my conversations with participants. For example, I asked all three groups of participants "How do you define security on campus?" If the participant struggled to understand the meaning, I often probed with additions such as "what does security on campus mean to you", or "what is your definition of security on campus as a concept?" Charmaz and Holstein (2014) describe probing as an effective interview method because it allows a participant to expand on information that the researcher may not have initially considered. I would also ask less direct questions to elicit information pertaining to the main research questions, such as inquiring about jurisdictional issues, spatial elements of security measures, and temporal stipulations of measures to address parts of the security projects framework as reflected in the third research question.

I also made use of institutional policy documents and guidelines as a mechanism to target more specific questions for the administrators group. Lippert and Walby (2014) used a similar

practice when interviewing municipal corporate security officers. In some cases, administrators used these documents as reference points, and went over their use and importance with me during the interviews. They then directed me to outside sources where I could find more information on the documents as well. These documents were not systematically analyzed, but were instead used to supplement interviews, support information provided by participants, and triangulate their experiences.

Throughout data collection, I continually refined my interviewing strategy to reflect newly identified information. This is a common practice in constructivist grounded theory as the reshaping of data collection throughout the process focuses the product where the most knowledge expansion is possible (Charmaz, 2014). For example, I began by asking students and faculty about what they thought of a particular measure called the Behavioural Intervention Team (BIT). However, during the interviews it became apparent that many students did not know what it was so the question was iteratively revised to ask “have you ever heard of the behavioural intervention team?” This allowed me to examine awareness and then probe for experiences if they were aware. The interviews guides (Appendix D-F) remained largely constant throughout, with the occasional addition or rewording of a question once it became apparent that an area needed more attention.

Ethics

I received ethical clearance from the Research Ethics Board at Wilfrid Laurier University (REB#5469), before conducting any interviews or recruiting participants. The risk for identification of participants in two groups were raised due to the small number of special constables and administrators on the studied campus. To address this, I designed a coding structure that anonymized participants by replacing their names with an alpha-numeric code, and

redacted any names, identifying information, or job titles from interview transcripts. Participants are identified by their interview number and group designation. For example, participant A13, is an administrator and also participant 13. “A” is used for administrators, “C” for special constables, “S” for students and “F” for faculty members. All data was kept on a secure password protected computer, and any paper documents (e.g. consent forms [see Appendix A]) have been retained in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office. Moreover, participants were provided input on the interview location to avoid potential identification. If asked, I refused to provide information about which of their colleagues were participating in the study, or what information they may have provided.

In order to keep the case study university anonymous, I gave them a pseudonym (CANUN for Canadian university), and redacted the name of the university while transcribing the interviews. I also changed the name of the cities that the university is located in, with the main campus’ city noted as “City1” and the studied campus’ city being referred to as “City2” for consistency with their CANUN1 and CANUN2 labels. Additionally, I redacted the names of the respective municipal police forces, and just identified them as the municipal police service in either city. Protecting the identity of the studied university was important to ensure participation on behalf of the university, but also to protect the identities of all participants who may be well connected to other universities, or fear repercussions should they be identified.

Data Analysis

Coding

All interviews were analyzed thematically from a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2014). Using Charmaz’s framework, I began with as few assumptions as possible and built codes as themes emerged from the interviews. All data was coded by hand, by

the author. While it can sometimes be a hamper to have only one researcher (and thus one perspective) collect, transcribe and code data, Charmaz (1997) stresses the importance for a researcher, particularly a novice researcher, to fully absorb themselves in their data and study it thoroughly. First, I engaged in ‘line-by-line coding’ of the interview transcripts to find meaning in small pieces of information that may be lost when it is taken as part of the whole rather than unique information (Charmaz, 1997). As themes became apparent, I organized the data with ‘focused coding’, where data and codes are grouped thematically (Charmaz, 2014). At this stage, I found myself with fifty codes such as “Safety Central to Security”, “Biggest Threats”, “Security Cameras”, “Harm Reduction” and “Perceptions of the Special Constables”. I chose these codes either based on what I believed broadly described the theme, or from a specific term that participants frequently used. An example of this was the code “Free Speech”, which is not something I questioned about specifically, but often found participants bringing it up such as when a faculty participant noted: “I think there's a lot of things that could be threatening. I think right now there's a lot of people who feel fear and threat regarding free speech so I think people are fearful and feel threatened by that because they don't know what to say anymore” (F12). When other participants referenced free speech as well, it became apparent that it was a relevant theme and code.

From there, I moved into ‘axial coding’ to identify relationships between codes. To Charmaz (2014), “axial coding relates categories to subcategories, specifies the properties and dimensions of a category, and reassembles the data you have fractured during initial coding to give coherence to the emerging analysis” (pg. 147). During the process of axial coding, I took my focused codes, and looked for themes or concepts within them that further described the data and illustrated connections between them. Many of the codes began looking like a tree, with the

original open code as the trunk, and second and third levels of branches extending from there.

Figure 3-1 shows collections of many of these axial codes, and Figure 3-2 shows the specific breakdown of “Definition of Threat”.

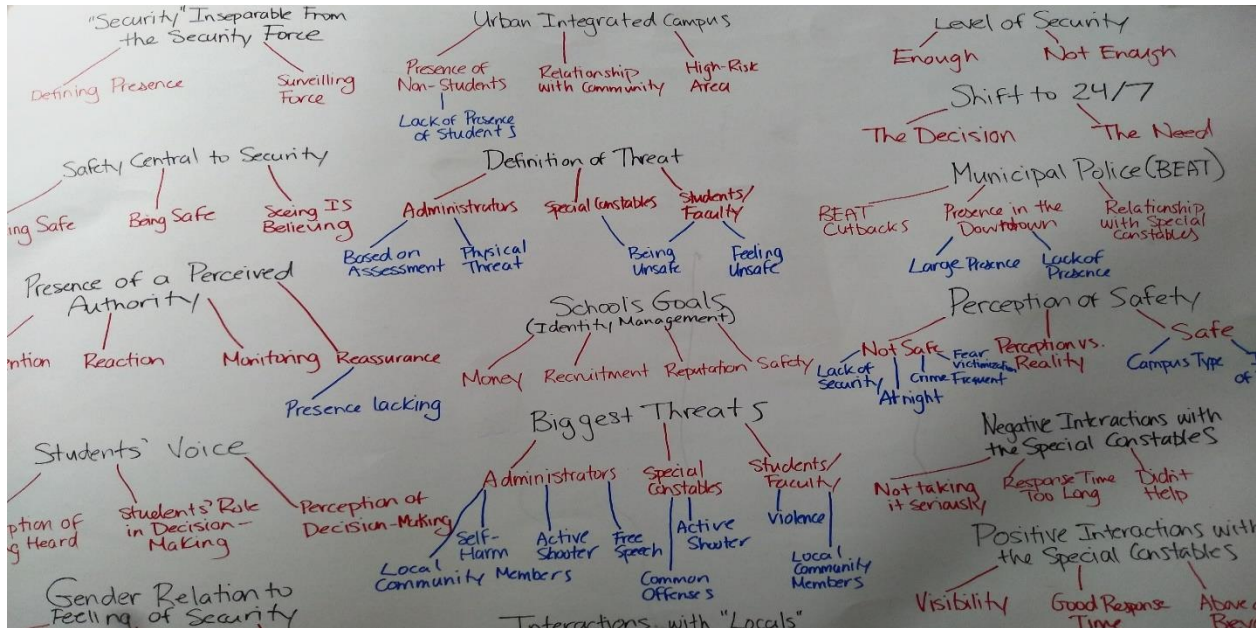


Figure 3-1 Axial Coding

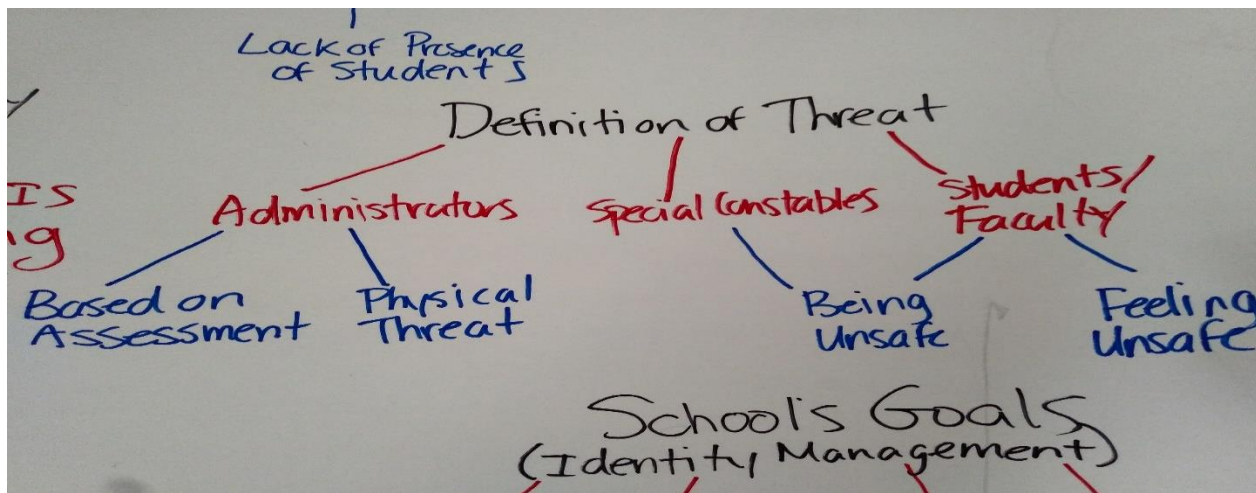


Figure 3-2 Definition of Threat Axial Code

While my original research questions guided the construction of my interview guides, two main findings began to become evident, which led me to develop two new research questions to further explore these findings. The new research questions were as follows:

Initial coding, focused coding, axial coding and concept mapping were hierarchical in nature, and assisted with moving from coding to analytic theorizing.

Memoing

I also engaged in analytic memoing by reflecting on the meaning embedded in codes, and their relationship to my research questions (Charmaz, 2014). This memoing helped form the basis of many of my theoretical insights and allowed me to further reflect on connections and gaps between what various groups of participants were saying. Consistent with Charmaz (2014), as codes were identified I periodically reassessed previously coded material to ensure consistent coding throughout. During the memoing, I also continued to re-evaluate the codes that were generated to ensure they were products of the data rather than researcher bias. As my familiarity with the case study campus grew, so did the potential for my personal perceptions to be reflected in my coding. When I noted incidents that had the potential to affect my impartiality, I memoed about the experiences and noted it to remind myself not to draw any conclusions from my own experiences, only from the data generated by the participants. An example of this is as follows:

When I was in the downtown area of (CANUN) today attending an interview with a participant, I drove by a [local coffee shop] looking for parking. After the light turned green I entered the intersection and noticed two men fighting on the corner directly in front of the [local coffee shop], in broad daylight. As I got close, one man attempted to push the other man in front of my car. I slammed on my brakes and avoided hitting the man, and saw the fight continue in the middle of the street with my rear-view mirror. This is the same [local coffee shop] that multiple of my participants mentioned, and is attached to a residence. While this incident was jarring, it must be separated from the experiences of my participants, and could be the product of chance.

Using constructivist grounded theorizing, I returned to the literature to find what else had been written on these subjects. I wrote literature reviews to illustrate the relationships to my findings, and demonstrate the gap that my research filled.

Reflections

Emotionality

In constructivist grounded theory, reflecting on emotional experiences that may affect the researcher is important to maintaining as much impartiality as possible, while acknowledging that research is not conducted in a vacuum (Charmaz, 2014). There were two main areas that the emotionality of participants and of the researcher were notable. First, the difficulty obtaining participation from the special constables was a large source of frustration and worry. While challenges with recruitment of participants from policing services is not uncommon, the centrality of their input to the nature of the research and the need for the inclusion of their experience to conduct a balanced examination made their reluctance concerning. Fortunately, the institution itself was willing to cooperate, which is not always the case in research on similar issues at universities (Cresset et al., 1996). During one particular interview an administrator referred to some questions as best answered by the special constables, and repeatedly asked whether they were cooperating with me. I responded by telling him that I was unable to share information given or not given by participants, but by this time I was quite worried that the failure to include campus police officers in my research would be a large detriment to the overall quality of my work, or even worse, make the analysis appear biased.

Lastly, in one of my interviews a student participant disclosed that they were sexually assaulted by another student, in the very building that we were conducting the interview. As I had been the one to pick the interview location, I was extremely concerned that I had forced her

to endure a painful trauma by returning. She informed me that she had chosen to continue with the interview in this building because she did not want it to stop her from attending classes or events that may also take place there. She was understandably very emotional throughout the interview and apologized frequently for crying, and I was struck by the inability to console her in a meaningful way. I also struggled to express the fact that I found her emotional response nothing to apologize for and that if anything her continued strength to not only reach out to participate in the study but to talk openly about such an agonizing topic was admirable. I inquired multiple times as to whether she would like to take a break or stop, unsure if I was engaging in revictimization with my questions. After conducting the interview, I connected her with campus resources. I also reached out to my supervisors for guidance and oversight on my decision making. They had no objections to what had taken place, but the ability to debrief and have the support of much more experienced interviewers was crucial. Additionally, the participant had detailed many obstacles and difficulties that she faced throughout her process, and it was challenging to not be angry on her behalf, and thus biased. Through consultation with my supervisors, I was able to focus any potential resentment into the desire to gain more information about the problems that she identified so that the research could serve as a tool for illuminating possible gaps in security policies and practice.

Chapter Four: Space, Jurisdiction and Perceptions of Legitimacy

Introduction

Using the methods discussed in the previous section, the first finding of note regarded participants' definitions of space, campus and jurisdiction. In this chapter, a brief overview of the literature of these topics will be provided, followed by an explanation of the definitional understandings of campus and space, and how that created conflict within the jurisdictional model. Additionally, I describe how the context of CANUN2 and its unique institutional factors further aggravate the conflict with the jurisdictional model.

A key component to an institution providing security that protects and governs, is the definition of the areas in which it can enforce these provisions. Problems can arise, however, when definitional understandings of the space and jurisdictional boundaries differ among those who use the space and those who govern it. The jurisdiction of the campus police at CANUN2 is confined to campus properties, which is not congruent with the way that students perceive the confines of 'campus'. The resultant negative interactions of this jurisdictional model have threatened the students' perceived legitimacy of the special constables. These interactions are aggravated by the local context the campus is situated in, and the implementation of particular resources. The urban setting of the campus, paired with the frequency of student/local interactions, played a significant role in participants' discussions about jurisdiction.

Valverde (2008; 2009; 2014) argues that jurisdiction is not merely *who* is doing the governing, but *how* they are governing. This includes the capacities for governance, the objects included under these capacities and the various 'modes of governance', or the way in which they are able to exercise their governing power. For example, Valverde (2009) notes that while a city park may have by-law officers who are able to issue tickets and thus have some 'capacity' of

governance over an area, they are not able to arrest citizens in it as the police are. While they both have governing capacities, the way in which they govern differs. Valverde (2009) also describes jurisdiction as the “governance of governance” (p. 155). Relating to the city park example, the varying powers held by the police and by-law officers demonstrates the different ‘modes of governance’ included in their individual capacities. While they both have the capacity to govern over an area, the modes of governance or tools at their disposal (e.g. issuing fines versus powers of arrest) are different.

Valverde (2008) also focuses on the role of the “police as a hinge between the two key temporalities of governance” (p. 147) due to the fact that they make decisions about how to enforce modes of governance that can even have varying scales within their own agencies. This means that while multiple parts of their agencies may have the same powers to govern over a specific incident simultaneously, there are often certain groups who will be the ones to exercise this power based on the nature of the incident (e.g. serious or violent crimes). To illustrate this in terms of the current project, the special constables have jurisdiction over the campus area, and hold a mandate from the municipal police; however, if a murder were to occur on campus the jurisdiction would swing to other officers in the municipal police agency or even incorporate another police agency entirely such as provincial or federal police. To this end, Valverde (2008) argues that jurisdiction is not only territoriality based. Additionally, with the rise of capitalism the proliferation of informal or private jurisdictions, or jurisdictions created by a private institution (such as a university) rather than by the state, have now become more common (Valverde, 2014). Valverde (2008) also argues that jurisdiction and the enactment of governance can be similarly flexible with individual cases, as capacities for governance also include the power of discretion; choosing how to respond based on circumstances of the case.

The concepts of space (i.e., the social, political and economic context of an area) and jurisdiction have been a focus of other scholars in security literature as there are many different jurisdictional models across campuses throughout North America. For example, Jacobsen (1995) identifies two models: (1) Limited, where jurisdiction is bound by property owned by the university, and often differs from the student perception of campus, and (2) University-Precinct, where jurisdiction is based on the property owned (i.e., territory) by the university and then radiates externally in varying distances to include areas where students often frequent and live.

CANUN2's contextual place in an urban area was referenced frequently by participants. This is not an exceptional concern for the students to have, as Volkwein et al., (1995) found that students are generally much less likely to be victimized on campus grounds than they are in the communities and areas around them. Specifically they found that 'campus' spaces had rates of crime that were much lower than the general crime rate, and lower than the areas outside of these spaces. Additionally, they found that the most unsafe students were those that had small student populations such as medical schools, and frequently interacted with urban residents. 'Campus' spaces themselves did not have higher rates of crime, but those smaller institutions had higher rates of victimization in the communities around them than other students (Volkwein et al., 1995). Patton and Gregory (2014) also note that students' perception of safety in 'campus' spaces may be affected by the situational context because students in urban areas perceived their campuses as less safe than those in rural communities.

Due to the nature of urban integrated versus 'closed' campuses, there is more opportunity for contact with the local population. Horvat and Shaw (1999) acknowledged that tension is frequent on urban campuses, and has a lot to do with the permeable boundaries of the campus compared to the literal walls and gates of closed campuses. These issues are often left for

campus police to deal with, and are greatly affected by the jurisdictional model the campus police are bound by. In response, the jurisdiction of many campus police services have frequently expanded; Peath, Barke and Garcia (2008) note that between 1986-2006 there was an increase in campus police forces that have state-wide jurisdiction, and a decrease in forces that only have jurisdiction on campus or within 10 miles. They noted that with this addition of jurisdictional powers, the number of officers on average has increased thirty-eight percent (Peath et al., 2008).

At CANUN2 it was of critical importance to explore the way the campus was defined by administrators, special constables, students and faculty, and the impact of these definitions on perspectives about the role of the special constables. Additionally, using in-depth qualitative methods allowed me to illuminate the definitions of space and campus as seen across groups, and critically examine the connections between these definitions, resource allocation and situational context. In the sections that follow, I will discuss the issues of competing definitions of campus, jurisdictional boundaries, and campus police resources as experienced at CANUN2.

Competing Definitional Understandings of a University Campus

CANUN2's definition of on-campus is confined specifically to university property, which in an urban-integrated campus, is limited to the inside of buildings with the exception of one courtyard. As described previously, CANUN2 is an urban-integrated campus in the downtown area of a medium sized urban centre that faces economic challenges and a high crime rate. The university owns and operates approximately 20 buildings, many of which are used for classes, events, residence and office space. These buildings are separated by businesses and city-owned property, and students walk back and forth between them frequently using city-owned sidewalks. This campus design and its mix of private and public space is unique compared to the

‘closed’ main campus, where the majority of university facilities are located on a single parcel of private land operated by the institution. The mixed composition of public/private property at CANUN2 entails that special constables lose jurisdictional authority the moment a student steps outside of a university building. The special constables can respond but have no authority, so they feel it is best the police respond instead (A7). Unlike municipal police officers, special constables only have police powers within their specific jurisdiction, frustrating their activities in CANUN2’s urban-campus setting. One special constable explains:

So on this street here we have authority at [university building on the corner], we don't at [restaurant next to it] or [the business next door], we do at the [campus building across the street] and [the campus building next to it] so we're constantly bouncing back and forth between our police powers to our civilian powers. So that's always one challenge here...but we seem to be doing alright with it (C14).

Although the special constables are paid employees of the university, their contract and mandate is held with the municipal police service. In fact, they report to a police inspector, and work closely with the municipal officers. Thus, while the university defines their geographic boundaries and creates policies that govern the special constables and their day-to-day tasks at the university, the special constables are also beholden to agreements with the municipal police.

While the university administration and special constables share a definitional understanding of ‘campus space’, these definitions differ significantly from how students define and perceive campus. As one student explained, “Campus I would define as the space where the farthest reaching buildings set a parameter... (S15)” In this way, students often perceived their urban-integrated, ‘open’ campus to be more like a ‘closed’ campus – perceiving the areas between campus buildings and parking structures as part of the university campus. Such differing understandings of what constitutes campus space has led to frustrations over the practice of campus security and have negatively affected the perceived legitimacy of the special constables,

and student perceptions of security on campus. For example, one student reflected on a time that she was harassed and followed by men on a city street. This occurred around the corner from the special constables' street-level office so she ran there for help. No one was in the office, so she went to a separate part of the building where a university employee helped her to call the special constables' dispatch centre. Unfortunately, as the incident took place outside she was told that there was nothing special constables could do:

...I was told that in my situation that even though I'm a [CANUN] student, because I wasn't in a [CANUN] building, there wasn't really much that they could do for me and I was like but I'm standing outside of a [CANUN] building right now and I need help. And then when I called them I was standing inside of [CANUN] building so right now I'm standing inside, the situation took place outside and they're like but that's city property. And so because the buildings are technically on or surrounded by city property it causes a jurisdictional issue so that I think they gotta sort that out because as a [CANUN] student if you're just going to help me in the building, what if I, what if something is happening in a building and I escape and I'm good I need to know that you're going to, that you have my back when I'm outside as well. Especially so close I'm literally standing right outside (S3).

The student's experience above exemplifies one of the most significant gaps in the implementation and experience of this specific security measure. The student originally held the belief that being a student of CANUN2 is what qualified her for help by the special constables, rather than the reality that restrictions are property dependent: she had to be on university property when the incident occurred. Unfortunately for this student, and adding to their discontent, they discovered this incongruence in the midst of an emergency.

The implications of this definitional disconnect result in a vastly different perception of the level of security on campus, and the effectiveness of security measures. Notably, those participants who characterized the level of security as enough or a high level on what they perceived as campus, were almost universally administrators, special constables and at times, the

faculty participants. Conversely, the student participants and some faculty members, described the security on campus as lacking or stated that they felt insecure on campus. This could be due to the differing perceptions of campus, and calls back to the findings of Volkwein et al. (1995) that students experience more crime on the areas surrounding campus property than on campus. If the students define campus as including the surrounding areas, they are also including those victimizations as part of their schema of campus security.

Conflicts with the Jurisdictional Model and Perceived Legitimacy of Special Constables

Weakened perceptions of the special constables' legitimacy appear to be affected by negative interactions with students, which are usually the result of the confusion and disagreements over the jurisdiction of the special constables and other measures, such as trespass orders. The confusion around jurisdiction in many cases has led the special constables to often be viewed as illegitimate, and unable or unwilling to help. Such perceptions have resulted in students exclusively calling the municipal police for assistance instead of special constables. As one student participant explains:

I know a lot of my friends, they just skip over special constables completely, they're honestly taken as a little bit of a joke on this campus from the people I surround myself with. So a lot of people just bypass special constables and go to 911 for anything (S1). For other students, this lack of perceived legitimacy can also mean taking matters into their own hands. Student participant S8 described a situation where a local community member was standing on a downtown sidewalk between multiple campus buildings and behaving in a hostile manner. Instead of calling special constables, they decided to physically intimidate him themselves:

He was really looking at us very hostile but we decide you know what honestly they're [the special constables] not going to do anything about it, we don't even bother at this point because they've got such a reputation student amongst the student body that they don't do

anything. We walked into a restaurant we sat down only to have our other friends tell us that that same man was spitting on students as they were walking by and then you know so we got really mad and we wanted to fight him but we decided that it would be best to just leave it be. We walk up behind him, we say is this the guy? We look at him, gave him a good scare and he looks at us all scared and we don't really do anything...just because we know that special constables won't do anything about it (S8).

Student participant (S1) actually described being spit on by the same man and opting to call special constables about it, only to have her call unanswered four times. Eventually she chose to walk past the man again, who was still spitting on people, in order to reach the special constables building. She was able to talk to someone there who said they would go check it out but she was unsure about what happened to him after.

While negative interactions with the local community appear to be a source of tension, the multiple definitions and understandings of campus space have also created frustrations among students regarding when special constables will help and when they will not. For example, at times as described above, students would be told they could not be helped by special constables, while at other times, students would see campus security assisting others (both members of the university and members of the local community) in areas outside their jurisdiction. This confusion is significant because while the special constables responded in that case, many participants interviewed did not have the same experience. In one case a student-employee struggled with understanding administrators' definition of campus space compared to her own perception:

There's been like a couple times where at [the park outside her campus office building] there was a fight going on between locals and it was like 10 minutes before we had a campus tour so I called special constables saying 'hey right across the street from me there's a fight and families are standing right outside watching, can you just go and deal with it?' And they said 'no we can't it's not our property, it's not our territory.' So it's not

even...they're supposed to be there for campus safety and I would say [the park] is kind of a part of the campus but also the town's. It's like I am so confused of when it's a special constables thing and when it's a 911 thing. (S1).

The students' experiences illustrate the importance jurisdiction plays in perceptions and experiences of security. For these students, their understanding of campus security led to negative perceptions and experiences of the university security projects – especially the work of the special constables.

While students found that the geographic boundaries of campus impacted their experiences of security practices, they also found the process for contacting special constables and municipal services equally as confusing. In cases where special constables dispatch is called first but it is a matter for the municipal police, special constable participant C5 described the official process as being that the special constables should take over from there and contact the municipal police.

However, students' experiences paint a different picture:

We're told to utilize campus partners so apparently special constables is supposed to be like the first call and then there's been a couple times that they've been like 'no call 911'. It's kind of like...I've called you...I don't know maybe it's because I don't understand but it's like why they aren't really taking the next step and being like 'let me call 911, I'll dispatch them' cause they always say they do have a really close relationship with the [municipal] police so it's kind of like sometimes they call and it's like not our problem (S1).

The discrepancy between what the students are experiencing and what the policy is could be the result of a disconnect in implementation at the dispatch level. If dispatch is supposed to take over and connect with 911 but are not, that could be a further source of dissonance.

Jurisdiction and the Shaping of Other Security Measures

While the perception of the special constables has suffered due to the conflicting definitions and understandings of campus space, there are other security policies and measures

shaped by the geographic definition of campus. The placement of the university emergency pole, for example, illustrates the importance jurisdiction plays in security projects. The emergency pole is a large yellow pole that has a button on it that if pushed, activates a spinning blue light and sends a call to the special constables that someone at that location is in need of assistance. As many university students, staff, and administration explained, the pole is hard to miss and is located in a courtyard surrounded by university buildings. Its location is actually the only place outside of a building that is considered part of the campus jurisdiction and therefore, as one special constable explained, located in the *only* place on campus that it is allowed to be due to their jurisdictional constraints. They noted that to their knowledge, while it has been used for pranks, it has never once been used for an actual emergency (C14).

Due to its location, many participants questioned if it was actually effective in its current position:

Yeah. I would say that's completely ineffective in that position. There's four buildings right there...if somebody wants help for trouble or if someone is in trouble they're going to run to one of the buildings they're not going to be clicking one of the security poles. It's just, it's useless (S8).

While many questioned the value of its placement, others, particularly students, were also concerned that the signal it dispatched would not be answered. Specifically, the students lacked faith that the signal would work, or that special constables would answer and come to help them. Interestingly, students' answers showed that they did not experience fear in the spaces closely connected to campus, but instead, wanted security measures – such as the emergency pole – located around city bars, or large public squares where many local community members congregate for many hours of the day, rather than on campus property. While these pole positions may provide students with a greater feeling of safety, the special constables do not have

jurisdictional power at these locations. Yet in order to get from one class to another, students are often required to pass through these areas, raising the question of how much responsibility the university has over the safety of students on property they do not own but is essential to their ability to attend class.

Trespass orders are another measure that are bound by the same jurisdictional constraints placed on the special constables. A trespass order is issued by the university to change the way someone is allowed to interact with the campus and can be used in various degrees. For example at the least restrictive level, a person can be barred from a specific building like a residence, or from certain services like the athletic buildings (A13). A student can also be barred from campus buildings except for when they have scheduled classes and fifteen minutes before or after. Further, students can be restricted from entering a campus building in general. Administrator A7 also noted that expulsion is different from a trespass order, because while a student may be trespassed from physically attending campus buildings, they may enroll in classes online. When a student is expelled, they may not enroll in any classes at the university, and may have a difficult time enrolling at other universities as well. A7 explained that this distinction is often drawn to protect a student's future career and schooling, especially in cases where a student may have been charged during an incident with another student but has not yet gone to court. It is worth noting that trespass orders are not just issued to students, but can also be applied to staff and community members. The decision to lay a trespass on someone depends on who is being trespassed and why the order is necessary. Local community members are often trespassed by the special constables due to repeated incidents or threatening behaviour, whereas students usually receive a trespass order in consultation with the university's conduct or administrative student advocate's office (A13).

The lived experiences of these levels of trespass orders have demonstrated several key problems. Student participant S4 highlighted the consequences of how easy these orders are to break, and how it affected her perception of the legitimacy of the special constables. After she was sexually assaulted by another student, she reported the incident to the special constables, who took her statement and then brought in the municipal police. Unfortunately, the municipal police encouraged her to drop the case. Without formal charges, the university's ability to take action against the student perpetrator was limited due to the structure of their policies. In consultation with university administrators, the student was encouraged to get a peace bond against the perpetrator which would then provide the school with grounds to take further action. As the student recounts:

So I did drop the case and then the school, the school told me that they could figure it out you know just because I couldn't criminalize him, they would do something. So they told me to go get a peace bond, which is essentially a restraining order and that I could do that in a day...So I went there and I ended up going to court probably 8 times, never got the peace bond (S4).

Without this peace bond, university officials were unable to remove the student from campus and decided to try and keep them separated. The accused student was in her program, but was not allowed to enroll in courses that she was taking. To prohibit him from taking the same classes, the university provided him with a copy of her schedule, which enabled him to enroll in some of her classes and follow her on campus. As the student explains:

...there was a lot of miscommunication, people wouldn't relay things on, so like special constables would put let's say if the student who had assaulted me came to my classes he was informed he was not allowed to come to classes. And then he would show up to try and find me. Special constables, they would be called they would arrest him and then I was told...he would have a two week suspension so he couldn't be on campus. And then that had actually changed and it was only supposed to be for three days but that information

was not relayed back to me from special constables. So then I would see him, I would freak out, I would call them, they would tell me that they can't do anything, but you know I was under the impression that it was a two week suspension when really it was only three days because they just forgot to tell me (S4).

The experience of these measures is important to note because the fundamental nature of the separation agreements that kept the students separated continued to give him access to the same spaces as the victim and provided him with information about where she would be. While this was not the intention of the university, the nature of the measure and limited options facilitated further harassment. When he broke the existing agreements, due to the structure of the policies he was given a full trespass temporarily, but was able to continue his behaviour afterwards. Adding to the difficulty implementing trespass orders, these shifting levels of restrictions mean that the special constables are responsible for facilitating communication with the large web of stakeholders, while also maintaining their other daily tasks. These stakeholders can include the victim, perpetrator, faculty members in restricted classes, and university administrators.

Eventually, in conjunction with his other behaviour, university policies allowed the perpetrator to be trespassed from campus, but not expelled. On a 'closed' campus setting such as CANUN1, the person with a full trespass would be banned from the entire campus, including the pathways between buildings and food-service buildings on campus. However, at an urban-integrated campus, the application of full trespass orders are shaped and constrained by the geographical border of the campus meaning that a person can access areas that many students pass through. In interviews with administrators, it became apparent that due to the definition of campus as inside of university buildings, someone who was trespassed could technically stand outside of the building. As S4 explains, despite her attacker's trespass order, she has still been followed by him and encounters him in spaces surrounding, but not on, university properties.

Special constables also noted that those who have been issued trespass orders are still seen frequenting areas outside campus buildings. Yet, as one special constable argues, individuals breaking trespass orders would be referred to the municipal police: “Because outside the building is city property, we can’t lay a trespass for that it would be [municipal] police who would have to, they can in certain situations and generally only after a court order has gone through, can trespass somebody from the entire downtown core” (C14).

The power to trespass someone from the entire downtown core instead of just campus property was also discussed by A9, who noted that the city had previously exercised a power to ban certain people from the area, but mentioned that it was mostly used on sex workers. Importantly, A9 agreed that the university’s trespass use on the urban campus was flawed, and stated that they had considered asking the city for that same power to trespass people from the downtown core. This would extend trespasses to a defined area that would include campus buildings and the surrounding area. At the present time the university holds no such power, and there does not appear to have been a formal attempt to gain it. It also remains unclear how that would affect the jurisdiction of the special constables, if such a power would be granted.

Local community members can also have trespass orders placed on them. The frequent and persistent loitering of non-students, and what to do about it, was of particular concern among participant groups. In City2, many of the residents choose to spend their time at, and outside of, a local coffee shop that is located at the base of one of the university residence buildings. This specific coffee shop, however, was frequently mentioned as an area of concern by all participant groups. Although the coffee shop is part of the residence building structure, it cannot be entered or exited through the residence and is considered in the jurisdiction of the municipal police rather than the special constables. Participants in all groups frequently acknowledged a tension between

the local community members and the students, resulting in feelings of insecurity in students.

Faculty member F12 explained a consequence of this, in the case of students who chose to leave the residence rather than face it for the entire year:

[The local coffee shop] is to me, is the place I feel the least comfortable on campus and I understand *that's not our campus* but that's where the [residence] is. And I know several of those students including a friend of mine's daughter, she was put in [that residence] and she lasted about half the year and just spent the rest of the year driving home because she didn't like to walk to or from her building cause all the stuff that was happening outside of [the local coffee shop] (F12).

While aware of the problem, the university is unable to do much to ease the issue this creates for students due to the jurisdictional constraints. Administrators and special constables alike commented on the issue that the local coffee shop presents, and acknowledged that it makes many students feel uncomfortable and unsafe. Special constable C14 detailed the steps that they have attempted to take to quell the problem, but without more authority they are unable to make a large impact:

No we only have [jurisdiction] for the residence so because of that we're doing extra patrols of [that residence] because we know that both people are there. So we're constantly checking the lobby, we're constantly checking the back alley ensuring that the doors are secured, making sure they're not hanging out on the stairs there. We laid a lot of trespass notices at the beginning of the term to try to get rid of these people so that they weren't just sitting on the stairs so that the students would have to walk by them so, that's the pretty much the biggest thing that we've done to try to combat that because we don't have authority at the [local coffee shop] (C14).

It is also worth noting that how often the special constables can take these steps would likely be greatly affected by the resources they have to complete them, such as the number of officers they have available.

Additionally, these perceived problematic areas on campus are important because while administrators described low rates of reported victimization of students as proof that the campus *is* safe, these areas significantly affect whether it *felt* safe. Faculty members also acknowledged that the downtown area of CANUN2 does not always feel safe, but again pointed to statistics of reported victimization as being low. This feeling of insecurity was related to the climate of tension between the local community and the school:

Just from a statistical standpoint we're safe right, it would be nice if we felt a little bit safer. Like I said at the very beginning I don't feel as safe but I don't think maybe that's as much the security as just the climate. The idea that there's that many more people hanging around than there potentially were (F12).

This quote highlights that the tension between the university and the local community is not just experienced by students, and that it can even affect faculty members.

Overall, it appeared that the students interviewed felt that the security measures currently in place were not being deployed in an effective manner, and their negative interactions with the special constables caused the students to view their services as ineffective. These negative interactions often stemmed from confusion over what spaces they had jurisdiction over, and the fundamental disagreement over what constitutes campus. Student participants mentioned this feeling of insecurity as being detrimental to their experience at CANUN2 and contributing to a negative perception of the special constables.

Contextual and Institutional Factors

Limited Resources of the Special Constables

As mentioned previously, the special constables are bound not only by their jurisdictional constraints, but also by the amount of resources allocated to them. In fact, participants resoundingly expressed the need for more special constables. For instance, one participant noted

that while they are supposed to have seven special constables on rotation, only four of those positions are presently filled (S15). Administrator A7 noted that this was the result of a high rate of turnover in the department. Most administrators noted they wanted one special constable to be in the office at all times to manage walk-ins and phone calls, as well as to see more special constables patrolling on foot or in cruisers. They also suggested that having special constables available to participate in education programs on campus could increase the perceived presence of the special constables, and give students practical knowledge on how to navigate the urban environment (A13).

The special constables interviewed also wanted to see an increase in the number of officers. Special constable C18 explained that the quotient of officers has not kept up with the expansion of the university. They added that with the current number of officers was not sufficient to address illness of injury, often leaving the present officers alone and vulnerable, or taking on too much overtime. At times, they relied on contract security to try and make up the slack. Another officer noted that while two officers are required to be on at once, it would be a large help to be able to have three:

Yeah, it would be nice to have three. Reason being you get out on a call, you can be tied up for 2 or 3 hours on one call. Well if it takes two of you to do that then everything else is getting left so having that third body you're able to divide and conquer...so one can be patrolling the buildings and taking care of that while one's dealing with the situation and the one in the middle can pick up where you know I need a hand here, I need a hand here. It's always better to have more bodies than not enough (C14).

As C14 describes here, the special constables feel they would provide better service with more officers. However, the decision over how many officers to employ is made with regards to budget and resource allocation and they do not appear to have significant input in the matter.

Students and faculty wanted to see more of an active presence of the special constables on campus. Faculty noted seeing the special constables less around campus throughout their tenure at the university, and many student participants described rarely ever seeing the special constables around campus at all. A higher perceived presence of the special constables on campus could aid them in growing perceived legitimacy. The importance placed on this presence means that the perceived need for more special constables has had a negative impact on the way security has been experienced on campus. Following the earlier mentioned incident where student participant S3 had been followed and harassed by two local community members, she recalled a conversation she had with the special constables as they explained the length of time it took for her to receive assistance:

The first thing they told me was that they, well they told me that they're understaffed which I don't care and I don't want to know. All I want to know is why there wasn't someone there when I needed them (S3).

The student continued that her negative experience with the special constables, wholly changed her perception of security on campus. This exemplifies how these interactions can influence the perception of legitimacy of the special constables, even when the issues at hand are out of the control of the special constables such as with jurisdiction or funding. While differing definitions of campus may have contributed to conflicts with the jurisdictional model, the perception that there are not enough officers on staff appears to add to these conflicts.

Decrease in Municipal Police Presence

The municipal police have considerable influence over the downtown area that the campus is situated in, and over the special constables. The special constables' service report to, and are mandated by, the municipal police service. The municipal police have jurisdiction over all of the areas that the special constables do not, and also are able to take over the response to or

investigation of serious crimes that occur on campus property. Unfortunately this agreement is affected by a current fiscal environment of austerity in City2. As a result, the specialized police unit responsible for patrolling the downtown core has faced a significant reduction in presence.

A special constable participant noted this cutback:

No it's been up and down over the years like right now they're down to two officers and they're only here Monday to Friday. At one point we had eight officers on the [municipal downtown] unit so that's the problem when [municipal] police get short-handed, the [municipal downtown] unit is usually the first one that they'll pull the bodies from to put onto the platoons (C14).

This has had an impact on many of the activities in the downtown, and when asked directly, another special constable participant said that they had witnessed an increase in crime since the unit's downsizing (C18). This sentiment was even echoed by a university administrator, who has experienced this staffing shortage firsthand:

Again this is a funding issue the city of [City2] needs more funding so that they can have more [municipal downtown] officers on...their hours were cut back. So they're not down here all the time and generally when they're down here you'll always see a [municipal downtown] officer interacting with a member of the public. It might be a university student too but they are constantly always interacting with something happening whether it's maybe a friendly conversation but most of the time they're addressing drugs or alcohol use or we see a lot of general disturbances either in the park, like I see them from my window you know people outside the area here by the church fighting with each other, physically fighting yelling and screaming with each other (A13).

Yet not all university administration feels this way. One participant, for example, said that the integration of the campus with the downtown core allows for twice as much patrolling as you would expect (A7). This, however, was not a common sentiment among participants, as another administrator pointed out that when they had more officers patrolling there was more of a sense of security, but now due to cutbacks, there is very minimal patrolling:

Yeah so we have our downtown like our [municipal downtown] officers, which I think you know are now down to just one person, so with changes with [municipal] police services, although we get lots of support with the police in downtown, there's only one [municipal downtown] officer on for the time being. I think he works between 8 and 4, his name [redacted] he's great. And that was really having people walking around in the downtown, like our 8 [municipal downtown] officers, I think that added to this idea of what safety and security meant (A9).

With the specific context of the downtown of City2 and its high crime rate, the interplay between the limited jurisdiction of the special constables and the availability of municipal police officers is crucial. When students call for assistance in the downtown, the municipal downtown police unit cutbacks may mean that a special constable would be able to respond faster than the municipal police. However, due to their jurisdictional limitations, they would be unable to respond as anything more than a civilian. As one special constable pointed out, while on university property they can arrest someone for committing a crime, but on city-property which includes the sidewalks in between university buildings, they cannot arrest someone unless they witness the crime occurring.

Overall, the particular context of the campus in an impoverished urban area, the limited resources of the special constables, and the decrease in the presence of the municipal police are factors that appear to further challenge the perceptions of legitimacy of the special constables, and exacerbate issues with the jurisdictional model. While the number of special constables is the only one of these factors that is under university control, it is important to note that due to the multi-campus style of CANUN, administrators at CANUN1 are likely making budget decisions about CANUN2. Those at CANUN1 may not have the same understanding of the local context, the decreasing numbers of municipal police when making these decisions or the specific jurisdictional challenges at CANUN2.

Discussion and Conclusion

The differing perceptions of ‘campus’ have caused confusion over what jurisdiction the special constables are bound to, and the resultant negative interactions have delegitimized the perception of the special constables in the eyes of many students. These negative interactions are also influenced by the specific context of the urban area they are integrated with, and the resources available to both the special constables and municipal police. Conflict around the jurisdiction of university police services is not new (Jacobsen, 1995; Peath et al., 2008), however the aggravating factors of resource allocation and the urban context, and the particularly restrictive limitations to the jurisdiction of the special constables at CANUN2 appear to be worsening it.

As demonstrated above, the confusion around jurisdictional lines has resulted in negative feelings towards the special constables, which often manifests in questions of their legitimacy. The effect of confusion on legitimacy was also found by Patten, Alward, Tomhas and Wada (2016), who noted that students’ lack of understanding of campus police roles and responsibilities often correlated with lower levels of perceived legitimacy. The authors described the effects of this in terms of police-citizen relationships: “When legitimacy is diluted, police-citizen contacts become strained. As police-citizen contacts become strained, police effectiveness is destabilized (Patton et al., 2016, 569).” This is of particular concern for CANUN2, as confusion around when special constables can aid students or not has caused a decrease in their level of perceived legitimacy as an authority, often causing them to be bypassed as an authority altogether. With this destabilization, their presence may not be viewed as a significant deterrence to crime on campus. Equally as crucial, Aiello and Lawton (2018) found that the perceived legitimacy of campus police is “significantly related to reporting likelihood (p. 1)”. While

CANUN2's administrators, faculty and special constables were quick to point to the campus as being *statistically* safe, the low perceived legitimacy of the special constables may mean a low frequency of reporting by students. This is evidenced by the student participants' discussions of bypassing special constables and going straight to the municipal police, or handling circumstances themselves.

The issue that is being exemplified at CANUN2 is that with an unorthodox campus shape, in an unorthodox urban campus locale, the limited jurisdiction of the special constables is not enough. Students' calls are frequently outside of their jurisdiction, and it is negatively impacting their perceived legitimacy and effectiveness on campus. Additionally, measures they enforce, such as trespass orders, are being undermined by these same restrictions. The issue of placement of the emergency pole was one that was mentioned by almost all student participants, and their suggestions of where it should be instead exemplifies their perceptions of campus and the unique challenges they face in the urban context. They are not worried about their safety on official campus property, but are more worried about the harassment or tension they face walking past bars, city establishments or the local coffee shop. This in combination with the arguable need for more officers and the cut-backs placed on the municipal downtown police unit, have left the student participants feeling insecure in areas they view as campus, regardless of whether the university feels the same.

With staffing and budgetary issues for both the special constables and the municipal police, it begs the question why restrict resources to limited jurisdictions? It is worth exploring whether the University-Precinct model described by Jacobsen (1995) would be more effective at CANUN2. In this model, campus police officers are granted jurisdiction not only over campus property, but property adjoining it for an extended period that is negotiated with the municipal

police service. A memorandum of understanding is often reached between the two services (Jacobsen, 1995), and in this case could regard only answering calls from students or staff in that area, or only having that jurisdiction during certain hours of the day when students are frequently on campus. The special constables already work closely with and under the mandate of the municipal police service, so this extended jurisdiction could still be easily monitored by the municipal police. This is where Valverde's (2009) importance of how bodies are governing, rather than who is doing the governing is best illuminated. With the focus currently placed on drawing jurisdictional lines in the sand, the practicality of the application of security measures is being lost. If the emphasis was instead placed on what methods of governance would be the most effective, especially considering limited resources, the authority of the special constables might be viewed as more effective. For example, if students were able to contact the special constables to deal with issues such as harassment when walking between classes, that would free up the remaining municipal downtown police officers to handle other local community issues. Due to the students' definitions of 'campus' as not only the university-owned property, this would likely increase the perceived legitimacy of the special constables as an effective authority rather than symbolic presence. In the next chapter, how security measures contribute to students feeling safe and being safe is discussed, as well as how priorities of the university may affect how this jurisdiction was negotiated.

Chapter Five: Dueling Interests

Introduction

When visiting university campuses on recruitment tours, many students and parents want to know if the student will be ‘safe’ while attending the institution. However, would the answer they receive be whether they would *be* safe, or *feel* safe? The security of students is important from a physical security perspective, but also from one of self-interest. If someone inquired about safety at CANUN, they would likely get directed towards visible security measures as proof that they are in a safe environment. However, there would likely be other security measures present that were not pointed out. This chapter illustrates how security measures at CANUN2 demonstrate the simultaneous goals of physical security and those resulting from corporatization such as recruitment, marketing, and budgetary constraints. Valverde (2011b) notes that examining how techniques are used can evidence their purpose or the logic behind them, and that an in-depth, fluid examination is what is required to accomplish this. In the following chapter, I detail many visible and invisible techniques’ intended and unintended consequences, and what that may illuminate about the goals and priorities at CANUN2.

The Relationship Between Logic and Techniques

According to Valverde (2011b), techniques are the measures a security project uses to ensure their goals are realized. The goals of a project reflect its logic; the assumptions that underscore what techniques are implemented. Examining the techniques of a project, entails examining *how* security measures are used, and *why* they are being used (Valverde, 2001; 2011b). While Valverde posits that a practical application of her theory is necessary for proper illustration of these relationships, she makes a number of assertions about both the logic and techniques of security projects in general. First, Valverde (2011b) notes that the relationship

between techniques of a project and its logic can be fluid, as projects that have similar logics may utilize different techniques. For example, two countries may both share the goal of securitizing their airports to prevent acts of terrorism, but the techniques they use to achieve this may vary. Valverde (2011b) describes: “In general, just as different logics of security provision can coexist and flourish, since an increase in one by no means necessitates a decline in other logics, so too the array of techniques actually used at any given time for a specific purpose cannot be predicted in advance” (p.17). This is why it is crucial to study techniques within the context or security project they are occurring in, rather than in general. If one was to study the use of security cameras, they would likely have very different purposes on public streets, inside homes, or outside voting locations depending on the circumstances of their use.

Additionally, Valverde (2011b) argues that while similar logics can exist within a society, so can differing logics: “...it seems to me that the major reason for this oddly peaceful coexistence of contradictory logics is that different projects operate at different scales and/or across different jurisdictions (p. 12).” Generally, Valverde (2011b) focuses on the existence of multiple logics in the same society or system, but the current study seeks to explore how multiple logics may exist in the same security project and institution. Consequently, it will also examine if they conflict, and what the repercussions of this are. Valverde (2011b) suggests that the key question is not how many logics are visible, but what methodology is best to illustrate the “shifting relations among heterogeneous (and sometimes incommensurable) logics (p.12).” With in-depth qualitative methods, the present study pursues the idea that examining the use and perception of techniques from various stakeholders within a project can differentiate between logics at CANUN2, and assess how any conflicts or shifts in logic are negotiated.

This research seeks to fill the need of a concrete examination of the relationship between the logic and techniques of a project, particularly in combination with the jurisdictional focus of the previous chapter. Valverde (2011b) suggests that

A dynamic analysis of the implementation of security projects, and of the reflexive adjustment of logics, jurisdictions and techniques in the wake of implementation, is the kind of empirical project that would give us a truly accurate, dynamic picture of how we are now being governed through projects that might all appeal to security but which differ so much as to make generalizations impossible (p.18).

By interviewing administrators, special constables, students and faculty, this research will examine the creation, implementation and lived experience of visible and invisible techniques in order to attempt to provide this dynamic picture. In the ensuing sections, I will first describe the way participants use and perceive visible measures, followed by invisible measures. While I acknowledge that techniques are never entirely visible or invisible, this difference was gauged by the awareness of measures by participants. Then, these measures will be connected to potential goals and priorities of the university.

Visible Techniques

Some visible measures in place at CANUN2 that will be discussed in this section are the special constables, the emergency pole, and panic buttons. These measures were often discussed by participants as ones they were most aware of, or actively interacted with. In this section, the use of these visible measures will be described, as well as how the university assesses (or does not assess) techniques for intended consequences, and outline potential unintended consequences as well.

Visible security measures are important to analyze, particularly because many participants viewed the definition of security on campus as the presence of an authority figure. They believed that the knowledge that an authority was watching was enough to prevent many

crimes from occurring, and viewed these elements as deterrents of crime. As one student participant explained:

I think even just the presence of an authority figure amongst the population is enough to sort of subdue any hostilities from occurring. Or the idea that somebody is watching is enough to sort of subdue people from saying 'oh maybe I could or should do something' (S8).

Awareness of security measures is crucial for them to command this feeling of authority, and participants often described actively looking for what security measures were in place when they first toured the university, or while they walked throughout campus. In general, no participants felt there were too many visible security techniques in use at CANUN2, and most student participants actually expressed a desire to increase them. They felt that a greater presence of visible measures would make them feel more secure on campus, illustrating a strong connection between visible measures and the perception of security at the institution as a whole.

However, the close relationship between visible security measures and the experience of security meant that participants frequently felt insecure when they realized that the visible measures may not be as effective as they originally thought when they actually used them. This often came from a negative interaction where a measure had a perceptually lengthy response rate, or no response at all. For example, at CANUN2, administrator A16 estimated that there are around 50 panic buttons around campus. These panic buttons are usually part of an employee's work station, but on occasion staff members can be issued buttons that travel around campus with them. In theory, the buttons are there so if a staff member experiences an emergency, they can push the button and it will relay to the special constables' dispatch that someone is in need of assistance. However, when asked how the university decided that the introduction of panic

buttons was worth the money, administrator A13 noted that in their opinion, the introduction of the buttons was only to make people feel safer, not to actually raise the level of security:

I wouldn't be able to articulate that necessarily the panic buttons did anything other than give people that sense of security...that I think all around it kind of gave a nice, warm, snugly to everybody on campus that there was a lot of security put in place to help people (A13).

The doubt around the button's actual contribution to security was evidenced by a student-employee participant whose co-worker needed to push the button because of a situation with a local community member, but the response was less than what they had expected:

I do know one of my co-workers had to push the button two years ago and then it took 15 minutes for special constables to come, so if we're in a very unsafe situation and we push the panic button and 15 minutes later they show up, I just feel like 911 would be so much faster (S1).

S1 further noted that by the time the special constable arrived, the situation was over. By discussing the effectiveness of 911 in relation to the panic buttons, S1 demonstrated the potential degradation in buy-in to security measures after a negative interaction. While making people feel safer can be a helpful tool if there are no substantial threats, when those measures are later relied on in the face of actual threats and they are not effective, it can lower the user's feeling of security.

Evaluative Measures

During the research, I inquired about how the university defines the success of its security measures, and how they evaluate this success. In this section, these definitions and measures will be discussed. In the previous chapter, the special constable participants explained that the emergency pole has never actually been used for an emergency. In order for a measure such as the emergency pole to be implemented and operated, the university must first invest

financial resources. However, if there is little use of the measure, it raises the question as to why they continue to be financially maintained. Unfortunately, it can be hard to ascertain what a security measure's intended purpose or contribution to security is without a clear definition of success. For example, without the knowledge that the emergency pole had never been used, it may appear to outsiders that the measure is instrumental to the securitization of the campus. Yet, it did not appear that any security measures on campus were internally evaluated, or had established definitions of success. One of the areas that evaluative tools appeared most ambiguous, regarded the special constables and what mechanisms are designed to measure their effectiveness. One special constable participant responded this when asked about how they define their success:

[You] can't really go by statistics in terms of calls for service, because I do know that since I've come here our calls for service have almost tripled from what they were before and maybe that's also due to the fact we're now 24-7 and we're now capturing calls for service that were never properly captured before, because we were only on two shifts prior to the 24-7. But yeah in terms of our success, it's hard to say. How do you judge the success of a police department? (C5).

In this quote, special constable C5 notes that using calls for service would not work as a measure of success, because changes in call frequency do not necessarily correlate with criminal occurrences. Conversely, another special constable (C14) responded that the increase in calls for service meant they were doing well because the incidents were occurring at night before but were not being captured due to the lack of 24-7 coverage. This discrepancy illustrates the catch-22 of calls for service as a definition of success. If calls for service go up, it could mean that crime is increasing, or that the special constables are doing a good job capturing incidents. However, if calls go down, it might mean crime is decreasing, or that students are not reporting to the special constables. Therefore, either way it can be successful or unsuccessful based on

how it is spun. Furthering the confusion, while the special constables were divided on whether they use their calls for service to define their success, administrators seemed to believe otherwise:

Special constables will do how many calls they've answered and it's just because there's an increase in calls that doesn't mean that's a bad thing either because that means people are more aware of the service and they're using it. They track, I mean you can look at the...the special constable annual report they put the number of calls in there and they have all of that information (A16).

The broader reason there may be a lack of evaluative measures, is that in many instances, it was unclear what “success” for a security measure was. While ‘making students safer’ was often given as the goal or purpose of security measures in general, there did not appear to be defined intended consequences of specific measures, or a definition of what being ‘safer’ constituted. If the goal is increased physical safety, how can the university gauge if the measures are making anyone safer if they are not evaluating them? In the next section, the use of invisible techniques will be examined, as well as descriptions of any evaluative tools in place for those measures.

Invisible Techniques

Contrary to the measures in the previous section, CANUN2 employs two security measures that are not marketed or visible, yet the administrators maintain they are some of their most effective tools at preventing harm. These measures include the Behavioural Intervention Team (BIT), and its threat assessment team. BIT is a committee with members from various departments on campus such as the administrative student advocate’s office, the health and wellness centre, their student support services, the special constables and the student conduct office. Committee policy dictates that all members receive training on the Structured Interview for Violence Risk Assessment (SIVRA-35) through the National Behavioural Intervention Team Association (NaBITA), which is used to determine the threat and need level of student or staff

member. The NaBITA website lists behaviours assessed by SIVRA-35 as ‘direct communicated threats’, observable behaviours/language/factors’ and ‘contextual environmental factors’ (National Behavioral Intervention Team Association, 2018). In this section, the relationship between these measures and university priorities will be discussed, with a particular focus on the intonations of this measure as it relates to institutional concerns.

Generally, the way that BIT works is that a student or staff member is identified by any service or other staff member on campus as experiencing ‘*concerning behaviour*’. They are then referred to BIT and are discussed at a round-table of sorts. According to A9 ‘concerning behaviour’ can be disruptive, bizarre, or threatening. However students with what is viewed as threatening behaviour to either themselves or others, often get sent to the threat assessment team portion instead. The definition of these types of behaviours is not always clear. In contrast, A7 said that concerning behaviour is anything that makes the person observing it feel uncomfortable in their gut, that the behaviour does not make sense and you can see them struggling. A7 notes that there is usually a precipitating event before BIT looks at a student, and most often it deals with mental health issues. This may be important to a university for a number of reasons. While a university is likely interested in the well-being of their students, they may also be acting from self-interest. Massie (2008) argues that many universities are sued over the suicides of their students, and cites judicial decisions in various cases that have found that a university carries some responsibility to prevent these incidents.

At the BIT meeting, each group identifies whether they have met with the student and in what regard (with the exception of when it is not permitted such as the nature of medical visits). The threat assessment team contains a segment of BIT members who are trained on specific threat assessment tools that places a person from low to high risk. When deemed necessary,

specialties may be brought in such as lawyers, doctors, social workers or health professionals. When there is an ‘imminent’ threat (which was defined based on the risk score), BIT is accelerated to a detailed threat assessment purpose (A7).

Most administrators framed the invisible measure of BIT as extremely useful as it was perceived to serve a purpose that other security measures do not: “Like the students that come to BIT, BIT's there for a reason. In the past those students would often be asked to leave so BIT's there to really try to work with students to figure out how we can best support them (A9).” While administrators noted that the special constables are an effective service, they frequently referenced BIT and the threat assessment team as the standard to which threats are defined and dealt with by the university, rather than any other measure. When asked what they defined a threat as, or what the university viewed as the biggest threats, administrators repeatedly reached for the threat assessment tools to answer. In stark contrast, students frequently defined threats as sexual violence or tension with the local community members, and special constables often mentioned active-shooters as “the biggest threat that everyone fears on any campus of course (C5).” Interestingly, and aligned with student participants, the special constables also frequently noted that common offenses (such as assaults and drug use) by the students and the local community as another large threat.

While BIT appears to be a wide-reaching security measure that involves many services and some of the most at-risk individuals on campus, its existence remains largely unknown amongst students. Administrators admit that they have not yet been marketing the measure to current or prospective students. Administrator participant A9 explained that if there is a formal complaint, students are usually made aware but they may not be told what was disclosed about

them in order to protect those making disclosures. However, A13 explained that how students are made aware may be a little more complicated:

I don't think the student is always aware, from my role and I can't speak to each person who brings students to the table, I'm usually quite open with my students especially if I'll have a student come in and they'll say what are you going to do with this information?... Again, we don't have anything within our operating procedures that says we don't tell students, we just, if a student were to ask we would tell them but we don't outwardly communicate that to students (A13).

Throughout interviews, administrators touted the importance of BIT, and argued that while it has only been at CANUN2 for five years, it has become a crucial part of ensuring student safety. The question then begs to be asked, why does CANUN not market it widely to the student body if it is so successful? One of the main reasons that administrators pointed to, was the way it appears:

Scary name, and we always tell students when we've talked about them at the behavioural intervention teams, it's always like 'why are you talking about me at this team'? Once we explain what it is and I can answer all your questions about it, it's a little bit easier to understand what it does. Most people call them CARE teams but we just kept it as [the behavioural intervention team] (A9).

One of the reasons that BIT sounds 'scary' could be related to the overt way it feels connected to inward-facing securitization. When students and their families are looking for a 'safe' environment to attend, they are looking for measures that will keep the student safe from threats to them, not from the potential threat that the student may pose. BIT brings to reality the idea that students pose a risk, whether to themselves or others, and that part of the climate of securitization at universities is monitoring the behaviour of those who attend it as well. When asked if CANUN had enough security measures, A16 noted the importance of this balance: "I mean you could always make it better but we don't want to turn it into a prison right? We want the students

to feel comfortable (A16).” Non-visible security measures are a way to reinforce security, without students becoming uncomfortable with the inward nature of some of the measures. Valverde (2011b) noted that it is important to examine *how* a technique is being used to demonstrate the project’s logic. In terms of CANUN, the covert way that BIT is used could reflect that the university considers how the students will perceive a technique when determining how visible it will be.

As with the visible security measures on campus, there does not appear to be a clear way of defining the success of the invisible measures. For example, A13 acknowledged they do not yet have a way to evaluate BIT, but stressed their success as the myriad of impacts it can have on students’ lives:

I think right now until we develop some more evaluative tools, that's success for us right now, making sure students are connected. Some of them won't graduate, and that's not seen as a failure. Some of the students that we work with, they go to rehab and some of the students switch to college, or some leave altogether and go home. That's success still because they're taking care of themselves and they're hopefully on the way to success even if it's not still here at [CANUN] (A13).

However, as with the special constables and the frequency of their calls for service, this definition does not leave much room for a measure to be unsuccessful. Of course, with something like a threat assessment team, a failure would likely amount to the threat becoming a reality, but outside of that it is unclear how the teams will evaluate their effectiveness moving forward. Additionally, while multiple administrators pointed to SIVRA-35 as being a main threat assessment tool for BIT, and also argued that BIT is used largely for self-harm cases, the NaBITA website directly notes that SIVRA-35 is not designed to assess suicidal tendencies in a student (National Behavioral Intervention Team Association, 2018). This illustrates the potential

gap between how measures are intended to be used and are being used, something that could be discovered through internal evaluation.

While the balance of security measures appears to lean towards outward-facing and visible measures, participants explained that they may be getting more invisible ones in the future. A participant noted that CANUN is in the process of getting facial-recognition technology for their security cameras, which they will begin using first in areas such as libraries that are accessible to both the public and students, and areas that have previously had a high number of incidents occur. The differentiation between visible and invisible measures may become less pronounced as more technologies of this manner become increasingly available and as invisible measures become able to be embedded in visible measures (such as facial recognition technology being used through visible security cameras). People want to feel safe from outside threats, rather than be considered threats themselves. With the ability to embed inward-facing and invisible measures that may make people uncomfortable into existing visible measures that make them feel safe, real goals of a security project can be hidden behind stated ones. In the next section, further relationships between invisible and visible measures will be discussed, as well as what their use demonstrates about the potential logics underscoring CANUN2.

Duality of Security: Physical Security and Corporatization

Reflecting on the ‘logic’ of CANUN2 as a security project, it appears that CANUN has two priorities: 1) physical security, and 2) goals resulting from the corporatization of universities such as marketing, and institutional risk management (Rothstein, 2006). Institutional risks include avoiding lawsuits, and reputational and recruitment priorities. Security measures play a significant role for both of these goals, and some security measures appeal to both purposes, such as the special constables. In general, the special constables are used for marketing security on

campus and minimizing institutional risk, but all levels of stakeholders also view them as playing a role in physical security. On the other hand, as will be discussed further, certain aspects of these measures, such as the reluctance to shift the special constables to a 24-7 schedule, demonstrates when the goals can be competing, such as physical security versus budget priorities. In this section, key theoretical concepts that emerged during the analysis of the relationship between techniques and logic will be outlined, followed by explanations as to how the aforementioned goals were discovered, and how they relate to these concepts.

Corporatization refers to the drift in governance models at institutions toward those reflecting typical practices of a business (Mills, 2012). The emphasis placed on security by corporations in general was one that Loader (1999) connects to consumer culture, and the belief that consumers will gain satisfaction from further engaging with a product (security). Similarly, from a marketing perspective, Mills (2012) also notes that during the process of corporatization at universities, in many ways students have begun to be viewed, and treated, as customers. Corporatization of post-secondary institutions has been the frequent subject of recent literature. Mills (2012) argues: “The most visible sign of the corporatization of higher education lies in the commitment that colleges and universities have made to winning the ratings war perpetuated by the kinds of ranking U.S. News and World Report now offers in its annual ‘Best Colleges’ guide” (p.1). Mills (2012) expands that recruitment is crucial to a university’s perception and ranking. He argues that universities will often seek to gain many more applicants than they can hold, because high rejection rates increase their reputational perception. Giroux (2002) posits that the societal rise of neoliberalism has spurred the corporatization of universities, as they also increasingly become more focused on market relations.

The influence of corporatization on security is often related to the ways the institution manages risk. Rothstein's (2006) definition of institutional risk management could be expanded in this context to include a university's attempt to minimize opportunities for harm to physical security, but these also provide benefits to their brand and market relations. In his operational definition, Rothstein (2006) termed "liabilities, bureaucratic failure and loss of reputation" (p. 216) as institutional risks, and it is similarly repurposed here. ¹

Additionally, while analyzing the logic of the project, much of the participants' interactions with security measures appeared to connect to Schneier's (2003) concept of security theater. Schneier (2003) defines security as being, in part, a state of mind. As he later expands "...you can be secure even though you don't feel secure. And you can feel secure even though you're not (Schneier, 2008, p. 50)". Additionally, he notes that the perception of security may not be congruent with the reality of it. For example, many participants directly defined security as the presence of visible security measures, or a perceived authority, rather than active outcomes they provide. Security measures often take the emphasis on the mere presence of a measure into account, and can provide people with the feeling of security as well as actual physical security. However, some measures only provide the feeling of security while providing no tangible benefits to the 'reality' of the security, and thus he terms these 'security theater' (Schneier, 2003).

At CANUN2, one of the clearest examples of security theater was the emergency pole. As established previously, the pole is very visible and was identified as a security measure universally, without ever being used by someone who needed aid. Also mentioned earlier, S1 had been instructed to specifically note the emergency pole and special constables during

¹ In this context, 'risk management' is being discussed from a conceptual perspective, rather than as it may be used by institutions under health and safety legislation for employees.

recruitment tours. This drew a distinct connection between the use of security theater, and corporatization of universities. The university's emphasis on a 'safe' environment, particularly during recruitment tours, was echoed by another student participant:

And when I did a tour...they said that when you give out a tour don't allude to any personal experiences, which is fair...but that the same time if you're a tour guide you are alluding to a personal experience and that personal experience from one person to another is very, very important, it's a critical review. And they said to us don't do it, don't tell them anything, don't say anything...they were just saying only say that we have special constables and it's a great program and that's it end of story (S8).

Recruitment is crucial for any post-secondary institution, as tuition dollars are an extremely large source of income for them. Gregory (2012) argues that a university's 'safe' environment, is a key part of their brand. These sentiments were echoed by a number of students and faculty who felt that recruiting a high number of students was CANUN's main goal. In fact, one faculty member went so far as to say that over their time at the university, they had come to view the institution's main goal to be fostering positive public perception – something the participant likened to propaganda:

Propaganda. Like the public view. I would think that that would be their predominant [goal], it's not their stated goal. Their stated goal would be to keep our students safe. I think the public perception would be the first thing, that's generally what we worry about. *We worry about how everybody else sees us because if they see us as good they'll send their kids here. If they see us as not good they won't send kids here.* That's a very, very, cynical view but I've been here for long enough. I would guess that their stated goal is to keep our students safe, physically safe (F12, *emphasis added*).

This quote illustrates the duality of goals that the university faces. Most of the participants acknowledged that the university had a seemingly genuine interest in the physical security of students, however, they frequently contrasted this goal with other, often competing interests that drew from the same pool of limited financial and human resources.

Casella (2003) argues that many schools have chosen to implement expensive security technologies because the liability they face as institutions is deemed to be far greater than the initial expense of their inclusion. For example, the shooting at Virginia Tech in 2007 is estimated to have cost the university alone \$38.7 million and municipal, state and federal governments a further \$9.5 million (Johnson, 2012). Specifically, Virginia Tech spent \$11.4 million on ‘safety and security upgrades’ following the incident, including hiring more campus police officers and creating emergency management strategies (Johnson, 2012). Boyle and Haggerty (2012) argue that as we become more aware of risks, particularly “unpredictable, high consequence risks” (p.243), agencies and institutions may engage in speculative risk prevention, focusing on many low-probability but high consequence scenarios. In addition, Giroux (2002) argues that the neoliberalism that gave rise to corporatization of post-secondary institutions is incongruent with any type of morality, and what was most advantageous to the market relations of a university would be prioritized. In this respect, institutions turn to security technologies for physical security, but also to avoid risk of liabilities. Unfortunately, many participants also felt that the institution would lean toward the goals of corporatization, emphasizing branding over internal concerns. As a second faculty member explained, the university straddles a line between priorities:

I think in a rosey view I would say they want to keep everybody safe, and I think they also want to protect themselves from lawsuits and from bad publicity so I think it's multi-purpose. So obviously they don't want anything to happen to our students and I think the measures that they're trying to put into place or trying to address the safety of our students, because you want your students to come here and be safe. And I think the university, I think all of us feel responsible if somebody's injured or damaged in some way because they're a student here like no one wants that so I think that's probably the prime goal of the

university but also obviously they don't want to end up in the news any more than they already have (F11).

While recruitment is important to the university from a functional perspective, as this quote demonstrates, avoiding liability is an important example of institutional risk management as well. If there is a significant gap in security measures and an incident happens, the university can be vulnerable to a lawsuit, or negative publicity.

With the corporatization of post-secondary education, not only does a university have to consider lawsuits stemming from the *failure* to institute proper measures but they need to be concerned about when measures *are* used as well. The student discussed in the previous chapter who was sexually assaulted on CANUN2 property, noted that she was told by a university official that banning her assailant from campus without formal charges from the police, left them open to a lawsuit from the perpetrator:

I think generally their priority is the students obviously, they want to keep the students safe, but they also don't want to make the school look bad....It's hard because I know they care about the students but I also know that they look at the bigger picture of [CANUN], they don't want [CANUN] to get sued and be put in the papers. They even told me that too, that we can't risk [CANUN's], name for the sake of a student, of a he-said-she-said, so it's hard. That's one person right, like there's a lot of people that care and also were really on my side...so that's really difficult but I think in the end, it's what's going to make [CANUN] look best (S4).

Importantly, this quote shows that it is not simply the existence of security measures (such as trespass orders) that demonstrate the goals they serve, but how they are used. While there existed a measure that could help to protect S4, according to her it was not used in part to avoid a potential lawsuit from the perpetrator, and resultant bad press. With the corporatization of universities, negative publicity can affect the 'branding' that is becoming crucial, thus prioritizing institutional risk management over physical security.

Many of the students who discussed the university's emphasis on budgetary matters worked as student-employees in various capacities, or had done volunteer work for the institution. As students, many of these participants viewed the security measures as lacking. When they became student-employees, they noted the importance placed on money rather than the student experience of security. The shift generally came not from a negative experience, but simply having more information to glean what the university's priorities were from their perspective. S1 noted that her job created a dissonance in her mind between her experience as a student, and the things she was told to emphasize to concerned parents and students:

As part of my job we're supposed to be promoting campus partners so we're supposed to be promoting that special constables is 24-7 and promoting the [CANUN safety] app. And like I feel like their attitude is that they want to take campus security as being important, but their actions are not showing that. So although they're like saying 'yes it's a downtown core we have a lot of safety initiatives' I'm not seeing that especially as a fourth year student. I also feel giving campus tours, parents will ask I know you're in [City2] it used to be a great city and now it's kind of a city full of poverty, so like why would I send my kid here? And the only real thing I have to say is special constables and [CANUN safety] app and the emergency pole but like again when I was a first year student I was terrified (S1, emphasis added).

The measure that most exemplifies serving the two priorities of CANUN is the special constables. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, while the special constables do provide some services that increase the physical security of members of the university, the way in which they are bound by university policies and jurisdiction hamper their ability to fully address student security concerns. The special constables are also an example of how the two goals of the university are not always served equally. An important example of this surrounds the decision to switch the special constables at CANUN2 to a 24-7 shift. At CANUN1, special constables had been present at the university 24 hours a day for many years, but the same service was only

provided to the urban campus of CANUN2 in 2017, almost two decades after its' opening.

Administrator participant A7 explained that the shift to 24-7 special constables at CANUN2 was driven by the vocal student communities who wanted equal service to the main campus and after-hours coverage as they felt there was a need. However, the administrator noted that the statistics of reported incidents on campus did not support the expansion and big commitment of university resources. Not all participants felt that this switch was something the university did for the benefit of the students, but rather for the public perception. As one faculty member asked:

But how much does money play a role? I would imagine money plays a huge role and we'll spend the money if we think we can number one make it a safer place, but that's butterflies and unicorns. *We will spend the money to make sure that we can tell people that we're making it a better place*, but they apparently didn't care enough to make it a better place for a long time. We didn't get 24 hour security until this year. We've been open [for approximately two decades], and we've had people in residence since 2002? That's 15 years. 15 years that our students weren't good enough to be totally supported by the university at their own campus. That's a different level of service than students at [CANUN1] or students anywhere else get. And we should get the same, we should get the same. (F12, emphasis added).

Multiple special constable participants acknowledged that the decision to make them 24-7 was based on budget, and C14 explained that their calls have gone up since the change has been made. Participant C14 noted that the special constables themselves have been pushing for the change for a long time, and they were all thankful to see it happen. Valverde (2001) notes that often indirectly, governance through security measures can have effects on other values in a system, and notes the budgetary decisions on where to spend or not spend can illustrate these values. This is exemplified by the shift to 24-7 coverage by the special constables. The decision to not spend money providing the service at CANUN2 showed that the budgetary advantages was valued higher than physical security, until the opposition to this decision became too loud.

Invisible measures can serve both goals at CANUN2 as well. The university stresses BIT's contribution to the physical safety of students, which serves two purposes - a reduction in harm serves the goal of keeping people safe, but it also serves the process of corporatization as a way to avoid liabilities. While objectively there appears to be a demonstrated interest in reducing harms to students, it is focused on harms the university finds most threatening (self-harm and large-scale incidents), rather than what the students view as the greatest source of risk (the local community). Therefore, while BIT focuses on the risks that some students pose to themselves and others, it is also a form of institutional risk management.

As many of these quotes have evidenced, CANUN2's use of visible and invisible techniques reflects the dual logics of physical security and university corporatization, and thus the project has multiple, often competing, priorities. While student safety is *a* priority, it is not necessarily the only one, or the most important one. Even when security measures are implemented with the explanation that it is not statistically necessary but will make students feel safer, there can be other agendas underlying those decisions. The ability to market a university as a 'safe' environment is often necessary as many parents and incoming students demand it, and previous tragedies on campuses have led to an overall shift towards a securitized climate. Reflecting on how and why techniques are used, demonstrates CANUN's dual goals of safety of students, and their own self-interest.

Discussion and Conclusion

Schneier (2003) notes that "personal security policies are more driven by societal norms than by law. Business security policies are a result of a company's self-interest" (p. 35). In many ways, a university is compelled to address both sides of this duality. They are beholden to provide physical security to their students and staff, while also taking action to minimize

institutional risks and remain marketable. In this way, their simultaneous goals reflect the duality of a university's existence: although they are providing a service, they are also concerned with remaining functional and prestigious. Even the goal of physical security itself is a double-edged sword. While there are many at the university who sincerely want to make student's physically safe, they also care about the impact any injuries that would have on their reputation, and thus their recruitment rates. The importance of recruitment under corporatization versus physical security is reflected in the way security measures are highlighted during campus tours, despite the institutional barriers placed on the special constables (discussed in the previous chapter) and the fact that the emergency pole has never been used in an emergency. Similarly, students giving tours are not to draw on personal experiences that may provide potential students with a more accurate perception of the lived experiences of security and not the ones the university would like to present.

Gregory (2012) argues that the relationship between branding and securitization of university is close, and it is due in large part to the importance that potential applicants place on a university's supposed 'safe' environment. Additionally, she connects branding to potential liability if a campus is not properly securitized, arguing that: "...university administrators must validate people's experiences and fears of campus violence, and circumvent accusations that the university administration is in any way responsible for such acts (Gregory, 2012, p. 72)." As Schneier (2003) points out, playing to the public's demand for feeling safer when there is no actual threat can be beneficial, both for the public peace of mind and financially for the institution. With universities facing pressure to become more securitized in the wake of recruitment challenges and tragedies at other campuses, the outward appearance of a plethora of measures that are not often used may be enough to dissuade fears. Thus, while security theater

may be a facet of securitization in many types of institutions, it has particular importance for universities. This is due to the aforementioned social norms (such as the general push for safer campuses) they are existing in, and its relationship to the corporatization of universities.

The link between this concept and the influence of corporatization lies in the perceptual advantages that security theater can bring. In fact, Schneier (2003) does not argue that security theater is always bad but sometimes organizations have to appear to be doing *something* about a problem, even if the actual threat is minimal. What Schneier (2003) suggests in examining what purpose security measures fill, is reminiscent of Valverde's (2001; 2011b) connection between the techniques and the logic of a security project. Valverde describes the techniques of measures used in a project as being a source of discovery around what the goals or priorities of a project may be. For Schneier (2003), this discovery lies in examining whether security measures serve the purpose of actual security, or security theater; through this, information can be gleaned about what logics are present within a project. For example, if all techniques used are examples of security theater and serve no actual security purpose, that may demonstrate that the goal of physical security is not a high priority.

With the attention paid to security at universities following the Virginia Tech shooting (Fox and Savage, 2009; Bosselait, 2010; Randazzo and Cameron, 2012), Fox and Savage (2009) warned against the unbridled adoption of proposed policies, as in a climate of fear the policies generated may not be as productive as necessary. Similarly, Schafer, Lee, Burruss and Giblin (2016) note that many of the policies have come in the forms of formal social control, rather than based on consultation with student needs. They note that these policies can be adopted for appearances, rather than because they are based in empirical evidence that they are effective (Schafer et al., 2016). Considering the absence of evaluative tools or iterative improvements at

CANUN, it seems that the employment of security measures is largely ritual and intended to inform a *sense* of safety. While that may not necessarily be a bad thing, the students are still experiencing a perceived level of insecurity that they believe is not being correctly targeted by many of the current measures. Returning to Valverde's (2001) discussion of techniques of a security project, the lack of evaluative tools may reflect the logic, or underlying assumptions inherent in the project. Specifically, it raises the question of how the goals of a project can be contained to increasing physical security, if there are no methods to determine whether physical security is being changed at all? If their effectiveness on actual security is not monitored, it could be that their mere presence is enough, as the existence of the measures is reflective of the goals under corporatization.

Overall, it is clear from examining its techniques that CANUN operates with multiple goals and priorities, both from physical security and corporatization perspectives. Some visible security measures appear to be important only from a reputational or optics perspective and contain elements of security theater, but the contrast with invisible measures is stark. If it is only a 'scary name' that is stopping them from expanding the awareness to the student body, why not change the name? Or could it be that the measure itself reflects the sometimes 'scary' security needs of a university, that CANUN would prefer students not focus on? While the focus of this chapter has been on the logic of the university, it appears that there are also underlying assumptions underscoring student experience in that there are two sides to the climate of securitization existing on campuses; students want to feel they are protected from threats, but also do not want to have their freedoms or rights infringed on. In that way, it appears the university is not the only body with competing interests.

Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion

Security on post-secondary campuses is increasingly becoming a hot-button issue, as the call for increased measures often follows major, tragic incidents on campus, such as the Virginia Tech Shooting. While a greater number of these incidents occur in the United States, Canada is not immune to them as evidenced by the Dawson College attack in 2006 and the shooting at École Polytechnique in 1989. In addition to the need for universities to prevent this type of incident, there is pressure to provide a ‘safe’ environment in order to recruit incoming students and keep the university functioning effectively (Gregory, 2012). This research raised a number of key questions regarding the jurisdiction of campus police in Canada, as well as potential resultant effects on reporting likelihood, definitions of campus space, and perceived legitimacy of campus police. This research also questioned the underlying assumptions of a university that guide their decision making around security, and noted that the goals may not always be as stated. In the following sections, I will further detail how the security projects framework was reflected in my findings, and how this research has contributed towards the framework’s understanding. I will then provide further explanation of the significance of jurisdiction on post-secondary campuses, and connect it with the subject of reporting of victimization. In the subsequent section, I will outline how the techniques used for security at a university may shed light on their realized priorities, and what the techniques’ visibility or lack thereof may demonstrate. Lastly, I will outline the limitations of this research, and provide suggestions for further research to build off of these foundations.

Security Projects Framework

At the onset of this research, Valverde’s (2001; 2008; 2009; 2011a; 2011b; 2014) security projects framework was used to shape the research questions and the interview guides. Instead of

focusing on whether security is ‘good’ or ‘bad’ on campus, I assessed the campus as a security project in order to adhere to Valverde’s suggestions. This entailed examining the systems and processes that claim to contribute to ‘security’, and may include both visible and non-visible policies and measures. Valverde (2011b) proposed three major components of a security project, which are the logic, the scope and the techniques. In the following paragraphs I will discuss how these three components were reflected upon.

In this research, the logic of a security project and the techniques of a project became inextricably linked. Valverde (2011b) acknowledged that the best way to study the logic of a project was through its techniques. The present study offers a substantive contribution to this framework, as it provided a practical application of this method from a security perspective. In the past applications of this manner have been conducted, but from a legal perspective (see Lippert and Walby, 2014). Valverde (2011b) stressed the importance of considering security techniques within the context they occur in, rather than on their own. For example, the emergency pole was pointed to frequently during marketing of the institution but had never been used, demonstrating its contribution to corporatization rather than risk management. If the technique was considered separately from the goals of the project, this would not have been readily apparent. Additionally, the lack of defined evaluations for any security measure emphasizes the low importance placed on actual effectiveness. The dual interests of the university are reflective of their competing goals as both an educational institution and a corporatized entity.

The scope of a project often includes the temporal and spatial scales of its measures, and the jurisdictional definitions under which it operates. While many measures did not operate on a limited temporal scale (and were instead in place 24 hours a day), the campus police had recently

undergone a major shift in their temporality (from partial to 24/7 coverage) that had already been in place for many years at the main campus. In the original service, it appeared that the university felt the special constables were not needed enough at night to justify the cost of extending their shifts. However, the special constables themselves, the students and multiple faculty members had been vocal about the need for 24-hour coverage. Valverde (2011a) notes that the temporal scale chosen can represent political rationalities. In this case, it appears that regardless of whether there was a demonstrated need on campus for more coverage (as evidenced by the reported spike in calls since coverage was increased), it was not changed until the need could be justified from a public image perspective. Once the voices asking for it became too loud to ignore, the change occurred. Adding to the public image benefit, the university was quick to use the 24/7 coverage as a selling feature on its recruitment tours.

This study contributes significantly to this framework by demonstrating the practical importance of spatial and jurisdictional boundaries. As discussed in Chapter Four, the way that the governing body (CANUN2) defined campus 'space' and thus the jurisdiction of the special constables, was a source of great discontent with the student participants. This study contributes to the framework by exemplifying the need for the examination of perceived spatial scales by those who use the institution, rather than only the spatial boundaries as defined by the institution itself. While Valverde (2011) includes land use, urban planning and zoning as ways to examine the spatiality of a security project (which have particular importance during urban renewal efforts), it is also important to examine where these definitions differ from those who are part of the institution but not its decision-makers. For CANUN2, these spatial definitions underscored the difference between the realized jurisdiction of the special constables, and the students' expected jurisdiction.

Valverde (2014) emphasized the importance of jurisdiction in defining how governance occurs, instead of just where. This importance is evidenced in the present study, particularly in regards to how the special constables balance the separate bodies that govern them (the municipal police and the university). While they are paid by the university, they are mandated by the municipal police and subject to restrictions placed on them by both powers. This is a blending of public and private domain, where a public police force is given power at a private institution. For example, the special constables are required by the municipal police to hand over cases that are serious in nature. However, in many instances special constables reported having options that they would not as municipal officers. They can engage in a sort of harm reduction, where instead of entering students into the criminal justice system, they can connect them with supports at the university for addictions counselling, mental health and wellness supports, and financial assistance. In this way, how they are able to govern differs from how the municipal police are able to when they respond to calls within the same area. While Valverde (2008) speaks of jurisdiction from a theoretical perspective, by examining the way jurisdiction is implemented in circumstances that contain many challenges to its seamless definition, this study contributes to understandings of jurisdiction in a practical sense. With this information, post-secondary campuses, particularly urban ones, can reflect on their own jurisdictional boundaries and how they may connect or not connect with students' understandings of campus space. They may also take a critical look at the negative interactions with campus police reported by students, and evaluate how many of them stem from confusion over boundaries.

Jurisdiction of Campus Police

This study contributes to the broader understanding of the complicated jurisdictional issues that often face campus police. Campuses in North America have been using their own

police services since 1894 (Paoline and Sloan, 2002; Patten, Alward and Thomas, 2016), yet they are an understudied type of police service. This is of special importance for Canadian institutions that use special constables, as they are mandated by municipal police services that may have differing goals and policies than universities, while often existing in the same areas. For campus police and private security officers at mass properties, their jurisdictions often overlap with other public police agencies on a municipal, provincial or federal level (Rigakos and Greener, 2000). As Shearing and Stenning (1983) noted, these mass properties and the private security often present on them have been steadily increasing over the last 60 years. This research improves the understanding of many intricacies of how jurisdictional overlaps are negotiated and raises questions about the impact of this overlap on the perceived legitimacy of police and security services, particularly in the context of urban renewal and the corresponding social tensions that such efforts can engender.

Hopkins and Neff (2014) note varying campus police jurisdictions as either limited, or extended. Extended jurisdictions range beyond the university campus, often to specific buildings where students live or frequent, or in a specified distance outward. Campus police may technically be granted jurisdiction for the whole municipality or state as sworn officers (as seen at Yale University), but hold agreements to only exercise their powers in designated areas (Hopkins and Neff, 2014; Jacobsen, 1995). Jacobsen (1995) also argues for extended jurisdictions, or what he terms university-precinct jurisdiction, and he presents a model statute that would help define it in legislation. The default of such an option would be university property plus 500 yards of jurisdiction outside of it, with the option to create agreements with municipal police to extend or tighten that size (Jacobsen, 1995). This study presented evidence that the current 'limited' (Jacobsen, 1995) model at CANUN2, may not be suited for urban

campuses and that it may be time to consider a ‘university-precinct’ model, where campus police have specialized jurisdiction over an entire area rather than on university property only.

CANUN2 exemplified many of the intricacies that can come with balancing the relationships between the municipal police service and the university, and demonstrated how an urban campus presents particular jurisdictional challenges compared to ‘closed’ campuses. At CANUN2, the definition of campus space by students does not follow the university’s boundaries, and the resultant confusion often leads to negative interactions with the special constables. Without a formal understanding of the way the special constables are mandated, students end up placing blame for these interactions on the special constables, negatively impacting their perceived legitimacy amongst students. While previous studies have noted jurisdictional challenges faced by campus police (Jacobsen, 1995; Peathe et al., 2008; Hopkins and Neff, 2014), this study uniquely connected these jurisdictional challenges with negative interactions with students. Additionally, while previous research has noted the impact of student-campus police interactions on the perceived legitimacy of campus police (Aiello and Lawton, 2018; Patton et al., 2016), this study uniquely connected jurisdictional issues to these interactions and perceived legitimacy through the examination of students’ lived experiences.

Reported Victimization at Post-Secondary Campuses

This study also makes theoretical contributions to the subject of the reliability of victimization statistics on campuses. While the ‘dark figure of crime’, where many crimes go unreported, is well documented (Biderman and Reiss, 1967; Skogan, 1977; Macdonald, 2001), this study raises some questions about how interactions with campus police may affect this. Patton et al. (2016) argue that the dissolution of police legitimacy can cause negative interactions between the police and citizens, and Aiello and Lawton (2018) found that perceived legitimacy is

directly related to reporting likelihood. With the findings of the present study, it is important to consider the cycle of the process in its entirety. The fact that students were having negative interactions with the special constables, and often turned to not reporting incidents, or simply reporting them to the municipal police instead, means that the university may not be capturing reported victimizations *in addition* to unreported ones.

This is of particular importance in the context of the attempt by many universities to brand themselves as ‘safe’ in the emerging campus climate of security. Fisher et al. (2002) acknowledged that the Clery Act (where universities in the United States must report incidents of victimization on campus) does little to prevent crime, and is not regulated well enough that many crimes may be not counted. They further connect the advantage of institutions missing or misrepresenting victimization data to the push for universities to appear safer than other comparable institutions in order to recruit applicants.

Lastly, the jurisdiction of urban campuses can also allow universities to represent themselves as more statistically safe, due to the way they define on-campus crime. For example, if a student is victimized on the sidewalk of the library on a closed campus, this very well may be on university property and thus is counted towards on-campus crime. However, at an urban-campus, the same situation may be considered to be on city property, as it would be at CANUN2, and instead is counted towards the city’s crime rate only.

Corporatization of Universities

During the course of the research, by examining how and why various visible and invisible techniques were used, it became clear that security measures were serving the goal of more than just physical security. Based on participants’ experiences, it appeared that there was also simultaneous goals that were being serviced due to the effects of corporatization. Along

with physical security, the security measures provided benefits for marketing purposes, and for institutional risk management priorities (as defined by Rothstein, 2006) such as avoiding lawsuits and protecting the university's brand. The pressure to provide a perceptually 'safe' environment to maintain high recruitment numbers has added the necessity of security measures being marketable on campus recruitment tours. However, this means that some measures may be being utilized for their visibility and the feeling of safety that provides, rather than their contribution to physical security, similar to Schneier's (2003) concept of security theater. This study contributed to the field of corporatization of academia by demonstrating the benefit of examining *the way security measures are used*, rather than only which measures exist. This is best illustrated by the shift to a 24-7 schedule by the CANUN2 special constables. Noting this shift in scope, and the reasons for the change, revealed the competing interests of the university. The change occurred when it became in the university's best interest rather than when it only served the goal of student safety.

The information gleaned from this method was also illustrative with the behavioural intervention team (BIT). Noting that the measure was covert revealed a lot about its purpose. While administrator participants acknowledged they are not yet marketing BIT due to its 'scary name', if that is the only obstacle, why not change the name? The answer likely lies in that the 'scary name' alludes to the fact that the inward-facing nature of the measure may be what is actually problematic to students. The students are afraid of threats from the outside, whereas the university is protecting against threats from the inside, often by looking at the students themselves. In the effort to create a perceptually 'safe' environment, the university may not want to raise the notion that their measures are there to also target the student on the recruitment tour, not just protect them.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the contributions of this study, there are a small number of limitations that exist, particularly in regards to its generalizability. The sample size for this study (N=18) is not large, with only 3 campus police officers. Additionally, while the student experiences were diverse and often unique, there were more female participants than male. The experiences gathered by participants who were willing to participate is not always generalizable to the experiences of those who have not; mainly due to the fact that participants may have experienced an event they would like to discuss, whereas non-participants may have had no interactions with the security measures at all. Future studies of this nature should attempt to include a higher number of participants overall, with greater representation of male students and more campus police officers as well. However, I acknowledge that the limited number of campus police officers in general constrained my ability to gather interviews, in addition to the overall reluctance to participate.

The inclusion of only one institution and one campus may also limit the study's findings. Due to time and resource constraints, a comparative approach using an urban campus and a 'closed' campus at one university was unachievable, but future research should definitely consider expanding to that approach. Comparing multiple institutions would also likely provide interesting data, particularly if the institutions used differing jurisdiction models for their campus police. Additionally, much of the data was collected within a time span of 3 months, so while administrators could refer to policies they intended on creating, it was impossible to assess how they were actually going to be used and experienced. A longer timeframe would allow the tracking of a new policy from its infantile stages to its implementation, and may provide more direct data about what influences the creation of security measures.

Future research would be well served by considering a number of methodological options. For example, a mixed-methods approach, using interviews and surveys may be beneficial. In the first part, semi-structured interviews could be used to garner information about relationships with campus police, perceived legitimacy and definitions of concepts such as space and security. These could then be used to inform a large survey of students to get a wider picture without the need for an unachievable amount of resources. The ability to reach more students may have provided more information about students who did not respond to initial recruitment materials due to the time commitments of an interview. Additionally, if reluctance on behalf of the campus police were to be experienced in future studies, a ride-along with the campus police may provide observable information about how they are interacting with students, other security measures, and any challenges they may face.

From a theoretical perspective, there are a number of questions raised by my study that should be addressed in future research. First, the question of how a university balances its business priorities with that of the safety of the students should be further explored. While this study provides indicators with budgetary restrictions and anecdotal evidence, more information about how a university makes these decisions would be beneficial. Second, over the course of this research, it became apparent that CANUN2 engaged in multiple harm reduction approaches within their security measures, similar to diversion methods. Administrators and special constables often recalled connecting students with support services rather than the criminal justice system, and noted they often use the behavioural intervention team to do this. It would be worth exploring how students end up being selected for these measures, and how they serve the priorities of a university. Lastly, the question of what jurisdictional model is most effective on an urban campus needs to be addressed. This study illuminated some serious potential flaws with

the 'limited' model (Jacobsen, 1995). Further research could include a university that was willing to engage in a trial of a different, more expansive method, particularly through the creation of Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) with the municipal police services. If not possible, a comparative study between post-secondary campuses that have varying models would provide an excellent next step from this research.

Universities are a place where a considerable number of youth mature, grow and flourish. They are also considered pillars of freedom of thought and expression that are often on the progressive side of social change. However, with increased focus on their security measures from the media, potential applicants, and their families, it is important to continually assess that they may be exemplifying social change in a different way: the proliferation of a security climate designed more for optics and market relations than for effective improvement of 'actual security'. Additionally, this change in priorities may leave students who are experiencing insecurity on a campus with nowhere to turn, especially at campuses where the jurisdiction of the campus police may not align with the unique challenges of their campus. In an increasingly surveilled society, the changes following dramatic tragedies such as the Virginia Tech shooting echo those prevalent post-9-11. As evidenced by the changes post-911 (e.g. the revelations exposed by Edward Snowden), this can be a slippery slope. Universities often engage in critical work at many industries, governments and agencies. However, to protect the principles of what a university symbolizes, it is crucial to remember to turn the critical gaze inward, especially at the security cameras doing the same.

Appendices

Appendix A: Informed Consent Form

Securitizing Schooling: Post-Secondary Campuses as Security Projects

Letter of Information /Consent for INTERVIEWS (REB#5469)

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Research Objectives

The objectives of this Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada funded project are to examine the perceived use and effectiveness of a security project on a Canadian

university campus. This will be accomplished through a document analysis and interviews with administrators, campus officers and students. In order to advance the state of scholarship on campus security, the proposed project adopts a security projects framework (Valverde, 2001) to understand the perceptions of safety and security on post-secondary campuses. Vital to Valverde's (2001; 2011; 2014) security projects framework is the questioning of the underlying assumptions of a project, which are often seen in the lived experiences of them. This study seeks to understand (i) what are the similarities and differences between students', faculty's, campus security officers' and university administrators' definitions and perceptions of security? (ii) What are the perceived objectives of the use of security measures, and what are the intended and unintended consequences of the security projects? (iii) How do the findings reflect or not reflect the security projects framework?

Procedures involved in the Research

We would like you to participate in an in-depth interview, either face-to-face or over the telephone, at a place and time convenient to you. With your consent the interview will be audio recorded for transcriptions and analysis by the principal investigator. The interview will last approximately one hour. We will invite your open-ended responses to several questions about your work practices and lived experiences. We may contact you a second time with follow-up questions or with questions of clarification. You may, at your choosing, review the transcript of your interview.

Potential Harms, Risks or Discomforts:

There are no physical risks to participation in this study. While we will keep your identity and information confidential because of the close knit community on campus there is a minimal risk that informed observers might surmise your identity or involvement from our publications. This could have negative peer or professional consequences. Throughout the study, your information will remain anonymous, all identifying material will be kept separate from your data, and will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in Dr. Sanders' office, with data stored on a password protected computer accessible only to Andrea Corradi and her research supervisors. All data and identifying data will be kept for five years after completion of the study (i.e, data collection) and will then be destroyed.

Potential Benefits

This study is unlikely to provide direct benefit to you however, it will benefit the research community by shedding light on the climate of security on a post-secondary campus in the Canadian context, and will work to uncover information about the lived experiences of security measures. The security measures used on campuses affect a large number of people, and similar measures are used in alternative contexts. This would benefit not only those who interact with post-secondary campuses but all of us who engage (knowingly or unknowingly) with security measures on a daily basis.

Confidentiality:

Interview data will be audio taped and transcribed for later analysis by myself. You can opt out of having the interview audio-recorded, and instead I will take notes by hand during the

interview. You should know that if you agree to participate in this interview, you are not required to answer the questions if you do not want to, and you can end the interview at any time. If you decide to withdraw from the study at the end of the interview or at a later date, you can choose to have your responses destroyed to that point if you wish. I am assigning a number to this interview rather than your name, and all your answers will be held in strict confidence. This consent form will be kept separate from the data set and destroyed at the end of the study. Your audio recorded responses will also be assigned a number and will not be identifiable in any results presented. These tapes will be kept secure in a locked cabinet. The tape itself will be erased when the study is through. If you choose to withdraw from the study you can choose to have your tape-- recorded interview destroyed if you wish. Anonymity will be maintained for research subjects through anonymous quotation in the final report and in all presentations and publications, unless consent to reveal identity has been given.

Participation:

Participation in this research study is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time and without prejudice. If you decide to withdraw before the interview is conducted, the interview will be canceled. If you withdraw during the interview, the interview will stop and the recording will be destroyed. If you decide to withdraw after the interview, but before the final study report is written, you may contact me to do so. All your data will then be destroyed unless you specify otherwise. You will receive a copy of this consent form for your records.

Rights of Research Participants:

If you have questions or require more information about the study itself, please contact me, Andrea Corradi, by phone 416-910-4982, or corr9470@mylaurier.ca

This study has been reviewed and approved by Wilfrid Laurier University’s Research Ethics Board. If you have concerns or questions about your rights as a participant or about the way the study is conducted, you may contact:

Dr. R. Basso, Chair, University Research Ethics Board, Wilfrid Laurier University Research (519) 884-1970 ext. 4994 rbasso@wlu.ca

INTERVIEW CONSENT

Consent and Privacy Options	YES	NO
1. I understand and agree to participate in the research, I am willing to participate in an in-person or telephone interview to be scheduled/conducted at my convenience.		
2. I agree to the interview being tape-recorded		
3. I would like to review the transcript of the interview.		

4. I am willing to allow the researchers to cite information offered in my interview (cited anonymously, not ascribed directly to me).		
5. I would like to receive a copy of the final report when it is published.		
6. 6. I would agree to be re-contacted if necessary.		

I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me, and I have been provided with a copy of the interview question guideline. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to participate as a participant in this research.

I understand that I may withdraw from participation at any point without consequence. I also understand that I may decline to answer any questions that are asked of me by the researcher. I acknowledge that if during the course of my participation in this research engagement I commit or disclose any illegal acts that I have committed, the researcher is under a legal obligation to report my actions.

I will keep a signed copy of this consent form and provide a signed copy to the researcher for their records.

I have had the opportunity to ask questions about my involvement in this study, and to receive any additional details I wanted to know about the study. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time, if I choose to do so, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature of Participant

If you would like to receive copies of research findings please provide an email address that these findings can be sent to:

In my opinion, the person who has signed above is agreeing to participate in this study voluntarily, and understands the nature of the study and the consequences of participation in it.

Appendix B: Recruitment Letter

Securitizing Schooling: Post-Secondary Campuses as Security Projects

Recruitment Email (REB#5469)

University campuses are synonymous with learning, youth, freedom and expression, however in recent times they have also become associated with a series of tragic events. Infamous shootings at Virginia Tech, Northern Arizona University, the University of Texas and many others have endured highly sensational coverage, bringing the topic of securitization of post-secondary campuses throughout North America to the forefront of countless minds. There exists a need for an in-depth look at the climate of security on a campus, and how it is experienced by those designing security measures, those enforcing them, and the students being protected by them. This need is particularly stark on Canadian campuses, where little research has been on the subject.

The goal of this Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada funded project is to examine the perceived use and effectiveness of a security project on a Canadian university campus. This will be accomplished through a document analysis and interviews with administrators, campus officers and students. In order to advance the state of scholarship on campus security, the proposed project adopts a security projects framework (Valverde, 2001) to understand the perceptions of safety and security on post-secondary campuses. Vital to Valverde's (2001; 2011; 2014) security projects framework is the questioning of the underlying assumptions of a project, which are often seen in the lived experiences of them. This study seeks to understand (i) what are the similarities and differences between students', faculty's, campus security officers' and university administrators' definitions and perceptions of security? (ii) What are the perceived

objectives of the use of security measures, and what are the intended and unintended consequences of the security projects? (iii) How do the findings reflect or not reflect the security projects framework?

To acquire an in-depth understanding of how security measures are created, implemented and experienced, **we would like you to participate in an in-depth interview, either face-to-face or over the telephone, at a place and time convenient to you.** From these interviews we hope to identify how security policies align with or differ from everyday needs and lived experiences of them, as well as the motivations behind their creation and implementation. This study had received approval by the Research Ethics Board (REB#5469)

If you are interested in participating in this important research project, or wish to hear more about the study, please contact the principal investigator Andrea Corradi, by email at corr9470@mylaurier.ca **through your personal email rather than work email to maintain anonymity** or by phone at 416-910-4982.

Potential Benefits

This study is unlikely to provide direct benefit to you however, it will benefit the research community by shedding light on the climate of security on a post-secondary campus in the Canadian context, and will work to uncover information about the lived experiences of security measures. The security measures used on campuses affect a large number of people, and similar measures are used in alternative contexts. This would benefit not only those who interact with post-secondary campuses but all of us who engage (knowingly or unknowingly) with security measures on a daily basis.

Thank you,

Andrea Corradi

MA Candidate, Criminology, Faculty of Human and Social Sciences
Wilfrid Laurier University, Brantford 73 George St. Brantford, ON, N3T 2Y3
corr9470@mylaurier.ca

Appendix C: Recruitment Poster

PARTICIPANTS WANTED:

What: Interviews about lived experiences of safety and security at

When: Flexible to your schedule

Where:

How: Contact Andrea Corradi at **for more information or to sign up**

Appendix D: Interview Guide Administrator

Administrators

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. I am interviewing participants in various positions on campus about their experiences with security measures on campus and your contribution is greatly appreciated.

I will start by asking you a few questions about how long you have worked at the school, and then I will move into questions about how you define and perceive security on campus. It will be about your personal opinions and experiences in your role.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Information

Let's start with some questions about your relationship to [the university].

1. How long have you been an administrator at [the university]?
2. Are you from City 2 originally, or did you move here for school/your job?
3. What is your relationship to decision-making processes for security policies on campus?
 - a. What is the decision-making process for prioritizing security measures on campus?
 - b. Do administrators go through any of the training for certain policies themselves when they are being implemented? E.g. receive same training as threat assessment teams

Defining and Perceiving Security

I am interested in understanding security on university campuses. As such, I am interested in understanding how people define and perceive security. For this first section of questions I would like you to think about your understandings of and experiences with security here in City2.

4. Can you please tell me what security on campus means to you?
 - a. What are some examples of security that you've noticed here in City2?
5. How would you rate the level of security on the [the university] campus?
 - a. Are there any areas where campus security could be improved in your opinion?
 - b. How do the actions of the special constables influence the level of security?
 - c. Should special constables have discretionary power over the application of policies?
6. What does a threat on campus mean to you?

- a. Does your opinion differ from the approach that the university generally takes regarding threats to security?
- b. In your opinion, what do you think the biggest threat on campus is?
- 7. How does the university respond to violent incidents that occur at other universities?
 - a. Do security measures change?

Perceived Objectives

For the next few questions I will be inquiring about what you think the goals of security on campus are, and how the university prioritizes these goals.

- 8. What changes to campus security measures/technologies while you have been at [the university] are you aware of?
 - a. In your opinion, what were the driving forces for their implementation?
 - b. How well have they met their stated goals/purposes?
 - c. How were the measures purposes defined? How is their success measured? Who defines their success?
- 9. What kind of security issues command the most priority?
 - d. What influences their prioritization?
 - e. How is the priority determined?
 - f. What kind of drills or scenarios are run on campus in preparation?

Consequences (Unintended and Intended) of Security Measures

We are also looking at the intended and unintended consequences of security measures. The next few questions will relate to how various measures are interacted with and explore some of these consequences.

- 10. What is the nature of the relationship between municipal, provincial or federal police services and the university?
 - a. What can you tell me about the nature of this relationship?
 - b. How do they provide input on policies?
 - c. What sort of jurisdictional issues affect this relationship?
- 11. Does the process to create policies factor in the potential to exacerbate fears?
 - d. Do they take steps to minimize fears? E.g. being unnecessarily covert
 - e. How might this be influenced by the special constables' actions?
- 12. What qualifies a student for investigation by the behavioural intervention team?
 - f. Are these records open to students?
 - g. Is this measure advertised or covert?
 - h. Who decides who sits on the team?
 - i. What powers do the team have?

Appendix E: Interview Guide Special Constable

Campus Police

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. I am interviewing participants in various positions on campus about their experiences with security measures on campus and your contribution is greatly appreciated.

I will start by asking you a few questions about how long you have worked at the school, and then I will move into questions about how you define and perceive security on campus. It will be about your personal opinions and experiences in your role.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Information

Let's start with some questions about your relationship to [the university].

1. How long have you been a Special Constable at [the university]?
 - a. Have you worked at any other post-secondary institutions? If so, what sort of campus were they? (e.g. urban, closed, big or small...)
 - b. What is your background as a security professional?
2. Are you from City2 originally, or did you move here for school/your job?
3. What is the decision-making process for prioritizing security measures on campus?
4. What kind of training have you received through the university?
 - a. What kind of training have you had with the [municipal] police?
 - b. What was covered?
 - c. What kind of training has been provided for you outside of the university?

Defining and Perceiving Security

I am interested in understanding security on university campuses. As such, I am interested in understanding how people define and perceive security. For this section of questions I would like you to think about your understandings of and experiences with security here in Brantford.

5. Can you please tell me what security on campus means to you?
 - a. What are some examples of security measures that you participated in here in City2?
6. How would you rate the level of security on the [the university] campus?

- b. Are there any areas where campus security could be improved in your opinion?
- 7. How do you feel your presence on campus is viewed by students and faculty?
 - c. By administrators of the university?
- 8. What does a threat on campus mean to you?
 - d. Does your opinion differ from the approach that the university generally takes regarding threats to security?
 - e. In your opinion, what do you think the biggest threat on campus is?
 - f. How does the policy to deal with that align with how you think it should be dealt with?

Perceived Objectives

For the next few questions I will be inquiring about what you think the goals of security on campus are, and how the university prioritizes these goals.

- 9. What security measures/technologies on campus do you think are the most effective?
 - a. In your opinion, what were the driving forces for their implementation?
 - b. How were the measures purposes defined? How is their success measured? Who defines their success?
- 10. What kind of security issues command the most priority?
 - c. How is the priority determined?
 - d. What role does public pressure play?
- 11. What security measures are you typically responsible for implementing?
 - e. How are these security measures evaluated in terms of effectiveness? (i.e. what is the standard of success?)
- 12. What, if any, security measures would you recommend that are not in place?

Consequences (Unintended and Intended) of Security Measures

We are also looking at the intended and unintended consequences of security measures. The next few questions will relate to how various measures are interacted with and explore some of these consequences.

- 13. Can you describe how jurisdiction is negotiated between the city police and special constables?
 - a. What might contribute toward the [municipal] police taking the lead on an incident/investigation?
 - b. How would you describe the working relationship between the police and the special constables?
- 14. What is your role in the creation of security policies/techniques?
 - c. Do you get asked for input, or are you able to make suggestions?
 - d. If you disagreed with a policy, how would you handle that?
 - e. If you have disagreed, were your opinions heard?
- 15. Outside of a university context, police services often have who they refer to as ‘frequent flyers’, or people they have repeated contacts with. Is this something that happens on campus as well and if so, what kind of situations lead to repeated contacts?
- 16. In your opinion, how do violent incidents at other institutions affect [the university]’s security policies and measures?
 - f. Have you noticed any directly attributable policy changes?
 - g. How well do you think the university does at responding to these incidents?
 - h. What would you change/prefer to be changed about the way the university responds?

Appendix F: Interview Guide Students and Faculty

Faculty and Students

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. I am interviewing participants in various positions on campus about their experiences with security measures on campus and your contribution is greatly appreciated.

I will start by asking you a few questions about how long you have been at the school, and then I will move into questions about how you define and perceive security on campus. It will be about your personal opinions and interactions.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Introduction

Let's start with some questions about your relationship to [the university]

1. How long have you been a student/faculty member at [the university]?
2. Are you from City2 originally, or did you move here for school/your job?

Defining and Perceiving Security

I am interested in understanding security on university campuses. As such, I am interested in understanding how people define and perceive security. For this first section of questions I would like you to think about your understandings of and experiences with security here in City2.

3. What does security on campus mean to you?
 - a. What are some examples of security that you've noticed here in City 2?
4. Do you feel secure on campus?
 - a. What is it that makes you feel that way?
 - b. How does being in an urban centre ("downtown") affect your perceptions of safety?

There has been growing public attention paid to violent incidents such as sexual assaults or active shooter situations occurring at other post-secondary education campuses, particularly in Canada and the United States. For this next section I'd like you to reflect on how your knowledge about these incidents may affect your perception of campus security.

5. Are you familiar with any violent incidents that may have occurred on other campuses?
 - a. How does that make you feel about security on this campus?
 - b. What does a threat on campus mean to you?
6. What do you think the biggest threat on campus is?
 - a. Why do you think it's the most threatening?
 - b. Do you think it's considered a threat/very threatening by the school?

Consequences (Unintended and Intended) of Security Measures

We are also looking at how the use of security measures may affect your daily routines and experiences. The next few questions will relate to how you interact with various measures and explore what measures you have had contact with.

7. What interactions have you had with the [the university] special constables to date?
 - a. How did those affect your sense of security here?
8. What jobs do you think the special constables perform on campus?
 - b. What do you think their role should be?
 - c. How does this compare with your experiences?
 - d. What do you think should be changed about their roles to improve campus security?
 - e. How does their presence compare to the presence of the [municipal] police on campus?
9. In addition to campus security, [the university] has introduced a number of other (passive and active) security measures on campus. What measures are you aware of?
 - f. What drew your attention to them?
 - g. How do their presence make you feel about security on campus?
 - h. Did you often think about these measures before our conversation today?
10. How has campus security (including campus police and passive measures) affected your behaviour?
 - i. In what ways do you think security measures have changed the behaviour of others?
11. Have you ever heard of the Behavioural Intervention Team?

Perceived Objectives

For the last few questions I will be inquiring about what you think the goals of security on campus are, and how the university prioritizes these goals.

12. What do you think the purpose of the security measures are?
 - a. How well do you think they serve this purpose?
13. How do you think the university decides what security measures to implement?
 - b. Who do you think makes the decisions?
 - c. What would you say their priorities are?

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