

A FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF
CAMPUS FOOT-PATROL/WALK HOME SERVICES

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABSTRACT.....	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF FEAR	5
1.1 Women and Fear.....	6
1.2 Fear and Mainstream Criminology	9
1.3 A Feminist Critique.....	11
1.4 From Fear to Protection.....	19
CHAPTER II: FEAR AND SAFETY ON CAMPUS	25
2.1 Campuses: A Special Concern.....	28
2.2 Administrative Responses to Violence Against Women.....	32
2.3 A Feminist Response.....	37
2.4 Objectives of the Research.....	43
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY	45
3.1 The Feminist Approach.....	46
3.2 Feminist Research, My Experience.....	48
3.3 Methods Used.....	51
*3.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews	51
*3.3.2 Documentation	55
CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS	57
4.1 The Campuses.....	58
*4.1.1 The University of Ottawa	58
*4.1.2 Carleton University.....	59
*4.1.3 McGill University	60
*4.1.4 Concordia University.....	60
4.2 The Subjects.....	61
4.3 Origins of the Programs.....	62
4.4 Identification of Need	65

4.5 The Foot Patrol/Walk Home Services.....	6 8
4.6 Users of the Service	7 2
4.7 The Patrol Teams	7 3
4.8 Recruitment and Training of Volunteers	8
4.9 Program Mandates and Philosophies	8 8
 CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS	 1 0 4
 CONCLUSION	 1 1 9
 REFERENCES	 1 2 3
 APPENDICES	 1 3 1

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to conduct a feminist analysis of campus foot patrol/walk home services. The recent proliferation of this type of program has prompted some concern from the feminist community regarding the implications of this type of response to women's fear. Feminist scholars contend that these programs maintain and foster fear of the outdoors as well as reinforce women's dependency on others for protection. In reality women have substantially greater risks of being assaulted within their homes or other safe places by someone known to them.

Feminist scholars state that an effective response to properly dealing with women's fear lies in education and awareness efforts focused on the perpetrators of violence against women – men. Fear is fostered in women throughout their lives through experiences of both public and private abuse at the hands of men. This reality, contextualised within the realm of our patriarchal society, has led feminists to conclude that long-term social change can only be effectuated through measures directed at men in society.

Representatives of campus foot patrol/walk home services from four universities in the Ottawa-Montreal region were interviewed regarding their respective programs. Open-ended semi-structured interviews allowed for a detailed description and discussion regarding each service. Documentation regarding each service, such as program mandates and constitutions were analysed as well.

The results showed that while foot patrol/ walk home services may indeed be victim-control oriented and reproduce women's dependency on others for protection, they serve to fulfil a present, compelling need for many women: to be able to be out after dark without fearing for their safety. Evidence of the possible potential for long-term social change exists in all the programs, as each has educational and awareness components compulsory for all their volunteers. These components differ greatly in content and length however, and thus further research would be needed to determine the actual impact on volunteers.

Considering that thousands of male and female students volunteer for these programs across Canada every year, the potential to reach them through proper educative initiatives must not be ignored. Campus foot patrol/walk home services can assist women in managing their fear

presently, while striving to reduce fear and bring an end to the pervasive violence against women through their educative components.

INTRODUCTION

Beginning in the mid to late 1960's the United States witnessed a number of national commissions and inquiries into delinquency, violent crime and civil disorder (Conklin, 1975; Robert, 1990). Crime was on the increase, and public concern about crime was front page news (Conklin, 1975); this soon became the case in Canada as well. From this came new trends in research such as victimisation surveys and studies into the fear of crime.

While women reported significantly higher levels of fear than men, their rates of victimisation were substantially lower. Various explanations for this paradox have been offered. For example, women would generally be less able to defend themselves in the event of an assault, and the consequences – physical, economic or otherwise – may also be more difficult for women to overcome. Another explanation is that because women fear so much, they restrict their outdoor activities, which in turn brings their rates of victimisation down. Also, women have the added fear of sexual assaults, something which men do not have to contend with.

Feminist research on the other hand has offered

alternative conceptualisations of the issue and provided alternate explanations. Firstly, they argue that the mainstream criminological concept of 'fear of crime' is problematic. Fear of crime refers to fear of public space and of the nameless faceless stranger. Indeed research shows us that women are most frequently assaulted within their home or other safe place by someone they know. Moreover, while the fear of the outdoors may in fact be real, mainstream criminologists explanations for this rest on the basis that this fear is a perceived risk, not an assessment of real risk. Incidents of private violence survived by women inside the home are not considered to have an impact on fear, nor are incidents of sexual harassment, cat calls or crank phone calls. Feminist scholars argue that women's assessment is of real, not perceived risk, as they manage and negotiate their fear and safety on a daily basis.

Feminists have also set out to challenge the traditional image of male as protector. As women have struggled to feel safer, they have traditionally sought help from men and male dominated institutions such as the police and the state. These reactions are firmly ingrained into women from very early on feminists argue, and women must be made aware of the implications. Indeed, why is it that women seek protection from

the very people they have most to be afraid of?

In Canada, this prevalent fear and need for protection has spawned the rapid growth of foot patrol/walk home services on campuses across the country. In examining these programs at four universities in the Ottawa–Montreal region, the primary issue at hand was: do foot patrol/walk home services, in dealing with the fear women feel, reproduce women's dependency on others for protection or are they providing women with an empowering alternative and contributing to social change?

In Chapter I, the concept of fear of crime shall be examined in relation to women, and to mainstream criminology. A feminist critique of the traditional conceptualisation of fear of crime shall then be presented. Lastly feminist challenges to the notion of male protection are discussed.

In Chapter II the focus shifts to campuses. Campuses are shown to represent a unique microcosm of society which could serve to inform us significantly on this issue. Current trends in administrative responses to violence against women on campus are examined. Corcoran's (1992) feminist analysis and categorisation of administrative responses outlines the flaws apparent in the present measures while presenting us with alternative options.

presents my methodology, and begins by outlining the basic tenets of a feminist approach. The remainder of the chapter describes the methods used, namely semi-structured interviews and analysis of documentation.

The findings of my research are presented in Chapter IV. A brief description of the four campuses and the interview subjects are provided. Subsequently, findings concerning different aspects of the foot patrol/walk home service are presented. These include: origins of the programs, users of the service, recruitment and training of volunteers, and program mandates and philosophies.

Lastly, Chapter V presents a synopsis of the findings along with a comprehensive analysis. The programs are reviewed in reference to Corcoran's (1992) feminist categorisation of campus initiatives, namely (i) victim-control (ii) self-empowerment and (iii) social change strategies. The conclusion then extends the discussion to reflect on the findings and their implications for the future.

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF FEAR

Fear of crime is something most everyone in modern Western society can relate to. Along with personal experience, we are inundated with media images of crime. Given this, it is not surprising that many fear that perhaps sometime, somewhere or somehow they will be victimised. Generally, this fear focuses on the danger of being physically harmed while outside the home by strangers. This characterisation of fear is problematic, yet it dominates the public and the media.

1.1 Women and Fear

Gender has been shown to be the single most significant variable related to fear of crime (Balkin, 1979; Baumer, 1978; Hindelang et. al., 1978; Riger and Gordon, 1981; Maxfield, 1984; Braungart et. al, 1980; Dubow et. al., 1979; Clemente and Klieman, 1976). Women are by far the most fearful of crime; in fact, studies show that fear levels in women are approximately three times higher than those of men (Lebowitz, 1975; Riger and Gordon, 1981; Braungart et. al., 1980; Chambers and Tombs, 1984; Clemente and Klieman, 1977; Gordon et. al. , 1980; Hough and Mayhew, 1983; Maxfield 1984; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). It is also important to note that elderly women and women of colour

report higher levels of fear than young white women (Clemente and Klieman, 1977; Riger and Gordon, 1981; Hindelang, 1978).

Research on fear of crime has also continually encountered an interesting paradox: while women fear victimisation at significantly higher rates than men, their actual rates of victimisation, with the exception of rape, are lower than those of men (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Clemente and Klieman, 1977; Hindelang et al. 1978).

A number of possible reasons for the existence of this paradox have been advanced by researchers. Skogan and Maxfield (1981), and Zauberman (1982) discuss how perceptions of crime derived from various media can have an effect on fear. Another popular explanation is that higher fear among women can be explained by their perception of vulnerability; that is, women feel less able to properly defend themselves if assaulted (Hindelang et al., 1978; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). The fact that as women we are singularly susceptible to sexual assaults can also factor as an explanation (Riger et al., 1978). Lastly, Hindelang, et al. (1978) and Balkin (1979) state that, generally, women's daily routines present fewer chances for victimisation - essentially their exposure to risk is lower. Indeed, it may very well be the fear they feel which makes them engage in avoidance

strategies which in turn lower their exposure to risk. The limitations of these explanations will be addressed later.

The significant difference between women's and men's fear is attributed to issues of gender role expectations and experiences (Balkin, 1979; Clemente and Klieman, 1977; Hindelang et. al. 1978; Lewis and Maxfield, 1980; Maxfield, 1984; Riger and Gordon, 1981; Riger , 1978; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). These studies agree that women can more readily admit their fear and vulnerability than men. Yet while these studies consider the significance of gender as a variable, they do not challenge the underlying notions of gender inequality.

Gender is socially constructed, and it is within this context of 'womanness' that women are constantly reminded of their vulnerability (Stanko, 1987). Being a woman carries with it a substantial chance of experiencing some form of abuse at the hands of a man during one's lifetime. Whether it takes the form of verbal, physical or sexual abuse/assault, women learn to use precautionary strategies to avoid future victimisation. Often times, the strategy includes looking to men for protection; the roles of men as protector and women as dependent on that protection are ingrained onto us from very early on. Thus, Stanko (1988) states that elements of these gender role characterisations

are based on the notion that men's feelings of safety can be seen, in part, to be dependent on women's feelings of vulnerability (Stanko, 1988).

1.2 Fear and Mainstream Criminology

How fear of crime is conceptualised by mainstream criminology is an area ripe for critique by feminist criminologists. The concept of "fear of crime" is problematic as it is constructed from a male point of view. There are numerous popular discourses within criminology which contribute to the masculinist construction of fear of crime:

(1) One perspective, put forth by Wilson and Kelling (1982), associates people's increased fear of crime with the level of disorder within a community. Citizens in a community with high levels of disorder such as abandoned buildings, graffiti, homeless persons or trash strewn about are more concerned about their safety.

That may indeed be the case, but it is a limited analysis. The disproportionate rates of fear and victimisation between men and women, and the possible causes for this discrepancy are not discussed.

(2) Conklin (1975) contends that fear of crime is grounded in realisation and understanding of the general problems in a given community, such as lack of education or unemployment. This 'community concern' perspective maintains that as community members work together to invoke positive change within their community, the fear of crime will decrease.

Conklin acknowledges that women have more to fear from men known to them, and that risk of victimisation is more prevalent in the home. There is no discussion, though, as to the possible connections between actual victimisations suffered at the hands of known others within the home and perceived vulnerability outside the home.

(3) A 'lifestyles' theory put forth by Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo (1978) suggests that a person's lifestyle is an important variable which affects victimisation. That is, the probability of being victimised rises if one's lifestyle places them in particular public places at particular times when the chance of victimisation is thought to be high. They hypothesise that it is not only women's use of precautionary behaviours which keep women safer, but also the impact of other social forces which limits women's chances of becoming victims. Their discussion focuses exclusively on public space, with no reference to the chances of

women being victimised within their own homes or other 'safe' places.

In their discussion on expectations from their model, Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo suggest that as women begin to "increase their exposure to non family members....their victimisation rate should increase" (1978; 269). While this in fact may be true, there is the implicit understanding that 'non family' members are the ones to be feared. Yet research shows us that risks for women are highest from family members and acquaintances; disregard for this fact helps perpetuate the myth of the 'dangerous stranger'.

1.3 A Feminist Critique

It is important to note that the discussion on the shortcomings of conventional criminology to adequately recognise private violence does not diminish the reality or importance of public violence. Indeed, women are at risk (albeit to a much lesser extent) and are victimised in terrible and traumatising ways in public space; it is necessary, however, to critically examine the beliefs surrounding risks and fear of victimisation in both public and private domains.

The perspectives discussed above refer solely to public space, that is, crime which takes place outside of the home. Inter-personal violence by intimates or acquaintances within the home is not considered. The authors above who do acknowledge that greater risks for women stem from known others, and that risks of victimisation are higher within the home or other 'safe' places make no attempt to examine this issue further. This indicates that most criminological theory on fear of crime incorporate masculinist assumptions within their frameworks. Stanko states that "[T]o talk about fear of crime, instead of fear of danger, means that criminologists can only discuss the hazards of the 'public' (Stanko, 1990a; 146).

Stanko argues that a feminist critique of fear of crime rests on our understanding of the realms of *public and private* (Stanko, 1988; 1990a; Hanmer and Stanko, 1985). The public domain, which encompasses the state and its various apparatus – criminal justice system, workplace, etc. – is regulated by men; the private domain –the home – which is regulated by women, possesses an inferior position within our society (Stanko, 1988; Rosaldo, 1974). The public/private dichotomy is fundamental to guaranteeing women's dependency on men, on both an individual and collective level (Hanmer and Saunders, 1984). Stanko argues

that with regards to fear of crime, a public/private dichotomy has been developed, one which equates the public sphere with danger and the private sphere with safety (Stanko, 1988).

Most studies in this area, as has already been discussed, have concluded that women's levels of fear are inversely related to their risk of victimisation. For example, while women report feeling most afraid and young men report the lowest levels of fear, young men are actually more likely to be victimised. One can infer from these results that a) women are indeed relatively safe from harm and b) women fear too much (DuBow 1979), over-react and/or their fear is irrational. Studies like the ones cited above focused exclusively on street crime, that is, *public* space. Indeed, the question used most often as a measure of fear has been: "How safe do you feel being out alone in your neighbourhood at night: very safe, reasonably safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe?" (Riger, Gordon and LeBailly, 1978). The question quite obviously ignores private violence. This is a clear indication that the theoretical framework which encompasses the research on fear of crime is masculinist, as it also ignores violence within the private realm (Stanko, 1988).

While ignoring violence within private space and focusing on fear of the public, some researchers do not feel that

interpersonal victimisations within the home breed fear outside the home. Violence suffered at the hand of intimates and acquaintances within the home is not the "type of victimisations" which will lead to fear of the public (Liska, Lawrence and Sanchirico, 1982). Yet can women be expected to feel safe around strangers when those related and/or familiar to them have already abused them in some way? Some evidence exists which shows that women presently in abusive relationships are more afraid of public violence (Russell, 1982; Stanko 1990a). Disregard of private violence and its impact on fear of crime exemplifies the masculinist underpinnings of mainstream criminology.

Furthermore, none of the above views discuss how other experiences of crime impact on fear. By ignoring other victimisations, such as sexual harassment and crank phone calls, another assumption inherent in most criminological theory and research is that fear of crime stems from a *perceived* vulnerability, as opposed to an assessment of *real* risk (Stanko, 1990a). Skogan and Maxfield (1981) reach those conclusions, and one gets the same impression from the work of Riger and Gordon (1981). They stand in accordance with the data which shows that women are a "low-risk" group and thus, fear is a *perception*, not a consequence of actual victimisation. Riger and Gordon's study

(1981), despite taking a feminist approach, did not include violence within the home and other victimisations, and thus, is lacking.

Hanmer and Stanko, argue instead that: "*fear of crime is a realistic assessment of vulnerability and risk* even though not all women have the same degree of fear nor modify and restrict their lives equally" (1985; 369 emphasis theirs). They believe this to be due to the fact that women do not make the distinction between public and private violence in their lives; both the home and the street serve as "places of terror" (1985; 368). Russell and Howell's (1983) study provides data which further illustrates that women's own estimates of their risk of rape may in fact be an objectively accurate perception of risk. Women are confronted with various forms and degrees of abuse and violence from men throughout their lives, and learn to "constantly negotiate their safety" in their everyday lives (Stanko, 1993; 162).

The gap still remains, however, between women's reported rates of victimisation and women's fear. Yet, we know that women do not always report being victimised, especially in the case of sexual assault (Clark and Lewis, 1977; Hanmer and Saunders, 1984; Russell 1975, 1982, and 1984). Stanko states that we should instead look to women's fear of crime as possibly

informing us about all those unreported cases of interpersonal violence. Examining it in this context would give us much more knowledge about the construction of gender and violence in a male-dominated society (Stanko, 1987).

While both public and private violence impacts on women's lives, the experience and/or fear of public violence is a form of social control. It limits and confines women's movements. Hanmer and Saunders (1983) illustrate how fear, which leads to restriction of movements, is the beginning of a circular pattern within which male violence against women is contained. This circular system is made up of six stages, with the last stage reinforcing the first.

1. The media, friends and acquaintances, as well as personal experience, leads to women's fear of abuse in the public sphere. Women's fear of the public sphere is socially accepted and perpetuated. The public sphere is seen as full of potentially dangerous strangers, and women are expected to take precautions when entering this sphere. Due to this, when assaults do occur, women often bear, at the very least, some responsibility for them.

2. Fear of abuse in the public sphere limits participation within it. Virtually every woman is affected by it.

Whether consciously or not, women think about and modify their actions to that which will make them 'more safe' within the public sphere. Choices are made as to which route to take home, to wait for a friend to walk you home, or to hold your keys in your hand. Women regulate where, when, with who, and how their time in public space will be spent.

3. These feelings of fear and subsequent restrictions of actions result in greater dependency on male protection. This not only means a dependency on men as escorts, but in a more universal sense which impacts on the private sphere – the home – as well.

4. This general dependency on male protection produces conditions which facilitate assaults on women within the home by known assailants. Patriarchy has created structural conditions which perpetuate the myth that women are responsible in some way for the violence inflicted upon them, and thus males can rest assured that women cannot and/or will not retaliate easily.

5. Hanmer and Saunders have shown that if women

decide to turn to the criminal justice system, nothing which subsequently occurs can be perceived by women as being a consequence of their actions. They are "divorced" from having anything to do with their assailant being punished. For example, the aggressive charging policy in Ontario means that the police must charge an assailant, with or without the woman's permission, in the case of a domestic assault. Her role in having anything to do with her assailant being punished is removed, and is in the hands of the police and the Crown. This reinforces and fosters dependency on the police - "collective male protection" -as well. Fostering attitudes of dependency on collective male protection does not quell women's fear of public space, much less confront the issues underlying this fear.

6. The issues surrounding women's fear remain unfronted, thus allowing the fear to persist. The circular pattern begins again.

This model of Hanmer and Saunders, unlike the explanations found in mainstream criminology, place the issue of women's fear within the context of our patriarchal society. Hanmer and Stanko discuss realistic assessments of risk as

opposed to perceptions of risk, unlike criminologists who have 'explained away' women's high rates of fear. Feminist research has challenged these masculinist notions and provided different, more comprehensive explanations for these phenomena.

1.4 From Fear to Protection

The fact remains that many women need to be out at certain times during which they feel afraid, whether they like it or not. It may be that class that ends at 10 p.m., or the late shift at the bar; whatever it is, the situations serve as a perpetual reminder of their vulnerability. Every time a woman goes out at a time when she feels vulnerable, her need and want to feel safe is heightened. This need to feel safe is usually equated with a need for male protection, which Hanmer and Saunders state "is reiterated in the deepest layers of the self" (1983; 45).

This need for male protection presents us with another interesting paradox. In interpreting women's fear of crime, much of the feminist literature has described it as analogous to fear of men and male violence (Hanmer and Stanko, 1985; Stanko, 1987). Others (Griffin, 1971, 1979; Riger and Gordon, 1981; Gordon and Riger, 1989; Warr, 1984; Brownmiller, 1975) more specifically

attribute women's fear to fear of rape and sexual assault. Moreover, there are those who equate this fear with the fear of death (McNeill, 1987). In the end it all equates to a fear of violence suffered at the hands of men. How is it then, that women can fear men the most yet seek them out as protectors? Unless the notion of women's need for male protection is challenged, this contradiction in how women think and behave will not be confronted.

A more disturbing aspect of this phenomena is that the male perpetrators of violence are portrayed as nameless, faceless strangers. In reality, those men who pose the greatest danger to women and their physical and sexual safety are men known to them: husbands, lovers, fathers, brothers, friends and acquaintances (Stanko, 1987, 1988; Dobash and Dobash, 1979). Yet criminologists and criminal justice policy makers continue to perpetuate beliefs which indicate that random violence by strangers is what poses the greatest risk for women, as is evident through the theorising and the 'rid the streets of crime' police campaigns. However, the home is the most dangerous place for a woman; home, characterised as a safe haven, is where women are most likely to be assaulted, murdered or sexually assaulted (Hanmer and Stanko, 1985). There are more profound

implications to recognising that women tend to be victimised by known others:

The fact that most violence to women comes from known others means that a recognition of the extent of the problem raises the much more crucial question of 'What is crime?' It challenges the entrenched belief that crime is a stranger attack. To accept as criminal behaviour the everyday occurrence of attack by known men is to threaten the hierarchical relationship between men and women... From a radical feminist perspective, women's fear of crime does not give rise to militaristic policing strategies. On the contrary, it opens up a new perspective on life in contemporary democracy (Hanmer and Stanko, 1985; 368).

Hanmer and Stanko challenge "the rhetoric of protection" in their examination of violence against women in the U.S. and Britain (1985). Women, along with other 'vulnerable' groups such as children and the elderly, are often what Hanmer and Stanko describe as "idealised recipients of paternal caring" (1985; 356). They are not just referring to protection on an individual level, but to the role of the state in protecting its citizens. Crimes such as murder, assault, rape, and robbery are interpreted as most harmful to individuals, and are characterised as being the result of random and unforeseeable acts. The perpetrators of these

crimes are portrayed as unknown strangers. Linked with these characterisations of interpersonal crime are guarantees on the part of the state's criminal justice system that it will protect its citizens by ousting these unknown offenders from the street (Hanmer and Stanko, 1985). Thus protection of women by men and male dominated institutions is complete, both inside and outside the home.

It is important to note that implicit within notions about fear of crime is criticism of the criminal justice system. The fact that people fear brings the success of the state in the protection of its citizens into question. Subsequently, fear of crime becomes a key factor of consideration within criminal justice policy (Hanmer and Stanko, 1985). This has led to the creation of a number of fear reduction programmes. Programmes based on Wilson and Kelling's disorder theory have been implemented by police forces in Newark, New Jersey and Houston, Texas. The belief was that the police, the branch of the state accountable for order, should be responsible for reducing fear by dealing with disorder. Results from these studies showed no significant reduction in fear levels (Stanko, 1990b). Hanmer and Stanko observe, however, that these programmes "are essentially police-public relations efforts emphasising the ideology of protection which gloss over the

gender implications of the programmes" (1985; 360).

How does one challenge the rhetoric of protection: Hanmer and Stanko argue that it is quite difficult to do. This is due to the overwhelming amount of statistical evidence which shows that - with the exception of rape - men are most likely to be victimised by interpersonal violence outside the home. This leads some to conclude that, indeed, the state is succeeding in its promise to protect women. By critically examining the theory and the research, as has been just done, the rhetoric can be exposed. Hanmer and Stanko state that this exposure confronts the doctrine which provides the foundation for the rhetoric of protection (1985). This doctrine has three major elements, all of which were discussed above:

- 1) it contends that interpersonal violence against women is a negligible concern, when the reality is that it is perhaps the most frequent type of violent crime
- 2) it contends that violence from strangers is to be feared, when the reality is that women are more likely to be assaulted by men known to them
- 3) it contends that the criminal justice system is genderless, when in reality it is grounded in gender inequality (Hanmer and Stanko, 1985).

Mainstream criminology has done little to adequately explain why women's fear of public space is so pervasive. Indeed, it has virtually ignored private violence and other victimisations. They have not contextualised the situation within the larger issue of male violence against women. The fear women feel has never been properly challenged, and inadequate explanations for this fear has led it to be maintained, if not perpetuated. Feminist scholars, such as Jalna Hanmer, Sheila Saunders and Elizabeth Stanko have openly challenged masculinist conceptualisations, and provided alternate explanations. These explanations, contextualised within our patriarchal society and acknowledging private violence, provide us with a clearer, more comprehensive account of the situation at hand.

CHAPTER II

FEAR AND SAFETY ON CAMPUS

In Canada, women's safety on campus has increasingly been questioned since 1989, the unfortunate catalyst being the Ecole Polytechnique massacre (Currie and MacLean, 1993). Campus administrators have responded to this concern by increasing measures to enhance women's safety. Virtually every major university and college in Canada has established a committee or administrative position devoted to the issue of safety on campus. Surveys are completed, safety audits are conducted, consultations take place, and in turn, recommendations are made. Some of the most popular measures implemented include walk-home or escort services, improved lighting, emergency telephones, and security patrols.

What do these types of programs represent for women? In my experience, women's general reaction has been a very positive one, with many exasperated sighs of "It's about time!" being echoed. As detailed in the first chapter, fear is pervasive among women, and these highly visible programs provide us with a sense of reassurance. But what are some of the larger implications of these programs? Implicit within the programs mentioned above are the assumptions that a great deal of violence against women is perpetrated outdoors, at random, by an assailant unknown to the victim. As discussed in Chapter One, in fact, that

type of assault occurs infrequently, while acquaintance rape and date rape are the more common forms of assault.

These programs can also be seen as perpetuating and fostering fear within a realm - the outdoors - where the extent of fear is already highly disproportionate to the rates of victimisation. Roiphe makes an interesting observation in her discussion of the "blue-light" emergency phone systems which a large number of universities have when she says:

The blue lights mark a new and systematic sense of danger. People may have always been scared walking around campuses late at night, but now, bathed in blue light, they are officially scared. ... They signal reassurance and warning at the same time. Red means stop, green means go, and blue means be afraid (1993, 8 & 28).

The same analogy can be made regarding volunteers in their red or yellow jackets patrolling a campus; the fear has officially culminated into these formalised programs. These are just some of the broader issues which must be taken into consideration in any examination of the usefulness of these programs.

2.1 Campuses: A Special Concern

Campuses, as a particular microcosm of society at large, are of special interest to researchers because of their demographic composition and the relations this generates. Fear of crime, as well as crime itself, is not arbitrarily distributed; it is clustered both geographically and socially (Currie and MacLean, 1993). Campuses are of unique interest to us in that they represent both these clusters. In terms of a geographical cluster, a campus is a place which is populated more densely during the day than the surrounding areas. Socially, college/university aged women are at a high risk of sexual victimisation (Currie and MacLean, 1993). Women aged 16–19 experience the highest rates of sexual assault, while 20–24 year olds have the second highest rate (Ward et. al., 1991).

Roark (1987) also notes that, for many students, going away to university is often their first time away from home. This means it is probably their first time without some form of supervision, and in a milieu where there are many others like them, most very eager to try out their new found freedom (Roark, 1987; Currie and MacLean, 1993). Along with being at an age where sexual urges are making "insistent demands", Roark

believes that this context is one which can place students at risk of victimisation (1987; 368).

Also, it has been shown that young students often place greater importance on social activities than academic responsibilities while in university; considerable amounts of time spent outside the classroom are spent with friends and acquaintances socialising (Currie and MacLean; 1993). Holland and Eisenhart, in a study of women on two U.S. campuses, found that the most popular pastimes for women included chances to meet men and the possibility of dating (1990).

In terms of the prevalence of sexual assault on campuses, estimates vary greatly. Due to the complexities surrounding the issue of sexual assault, the range in estimates may be due to a number of reasons. Not only are there a large number of unreported incidents, but definitions of sexual assault can be problematic as they increasingly are being modified to include a wider range of behaviours. Diverse methodologies, questions, and sampling also have an impact on the estimates. Most research, however, has generally found rates to be between 15 and 25% (Koss, 1985; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Rivera and Regoli, 1987; Brodbelt, 1983; Makepeace, 1981; Matthews, 1984). Muehlenhard and Linton (1987), however, found that as much as

78% of their sample had experienced some form of sexual assault. Regardless of the wide range in estimates, even at the very lowest 15% this is a problem which deserves serious consideration.

But perhaps most importantly, the various forms of abuse suffered by women on campus must be located within the context of the university as an institution; a historically hierarchical, patriarchal institution (Currie and MacLean, 1993; Geramita, 1993). The organisational structure of university, as it is with most institutions, is such that allows for the domination of women. From excluding women completely to their still conspicuously low numbers in administrative and teaching positions, universities have a rich history in regards to reinforcing patriarchal values.

Campus-specific groups such as fraternities have been shown to play an important role in perpetuating violence in campus dating relationships. The existence of male peer support groups on campuses, such as fraternities and sports teams, was identified by DeKeseredy (1988) as supporting violent behaviour in heterosexual dating relationships. Male peer support is defined by DeKeseredy as "the attachment to male peers and the resources that these men provide which encourage and legitimate woman abuse" (1990; 130). There is much existing literature on student culture which demonstrates how male peer support groups can

encourage and condone violent sexual behaviour (Garrett–Gooding and Senter, 1987; Boeringer et. al., 1991; Sanday, 1990; Parrot and Bechhofer, 1991; DeKeseredy and Kelly, 1993; Martin and Hummer, 1993).

DeKeseredy and Kelly (1993) make the link between male peer support groups and patriarchal ideology; they contend that these groups are apt to foster patriarchal ideals which in turn can justify woman abuse. The results of their research, based on a study which included a national sample of Canadian male college and university students, show that "the respondents' patriarchal attitudes is clearly the most important determinant of physical assaults on female dating partners" (1993, 42). Thus the presence of male peer support groups on campus, as part of the larger patriarchal institution, cannot be overlooked.

While much research has looked at the role of adherence to patriarchal ideology and its connection to woman abuse (Garrett–Gooding & Senter, 1987; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993; Boeringer , 1991), they have exclusively examined how men endorse this ideology. Geramita (1993), on the other hand, notes the importance of knowing how women relate to this ideology; she states that this knowledge would be beneficial when creating programs for women who are victims of abuse.

2.2 Administrative Responses to Violence Against Women

As described above, a campus presents us with some unique concerns. This uniqueness in turn requires that specialised, situation-specific responses to the issue of violence against women on campus be recommended and implemented. In order to do so, one must come to an understanding of the issues and situations which can differentiate a campus from other public space or institutions.

In recent years there have been a wide range of administrative responses to the issue of safety on campus, from the creation of committees, the conducting of safety audits, the creation of foot patrols, and so on. These responses address the problem from diverse angles.

Roark (1987) suggests that programs for the prevention of violence on campus must consist of diverse components in order to accommodate the dynamic issues surrounding violence on campus. She outlines three possible types of administrative responses to preventing violence on campus: tertiary, secondary, and primary prevention.

(A) Tertiary prevention: This refers to services provided to individuals who have been victimised. Counselling,

crisis-intervention, medical care, legal advice, and support workshops are all examples of services which can help to minimise the suffering that comes after being victimised.

(B) **Secondary prevention:** This type of response looks to address at-risk situations in order to stimulate discussion and action on these issues. The creation of a committee(s) and/or administrative position(s) with mandates to create policies concerning issues of violence against women is an example of such a measure. Increased awareness through educational programs is another.

(C) **Primary prevention:** This response aims to prevent further victimisation by modifying the physical environment and fostering changes in attitudes about woman abuse. Primary prevention is concerned with not allowing unsafe situations to develop in the first place. Examples of this type of prevention include improved lighting, escort services, and emergency phones as well as workshops on issues such as values development, sexual decision making and self-defence courses.

Roark's categorisation of types of responses is problematic, however, particularly her conceptions of secondary and primary prevention. The distinction between the two is not quite clear; for example, changes made to the physical

environment, such as improved lighting, are responses to correct an existing risk; that is her definition of secondary prevention yet it is included under primary prevention. Increasing awareness through educational programs is more likely to fit under primary prevention, along with the other workshops. Furthermore, including such radically diverse programs such as escort services and educational workshops into one category fails to take into account the very different implications these programs have for women.

Geramita's (1993) suggestions on the proper administrative response appears to be, quite similar to Roark's:

(A) Formal opposition to woman abuse which is backed by sanctions;

(B) Programs designed to help survivors of abuse;

(C) Preventative educational programs for students and staff.

Geramita's underlying principles, however, differ greatly from Roark's. She begins by acknowledging that universities are patriarchal institutions and that changes do not come about easily within them. Thus, she states, "For an administrative response to

be transformative, it must challenge patriarchal beliefs and it must be resistant to subversion by the surrounding patriarchal system" (1993, 95). Roark's analysis, however, makes no reference to the larger forces at work within our reality such as patriarchy; her inability to contextualise the everyday reality of woman abuse within the larger framework of this reality or of the university as an institution leaves her analysis lacking in insight.

Ledwitz-Rigby's (1993) discussion of The University of British Columbia's administrative response to woman abuse on campus is lacking in the very same way. Also, while admitting that no amount of physical changes to the campus will help deal with the largest threat to women, that from acquaintances, she goes on to devote most of the article to describing these changes in the physical surroundings; she discusses "additional personnel hired to change light bulbs", along with an emergency phone system and improved safety in parking lots (1993, 88). She makes only vague references to the need of "widespread education" to deal with issues of acquaintance assault (1993, 90).

As mentioned earlier, contextualising women's ordeals more clearly within the campus experience is a starting point from which concrete responses can emerge. Ward, et. al. (1991) suggest that the traditional dichotomy of "stranger" and

"acquaintance/date" rape is not sufficient on conceptual grounds to describe the incidents experienced on a campus. For example, Ward et. al. use the example of a woman forced to have sex with someone she had just that evening met at a party. The two were not acquaintances, they had just met, and yet while they were in all respects strangers, that situation would not fit into the category of what is commonly termed "stranger" rape. They argue that at least two more categories should be added when referring to campus situations: those of "party" and "date" incidents. They define the four types of sexual assault on campuses as:

(A) The stranger incident: This is what is thought of as the true "stranger" incident, consisting of absolutely no prior contact between perpetrator and victim;

(B) The party incident: This involves a situation where the man and woman did not know each other prior to the situation in which they socialise (i.e. party);

(C) The acquaintance incident: The woman knows the man through casual contact and association;

(D) The date incident: involves a woman and a man who are actually romantically involved, "seeing" or dating each other.

Ward, (1991) go on to say that while campus escort

services and improved lighting may/can reduce the incidents of stranger assaults, the large majority of assaults – which fall under the party, acquaintance, and date categories – are virtually ignored. They argue that universities should be aggressive in dealing with these incidents, and suggest education/information based approaches would probably work best.

This conceptualisation of campus-specific incidents should be taken into consideration when planning a response to violence against women on campus. Failure to recognise the complexity of the campus situation can only result in inadequate responses to this situation.

In her article, Corcoran (1992) recognises campus-specific situations and conducts her analysis from a feminist perspective. As will be seen below, she concludes, like Ward et. al., that educational/informative responses would be most effective in confronting the problem of violence against women.

2.3 A Feminist Response

Corcoran (1992) examines three approaches which shape campus sexual assault prevention programs from a feminist perspective. She outlines the importance of asserting a feminist

perspective when creating programs to address issues concerning sexual assault: "...because it provides a cogent analysis of the causes of sexual violence and it suggests specific strategies for the prevention and, ultimately, the elimination of rape" (1992, 131). With a feminist foundation informing her work, the limitations, greater implications and problems with some of the most popular programs are revealed.

The three most common approaches to sexual assault programming outlined by Corcoran are (1) victim control, (2) self-empowerment, and (3) social change.

(1) Victim control

These approaches have conventionally been the most popular. The basis of this approach is to stop women from engaging in behaviours that are considered potentially dangerous, such as going out alone at night, drinking alcohol, and wearing provocative clothing. The assumption is that if a woman abides by these types of routines, she will reduce risk of being victimised.

Many obvious flaws with this approach spring to mind. One false presumption is that most perpetrators are strangers. A

second false presumption is that public space is the most dangerous place for a woman. These points have been addressed earlier in this paper. Also, explicit within this approach is the issue of victim-precipitation. The responsibility for avoiding victimisation is placed on the woman, and if she is indeed assaulted, there is an opportunity present to blame the victim for not engaging in these strategies. For example, a woman assaulted outdoors at night on a university campus that has an escort service will undoubtedly have people asking the question "Why didn't she use the walk-home service?". The opportunity to blame the victim is never far off from victim control strategies.

Furthermore, these types of strategies do not bring in to question the existing underlying issues that permit assaultive behaviour to occur. It does not challenge patriarchal social conditions, and results in restrictive policies for women. And as Corcoran notes, the control of our freedom "is a heavy price to pay, particularly because victim-control strategies will not significantly reduce or eliminate the occurrence of rape" (1992, 135)

(2) Self-empowerment

The second type of approach to campus rape prevention

programming are self-empowerment strategies. Their focus is on affording women choices on how to improve and intensify their capacity to avoid rape. It is about providing women with the necessary tools to deal with situations when confronted, whether it be information, verbal skills or physical skills. This approach can include programs like self-defence courses and assertiveness training. Thus instead of limiting her freedom, a woman might decide to venture out alone at night knowing that she is better prepared to handle herself should an assault take place.

Self-empowerment strategies are a more viable option than victim-control approaches, yet they are not without problems. The responsibility, once again, lies solely with women to avoid victimisation. As mentioned earlier, when this is the case, the potential to blame the victim becomes a very real possibility. Not only can others seek to blame the victim, but the victim may blame herself, "I wasn't assertive enough" or "I didn't fight hard enough".

Consider again, for example, what would happen if a woman on a university campus that offered foot patrol services decided to venture out on her own one night, and was subsequently assaulted? Despite the fact that she may have taken all other steps necessary to avoid victimisation, and felt confident

enough in herself and her ability to protect herself that she went out alone, the fact that she had not used the escort service would figure negatively against her.

(3) Social Change

The third approach, social change, places sexual assault within the greater social context of our patriarchal society. Sexual assault is seen as the result of a patriarchal, hierarchal culture which, through misogynistic sex-role socialisation, has tolerated this violence against women. It is not perceived to be a "woman's problem" , nor as a problem between an individual man and woman. Rather, it is viewed within it's place in our social structure. This educative approach could include lectures and workshops whose main purpose would be to challenge popular rape myths, discuss gender and sex roles, and power relations in heterosexual relationships, to name a few.

This type of strategy is preferable over self-empowerment and victim-control approaches for a number of reasons. In this case, the responsibility is removed from the woman to avoid victimisation, and is shifted to examining the root causes, the "rape-supportive culture" in which we live (1992,

137). Emphasis is also placed on men and their role in preventing sexual assault, as this educative process must be aimed at men as well. People tend to assume that any program concerning sexual assault will be for women, yet this is perhaps one of the biggest challenges for change concerning this issue. Corcoran makes an interesting point when she noted that if someone alien to our culture were to observe your average campus date rape program, they "might have a hard time figuring out that men have any responsibility for rape or rape prevention" (1992, 137).

Of course, changing people's attitudes and thoughts towards sexual assault, especially when they are bolstered by much of our surrounding socio-political system, appears to be a very daunting, if not impossible task. Research on the effectiveness of social change approaches shows us that progress can be made, though (Mahlstedt, Falcone & Rice-Spring, 1993); indeed, history shows us that progress can be made. While it appears that this approach is best in terms of finding a long-term solution to this problem, what can be done now to address it effectively without compromising the greater, long-term interests of women? This remains to be seen.

2.4 Objectives of the Research

In the preceding chapters, issues concerning women's fear and safety were discussed. Conventional criminological theory and research was shown to be lacking and flawed in their conceptualisations of fear and safety. Consequently, policies resulting from this research may also be flawed.

Feminist research has contributed to a better understanding of these issues by placing them within the larger context of patriarchal society, and by highlighting women's private experiences of violence which have been neglected by much of mainstream literature.

As fear and safety have become increasingly important issues, especially for women, initiatives have been undertaken to find possible solutions to this problem and help women manage their fear. Across Canada campuses have been responding to this need through the creation of foot patrol/walk home services. Campuses, with their unique demographic composition and social milieu are of special concern to us, and yet can also serve to inform the discourse concerning society at large. Consequently, it is important for us to determine how they have approached the matter of women's fear and safety on campus.

Corcoran's feminist analysis of three different approaches to campus rape prevention programs - victim-control, self-empowerment and social change - outlines the limitations inherent in some programs, while describing components of possible feminist responses. This discourse, bolstered by those of Stanko, Hanmer and Saunders brings us to the central concern of this work. That is, are foot patrol/walk home services 'band-aid' solutions which reproduce women's dependency on others for protection, or are they a step towards increasing women's opportunities for empowerment and contributing to social change in this realm?

To arrive at the above conclusion, the answers to the following questions are sought:

- (1) Through their foot patrol/walk home services, how have the universities' conceptualised women's fear and safety?
- (2) Does a difference in philosophy underlying similar foot patrol/walk home programs result in a significant difference in services for women?
- (3) Can these programs be seen as either victim control, self-empowerment, or social change strategies as defined by Corcoran (1992)?

It is to these questions that this research was directed.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

In this chapter we shall examine the methodological approach which is the foundation for this research, and the methods employed in collecting the data. We begin with an examination of the basic premises of feminist research, and their relevance to the research at hand. We then continue with a discussion of the selection of the sample and the information gathering methods used, namely semi-structured interviews. Finally, the analysis of the interviews and document data will be described.

3.1 The Feminist Approach

Feminism is what provides the foundation on which this research has been generated. While it would be foolish to discuss feminism as a single, mutually-exclusive category of thought, rather than 'feminisms' which represent diverse interests, it is important to note the essential tenets on which all feminisms are based.

The basic premises of feminism are (1) that women have been and continue to be systematically oppressed and discriminated against because of their sex and ascribed gender

roles, and (2) that women must seek to change the present situation, to bring an end to this oppression, by pursuing political, social, economic, cultural and personal change (Stanley and Wise, 1983; Benston, 1982; Mies, 1983).

This oppression has been clearly evident in traditional social science research. While feminist scholars differ in their definitions and interpretations of feminist theory, methodology and epistemology, there is one notion which is common to all feminist conceptions of research: that traditional scientific methodologies are rooted in hierarchical, sexist assumptions allowing for much of the production of knowledge concerning women to be invalid. Up until recently, research on women was conceptualised by men, and administered by men to respond to questions men wanted to know about women. It is from this fact that feminists seek to conduct their own research based on their own experiences, come to their own conclusions, and create their own theories.

Objectivity, independence and superiority of researcher over subject, decontextualisation, and value-free production of knowledge are empiricist, positivistic concepts which have long been rejected by Marxist and symbolic interactionist scholars, to name a few. Feminist scholars subscribe to these same notions;

these are seen as aspects of a decidedly hierarchical, male-centred scientific methodology. Consequently, feminists have approached research from different angles and challenged traditional scientific methodology. While research on and about women is not a new phenomenon, research conducted by women and rooted in women's experiences is a relatively recent occurrence, and is the foundation of feminist research (Harding, 1987).

3.2 Feminist Research, My Experience

This research is a direct result of an incident I experienced on the University of Ottawa campus a few years ago, when I had an encounter with personnel from the Protection Services department. I was returning home from a friend's home at around 3 a.m. on a Saturday morning, making my way across campus to my dormitory residence. A few hundred metres away from the front door, a Protection Services van pulled up slowly beside me, and the men inside asked me if I was alright and on my way to the residence. I responded affirmatively, bid them good night and continued on my way, expecting them to move along. But the van continued its slow pace beside me, and they informed me they would follow behind me, "just to make sure you

get inside okay, miss". As they followed me the rest of the way (another 100 metres at most!) I was quite surprised at my gut reaction: I was furious! "How dare they!" I thought; I did not ask for their assistance. How dare they assume I was in need of their protection? I felt perfectly safe at that time and was infuriated that these men just assumed that I needed and/or wanted their protection. I felt intruded upon by the very people who were trying to help me.

I began to ask myself questions: Why was I not pleased or accepting of their offer? After all, they were offering to help me. Wouldn't most women have felt grateful for their offer, felt safer? Did the fact that they were men have anything to do with it? Thus this incident was the catalyst that led me to begin my inquiries about safety escort services and patrols for women on campus. I felt it was important to further investigate the implications of such programs on women, especially ones as highly regarded as these.

Feminist research can be characterised by the incorporation of subjectivity into the process of knowledge production; the actions and convictions of the researcher are legitimate parts of the process (Harding, 1987). Objectivity, for

feminist scholars, "is incompatible with a feminist vision of the world" (Benston, 1982). Viewing our social reality through dichotomous distinctions such as objective/subjective, knower/known is not seen as the product of social experiences and reality but as a learned way of thinking, which is the product of positivistic, hierarchical and sexist reasoning (DuBois, 1983; Stanley and Wise, 1983). Gergen (1988) argues that any association between researcher and subject establishes some form of relationship, and that, as humans, it is impossible to have "objective" interaction with one another. A feminist view demands that this relationship be acknowledged. Included within a feminist methodology then, would be interaction and an interdependency between researcher and the subject, knower and known (Gergen, 1988; Stanley and Wise, 1983; DuBois, 1983).

In this case, feelings of empathy and understanding were aroused at times when, for example, the female subjects chose to share some personal experiences of their sense of fear and/or safety. On the other hand, feelings of discord were sometimes evoked by the subjects when their opinions on a particular matter differed from that of my own.

Lastly, the goal of feminist research is to be the precursor

of action; coupled with the reality of women's oppression is the understanding that we must attempt to change the present situation, that is, eliminate this oppression (Stanley and Wise, 1983; Benston, 1982; Mies, 1983). Feminist research must operate not only to inform and educate, but to politicise. It should contribute to a feminist praxis towards the emancipation of women. There has been feminist research outlining some of the difficulties of feminist reform (see Smart 1989 and 1990), and these arguments have been duly noted. While feminists may not agree on the drawbacks and limitations of working towards tangible reform, inaction is not an option. Positive concrete change should be the ideal outcome of any feminist work.

It is hoped that this research will lead to whatever changes necessary in the realm of campus safety patrols and escorts in order to better serve the needs of women on campus.

3.3 Methods Used

3.3.1 Semi-structured Interviews

In order to meet the objectives of the research, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Given the seriousness and

complexity of the issues at hand, it was felt that the interview would provide the best results. As opposed to a survey, for example, interviews allows for personal contact and transference between interviewer and subject; people have very strong feelings about fear and safety, especially concerning women. It was of vital importance that these views were elaborated upon in detail, something which could only adequately be done through an interview.

Furthermore, during an interview one can take the time to request further explanation from the subject, to prompt the subject to elaborate. At the same time, an interviewer can at her/his discretion refrain from asking a question, or come to it at a more appropriate time. It was my experience that this was particularly helpful, especially with the female subjects.

The interviews were conducted between June and October of 1994 after receiving approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Social Sciences. The universities within the Ottawa–Montreal region were considered, as this was deemed a reasonable geographical limit considering my limited resources. The universities represented are: University of Ottawa (Ottawa), Carleton University (Ottawa), McGill

University (Montreal), and Concordia University (Montreal). Two other Montreal universities, Université de Montréal and Université de Québec à Montréal, both francophone universities, were not included because of my limited skills in written French and French-English translation. The transcribing of potential interviews in French was not a task I feel I could have performed adequately, and it was not possible with my limited resources to have the tasks performed for me.

A recruitment letter (see Appendix Ia) was sent to the foot patrol/walk home services of the four universities describing my research project and requesting participation by a representative agreeing to be interviewed. The letters were followed by a phone call a few weeks later to determine if they were interested in participating. Persons from all four universities were willing and eager to do so. ~

At the time of the interview each participant and I signed two copies of a consent form (see Appendix Ib). It outlined the fact that they had agreed to be interviewed by me for the sole purpose of my thesis, and that the interview would be taped on micro-cassette and later transcribed. Furthermore, they could refuse to answer any question at any time.

The interview questionnaire consisted of ten (10)

open-ended questions, with seven (7) "prompter" questions in case more elaboration was needed on an issue (see Appendix Ic). The interviews lasted from seventy-five (75) minutes to three and a half (3 1/2) hours. They were audio-taped in their entirety and later transcribed.

Due to the open-ended nature of the interview and the freedom with which subjects are allowed to respond, each interview unfolded in a slightly different manner. Often times questions that were to be asked were answered while responding to a previous question. Also, as can be seen by the gap in the lengths of the interviews, the subjects responded in various degrees of detail and depth. Two of the subjects were matter-of-fact and concise; the other two freely discussed, analysed and even agonised over the issues and questions at hand.

Hence I found myself with transcriptions of significantly different lengths from which I had to extract comparable information. The information needed for comparison and analysis was there in each, just in varying amounts of depth and detail, as will be evident in the findings and analysis.

The transcriptions were examined numerous times, each

time extracting the different piece of information sought in order to assist me in my analysis. This information included:

- When the program was created;
- Who created the program and how;
- Who currently runs the program;
- Hours of operation;
- Daily operation of the program;
- Recruitment and training of patrollers/escorts;
- Statistics; and
- Has there been an evaluation.
- Their operating 'philosophy';
- What they feel their program offers women on campus;
- Perceived problems with the program; and
- Future plans and hopes for the program.

3.3.2 Documentation

In every case documentation was provided by the subject concerning their respective programs. All four programs provided copies of their program mandates/mission statements/constitution. In two cases, a preliminary study to

assess the safety needs of women on campus had been conducted.

and these studies will be analysed. Other documents include:

- Volunteer manuals;
- Statistics;
- Campus newspaper articles;
- Volunteer applications; and
- Posters advertising their service.

These documents were not all available from each subject. While a complete comparison was not possible, these documents are of importance provided very useful information.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

4.1 The Campuses

The four universities whose services were examined are: The University of Ottawa and Carleton University in Ottawa and Concordia University and McGill University in Montreal.

4.1.1 The University of Ottawa

The University of Ottawa¹ is centrally located and is walking distance from the downtown business core of the city as well as the Byward Market. Its 26 hectares (65 acres) are surrounded by a residential neighbourhood to the east to north east, which can be described as a "student ghetto" area; a public transportation Transitway and roads to the south to south west; and borders the edge of the Byward Market on its north, north-west side (see map, Appendix 2a).

It is what is called a 'downtown' or 'open' campus, with busy city streets bordering or separating parts of the campus. Thus, while portions of the campus are clustered together on university property, there is a more substantial amount of public pedestrian and auto traffic which comes through this type of

¹Does not include the Health Sciences Centre.

campus, as opposed to a self-contained one such as Carleton University's.

Total student enrolment for the fall semester 1994 was 24 296, which includes under-graduate and graduate, full and part-time students. Staff personnel, including both teaching and support staff, totals 3 572.

4.1.2 Carleton University

Carleton University campus is sprawled over 62 hectares (153 acres) of land south of downtown Ottawa. It is bordered by the Rideau River to the south, the Rideau Canal to the west, and by residential neighbourhoods to the north and north-east (see map, Appendix 2b). The campus is self-contained within those borders, undivided by city streets. The University's 28 buildings are also connected by five kilometres of underground tunnels, which are especially popular with students during the winter.

In the last academic year 1994-95, Carleton had a total enrolment -that is under-graduate and graduate, full-time and part-time- of 21 739 students. The number of employees totalled 3 069 and included academic as well as management and support staff.

4.1.3 McGill University

McGill University² is located in downtown Montreal and, like the University of Ottawa, has a partially self-contained campus (see map, Appendix 2c). Busy streets border the 32 heciares (80 acres) of land on the south and west sides of campus, lined with office and apartment buildings. The north-west side is mostly residential, and the McGill 'student ghetto' is to the east.

Their total student enrolment for the spring of 1994 was 30 093, and total staff numbered 7 493.

4.1.4 Concordia University

Concordia University has two fairly large campuses, their downtown Sir George Williams campus and the Loyola campus in the north west end of Montreal. Presently the service is only offered at the Loyola campus, which is relatively self contained as compared to the Sir George Williams campus. Busy avenues do cross through Loyola, though, and the residential settings

²Does not include the Macdonald campus in Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Quebec.

surrounding the campus allow for a certain amount of public traffic around and through the campus (see map, Appendix 2d). At the time of the interview, plans were underway to examine the feasibility of a patrol at the downtown campus.

Last year their total student enrolment was 25 935 and total staff numbered 3 411.

4.2 The Subjects

The subjects representing the four universities held different administrative positions within their respective foot patrol programs. Their positions will not be specified and their names have been changed in order to assure anonymity. The representatives from McGill and Concordia are female, and those from Ottawa and Carleton are male. They will be referred to as: Cathy (McGill), Lisa (Concordia), David (Ottawa) and Mark (Carleton).

If a distinction in responses from the subjects had to be made, it would definitely have to be along gender lines. Cathy and Lisa spoke passionately about the issues that concern women on campus, were quick to identify themselves as feminists, and

personal anecdotes interspersed the conversation often. I believe that as women speaking to another woman, both Cathy and Lisa felt very much at ease discussing what can be a very personal and intense subject. David and Mark, on the other hand, were much more matter of fact and concise. This fact is illustrated in the lengths of the interviews: Cathy and Lisa's lasted 2 hours and 10 minutes and 3 1/2 hours respectively; David and Mark's were 1 1/2 hours and 1 hour and 15 minutes respectively.

4.3 Origins of the Programs

The origins of three of the four programs researched were 'grassroots' in nature; they were initiatives on part of a woman or women students. They were informal efforts which over the years, after increased awareness and rising popularity of such programs, eventually became the structured programs of today.

Lisa (Concordia) explained how a sole female communications student started her own service within a particularly isolated building where many of the communications courses were being held. This student had named the project

"Students Against Students"; interestingly, the name quite clearly suggested that she saw her fellow students and peers as more of a threat than the typical nameless, faceless stranger off the street. The present service, now covering the whole campus and called the Foot Patrol, is a direct result of this student's efforts.

The University of Ottawa's program is also rooted in efforts first started by women on campus. In 1987 the university's Women's Centre attempted a "Walk Home Service" for women on campus, where women coming and leaving campus at the same time would be paired up, thus reducing their fear and their risk of attack. However, an awareness campaign during the first week of the semester yielded only 20 requests for the service, which resulted in one sole pairing. The project was soon discontinued (Protection Services, 1991). Just over one year later, though, the campus's security personnel were looking at creating a more formalised program and by the end of 1990, the program as it exists today was begun.

At McGill University, the first informal walk home service was started six years ago by the Women's Union at the university. It began with women waiting outside the various libraries around closing time, offering other women walks home. It was these efforts that eventually led to the current service being started in

1992. Cathy reflected somewhat longingly about the beginnings of their program:

It was very grassroots because it was just women, there was no 'organisation', there was no recruiting, no training; it was just women helping each other.

She went on to say that she and other members of the executive are becoming concerned with the fact that the service has now become one of the more "trendy" organisations to join on campus, as demonstrated by the increasingly high number of volunteers they get every year.

We've become a very "trendy" club to join... its become the cool thing to do. You sign up with your boyfriend or your friend and you walk people. Its so cool... you've got your walkie-talkie and your red jacket and it's wonderful. ... At our first meeting we had... 800 people. ... But then exam time rolls around and we're left with ... 40 people. ...I guess I prefer this and I hope ... it won't become a boring thing to do and only 40 people will sign up. I'd rather have 800 people for a month...

Cathy ended the interview by stating her hopes that the program move more towards its grassroots, political beginnings, despite the obvious dilemmas and difficulties involved in such an endeavour.

Carleton University's program did not begin in the same sort of 'grassroots' way as the others; instead, the program as it

began in 1990 exists in very much the same form. The impetus behind the service, however, was a woman. She was a student who at the time was Vice-President Administration of CUSA (Carleton University Students' Association). She prepared a draft proposal for a foot patrol which was presented to the university and other interested groups on campus for approval in May of 1990. Five months later the service was operating.

In each of the cases the catalyst behind the creation of the program were women. It was felt by them, and their community of women, that there was a need for this type of service. The three grassroots services were not only created by women, but they were services expressly meant *for* women.

4.4 Identification of Need

As was discussed above, three of the four programs began as women's grassroots initiatives. These women obviously felt fearful and unsafe in order to create this type of service for themselves on campus.

A University of Ottawa document on the foot patrol

addresses the issue of a need for the service. Interestingly, the report states quite clearly that a "foot patrol service was in order since women's fear of crime, although unfounded, was nonetheless very real to them" (Protection Services, 1991; 5). David referred to this fact more than once during the interview; even though reported crimes on campus would not warrant such a service, he feels it is the fear that must be confronted and managed. Even after the failed attempt by the Women's Centre to have an escort service, Protection Services at the university were receiving enough calls from women regarding their fears about being around campus at night to warrant creating another service. While it is hoped that the patrol will indeed help to reduce assaults and other crimes on campus, it is quite clear that reducing women's fear is the primary purpose of its existence.

The Concordia service has also stated clearly in their mission statement that it is "a pro-active approach to help ensure that all people live without fear while at Concordia" (Concordia Student Safety Patrol, 1994). They, too, refer to increasing safety awareness and reducing crime as part of the service, however, fear is acknowledged as the obstacle that must be overcome.

Carleton University discussed the need for a foot patrol service in its draft proposal. The document states that "we need

the Foot Patrol as a proactive, preventative measure to stop crimes before they occur and make students feel safe" (Lawrence, 1990). It cites studies and statistics outlining the rates of sexual assault among college students, as well as in the general population. The discussion is limited to two paragraphs, however. The proposal outlines statistics but does not directly address how a foot patrol can directly help in reducing these types of assaults.

What is more evident, however, is how the foot patrol may help in reducing fear levels amongst women. The proposal also cites statistics from the university itself demonstrating how significant numbers of female students and staff engage in avoidance behaviours and curtail certain activities on campus because of fear. A foot patrol and escort service is an option women have that may allow them to engage in more activities at night. Their mandate, though, does not refer to reducing levels of fear, but mentions increasing safety awareness and preventing crime and violence. Thus the patrol may very well be succeeding in reducing women's fear – a task not mentioned in their mandate – yet have no real way of knowing if they are succeeding in their mandated task of preventing crime and violence.

The first point outlined in McGill's constitution is "to create a more comfortable and supportive environment for all

individuals, especially women" (Walksafe, 1991). Managing fear appears to be a focus here. Also, Cathy stated that they make it clear that using Walksafe is not the only way for women to help combat their fear, which is why they offer self-defence courses in conjunction with the service. They present themselves as an option women can chose to deal with the fear. Thus, it can be said that the foot patrols are addressing the issue of women's fear; indeed, it is women who seem to feel that this type of program is what is needed.

4.5 The Foot Patrol/Walk Home Services

All four universities in question have foot patrol/walk home programs. That is, not only do they have two-person teams of students escorting women around campus, but when not on an escort these teams are out and about patrolling, keeping a watchful eye on the evening goings-on around campus. Each program has divided their campus up into zones, and have assigned from one to three teams per zone. The volunteers are all students, and can be either patrollers or dispatchers. The patrollers are easily identified on a campus by their bright red or

yellow jackets with the program name on the back, and their walkie-talkies.

The basic operation of each of the four programs is similar: first, a call is received at the dispatch office requesting an escort. The person's first name, point of departure and drop-off point are noted, as well as the time. The dispatcher will radio the patrollers in that particular zone, who will then proceed with the escort and confirm with the dispatcher.

The services on all four campuses are generally available during the same times; they start anywhere from 6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. and end between 12:30 a.m. to 2:30 a.m.. Three of the four offer weekend service as well; Concordia University, whose program is just over one year old was, at the time of the interview, hoping to extend their service to include weekends as well.

McGill University's zones extend off campus; as a matter of fact, their motto is "Walking with you from anywhere to anywhere". While campus remains their central concern, they have escorted women all around the city:

We take the bus with you, ...we take the taxi with you.... we don't get many of those calls,... but um, we've taken people to Laval, Riviere des Prairies [neighbouring cities], all over. Our

regular zones are on campus, we've got like six zones, but... we're totally lax about that. I mean you're in your zone but, go where you want.

Carleton University's patrol zones, which include their extensive underground tunnels, extend just slightly off campus, to a few nearby bus stops, and across a park. Ottawa and Concordia patrol strictly within their zones on campus. While Mark (Carleton), Lisa (Concordia) and David (Ottawa) all expressed interest in perhaps extending their zones into the student ghetto areas immediately surrounding the campuses, they also stated that given their limited financial and personnel resources that it would be difficult to do so.

Carleton University also offers what they call a "walk-by" service; that is, if you are keeping late hours in a lab or studio on campus, you can arrange for patrollers to check in on a "walk-by" just to make sure you're alright.

While each of the four programs are entirely run by the students, only three are in some way accountable to the university administration or security personnel. McGill's program is not accountable to either, but not necessarily for lack of effort. Attempts were made to involve the administration and to have them commit to the program financially and morally. The

university's position was that it did not want to involve itself in a student initiative; McGill could hardly contain her disdain when discussing this issue:

[We] tried to get support from the university. The university was very patriarchal! They said things like: 'Oh, it's so sweet that students are helping students, so we don't want to interfere by giving you money' and 'We don't think it's appropriate if we interfere' which enraged a lot of people because it showed that they just didn't care about student safety ... especially off of the campus. And also they didn't want to acknowledge that there was a problem at all. ...[And] we were so mad that the university didn't give us any money, now at this point we wouldn't want [them] to give us money; and we've totally, like, 'NO!', we don't want to be their little pawns in this stupid game.

McGill's program not being accountable to the university can perhaps explain why its zones are not limited to campus; programs at other universities are accountable and work closely with university security personnel and thus may be reluctant to assume responsibilities for areas off campus.

4.6 Users of the Service

As can be seen, the term 'women' has generally been used to refer to users of the service; that is because while the service is available for both men and women, at the most conservative estimates our subjects stated women made up 90% of users. The University of Ottawa was the only program to have gathered detailed statistics regarding the sex of their users, and their latest numbers place the percentage of women users at 93% . Mark (Carleton) made the observation that the men who used their service were overwhelmingly foreign students who appeared unfamiliar with the campus.

In terms of the number of walks provided per year, they vary greatly. Concordia, whose program was just beginning its second semester of service, had provided 80 escorts in its first semester. Ottawa provided 415 walks in 1993, up from 110 in 1992. Interestingly, Carleton provided more than five times the number of escorts than Ottawa, a total of 2 345 walks in 1993. McGill, though, reigns supreme having provided well over 4 000 escorts in 1993, and projections for 1994 were nearing 5 000.

4.7 The Patrol Teams

The patrol teams are highly visible around these campuses in their bright red or yellow jackets and walkie-talkies. They are seen by hundreds and thousands of students and the public throughout the academic year. They are the essence of the service, they are those in contact with the users on a daily basis. Who these patrollers are, their actions and their demeanour are what people base their opinions of the patrol on.

The composition of the patrol teams has been a point of contention for all the programs. Fear and safety are so rooted in gender issues that the question of exactly who can and should be allowed to patrol together –a woman and a man (co-ed), or two women– can have an impact on how people reflect on the issue. While it is quite clear to all four subjects that two-men teams are not acceptable, it is important to see what can be determined from programs which only allow co-ed teams as opposed to those that allow both co-ed and two-women teams.

* The University of Ottawa

The University of Ottawa Foot Patrol operates with co-ed

teams. In a document provided by Ottawa regarding their program initiative, three specific reasons are cited for this: "1) ensuring work equity; 2) proving to students that the service was supported as much by men as by women; 3) raising women's profile on the team to ensure that the needs of the female population on campus were addressed" (Protection Services, 1991; 9).

These reasons are not addressed in more detail; it is unclear why they would need to 'prove' to students that the service is also supported by men, or how exactly having co-ed teams would 'raise women's profile'. What co-ed teams do demonstrate is that both men and women will to be seen as equal participants working together within this type of organisation. While they recognise the service as one primarily for women, their role as patrollers is that of an equal; women do not have empowering or leadership roles.

*** Carleton University**

Mark, when asked about patrol teams, stated simply "...Always co-ed teams. No exceptions. Co-ed teams or nothing!". Advertising this fact is an integral part of their ad campaign (see

Appendix 3a). He continued:

Well, we offer [women] an opportunity to take an active role against the violence. Like I said, we operate in co-ed teams, and if there are no women here, we don't run. It's an opportunity for them to help make the campus safer. It shows that the university does care about the issue of violence, and is doing what it can to deal with the issue.

Women are, as with the University of Ottawa, placed on equal ground with men, with no leadership roles within a service which is primarily for women. In his statement above Mark can be interpreted negatively through his use of phrases such as 'offering' women a chance to get involved, and stating that this is their 'opportunity' to make the campus safer; there is a suggestion there women have been granted this privilege, and without them, there can be no service. True, the program cannot run without women, but then again with co-ed teams the program could not run without men either.

*** McGill University**

McGill University's Walksafe service has both co-ed and two-women teams. Cathy stated that she constantly has to defend

the program's position against accusations that their allowing of two-women teams but not two-men teams is "reverse sexism", and explains why they have deemed it necessary to allow two-women teams:

Our rule, well every one has different rules about this, but our rule is that there has to be at least one woman on every team, and that can mean teams of two women. Because it began very much as a women's-- as a feminist-organisation. Now people don't like us using that word. I don't mind using it at all...We always get 'Well why can't you have two men, that's so sexist' we always get that!! We say well, there are two reasons for that: One is that the majority of our clients are women, like more than 99%; we rarely get calls from men or from couples. And so the reason that they are calling, most often is because they are scared of the men out there, not the women, so if we send a team of two men, its intimidating.

There is the acknowledgement of the importance of the service for women, and the sensitivity with which the issue must be dealt. Her statement "there has to be at least one woman on every team" demonstrates that women are more than equals, they are the focus of the service, both as users and as service providers.

* Concordia University

Concordia University's Safety Patrol also has both co-ed and two women teams. Lisa feels it is of significant importance to have two-women teams not only because it is empowering, but because we must also challenge the image of the male as protector:

I think we're sending out a message to society at large when women start taking the initiative to take care of themselves. Our applications are consistently 2/3 male and 1/3 female; why? Because men see themselves as protectors, and women see themselves as victims. Stop that! Show women that other women are providing security and show men that too. You know to us it may be a given, but we're not all university educated, and know about these theories and philosophies; that 65 year old man who's driving down the street, and he sees two female foot patrollers, he's going to go home and say 'This is crazy, what are they going to do?'. But then perhaps it will initiate a discussion.

Lisa also mentioned having to defend their policy against accusations of reverse sexism, and talks about the important message she feels their program sends out by having two-women teams:

... the teams are always one man and one woman

or two women, but never two men. That is our policy ... We won't let anyone go out alone, either. But people always ask 'Why can we have two women but not two men?'. Well, think of it from the point of view of the woman. We're dealing with issues of fear; women wouldn't go up to a man, a total stranger on the street and ask him to walk with her. ... Maybe that female will just feel a lot better walking with another woman. ...This is a woman's issue and we're going to stick together on this. ...Yes, that woman might be in total safety with those two men ... but that woman doesn't know that, nor does she always care. ... if we have two male patrollers, what are we saying about society? We are saying that men are protectors, and that's no good. With two female patrollers, what are we saying? That's much better. Someone might be totally opposed to women being patrollers, but at least this says, 'Times are changing, too bad'.

She feels it is of utmost importance that women be seen as able to effectively care for themselves. She is aware and concerned about people getting this message, and challenging the male role as protector.

*** Discussion**

Lisa (Concordia) and Cathy (McGill) were very obviously concerned about the deeper implications and importance of having two-women teams, and stressed the fact that they felt it

very important that women be shown as perfectly capable of being able to care for themselves. On the other hand, David (Ottawa) and Mark (Carleton) feel that the pairing of one woman and one man is an equitable situation for patrols.

However, the fact is that women have initiated these services with the intention of helping other women who are afraid of men. Women are deemed to be equals within the service, yet they request the service 9 times more than men and have fear levels at least three times greater than those of men; this situation is by no means an 'equal' one for women and men. Yet Mark (Carleton) does not refer to or mention the gender specific nature of issue being dealt with; he keeps the discussion at a gender neutral level. With David (Ottawa), however, despite having solely co-ed teams there is a realisation of the gender specific nature of the situation. By essentially 'legislating' co-ed teams, one is in effect removing the opportunity for women to work together on this issue, and to be seen as being able to indeed take care of themselves.

This is one reason why Cathy (McGill) and Lisa (Concordia) do not have strictly co-ed teams; the implications and messages that such a rule generates are more problematic for them than fielding accusations of reverse sexism. Men are

welcome within their organisations, but they cannot and will not be mandated as equals within an organisation whose service is overwhelmingly used by women who are afraid of men.

Both Cathy and Lisa feel their service can help challenge the status quo of the male as protector of women. It is important to them that women be seen together helping other women and that this will hopefully encourage people to reflect the issue.

4.8 Recruitment and Training of Volunteers

Volunteer walkers and dispatchers are recruited at each of the universities. While each of the university programs has one to four paid employees –the coordinator(s) and/or supervisor(s) of the program– volunteers are the crux of the service.

Recruitment drives are held in early September at the four universities and also in January at McGill and Carleton. The number of recruits varies greatly from program to program, and some of the possible reasons for that difference will be explored below. Furthermore, training of volunteers at each university will be examined.

* University of Ottawa

Volunteers are recruited by the Students Federation of the University of Ottawa (SFUO) and trained by Protection Services, the campus security service. In the 1993-94 academic year approximately 125 students volunteered. Despite this being the lowest number of volunteers of the four services, it met their needs sufficiently. Potential volunteers are asked to fill out an application, and are later summoned for a short interview to determine suitability. Lastly, the names of the chosen volunteers are then published in the student newspapers, with instructions for the public to please report to those concerned if they have reason to believe a volunteer is unsuitable.

Their training session lasts for three hours. The first part of the session includes instruction on how to use walkie-talkies and other procedural information concerning the service. The second part of the session aims to educate volunteers on the dynamics of sexual assault and to sensitise them on issues related to women, visible minority, gay and lesbian, and handicapped persons on campus. They are told what can and what should not be discussed when providing an escort, and instructed on proper demeanour. The session is conducted in its entirety by Protection

Services personnel and the service's student administrators.

David is aware that the service can attract some men who have a skewed perception of what their roles in the service will be like; these are men who see themselves as the ultimate protector. They see this as their opportunity to help helpless women and save the campus from crime. While every effort is made to weed these men out, David recalled one who got through:

... last year we had one foot patroller who thought the macho, "Rambo" image was fit for the foot patrol, and so, well he was a part-time soldier, and he thought that wearing his para-military outfit would help. But it wasn't acceptable among the foot patrollers and so I had a couple of chit-chats with him and finally I had to invite him to leave. This is not the image that we want.

This was the first and only time that they had to remove someone from the service.

*** Carleton University**

Carleton University had 327 volunteers for the 1993-94 academic year. Potential volunteers complete an application form on which they agree to have a criminal records check done.

Criminal records checks are done on every volunteer, as well as academic check to verify that they are indeed students at the university. Short interviews are also conducted. Volunteer names are then published in the student newspaper so students can reflect on their suitability.

Volunteers must then undergo an eight hour day of training. The day begins with practical procedural training, such as use of equipment and how to properly conduct escorts. The rest of the time is devoted to 'sensitivity workshops'; included are workshops on: sexual assault, sexual harassment, disability awareness, lesbian, gay and bisexual awareness, and racism. These workshops are conducted by representatives from each of these groups on campus.

*** McGill University**

The McGill service certainly does not have any problem attracting volunteers; they had approximately 800 students show up at a recruitment drive in September of 1993. The number of actual working volunteers decreases to just under half that number after the selection process of applications, interviews and training are done with. Cathy attributes the popularity of the

service to a series of highly publicised assaults which took place in the student ghetto in 1991-92, which greatly emphasised the issue of student safety. A rally one year, and a march through the ghetto the next year, did much to solidify student awareness and participation.

Once the standard application forms are filled, interviews are conducted. Chosen volunteers then have their names published in the student papers, as is the case with all the other universities. Volunteer walkers receive approximately 20 hours of training, a portion of which is procedural and the majority of which is sensitivity training. Once the procedural portion is done with, they are taken to the Sexual Assault Centre where they are given a presentation by the Centre's coordinator. The focus is to combat myths about sexual assault, coupled with some crisis intervention training. The service coordinators and supervisors also conduct sensitivity training on issues such as racism and homosexuality. Dispatchers receive the same sensitivity training with an additional eight hour seminar on crisis intervention on the phone.

* Concordia University

Concordia University's program, at just over a year old, has a solid base of 200 volunteers. Applications are filled out by potential volunteers, who will then undergo a short interview. Once they pass that stage, a criminal records check is done; as is the case with Carleton University, this is done with their knowledge. The names of chosen volunteers are then published in the student newspaper.

As for their training, Concordia University certainly has the most diverse and interesting; besides the general procedural and sensitivity seminars, a theatre group has developed the interactive segment of the training session. Their day of training begins with a short discussion on procedures, followed by various guest speakers speaking on behalf of different campus interest groups. These groups include: the Women's Centre, the Queer Collective, and Campus Security.

The Concordia Theatre Group, however, is the session's show stealer, with their interactive skit called "Harass Your Pants Off". Developed especially for the foot patrol, the skit begins as a game show and volunteers are set up as contestants. They then solicit scenarios of potential harassment or danger from the

audience, for example, being followed out of the campus bar on your way home. They then act out various outcomes of this situation with the help of the volunteers. Each response is then discussed with the audience; what was good, what was wrong and what is the best way to deal with that situation. Lisa feels that this is a very successful portion of the training – it's fun and interactive; the volunteers are not just sitting down and being spoken to and told what to do. It also allows them to reflect on their own experiences, and see that perhaps what they thought might have been a good way to handle a situation is not that good after all.

But perhaps an even more interesting exercise which the volunteers participate in is one directed by the Women's Centre representative. Firstly, every one is asked to stand up and close their eyes. She then proceeds to read off a list of scenarios, and at the first one that applies to you, you are asked to sit down. The scenarios include: –You were really looking forward to going to this party, but your friend cancelled at the last minute, so you decided you did not want to go alone; –No matter how hot it is at night in the summer, you won't leave the windows open because you live on the ground floor; –You are walking down the street at night, a woman sees you, and she crosses over to the other side;

-You get on to an elevator, and the lone woman inside moves away from you, or gets off the elevator.

Lisa states that it doesn't take very many scenarios before everyone is seated. It is a powerful tool in making both the female and male volunteers realise what a profound impact fear has on women's everyday lives, and how it affects men as well.

* Discussion

Thus, all the training programs have basic procedural and sensitivity training components. However, a difference between the University of Ottawa's three hour training and McGill University's twenty hour training is quite significant. Despite the fact that the same general material is covered in both sessions, it is safe to assume that a more in-depth examination of the issues is acquired during the latter training. Both Concordia University and Carleton University, in between with an eight hour day of training, still add up to more than twice the training a volunteer receives at the University of Ottawa.

Something can be said about the content of the training as well. McGill, Carleton and Concordia universities have

representatives from various interest groups on campus conduct the sensitivity seminars. David (Ottawa), on the other hand, discusses all of the relevant subject matter himself. We can once again assume that these representatives are better prepared and more knowledgeable about these particular subjects, and that they would be more effective when trying to educate volunteers on subject matter such as sexual assault and homophobia, for example. It thus seems that the Ottawa program lacks in both duration and content in terms of training.

The Concordia program, with its creative approach to training, appears to be a notch above the rest in terms of content. The emphasis is on learning through your experiences, past and present. The interactive element helps assure a greater understanding of the issues as well.

4.9 Program Mandates and Philosophies

Each program has a mandate and/or mission statement which outlines the principles upon which the service is based. These principles are the guiding force behind the service, and patrollers are there to uphold these out on the street.

Along with the written mandates are the thoughts, opinions and philosophies of the people in charge of the services. As administrators who are responsible for training the volunteers as well as the everyday co-ordination of the service, what they bring to the service is of consequence also. Together, these form the foundation of these services.

* The University of Ottawa

The University of Ottawa's Foot Patrol mandate is as follows:

"The Foot Patrol Service's Mandate is to ensure the well-being of students, professors and support staff by :

1. providing a foot escort service;
 2. patrolling dangerous areas on campus;
 3. making people aware of the dangers on campus;
 4. reducing women's 'feelings of vulnerability', and
 5. acting as the extra 'eyes and ears' for Protection Services"
- (Protection Services, 1991; 7).

Their mandate, along with McGill's, were the only ones to specifically refer to women, and to the service's role in lessening their levels of fear. David talked about the necessity to reduce women's fear, despite the fact that campus statistics did not reflect women being victims of violence:

The majority of our crimes are thefts. Mostly university property thefts and personal thefts. But as for assaults, we don't really have that many problems. Now it doesn't necessarily mean that there aren't problems out there, we have to be present, we have to conduct our patrols, we have to recognise the fear of the community, and we have to deal with that. ...Protection cannot be everywhere, cannot do everything. And we have to get people to help us, to assist us. That is our philosophy. And this is the way the foot patrol started on campus.

From this statement, and from the mandate, we can see that women's fear was an impetus behind the creation of the service. Women's fear and feelings of vulnerability were recognised as a problem, and the foot patrol was created to deal with it.

*** Carleton University**

The Carleton University service's mandate is:

"The Foot Patrol, a student-run, student-staffed service strives to improve the safety on the campus of Carleton University by:

- increasing safety awareness and educating about safety issues
 - preventing violence and crime in conjunction with the Department of University Safety and University administration
 - promoting the improvement of environmental hazards
 - providing safe escorts and patrols across and around campus"
- (Carleton Foot Patrol, 1994).

Their mandate is similar to The University of Ottawa's, but with one significant difference – there is no reference to reducing fear, and no acknowledgement of women or reference to this as a women's issue.

In fact, there appears to be an effort to 'de-genderise' the issue entirely. Here Mark discusses complaints that have been registered against the fact that he is a male holding a significant position within the service administration:

...And so CUSA (Carleton University Student Association) has received a few complaints, questioning the wisdom of a male [position] because of what is perceived to be a woman's safety issue. Now it's true, most of the people who use this service are women. But the way I see it is that everyone is a victim of violence. It doesn't matter what your gender is or where you are. Everyone is a victim of violence. I've sort of been taking that attitude, while I agree that women are the most targeted group, and that has to be the focus. I have been sort of going on the theme that we're all victims of violence; some of us have been survivors of violence, and that's great. That's sort of how I justify my being here, I've been with the program for 4 years, I'm dedicated to it. If I didn't think I was dedicated enough I wouldn't have applied.

Despite the fact that he says "I agree that women are the most targeted group, and that has to be the focus", none of the

literature provided by him or anything he has said indicated this. On the contrary, he also says "It doesn't matter what your gender is". With their strict co-ed escort policy, lack of any mention of the woman-specific nature of fear and use of the service in their mandate, and no specific measures assuring that some positions within the executive body of the service be held by women, it indeed appears that gender is not an issue, and nor do women appear to be the focus.

Mark's statement "Everyone is a victim of violence" is of course true. But once again, however, there is a lack of acknowledgement of violence endured by women at the hands of men, and the high levels of fear that it generates in virtually all women. Is the absence of this acknowledgement rooted in ignorance or a conscious effort not to recognise how very much a woman's issue this is? It does not appear so; the question remains as to whether this effort at 'de-genderisation' is a misguided one or not.

The effort has been placed on making this both a women and men's issue, on making both women and men participate equally within the service. Mark is saying that both women and men are at risk, and both women and men are invited to take responsibility for their own safety and the safety of others by

volunteering and/or using the foot patrol service.

He takes the issue of responsibility a step further. One of the service's motto's which appears on their flyers is "Take care of yourself – You're worth it" (see Appendix 3b). He discusses this point in more detail:

Using the foot patrol isn't saying 'I'm weak, I can't do this myself', it's acknowledging that there are dangers on campus. Crime does exist on campus, and that you're taking steps to protect yourself. I think we're all worth that. You know if it means calling someone for an escort, I don't think that's admitting defeat. I think I would say that's the opposite; it's acknowledging that, you know, I'm worth protecting myself. I'm doing this to ensure that I get where I'm going. No, I think it's just the opposite, it's not admitting that you can't do it, it's admitting that you're smart enough not to.

There is a contentious line between taking responsibility for one's safety and the potential to blame the victim; there is the possibility of that line being blurred in the above statement. Mark's last sentence raises some concerns: is he implying that women who do not use the service are not "smart enough"? What will the reaction be if an unescorted woman is assaulted on campus?

Mark did mention that the service has been criticised for

being a 'band-aid' solution and agreed that indeed, they are. He responded that "there is no cure for crime... we try and act as a deterrent." There is no perfect solution, and Mark feels this service is a whole lot better than nothing.

*** McGill University**

Cathy explained that they are a "woman-centred organisation" there to primarily serve women's needs. This fact is very evident in their constitution. McGill's is by far the most clear and focused of all the mandates/ constitutions; their six basic objectives are outlined below:

2.1 To create a more comfortable and supportive environment for all individuals, especially women, who walk or use public transportation in the evenings. To provide an alternative to walking or using public transportation alone after dark. To empower women to feel more in control of their surroundings.

2.2 To create a visible presence both on and off the McGill campus by means of a nightly foot patrol.

2.3 To ensure that Walksafe remains a woman-centred organisation, we intend to control the ratio of men and women who volunteer for the Network. The two ways by which we shall do this are:

a) by ensuring that the majority of coordinators each year are women,

b) by ensuring that each team of dispatchers and patrollers has at most one male member.

Thus, if a team of two people is dispatching or patrolling on a

given night the two possible arrangements are: two women or one woman and one man.

2.4 To educate and create awareness within the McGill community about sexual assault and related issues.

2.5 To make available self-defence courses, run by women, in order to encourage an alternative means of empowerment for women.

2.6 To remain a non-hierarchical group with decisions based on consensus. Though members of the coordinating committee have different responsibilities, each has an equal voice in the decision-making process and in the coordination of the organisation" (Walksafe, 1994).

Thus not only are women the specific focus of the service, they have also mandated their commitment to providing an alternative to their very own service; there is the understanding that a foot patrol may not be a comfortable option for all women. McGill is the only service to have included such a clause, and is also the only service to have mandated control over the male/female ratio of volunteers and coordinators. More specifically within their constitution Walksafe has stated that the position of Public Relations Coordinator must be held by a woman, and that the team of interviewers of potential volunteers must include at least one woman. The McGill Walksafe Network has ensured that the service remain woman-centred on all levels.

Cathy talked about some people having problems with the fact they use the word 'feminist' and 'woman-centred', and

mentioned that they have been accused of 'reverse sexism':

Some people... are like, "Well we're not feminists" ... And so, some of us have agreed on "women centred"; I mean its all just very crazy. But we feel that its very important that it remain a woman centred organisation. ...Also just as important if not more is . we want to combat the myth that you cannot be safe without a man. women can be safe together. Women can be safe alone too, but its just that you don't need a man to be safe. That's such a myth! And that's very important for us to tell people. But people still think we're like this reverse sexist organisation or something ...

Interestingly, Cathy admitted to having her own larger dilemmas regarding the service, admitting that she would never use the service herself; she feels that it is inherently a very disempowering option for her. But she participates in the service because not all women feel that way, and she believes it is more important to deal with the fear and offer women options:

... Personally, I never use Walksafe, because for me, it is more empowering to walk alone. Like when you're asking for Walksafe, for me, not for some other women, for me its like saying, admitting that there's a problem, admitting that its affecting you directly. And it is very much a patronising system, that you have other people to make yourself safe. So we want to offer as many alternatives as possible, so women can do

what they want; we're not here to tell women what is the best way to feel safe.

The contradiction is one she feels relatively comfortable with, though. The choice is recognised as one completely up to women, and there is the understanding that this may not be an option for women, but is available if they so choose.

Cathy mentioned that their service was the subject of an editorial in the McGill student paper, The Tribune (see article, Appendix 3c) in which they were accused of being a band-aid solution. She stated that she agreed with what they were saying, but that stopping the service was no answer, either:

Last year there was a big editorial in the paper, the Tribune about how the, well 'The Institutionalisation of Walk Safe' and it was about how we've become trendy and how its just something to do. It's also about how we're just a band-aid solution, and how the aim should be to get rid of us, not to make us bigger and better, which I totally agree with. The executive wrote a very good letter in response; they said 'Look, we're here because we want to help find a solution' and our organisation is involved in a lot of other activities on campus. The executive agreed that they were a band aid solution, but , do we just stop Walk Safe? That is not a solution either.

The letter written in response to the editorial illustrates an extremely important aspect of the program's philosophy. The letter, written by the service coordinators, states that it is their understanding that their service is "a *temporary* means through which to cope with the real problem of violence against women" (Walksafe Network Coordinators, 1992). Moreover, they assert the fact that it is their wish to see the end of their service, that is, to see the day that there is no further need for them. This illustrates that they are committed to dealing with the larger issue of violence against women, all the while coping with the present situation. More importantly, this demonstrates a thorough understanding of the issues not clearly evident in the other programs.

*** Concordia University**

The Concordia service's mission statement is:

"The Concordia Student Safety Patrol is a student organisation founded on the belief that we all must take responsibility for each others safety and well being. At the CSSP, we are taking a pro-active approach to help ensure that all people live without fear while at Concordia. This can be achieved when individuals become actively involved in campus security" (Concordia Student Safety Patrol, 1994; 1).

Lisa echoed: "We're dealing with the fear that lives inside people. to say, 'I'm afraid and this sucks. I won't tolerate this anymore. I don't want to be afraid, I want to be at peace, that is my right.'" They have not referred to deterring or preventing crime, but have made fear the central concern.

Their mission statement is the vaguest of the four, with no specific objectives outlined. Also, there is no specific mention of women, but instead is gender-neutral. Lisa expressed some displeasure at this fact and stated that despite that, it is clear in the training that women are indeed the focus of the service.

Like Cathy (McGill), Lisa has encountered criticism from others claiming that the service is a band-aid solution. The criticism fielded by her, though, came from the Concordia Women's Centre. She too is very cognizant of the dilemmas inherent in the program, but is convinced that the patrol does some much needed good for women students on campus. She explains:

... We had some difficulty with the Women's Centre. Their representative was not entirely convinced ...that the patrol service was the best way to use money. There was the argument that patrol systems reinforce patriarchal values that women need protection. It says that this is a solution, ...this is going to solve the problem. And what happens when there are no patrollers?

... What do we do there? So their argument was that if we want to help women, then we should take this money and put it into self-defence courses, ... something that women can do for themselves, and not have to rely on another group to come and help them. ...Yes, I agree that the patrol is a band-aid. But my perspective has always been from the point of view that we cannot deal with the entire social issue of violence against women. We can look at it, like O.K., what can a patrol do? ... The issue here is that women won't come to Loyola to take courses at night, they will prolong finishing their degrees. ...This is wrong; we don't get a discount in tuition because we don't use the facilities as men do! So what can we do when women are here? ...They can be at peace while they are on campus. That's what we're trying to deal with at this point... .

Lisa revealed that as a woman and a feminist she at times agonises over these contradictions. That is why she has gone to great lengths to provide comprehensive training with an educative component, she feels it is of the utmost importance. Yet at times she wonders if it is enough, seeing as the origin of women's fear is not being addressed through the service:

There should be emergency phones on every floor of every building! But then everything comes down to money. ...But I'm beginning to consider the possibility that all these gadgets and mechanisms are worthless without the source of the fear being dealt with. You know

this is something that goes back to what the Women's Centre was saying. 'Great, have a safety patrol, but how does that help the individual deal with the issue of fear?' We have an allocation for funding action [self-defence] courses, we subsidise those courses and they are for women only. ... this works also on what's going on inside; on how can women feel more confident. The issue of safety for me is becoming more about the issue of self-confidence. You know, the issue of feelings. You know, I would never say that the Concordia Student Safety Patrol is trying to solve every single safety issue, but we all have to take a handful of it and say 'What can I do to make this go away?'.

Lisa's devotion to the service is well entrenched, despite her dilemmas. The important thing for her is that the option of the service be available for those who choose to use it.

* Discussion

While foot patrol services are available for both women and men, all four subjects stated that even conservative estimates would place users of the service at 90% women and 10% men. Despite these overwhelming numbers, however, Carleton remains the only service to not acknowledge, in any significant way, the importance of having women as the focus of the service, as both

users and service providers.

In terms of written mandates, Concordia University and Carleton University are gender neutral and do not refer specifically to women and their needs. Concordia, on the other hand, appeals to the needs of women through their training and by allowing two-women teams. McGill and Ottawa both refer specifically to women in their mandates, albeit McGill does so in a significantly more comprehensive way.

Carleton was the only service where a concerted effort to completely de-genderise the issue was ascertained. The fact is, though, that women and men are not equally at risk, nor do they fear for their safety at equal rates, and thus there are serious implications of this effort to de-genderise the issues of fear and safety on campus. Women have equal roles, not empowering ones, within an organisation whose clientele are 90% women. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter I, gender is the single most significant variable related to the fear of crime, with levels of women's fear as much as three times higher than those of men. In this light, the de-genderising of issues and of the program is misleading and wrong, and takes away from the fact that this is indeed a woman's issue.

Both Lisa (Concordia) and Mark (Carleton) referred to the

notion that we must take responsibility for our own safety, and the notion of responsibility is evident in their literature. With Lisa (Concordia), the understanding remains that this is a choice, an option available to women who so decide to use the service to be safer, and with complete understanding of those women who would chose not to. Mark (Carleton), on the other hand, presents this option in different light; his discussion fell on the thin line between taking responsibility and potential to blame the victim.

Cathy (McGill), makes it clear that this is strictly an individual choice and there is no reference to the notion of responsibility. They want to be sure that women who do not use the service are in no way made to feel as if they ought to use the service. In fact they offer self-defence courses as well. This is perhaps the most ideal conceptualisation of how the service should be perceived, and the ideal messages that should be gathered from the service.

CHAPTER V
ANALYSIS

All four universities provide students and staff on their campuses with the same basic service, that is, a foot patrol and walk home service. Student volunteers are visible on any given night sporting bright red or yellow jackets, with their walkie-talkies patrolling and escorting. This similarity, however, ends there. There are significant differences between universities on how the issues of fear and safety have been conceptualised, on the composition of the patrol teams, on objectives outlined in their mandates and their underlying philosophies.

The first objective of this research was to see how the universities have conceptualised women's fear and safety through their foot patrol/walk home services. What the findings demonstrated was that each university did so in different ways.

The University of Ottawa's mandate clearly states one of their objectives is to "reduc[e] women's feelings of vulnerability". Women were acknowledged as the impetus behind the service and the focus of the service in both their documentation and in the interview. Despite this, though, two-women teams are not allowed, and the rationale behind this policy is not well developed and for that reason is problematic. Thus while indeed women may be the focus, this fact is not presented to the public through

their patrollers.

Carleton University did not conceptualise women's fear at all. Rather, they referred instead to 'individuals' and 'people'. Both within their documentation and during the interview, the situation was presented as a gender-neutral issue.

Carleton's "co-ed teams or nothing" policy further illustrates their apparent unwillingness to conceptualise this as solely a women's issue. Their perception of the issue is that both women and men feel fear and can be victimised, and thus both should participate within the service.

Concordia University's documentation is gender-neutral, however, women were quite clearly focused on during the interview. Furthermore, their training is woman-centred and two-women teams are allowed. Also, these teams appear firmly entrenched despite accusations of reverse sexism; this sends a strong message.

McGill University's program has made it very clear who the fundamental core of the service is – women. They are the essence of the service, as administrators, patrollers, dispatchers and users. Their position is clearly outlined in their constitution, and is demonstrated by their actions. Two-women teams, like Concordia, are allowed, and their executive must be majority

women. Furthermore, there is the acknowledgement that their service may not be a comfortable option for all women, and in turn self-defence courses are offered. Self-defence courses are part of their program with the understanding that the foot patrol/walk home service should not provide undue pressure on women to opt for an option which makes them dependent on others.

More important is McGill's acknowledgement that their service is temporary; service administrators clearly state in the McGill Tribune letter (see Appendix 3d) that their ultimate goal is to see the end of their program. They are working towards the day that foot patrol/walk home services are no longer needed, yet dealing with the present situation.

Hence, some significant differences are apparent between these programs. Carleton has not prioritised this as a woman's issue, unlike the other three programs. The University of Ottawa has identified women as the primary concern, yet stopped short of allowing two-women teams. Concordia's program has a solid woman-centred foundation as well, bolstered by their inclusion of two-women teams. This leaves us with McGill, who most assuredly has the most concrete and comprehensive

conceptualisation of the issues at hand. They are a decidedly woman-centred, non-hierarchical organisation whose goals are to help find solutions to the large problem of violence against women by dealing with the present situation as effectively as possible.

The second research question asked whether a difference in philosophy of these programs results in a significant difference in services for women. As mentioned above, the basic services offered are the same at all four universities, two exceptions being Carleton's walk-by service and McGill's self-defence component.

First, considering the basic services, the four universities have foot patrol and walk home services. That is, they respond to specific requests for escorts and spend the rest of their time patrolling their zones on campus. Except for McGill, the zones are limited to campus and just slightly off campus. McGill patrollers will essentially take you anywhere you want to go, and will take a cab or ride the bus or metro with you also. This is indeed extraordinary service; their concern for users of the service does not end once they are off campus property.

Carleton's walk-by service, not provided by the other universities, is a service that can be especially comforting to those working in isolated buildings and labs on campus late at night.

McGill is the only university to have mandated to "make available self-defence courses, run by women, in order to encourage an alternative means of empowerment for women" (Walksafe, 1994). McGill's decision to mandate an alternative to their service demonstrates a clear understanding of the issues confronting women. They are well aware that women may not feel comfortable depending on others for safety, and have made a commitment to providing a more empowering alternative.

Another important factor to consider when examining the basic service is the composition of the patrol teams. They essentially *are* the service- patrollers are the visible, front-line volunteers. What users and the public gather from these patrollers, whether it be through conversation or observing their behaviour, is of utmost importance.

Claims cannot be made, on the basis of this research, as to whether women feel safer, or more at ease with two-women teams as opposed to co-ed. Further research is needed to determine whether some women feel uncomfortable having a man on a patrol team, even though he is a 'safe' man, or whether some women still ascribe to certain values that characterise men as protectors and may actually feel better in the presence of a man. Thus in terms of the actual service provided, the escort itself,

there very well may be no difference at all between two women and co-ed teams.

But what about the more implicit 'service' which these programs provide? Indeed, all four programs have references to these components in either their mandates and/or during the interview - education and awareness; education and awareness about fear and safety on campus, education and awareness about sexual assault and victimisation. In what fashion do strictly co-ed teams serve to educate the public about these issues? Thus it is in these terms that having only co-ed teams becomes problematic. It is a great disservice to perpetuate the notion that women can only be safe with a man, and that is what programs with strictly co-ed teams may help to do.

The third, final and most important question asks whether these foot patrol/walk home services can be classified as either victim control, self-empowerment, or social change strategies as outlined by Corcoran (1992). More specifically, are they band-aid solutions which serve to reproduce women's dependency on others for protection or are they a step towards social change and empowerment for women?

When attempting to somehow 'fit' these programs within

Corcoran's classification it becomes evident that while the categories might appear plausible on paper, the reality is not so cut and dried; in fact, it rarely is with complex social issues such as this. Regardless, Corcoran's feminist perspective does allow us to make some significant observations about these programs.

The foot patrol/walk home programs have definite characteristics of victim control programs. With these programs the impetus is on the woman to take steps to avoid victimisation. She makes a choice not to engage in what is considered a potentially dangerous activity, being out alone at night. The flaws inherent in this approach have already been discussed, and include the potential to blame the victim. More importantly, women are being offered an option that makes them more dependent on others for safety, a trend that runs counter to the empowerment convictions of the feminist movement. Corcoran defines self-empowerment strategies as: "[They] do not seek to limit a woman's freedom; rather, they try to provide women with more options and to strengthen their ability to resist and avoid rape" (1992). Foot patrol/walk home services are an option which provide women with increased freedom – with an escort, of course. This is an option which allows women to engage in activities they otherwise wouldn't, or at the very least makes

them feel safer about it; this may indeed make some women feel more empowered. Thus the limitations of Corcoran's categories begin to appear as foot patrol/walk home services have characteristics of both the above.

Corcoran discussed the drawbacks of self-empowerment strategies, the most evident being, once again, the potential to blame the victim by placing the responsibility on the woman to avoid victimisation. Thus, she concludes, the social change approach is the most viable way of attacking the issue. Social change strategies examine the root causes of our "rape-supportive culture" and places the issues within the context of our patriarchal, hierarchical society. Men, as perpetrators of violence against women, will be a focus of these educational strategies, thus removing some of the responsibility from women to avoid victimisation. Indeed, Stanko asserts: "Crime prevention from a feminist perspective necessarily includes a direct challenge to men's dominance in all spheres of everyday life. Preventing the victimisation of women and children, therefore, entails crime prevention strategies aimed at boys and men" (1990, 181).

These are the most ideal type of programs to combat and help to eliminate pervasive violence against women at the hands of men. Even Corcoran admits that it is "overwhelming" at the

very least to contemplate challenging well entrenched societal beliefs, but efforts must begin regardless, and we will all benefit from the outcome in the future.

Having in-depth, comprehensive training of volunteers may or may not impact on the actual service provided to users, however, it must be seen as an opportunity to educate people on the realities of issues of women, fear and safety. Yet while all the programs had sensitivity training on women's issues, racism, homosexuality, and sexual assault, they did so in differing degrees and depths.

The University of Ottawa's one to two hours of training on all these issues combined is very limited. Women may indeed be the focus of the service, however their educational component would have to improve significantly for it to expect to have a meaningful impact.

Carleton and Concordia offer eight-hour day long sessions, and McGill provides about 20 hours of training. These longer hours can be expected to produce a more comprehensive examination of the issues. The precise content of the training sessions then becomes the key variable.

Mark (Carleton) stated that women's issues and sexual assault awareness were components of their training. Despite not

having more detailed information as to the exact content of these sessions, the fact that women do not figure prominently within the context of their service may bring this training into some question.

Concordia certainly has the most interesting training of the four universities, their interactive theatre presentation being the highlight. Women are the focus of their training throughout, and these efforts demonstrate the time, energy and imagination that went into this very important part of their service.

McGill's strong feminist foundation, along with specific references made of the training such as "combating myths of sexual assault", gives us a good indication of the content of their sessions. Combating the myths and educating the volunteers about real dangers is part and parcel of their program. Furthermore, McGill volunteers receive more training than volunteers of the other three universities combined. All of this puts McGill ahead of the others in terms of training and education.

We must assure ourselves that every aspect of the training contextualises the issue within our patriarchal, hierarchical setting and makes a point to educate persons by combating myths about sexual assault, fear and safety prevalent in society today. Implicit within a feminist perspective is that

working towards eliminating violence against women means directing strategies towards men in society to stop their abusive behaviour. Foot patrol/walk home services are great opportunities to educate hundreds of men every year, and the fact that they have voluntarily given their time does by no means indicate that this is 'preaching to the converted' -'Mr. Rambo' is an indication of that. These opportunities should be taken full advantage of and exploited to their full potential in order to help invoke significant changes in the future.

As we can see, these programs do not fit neatly into either category; they are not strictly victim control strategies, and nor are they social change strategies. So the question remains, simply, do these programs reproduce women's dependency or can they be seen as a step towards more significant social change?

Again, there is no clear cut answer. Certainly, having women depend on others for safety and autonomy is not ideal, but does this reproduce dependency, per se? Thousands of escorts are provided for women per campus per year; many of these women are more autonomous and/or feel safer than they ever have before. Indeed, we cannot forget that the catalyst for these programs have been women themselves; their refusal to continue to have their actions regulated by their fear demonstrates a need

to regain control and gain autonomy. The contradictions, of course, exist and are very real to some, as demonstrated by Lisa and Cathy: Cathy (McGill) herself admitted that while she is an active administrator and volunteer within the service, she would never use the service because she finds it paternalistic and disempowering. The compromise has been made to deal with the present situation: women are afraid to be out at night alone and restrict their activities because of this fear.

A program such as Carleton's, which addresses the general problem of fear with no acknowledgement of its particular impact on women does little to improve the current situation. This is a fundamental point which must be addressed before the program can make any further progress. Indeed, significant changes must be made in order for the program to depart significantly from the victim control model.

The University of Ottawa's training and educational/ awareness components are lacking somewhat, and these are integral parts of the program which should be improved if they too are to notably evolve away from a victim control type program.

McGill and Concordia have strong educational/ awareness components, and along with two-women teams can be seen as

contributing to some social change while presently increasing women's autonomy. Women are the focus of both these programs, and women are shown to be able to care for themselves. McGill's program is even more comprehensive, controlling the man to woman ratio within the organisation and providing self-defence courses.

McGill's Walksafe program has made a commitment to not only deal with the present reality of the situation, but to empower women, to educate the public, and in turn invoke some concrete change in this realm. Change in this area cannot be expected for a long while yet, and in the meantime women's fear must be managed however possible. Despite the problems and contradictions, this service helps thousands of women per year, and that must be acknowledged. While there is always room for improvement, McGill, as demonstrated by the research, is the present ideal towards which the other programs should strive.

The long term goal is to bring about the end of pervasive violence and abuse against women, of which men are the perpetrators. In the short term, woman-centred foot patrol/walk home services like McGill's, as 'band-aid' as they may well be, serve an important and necessary purpose for those women who

chose to use the service. Foot patrol/walk home services in and of themselves cannot contribute to meaningful change. In conjunction with comprehensive, feminist educational and awareness programs however, the potential for long-term social change exists.

CONCLUSION

In the first chapter, the prevalence of fear amongst women in our society was discussed. The paradox of women's high rates of fear and apparent low rates of victimisation was analysed as well. Explanations for this paradox put forth by mainstream criminologists were reviewed and found to be inadequate. Feminist discourse has provided an alternate explanation, one which takes into account private violence suffered by women and contextualises the issue within our patriarchal society.

Established myths surrounding where one should be most afraid and who one should be most afraid of permeate our society. Women are constantly fed the myth that the outdoors is a very dangerous place, and that strangers pose the greatest threat to our safety. Feminist research has also dispelled those myths, and openly challenged the systems in place which perpetuate them.

Chapter Two focuses the dialogue on campuses, which represent a unique microcosm of our society. University administrators and students across Canada have responded to the apparent increases in crime and fear through various measures. The proliferation of campus foot patrol/walk home services is an

example of this. However, administrative responses to violence against women on campus were reviewed and were found to concern themselves mainly with outdoor space, and consequently, stranger assaults.

Corcoran's feminist analysis of campus rape prevention programs placed administrative responses into three categories: victim-control, self-empowerment, and social change strategies. Her conclusions are that the majority of responses fall into the victim-control category, when we should instead be focusing on social change strategies. From the above premises, a feminist analysis of foot patrol/walk home services was undertaken.

The major question at hand was to see whether these services maintain and reproduce women's dependency on others for protection or if they can be seen as increasing women's opportunities for empowerment and contribute to significant social change in this area. The results showed that while all foot patrol/walk home services are inherently victim-control strategies, different programs have different potential for social change. A comprehensively conceptualised program with a feminist foundation, incorporating an in-depth educational/awareness component such as McGill's can conceivably have an impact in the long-term.

Perhaps the most important element about McGill's program, and should be with all others, is their desire to be a temporary measure, working towards the time that the service no longer be needed. They view themselves as an interim solution, helping women to manage their fear on a daily basis, while also trying to contribute towards eliminating abuse against women.

Thus we must be aware that foot patrol/walk home services are temporary 'stepping-stone' measures which help women on campus negotiate their fear on a day to day basis. Stanko summarises the limitations present in these programs, as they have been discussed in this paper:

[U]niversity policy is most curious if it is seriously meant to address women's safety. All the evidence suggests that women's greatest danger is faced *indoors*, usually within the confines of their own social networks and particularly their own homes, from men who are familiar and familial. Yet the bulk of advice to women continues to speak of the potential threat and harm from those strangers who lurk *outside*, which masks the far greater danger facing university students: their male classmates. The reality is that women's encounters with *any* man could be dangerous. Of course, not all men are rapists. But the dilemma for women, not only university students but all women, is to be able to sort out the dangerous from the safe men. Rape alarms, self-defence classes, and police lectures will not provide the information women

need to do that (1993, 155–156; emphasis hers).

Thus, policies should be moving towards recognising the real risks and dangers, and targeting men for change as the perpetrators of violence against women. We must never stray from the thought of trying to eliminate the need for these programs, rather than see them expand in size and scope.

As was mentioned above, in accordance with feminist thought, we should be moving towards focusing social change strategies on men. The thousands of male volunteers who devote time to these foot patrol/walk home services across the country are as good candidates as any; these opportunities *must* be taken advantage of. Training, education and awareness sessions could be developed specifically for male volunteers. This would be an relatively simple, yet significant step towards achieving our overwhelming but imperative final goal of eliminating pervasive violence against women.

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APPENDIX 1

RECRUITMENT LETTER

Anita Cugliandro
Dept. Of Criminology
Universit of Ottawa
1 Stewart St.
Ottawa, Ont.
K1N 6N5
(613)564-4070
(514)329-4172

To whom it may concern:

I am a graduate student in Criminology at the University of Ottawa, and am in the process of completing my thesis. The subject of my thesis is a feminist analysis of campus security programs aimed at women, such as walk home services and the like. As part of my research, I am planning to gather information on programs from different universities in the Ottawa and Montreal areas. I am also planning to conduct interviews with representatives/coordinators and/or public relations persons from the various university safety programs.

I am writing this in hopes you would be interested in participating in my research by agreeing to be interviewed. The first set of questions are descriptive in nature, and require you to describe the various components of the program. The second set of questions are more interpretive in nature; you will be asked to reflect on issues concerning women's safety on campus. The interview is expected to last about one hour and a half, and will be taped on audio cassette to be subsequently transcribed. Once this is done, the tapes will be erased.

I would like to assure you that, if you agree to participate, all information gathered is for the sole purpose of my thesis. Furthermore, I would like to assure you that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time, can refuse to participate and can refuse to answer certain questions without penalty. Two copies of a consent form outlining these provisions will be signed by myself and the participant prior to the interview.

The interviews would greatly inform my research, and I sincerely hope that you agree to participate. You will receive a telephone call from me in a few days time, during which a time and place for the interview can be determined, if you agree. I will be more than happy to answer any other questions you may have at that time as well. Thank-you.

Sincerely,

Anita Cugliandro

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Describe your program (foot patrol; improved lighting initiatives etc.).

2. Can you tell me how it was created? That is, what was the process preceding the creation of the program?
 - (A) How long has the service been provided?/When was your service started?
 - (B) Was a committee created to study the situation? Who was on the committee?
 - (C) Was it a student or administrative initiative? Both? Who/What was the source of this initiative?
 - (D) Is your service run solely by students or the administration, or both?
 - (E) What were the initial objectives of the program? Have they changed since then?

3. Have there been consultations (with administration, students etc.) since the establishment of the program(s)?

4. Are there any statistics being gathered concerning the program(s)? How and by whom was/is this done?

5. Has an evaluation of the service been conducted? (If yes) Who conducted the evaluation and when was it done?
 - (A) Has the students' response to this service(s) been determined?

6. Does your university have an official policy concerning violence against women?

(A) (If yes) How does your program fit in to the administration's stand on the issues concerning violence against women on campus?

7. In regards to issues concerning violence against women, what do you feel that your program offers women on campus?

8. Is your program linked to other initiatives/programs for women on campus? (If yes) Which ones?

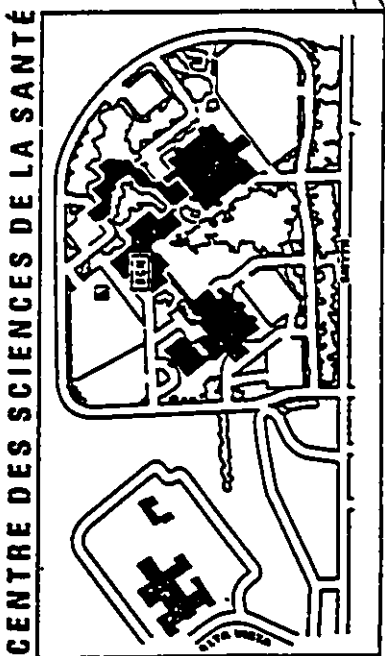
9. Can you think of ways in which your program can be improved? Why do you think that these improvements have not been made?

10. Do you think that other initiatives would complement the existing program(s)?

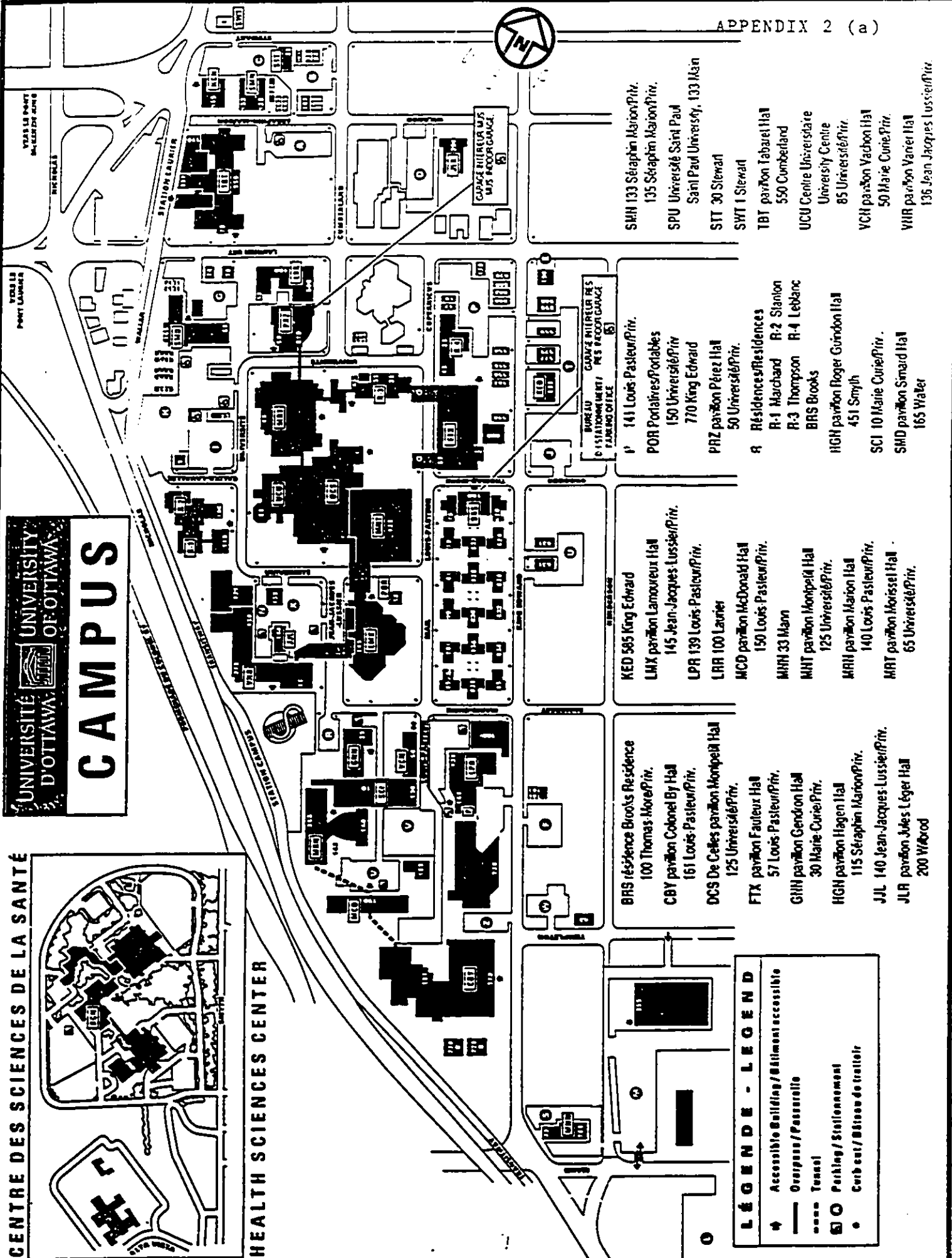
APPENDIX 2

MAPS

UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA
CAMPUS



HEALTH SCIENCES CENTER



L É G E N D E - L E G E N D

- Accessible Building / Bâtiment accessible
- Overpass / Passerelle
- Tunnel
- ⊞ Parking / Stationnement
- Car cut / Biseau de trottoir

- BRS résidence Brooks Residence
100 Thomas-More/Priv.
- CBY pavillon Colonel By Hall
161 Louis-Pasteur/Priv.
- DCS De Celles pavillon Montpeil Hall
125 Université/Priv.
- FTX pavillon Fauteur Hall
57 Louis-Pasteur/Priv.
- GRIN pavillon Gendron Hall
30 Marie-Curie/Priv.
- HGH pavillon Hagen Hall
115 Séraphin Marion/Priv.
- JUL 140 Jean-Jacques Lussier/Priv.
- JLR pavillon Jules Léger Hall
200 Wilford

- KED 585 King Edward
- LMX pavillon Lamoureux Hall
145 Jean-Jacques Lussier/Priv.
- LPR 139 Louis-Pasteur/Priv.
- LRR 100 Lavie
- MCD pavillon McDonald Hall
150 Louis-Pasteur/Priv.
- MHN 33 Mann
- MNT pavillon Montpeil Hall
125 Université/Priv.
- MRII pavillon Marion Hall
140 Louis-Pasteur/Priv.
- MRT pavillon Morisset Hall
65 Université/Priv.

- 141 Louis-Pasteur/Priv.
- POR Portaires/Portables
150 Université/Priv.
- 770 King Edward
- PRZ pavillon Pérez Hall
50 Université/Priv.
- R Résidences/Residences
R-1 Marchand R-2 Stanion
R-3 Thompson R-4 Leblanc
BRS Brooks
- HGH pavillon Roger Gindon Hall
451 Smyth
- SCI 10 Marie-Curie/Priv.
- SMD pavillon Smead Hall
165 Walter

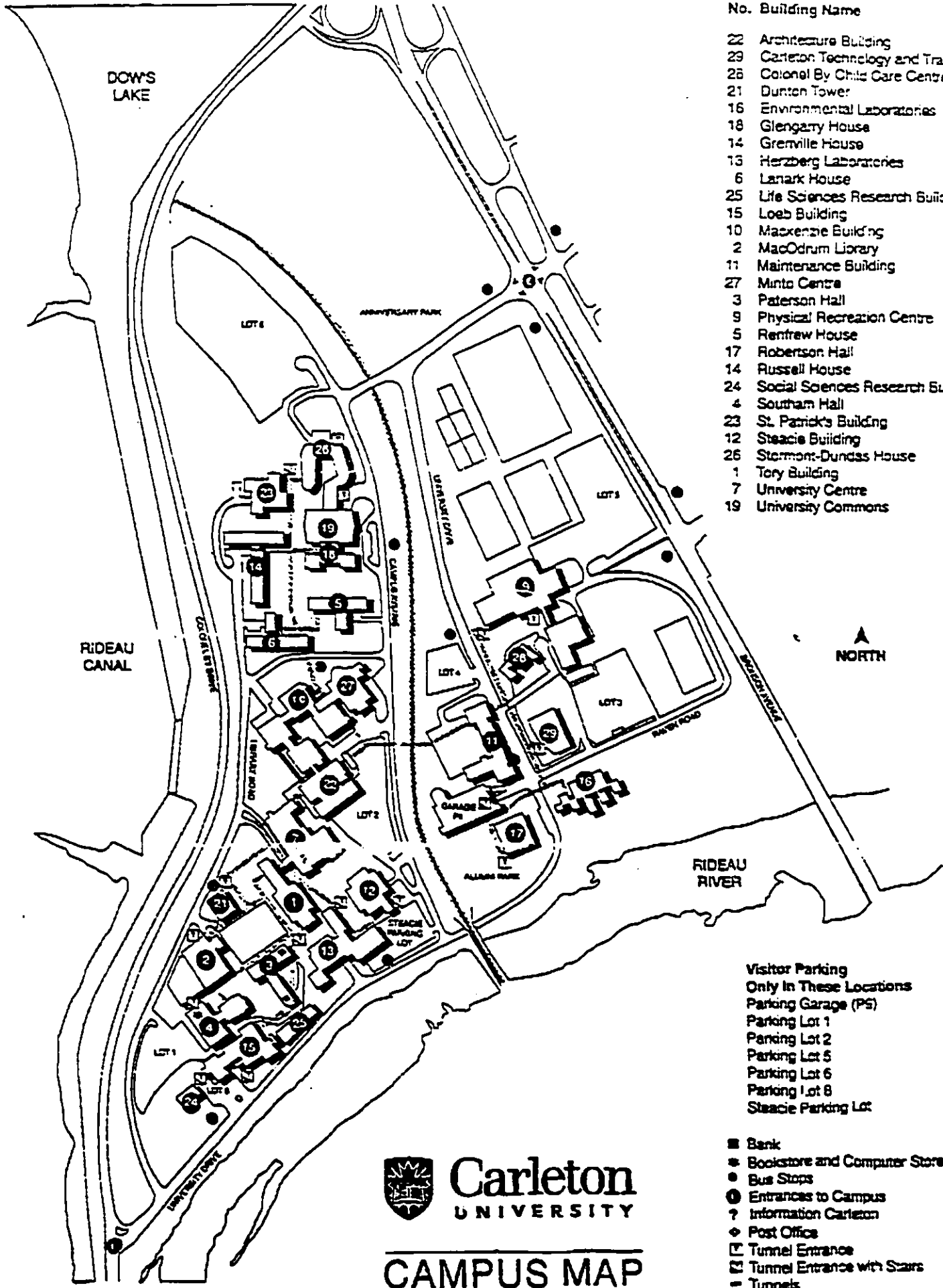
- SMH 133 Séraphin Marion/Priv.
- 135 Séraphin Marion/Priv.
- SPU Université Saint Paul
- Saint Paul University, 133 Main
- STT 30 Stewart
- SWT 1 Stewart
- TBT pavillon Tabarell Hall
550 Cumberland
- UCU Centre Universitaire
University Centre
85 Université/Priv.
- VCH pavillon Vachon Hall
50 Marie-Curie/Priv.
- VHR pavillon Vanier Hall
136 Jean-Jacques Lussier/Priv.

BUREAU
GARAGE INTÉRIEUR DES
STATIONNEMENT / PLS RECORD GARAGE
PARKING OFFICE




No. Building Name

- 22 Architecture Building
- 29 Carleton Technology and Training Centre
- 28 Colonial By Child Care Centre
- 21 Dunton Tower
- 16 Environmental Laboratories
- 18 Glengarry House
- 14 Grenville House
- 13 Herzberg Laboratories
- 6 Lanark House
- 25 Life Sciences Research Building
- 15 Loeb Building
- 10 Mackenzie Building
- 2 MacOdrum Library
- 11 Maintenance Building
- 27 Minto Centre
- 3 Paterson Hall
- 9 Physical Recreation Centre
- 5 Renfrew House
- 17 Robertson Hall
- 14 Russell House
- 24 Social Sciences Research Building
- 4 Southam Hall
- 23 St. Patrick's Building
- 12 Steacie Building
- 26 Stornont-Dundas House
- 1 Tory Building
- 7 University Centre
- 19 University Commons

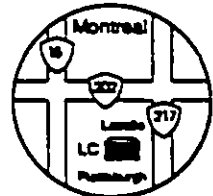
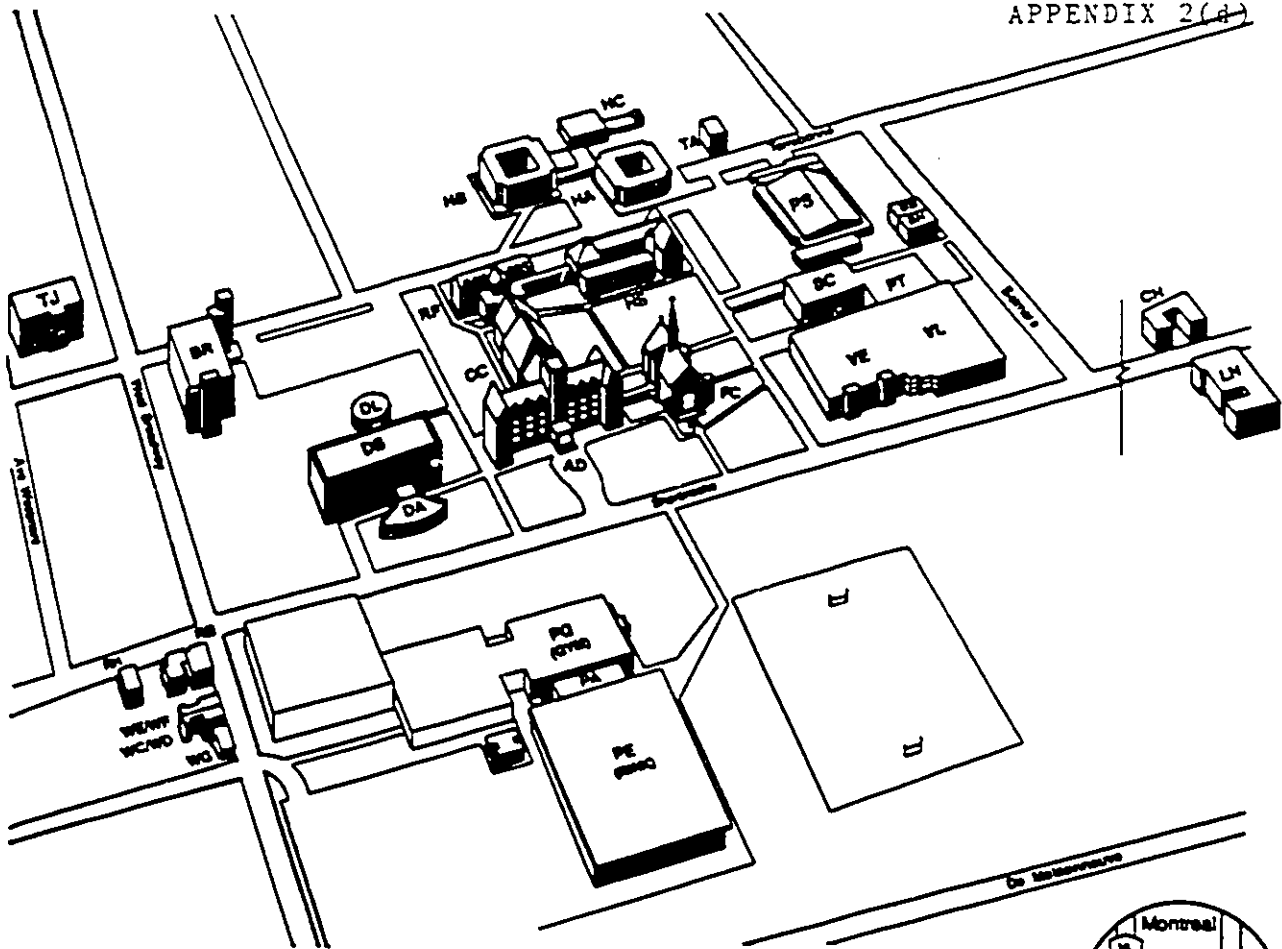


- Visitor Parking
Only in These Locations
- Parking Garage (PS)
 - Parking Lot 1
 - Parking Lot 2
 - Parking Lot 5
 - Parking Lot 6
 - Parking Lot 8
 - Steacie Parking Lot

- Bank
- Bookstore and Computer Store
- Bus Stops
- ⊙ Entrances to Campus
- ⊙ Information Carleton
- ◆ Post Office
- ⌈ Tunnel Entrance
- ⌈ Tunnel Entrance with Stairs
- Tunnels

 **Carleton**
UNIVERSITY

CAMPUS MAP



Concordia
UNIVERSITY

Loyola Campus

BUILDING/ANNEX KEY

AD	Administration Building	7141 Sherbrooke W.
BB/BH	Les "Pats Profs/DayCare"	3502/3500 Belmont
BR	Bryan Building	3475 West Broadway
CC	Central Building	7141 Sherbrooke W.
CH	Centennial Building	6931/37 Sherbrooke W.
DA	Drummond Auditorium	7141 Sherbrooke W.
DL	Russell W. Breen Senate Chamber	7141 Sherbrooke W.
DS	Drummond Science	7141 Sherbrooke W.
FC	F. C. Smith Auditorium	7141 Sherbrooke W.
HA	Hingston Hall A	7141 Sherbrooke W.
HB	Hingston Hall B	7141 Sherbrooke W.
HC	Hingston Hall C	7141 Sherbrooke W.
HS	High School	7141 Sherbrooke W.
LC	Lacolle Centre	Lacolle, Quebec
LH	Langley Hall	6900 Sherbrooke W.
PA	Athletics-Admin.	7200 Sherbrooke W.
PB	Athletics-Boiler Rm.	7200 Sherbrooke W.
PE	Athletics-Rink	7200 Sherbrooke W.
PG	Athletics-Gym	7200 Sherbrooke W.
PS	Physical Services/Bookstore	7141 Sherbrooke W.
PT	Concert Hall	7141 Sherbrooke W.
RB	Sherbrooke 3	7300/7302 Sherbrooke W.
RF	Refectory Building	7141 Sherbrooke W.
RH	Sherbrooke 2	7312 Sherbrooke W.
SC	Campus Centre	7141 Sherbrooke W.
TA	Annex TA	7079 Terrebonne
TJ	Annex TJ	7315 Terrebonne
VE	Varier Extension	7141 Sherbrooke W.
VL	Varier Library	7141 Sherbrooke W.
WC/WO	West Broadway 3	2490/2492 West Broadway
WE/WF	West Broadway 2	2494/2496 West Broadway
WG	West Broadway 4	2480 West Broadway

ALPHABETICAL KEY

Annex TA	7079 Terrebonne
Annex TJ	7315 Terrebonne
Administration Building	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Athletics-Admin.	7200 Sherbrooke W.
Athletics-Boiler Rm.	7200 Sherbrooke W.
Athletics-Gym	7200 Sherbrooke W.
Athletics-Rink	7200 Sherbrooke W.
Bryan Building	3475 West Broadway
Campus Centre	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Centennial Building	6931/37 Sherbrooke W.
Central Building	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Concert Hall	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Drummond Auditorium	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Drummond Science	7141 Sherbrooke W.
F. C. Smith Auditorium	7141 Sherbrooke W.
High School	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Hingston Hall A	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Hingston Hall B	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Hingston Hall C	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Lacolle Hall	Lacolle, Quebec
Langley Hall	6900 Sherbrooke W.
Les "Pats Profs"/Daycare	3502/3500 Belmont
Physical Services/Bookstore	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Refectory Building	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Russell W. Breen Senate Chamber	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Sherbrooke 3	7300/7302 Sherbrooke W.
Sherbrooke 2	7312 Sherbrooke W.
Varier Extension	7141 Sherbrooke W.
Varier Library	7141 Sherbrooke W.
West Broadway 2	2494/2496 West Broadway
West Broadway 3	2490/2492 West Broadway
West Broadway 4	2480 West Broadway

APPENDIX 3

REMINDER!

**The Foot Patrol
only operates in co-ed pairs,
that is, one man and one woman.**



**The Foot Patrol 6pm - 1:30am
Seven Nights a Week**

**We will walk with you to and from any part on campus,
and even to some spots off-campus!**

788-4066

CARLETON FOOT PATROL




 Patrols

 Escorts

 Walk-bys



 7 Nights a Week

 6 pm - 1:30 am

**Take Care of
Yourself - You're
Worth It**

788-4066



461 Unicentre (off of Baker's Lounge)

EDITORIAL

The danger of institutionalizing Walksafe

Imagine that in your community, red-jacketed citizens patrol the streets, escorting certain members of society from their schools or workplaces to their homes. A futuristic vision? Hardly. On any given night, the area around McGill is swamped with Walksafe Network members. From a pool nearing 600 in number, Walksafe volunteers work in teams of two to escort between 40 and 60 people per night from anywhere to anywhere.

It is unquestionable that Walksafe is both successful and provides a necessary service. From September 27 to October 26, the McGill Sexual Assault Centre and Walksafe received a total of fifteen incident reports. That's 15 incidents of verbal abuse, grabbing and other abuses of a sexual nature in less than one month. And that is, of course, a figure which only encompasses those who report incidents.

Yet Walksafe can, and indeed must, be criticized — not for any transgressions

within the organization itself, but for what it has become on campus.

Walksafe is treated now, not through any fault of the organizers, as just another extracurricular activity. A common sentiment among McGill students is the addition of Walksafe to a list of other activities in which they participate: "I play intramurals, I'm in the Gamer's Guild, and I do Walksafe."

But Walksafe must remain in a paradigm of its own. It is not merely a 'club' or a 'service'; it is a tragic necessity. It is imperative that those who participate in Walksafe realize the implications of such an organization for a so-called 'free' society.

In this year's Students' Society student handbook, the Walksafe description reads: "While acting as a walk home service, the foot patrol provides students with an alternative to walking home after dark and ensures a visible student presence on campus and the neighboring community in order to deter crime."

While crime 'deterrence' is not synonymous with crime 'enforcement,' one wonders whether Walksafe, on one level, alleviates local police of responsibility for the community.

But whether or not this nuanced form of vigilantism is wrong in and of itself is not the debate (and with the assault rate as it is, Walksafe should not be condemned as such). Rather, it is the slow swim of Walksafe into the mainstream which must be questioned. Public sentiment on campus suggests that Walksafe is no longer a 'fringe' group which is largely ignored (such as the Women's Union or Lesbians, Bisexuals, and Gays of McGill), but now falls into the 'mainstream' category of club (like Snow boarders or the Outing Club). The irony is that Walksafe originally sprung from the Women's Union. Yet its mainstream character now allows it to act as a personal stepping stone — nothing looks as good on a law school application as an interest in 'community service.'

Yet what is the ultimate

end of Walksafe? Now they merely escort us, but in the future, will Walksafe volunteers be armed? Of course, this example is meant to be extreme, yet it points to the fact that Walksafe is a band-aid solution to a real problem: the ongoing problem of predominantly male violence.

Non-mainstream McGill groups like the Women's Union or LBGM use discussion groups to assess and restrict the status of prejudice and oppression in our community, both locally and at large. But the intrinsically political nature of these groups (political due to their status as 'marginal' within the traditional power dynamic of the patriarchy) have made them a much less popular choice at Activities Night.

Of course, Walksafe does offer "sensitivity training to the issues surrounding sexual assault and 'street smarts' awareness training" (Handbook 13). But it logistically cannot provide the necessary context to educate Walksafers. Instead, it is up to the members of Walksafe to educate themselves

and realize the seriousness of the activity they are undertaking. Walksafe does not operate in a vacuum; it is part of our society.

Without addressing the sickness in our society that makes Walksafe necessary, we are essentially resigning ourselves to a future of Walksafe, the 'institution,' not 'walking safe,' the activity. Women don't want to be walked home every night. Women want to walk alone, at night; they want to walk on the mountain and through the ghetto and not be scared for their lives. Once an organization like Walksafe becomes institutionalized, it has been accepted as permanent and timeless. The thought that for the rest of our lives, women will have to be escorted door to door because men in our culture remain ignorant to the larger issues surrounding women's safety, is something which all Walksafe members, and indeed all McGill students, should consider.

KATRINA ONSTAD

COMMENT

Walksafe will never institutionalize

In response to Katrina Onstad's editorial "The danger of institutionalizing Walksafe" (*Tribune* Nov. 2-8), we'd like to clarify Walksafe's goals and explain its philosophy.

We object to Ms. Onstad's use of the term "band aid solution" in characterizing the role of Walksafe. The service Walksafe provides is a *temporary* means through which to cope with the real problem of violence against women. Where Walksafe becomes part of the solution is in its capacity to raise and foster awareness about this issue. Walksafe accomplishes this task through such activities as compiling and publishing (in this paper and in the *Daily*) reports of sexual assault and harassment in our community, by seeking active involvement with other student groups (i.e. SACOMSS and the Women's Caucus), and by participating in discussions with off-campus organizations dedicated to, among other things, issues of personal security.

It is our hope that the "ultimate end of Walksafe" is to fall out of existence because it is no longer needed.

Furthermore, Walksafe is not, as Ms. Onstad contends, a form of "vigilantism". It is imperative to understand that Walksafe possesses a strict policy of non-intervention. Our volunteer contract, which every mem-

ber must sign, explicitly states that "while on duty, I will under no circumstances undertake physical acts to rescue, assist or in any other way, physically interfere with any client, patrol partner, or member of the general public".

More important, Walksafe's goal is not to replace or "alleviate" local police of their duties but rather to more actively involve them within the community. In fact, the MUC police as well as campus security have increased the patrols they perform as a result of the efforts of such student groups as Walksafe. Walksafe does not operate as a protection agency but offers women and men a choice and an effective alternative to travelling alone after dark. In so doing, we wish to increase people's sense of comfort within their physical surroundings.

In defense of Walksafe volunteers, we feel that the editorial belittles their commitment to the service and the hard work that they do. Formal practices exist which enable us to assess a member's suitability and to ensure that a potential volunteer is made aware of the larger context in which Walksafe operates. New applicants undergo personal interviews and if accepted, they must attend a mandatory training session which includes an eight-hour crisis intervention training seminar for dispatchers. Volun-

teers contribute two and a half hours of their time every week—that's two and a half hours even in rain and snow—and we feel that this demonstrates a serious commitment to Walksafe's goals. The nature of volunteering for Walksafe is simply not synonymous with membership in the Gamer's Guild, to use Ms. Onstad's example.

Walksafe has grown in numbers but the reality is that we need an enormous volunteer pool in order to offer a consistent and accessible service. This does not mean that Walksafe's ideology and philosophy have changed. Walksafe is and will remain a women-centred, non-hierarchical organization based on consensus.

Although we disagree with some of Ms. Onstad's points, we welcome and are open to constructive criticism.

Walksafe Network Coordinators