

**GENDERED PERCEPTIONS OF PLACE ON YORK
UNIVERSITY'S KEELE CAMPUS THROUGH A LENS OF
PERSONAL SAFETY.**

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Abstract

The York University Keele Campus is a public space that is primarily used by students, faculty, and staff and at any given moment there can be thousands of individuals on the University campus. With a student population of just over 50,000, York University is one of the largest universities in Canada and resembles a small city. Much like a city, the Keele Campus of York University has been impacted by incidents of sexual assault, robberies, hate crimes and criminal activity that have produced caution amongst those who interact with the Campus. The incidents that have occurred on the Campus have affected many individuals' ability to establish a sense of place and cause them to restrict their use of space. On a university campus where incidents are publicized by the socialization between students, media reports, and notification emails, concerns regarding personal safety manifest into perceptions of place that are highly gendered. Through a lens of personal safety, this thesis seeks to understand students' perceptions of place on the Keele Campus, identifying how the built environment, students' gender identity, and the reputation attributed to space contribute to students' perceptions. Moreover, it will explore how the perceptions of place held by students affect their daily geographies of the Keele Campus and challenge the gender normative direction of the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design model that exists in the governing and operation of the Keele Campus.

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List of Acronyms

METRAC	Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children
Fact Book.....	The York University Fact Book
TTC	Toronto Transit Commission
U of T.....	University of Toronto
GTA	Greater Toronto Area
UPACE	University Planners, Architects and Consulting Engineers
CPTED	Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
YUDC.....	York University Development Corporation
CCTV.....	Closed Circuit Television

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Chapter One: Introduction

Personal safety concerns, to some extent, have always been an issue on York University's Keele Campus. These concerns heightened in 2007 at the beginning of the fall term when two men entered the Vanier Residence, and forced their way into a dorm room where they committed a sexual attack on a female student and then fled (Ikeda and Rosser, 2010, p. 37). This terrible event was followed by an increase of sexual assault reports in campus residences and other University spaces. It is crucial to acknowledge that the events of the 2007-2008 academic year were not the first incidents of this kind. In 2000 five women had been attacked on the Campus and two others in the surrounding community in a series of brazen daylight sexual assaults (Hartley, 2007, par. 10). Following the events of 2007, York University officials responded with an increase in security measures that included adding additional security and patrolling staff, and urging students to be vigilant while on the Campus. However, in the next semester of the same academic year, sexual assaults were reported in the Founders College Residence and the bus loop at the Harry W. Arthurs Common in three separate incidents (Ikeda and Rosser, 2010, p. 37-38). Although University officials continued to address the safety incidents with increased security measures students continued to question the effectiveness of the University's efforts. These events, in conjunction with the geographic location of the Campus (perceived by community members and the general public as being both isolated from the city-at-large and in close proximity to a stigmatized Jane-Finch community), developed a negative reputation for York University that was freely expressed in public discourse. Then president of York University Mamdouh Shoukri was recorded as saying, "on a large campus, on an open campus, these incidents will take place . . . we'd like to minimize them through improved security and safety" (Girard, 2008, par. 13). As a result of the public dialogue and the security concerns surrounding the University, Shoukri ordered an audit of the safety and security of York's Keele Campus by an independent third party.

Following the order by Shoukri the Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC) worked to develop the York University Safety Audit that was released in 2010. METRAC works with individuals, communities and institutions to change ideas, actions and policies with the goal of ending violence against women and youth (METRAC, 2018). METRAC was tasked with two main objectives: to facilitate a participatory,

inclusive, multidisciplinary, integrated and holistic safety audit of York's campuses and to recommend changes to the physical and cultural environment (METRAC, 2010, p. 7). METRAC was successful in recommending effective improvements, especially for the reduction of possible violence and crime. The safety audit included online surveys, as well as an assessment of the social and physical environment, of York and of York's Security Services. METRAC's assessment revealed that the social environment of York University should ensure inclusivity and encompass a sense of belonging and acceptance, which foster individuals' feeling of safety. Although the audit highlighted opportunities for improvement, there was frustration amongst students towards the redundancy of the entire assessment. As Dashika Selvasivam, vice-president for the York Federation of Students at the time, expressed, "the report highlights and sheds light on what we've been saying time and again it speaks to the realities that students face on campus" (Carlson, 2010, par. 6). The audit was efficacious in some respects, as it initiated progressive dialogue and allowed for University officials to direct more funding toward improving security on campus for the short and long-term goals recommended by METRAC. The METRAC Report provided an insight to York's security issues along with solutions and the social dynamics that exist on the Keele Campus. It enabled participants to express their concerns and experiences of campus life; illustrating the type of interactions taking place on the Keele Campus. This provided the University with key information to foster improvements for years to come.

York University is one of several post-secondary institutions in the City of Toronto. Each of these universities and colleges attract high school students not only from the region, but also from elsewhere in Canada and internationally. The campus of a university is integral to the development of a sense of belonging for faculty and staff, but most importantly its students. Many students leave home to obtain a university education, and move into campus residences or housing elsewhere in the cities in which their respective university is located. The geographic relocation for students can be overwhelming as they are faced with new commutes to-and-from their university, navigating through a new space, and interacting with new individuals. Although not all students move away from their home to attend post-secondary education, all students must cope with this significant transition that is a geographical, social, physical, and an emotional experience. A university's campus has the ability to foster a successful transition for students that limit feelings of displacement by developing a built environment where students

feel that they are welcomed, their safety is secure, and they have the ability to develop a sense of place. Chapman (2006) explains,

The sense of place associated with a college campus has particular meaning because it is typically experienced at a time and in a way that is poignant in the lives of those who attend the institution, a time of intense personal exploration (p. xxii).

Chapman (2006) characterizes sense of place as a personal phenomenon based on our own experiences and cognitions with a physical environment. The campus is an ideal physical environment where place cannot only be defined, but also examined as post-secondary students transform a campus into their home, neighbourhood, community, or place.

The experiences individuals have with space depend on many variables that collectively influence how they may or may not interact with space. It is crucial to determine the variables, which cause individuals to develop negative perceptions of particular spaces in order to identify opportunities for improvement and influence the successful design of new public spaces.

At every instant, there is more than the eye can see, more than the ear can hear, a setting or a view waiting to be explored. Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences (Lynch, 1960, p. 1).

Lynch (1960) suggest that personal experience within a space is one that involves all senses of one's self and consists of many layers of physical, emotional, social, and cultural elements that collectively produce particular perceptions. This deeply personal process with space as described by Lynch (1960) and Chapman's (2006) notion of sense of place influences my construct and use of *perception of place* in this thesis. I believe perception of place to be a full body experience that is defined as being in the process of, or becoming aware of, the meaning ascribed to physical space through the senses.

Perception of place as a process is not independent, but rather, it incorporates the built environment, an individual's gender, and the reputations attributed to a space. The built environment in this thesis refers to the York University Keele Campus. The Keele Campus, located in the North-West section of the City of Toronto is one of the largest universities in Canada, with a student population of just over 50,000 and over 100 buildings on a 457-acre (185 hectares) site (York University, 2016). The planning and management of the Keele Campus is heavily reliant on the use of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). CPTED is a crime prevention model developed by Oscar Newman (1973), which theorizes that the built environment influences the behaviour of people. The model identifies key areas of a

built environment that can be altered in order to reduce or prevent the opportunity of crime. York University's use of CPTED principles shape the design and management of the Campus while taking into account the safety concerns of students. However, the safety concerns of students are perceived by the University as addressing concerns for a cis-male or cis-female student, failing to identify gender on a continuum and limit it to only existing on a binary. Cis-normativity or cis-gender relates specifically to gender and not sexuality. More specifically, a cis-person is a person who was assigned a gender at birth and feels that it accurately describes who they are; cis-male or cis-female. Cis-gender is used in this thesis to identify the University's conception of gender and to describe the majority of participants' gender identity. Doan (2011) explains, "gender, much like sex, is synonymous and dichotomous – a person is either male or female – and any variations are aberrations from the societal norm" (p. 90). As such, planning does not adequately consider non-normative populations and the Keele Campus has also fell victim to this as gender within the context of planning and security management at York University is dependent on gender as cis-normative. To assess the dependence between the University's use of CPTED and its conception of gender the non-gender normative experience of a transgender female York Staffer and the racialized experience of a Muslim cis-female student will be explored. The built environment, planning, and management of the Keele Campus, which relies on CPTED and identifies gender as a binary is closely related to Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space. The production of space identifies space as a social process with three distinct moments, each of which holds a symbolic quality to the contemporary social structure of space that contributes to an individual's experience and perception of place. For the Keele Campus the production of space, specifically the moment of *perceived space*, is rooted in the reputations attributed to the Campus that can influence individuals' thinking and rationale. These reputations are developed from the reports of safety incidents on the Campus by media outlets, York University security emails, and safety audits like the METRAC Report. These reputations, some of which are and are not controlled by the University, actively play a role in students' perception of place on the Keele Campus.

How the use of CPTED principles, non-normative gender identities of students, and the reputation of a post-secondary campus affect students' perception of place has not been an area of focus for those covering feminist urban studies (Balkin 1979; Brownlow 2005; Day 2006; Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Koskela 1999; Koskela & Pain 2000; Pain 1997, 2001; Stanko 1995;

Toseland 1982; Valentine 1989, 1990). This thesis investigates perceptions of place held by undergraduate and graduate students on the Keele Campus. It does so by examining the design of the built environment, one's gender identity and the reputations attributed to a space, and how these factors collectively affect students' daily geographies, and influence their sense of personal safety.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Perception of place is not independent and in researching the perceptions of place of undergraduate and graduate students through a lens of personal safety on York University's Keele Campus a critical analysis of urban feminist research was required. In particular the understanding of one's fear of crime, which has been mainly attributed as a women's issue in urban geography, has neglected to identify the fear of crime others experience. The public dialogue surrounding fear of crime and its misconception as only a 'women's issue' has materialized within physical space developing a common dichotomy between public space as being unsafe and private space being safe. This misconception does not accurately represent the potential risk of victimization women can face, in addition the literature neglects to focus on the other experiences of fear for those who do not identify as cis-normative.

In an attempt to introduce the importance of one's body and gender identity to the perceptions of place Lefebvre's (1991) production of space is significant in identifying the transformation of space into place and the social meaning which individuals attribute to physical space. Furthermore, how these forms of emotional attachments to physical space rely on intangible factors like memory, experience, and meaning. However, those who design and govern cities heavily influence public space and as such the works of both Oscar Newman (1973) and Jane Jacobs (1961) provide insight to the strategies and concepts used to create and manage public spaces. Lastly, much of the literature mentioned takes place within the city, but post-secondary campuses are very much a microcosm of a city and understanding its history and the relation to its surrounding community highlights how campuses are not immune to the social processes occurring around them.

Limiting Fear of Crime as Only a Women's Issue

Personal characteristics such as age, physical (dis)ability, social class, income level, race, and past victimization are correlated with an individual's sense of safety (Toseland 1982, Pain 2001; Starkweather 2007). However, gender identity is portrayed in feminist urban studies literature as the single most important determinant of a sense of safety (Day 2006; Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Koskela 1999; Stanko 1995; Starkweather 2007; Toseland 1982; Pain 1997, 2001; Valentine 1989,1990; Whitzman 2007). Yavuz and Welch (2010) suggest that women's

susceptibility to sexual assault and frequent experiences of various forms of harassment make them feel more vulnerable and thus perceive risk more often than their male counterparts within their environments (p. 2493).

Within feminist urban literature, sense of safety can be related to the notion “fear of crime”. Toseland (1982), best describes fear of crime by stating, “concern about crime relates to a person’s perception of the seriousness of crime. Fear of crime relates to the person’s assessment of his/her own risks of victimization, that is, how much an individual is personally endangered by crime” (p. 200). Definitions of fear of crime vary but in a general sense it can refer to a rational and practical response to an anxiety about crime based on actual statistical data, risk, or complex results of an individual’s experience and dialogue (Yavuz and Welch, 2010; Koskela, 1999; Balkin, 1979). Fear of crime is constructed by an individual’s experiences in space and public notions of the likelihood of crime occurrence, causing one to feel that they will inevitably become a victim and are defenceless. Fear of crime is a social problem and as such goes beyond quantitative data such as actual criminal victimization rates (Toseland, 1982). Pain (1997) clarifies the relation between fear of crime and women explaining, “women are not a homogenous group, and while fear of crime may be causally structured at a societal level, it remains a highly individual experience” (p. 310).¹ Women’s and men’s relations to violence cannot be directly compared because as research has shown sexual assault is both relatively more likely to be experienced by and feared by far more women than men (Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Koskela and Pain, 2000). Fear of crime, as Pain (2001) describes, “can be considered to create and reinforce exclusion from social life and from particular urban spaces in a number of ways” (p. 902). Fear affects individuals in different ways and much of the literature on fear of crime tends to associate this as mainly a women’s problem however this should extend to the fear of crime felt by men, those beyond cis-normative gender identities and other marginalized groups (Balkin, 1979; Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Koskela, 1999; Stanko, 1995; Toseland, 1982; Pain, 1997, 2001; Valentine, 1989, and 1990). Identifying fear of crime as only existing in a woman versus a man’s sense of safety has the potential to further exclude and marginalize individuals and their experience.

¹ Pain (1997) researched women’s fear of crime in three wards of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Attributing Women's Fear of Crime to Physical Space

Women's fear of crime is often associated with public space as public discourse in cities advises women to remain cautious in public environments especially during the night (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). Unfortunately, research has shown that women are more likely to face violence within the home by a man they know as opposed to a stranger in public. According to the Canadian Women's Foundation (2016), between 2009 and 2013 the rates of police reported sexual assault of women by intimate partners rose by 17%. Although this violence often takes place in the private space of the home, many women still perceive public space to be dangerous as their encounters with public space are seen as unpredictable, potentially uncontrollable and hence threatening (Pain, 1997; Valentine, 1989). This does not mean that private space is predictable or controllable as some women's experiences of violence reveal "that the home is no haven" (Pain, 1997, p. 235). The geographical location of this fear is a complex and dynamic social production that does not link reality to perception. Public space and private space is a dichotomy that remains relevant in many lives; "at the level of perception most women hold very strong images of different places as 'dangerous' or 'safe', the boundary in many cases being drawn between the public and the private" (Pain, 1997, p. 301). But Pain (1997) describes these distinctions as artificial because experiences of violence and harassment in reality are not bound to particular spaces but rather take place in both public and private spaces. Valentine (1989) explains that space is one variable in the construction of women's fear of male violence and it is not so much the location that is of issue but rather "how public space is used, occupied and controlled by different groups at different times" (p. 389). Although this dichotomy is problematically produced by social processes it still continues to influence and affect many women's everyday life.

Women's fear of crime in public space results in precautionary measures such as avoidance, where women avoid certain spaces in the city or remain indoors after dark (Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Toseland, 1982). These precautionary measures enacted by women or individuals in general are in response to the social constructions of everyday life that influence and manifest a geography of fear. Koskela (1999) explains that the social construction of fear:

happens through parental warnings, discussions among friends, warnings that are faced in discussions with anybody, and further, the cultural transmission and reproduction of ideologies about women and the family. An ideology of fear is supported by crime news items in the media, which focus on sensational issues, exaggerate violence and tend to

blame female victims for their destiny. In addition, security education, crime prevention advice and other warnings remind women that they should be prepared for something violent to happen (p. 115).

Koskela's (1999) description of the social construction of fear represents the inaccuracies in the information about fear and danger which become instilled in women's daily experiences and use of space. The information produced by social contact and media has a significant role in shaping perceptions about the dangers of place or others, this becomes intertwined with the knowledge of women's experiences. This misinformation is not only produced to warn women of potential attacks but it is also produced in a way that displays women as perpetual victims.

Researching the 1988 murder of Deborah Linsley in London England, Valentine (1989) found that the "public blame of victims who were in public places, for being in a dangerous or inappropriate place when they were attacked, encourages all women to transfer their threat appraisal from men to certain public spaces where they may encounter attackers" (p. 385).² This consequently develops a cycle of fear where male dominance and patriarchy is maintained and perpetuates a spatial expression of patriarchy³ challenging women's freedom to be in certain public spaces at certain times (Valentine, 1989). The gendered spatiality of public space is critical to acknowledge in an effort to combat the common misconception that the ability to change the environmental design will make public space "safe". Although this may hold some truth, it is important to recognize that the victimization of women in space stems from many social processes that installing a brighter streetlight alone cannot solve. "Popular signifiers of danger (e.g., dark alleys, open spaces, and parks) continually focus on public space – and on women in public" (Stanko, 1995, p. 54). Access, use, and emotional connection to space should not be determined by one's social demographics, especially gender. Nonetheless, the restrictions women place on their own navigations of public space and their fear of crime highlight the patriarchal dimensions of urban space that are exacerbated by its design, narrative, and use. The solution to fear of crime is a long-term commitment that is multifaceted and goes beyond the labelling of all women as a homogeneous group and the belief that public space and the lack of good environmental design are the only factors that should be addressed.

² Deborah Linsley was in an isolated public space away from the protection of others, thus allowing a man the opportunity to kill her. Comments on the murder both by police and media implied Deborah was to a certain degree responsible for her own fate by putting herself in such a situation (See Valentine, 1989).

³ Male designed, dominated, and maintained public spaces where women's needs are largely overlooked or even ignored.

The design of the public environment can have an influence on women's perceptions of safety and hence on their willingness to use spaces and places . . . however, the social relations within space and the group(s) who control that space socially are a more important influence on how safe women feel than its design (Valentine, 1990, p. 301).

The mosaic of complex processes of power and gender relations should not render women as perpetual victims and men as perpetrators but should acknowledge the vulnerability of women who do face a higher rate of victimization. However, the fear women attribute to public space is still a significant factor to the limitations they place on their daily geographies. Both the design of the built environment and the societal conceptions of gender, which perpetuate this fear, should be underlined when attempting to minimize fear of crime. Societal conceptions of gender often fail to acknowledge the difference in individual perceptions that are beyond the gender of male and female. Feminist urban literature often reaffirms a gender binary in planning and designing space when discussing geography of fear and this is an out dated lens of thinking that can further marginalize individuals.

Limiting Fear of Crime to Gender Binary Experiences

Fear of crime in public spaces is often framed as a 'woman's problem' however these fears often exclude others as well (Day, 2006). Feminist research on fear of crime has identified that men are overwhelmingly more feared in public than women; young men and men of colour are especially the targets of fear (Day, 2006; Valentine, 1990). The position of men as perpetrators has placed men in a "fairly homogeneous group, beyond noting that it is certain types of men (young and either Black or Latino) that women especially fear" (Day, 2006, p. 570). This gender-based difference in the experiences and roles of individuals in public space often overshadow men's fear of crime by their apparent fearlessness. But remaining fearless or as Brownlow (2005) describes using "protective strategies" are still valid behaviours and actions taken in order to reduce or avoid the risk of victimization. Most men do this by being prepared for a confrontation, by carrying some sort of protection to foster a perceived "advantage". The performance of fearlessness by men in an attempt to control their situation by asserting authority, achieving power and sustaining control in public space is generally perceived as being unavailable to women (Brownlow, 2005, p. 584) But not all men perform such protective strategies and many may adopt precautionary or avoidance strategies in response to fear in public space. Men are more likely to suppress their expression of fear in an effort to reduce their

vulnerability that may lead to a greater risk of victimization solidifying their performance of fearlessness to confirm their manhood or masculine identity (Brownlow, 2005; Starkweather, 2007; Day, 2006; Yavuz and Welch, 2010). However, a suppression of fear by an individual does not translate into a termination of fear (Brownlow, 2005).

In gender studies the patriarchal power discussed by Brownlow (2005) is often cited as influencing the planning and organization of the built environment, which is designed for a masculine hegemony. Brownlow (2005) describes the masculine hegemony as a “white, heterosexual, economically successful man against whom both women and men are effectively “othered” and kept/put “in their place” (p. 582). The geography of fear is a complex phenomenon that remains highly individualized across different demographics and at no point can an individual’s experience be distinguished in one homogenous group. The extensive research on woman’s fear of crime and their sense of safety is significant however it can overshadow the fear of crime of other marginalized groups, such as those who are not white. The experience of race prejudice and fear in public space can “deeply scar the psyche, inscribing into the very bodies of people their understanding of themselves and their place in a racialized hierarchy” (Day, 2006, p. 582). This racial hierarchy further demonstrates the patriarchy of space that has developed a geography of fear⁴ where gendered spatialities, a result of fear of crime, are not just as simple as a binary of women and men. Rather they are much more dynamic and vary across race, sex, age, physical (dis)ability, social class, income level, and past victimization. This thesis is concerned with exposing the gender spatialities that are beyond cis-male and cis-female experiences, acknowledging that planning practices are in large parts shaped by those in power; as Brownlow (2005) mentions, this is often a white heterosexual male agenda and does not expand to include other minority groups or non-normative gender identities (Doan, 2011). For Doan (2011) planning that is based on a narrowly defined gender dichotomy can have a profound impact on all members of society, but is especially impactful to those whose gender identity falls outside of traditional expectations of gender behaviour (p. 16). Planning and more specifically heteronormative forms of planning are entrenched in intangible social processes that are supported through institutional systems and media reports, but their implication is entangled with how space is designed. This process is how individuals attribute certain perceptions of place

⁴ Brownlow (2005) uses Smith’s (1987) definition of fear as “an emotional response to a threat; an admission to self and others that crime is intimidating; and an expression of one’s sense of danger and anxiety at the prospect of being harmed” (p. 582).

within their daily geographies. In order to acknowledge the different perceptions of place beyond a gender normative perspective the development of how space can become place must first be understood.

Materializing Fear of Crime in Space, Understanding Lefebvre's Production of Space

Fear of crime has both tangible and intangible factors that attribute to an individual's fear. These fears can become materialized on to physical space, which may cause an individual to alter or limit their interaction and use of said space. Space within the city acts as a public arena where social and physical relations of everyday life foster social, political, economic, and cultural negotiations. One of the most influential theorists on space, Henri Lefebvre, has shaped how many scholars understand space as a production as opposed to a construction. Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the production of space identifies space as "fundamentally bound up with social reality," for space does not exist in itself; it is produced (Schmid, 2008). For Lefebvre space holds much more meaning than just simply its materiality, emphasising space is a social production with three distinct moments or dimensions. "Space becomes reinterpreted not as a dead, inert thing or object but as organic and alive: space has a pulse, and it palpitates, flows and collides with other space" (Merrifield, 2006, p. 105 & 107). Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the production of space reveals space is thus not stagnant and is a three-dimensional trialectic that includes: *perceived space* (espace perçu), *conceived space* (espace conçu), and *lived space* (espace vécu). Each dimension or moment holds a symbolic quality to the contemporary social structure of space, which contributes to an individual's experience and perception of place.

Lefebvre characterizes perceived space as spatial practice. Simonsen (2005) describes spatial practice as, "embodying the interrelations between institutional practices and daily experiences and routines" (p. 6). Perceived space is produced by society as we master and appropriate it and begin to reveal space through deciphering it. In a society, spatial practice relies on the 'common-sense' understanding of space, which includes both taken-for-granted aspects and the institutional governance and urban networks that we interact with through our daily routines (Simonsen, 2005). The characterization of perceived space as spatial practice is revealed through members of society deciphering space (Lefebvre, 1991). The deciphering of space is crucial because it enables individuals to identify possible daily realities/routines and designated space for specific uses. Within this process cohesion is cited as a critical aspect, but Lefebvre

(1991) reminds us that this thought of space is not always stagnant and perceived space is produced slowly, as it is continually mastered and appropriated by different individuals over a long period of time.

Conceived space or representations of space, are forms of knowledge about space connected with a dominant 'order' of any society. Representations of space are, "conceptualized and discursively constructed by professionals and technocrats – planners, developers, urbanists, social engineers and scientists – and mediated through systems of verbal signs" (Simonsen, 2005, p.7). Unwin (1999) adds, "representations of space are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose" (p. 16). Through social and political practices, representations of space, which may be considered abstract, have a substantial and a decisive role in the production of space (Simonsen, 2005). For Lefebvre (1991) this is the dominant space in any society as it facilitates the mode of production, the way individuals collectively produce the means of social being; it influences the ways in which society interacts and relates to space.

Lived space, or representational spaces/spaces of representation, is described by Lefebvre (1991) as, "directly lived through its associated images and symbols – a space of inhabitants and users – who describe and aspire no more than to describe" (p.39). It is a process that brings into being our imaginations of spaces, embracing our experiences to realize the significance of ourselves in space and its symbolic value to our everyday life space encompasses (Simonsen, 2005). Lefebvre (1991) referred to lived space as a less coherent system of non-verbal symbols and signs and forms of resistance, which users and inhabitants seek to create through appropriation of the environment, as it is the space of everyday life (Simonsen, 2005; Meffifield, 1993).

Rather than a dialectical relation between two elements that can result in opposition, contrasts or antagonisms, the production of space is a trialectic relation where propositions are neither true nor false but always in flux. As Schmid (2008) explains, the

Three moments . . . exist in interaction, in conflict or in alliance with each other. Thus the three terms or moments assume equal importance, and each takes up a similar position in relation to one another (p. 33).

The three moments in the production of space are significant in their interconnectedness in society where each moment is not independent but negotiated within the social sphere collectively. "Space is at once result and cause, product and producer" – space plays a role in shaping social processes, and as a continual process space is always changing just as

conceptions, perceptions, and lived experiences change (Milgrom, 2008, p. 270). The production of space challenges past notions of space as simply material and static; Lefebvre's work reveals the significance of the social in the production of space and the interlinking relation between the three moments. Relations between what is conceived-perceived-lived are never stable, nor are they entirely materialistic. Revealing the production of space is also heavily based on notions of the abstract.

Lefebvre's (1991) production of space is a multi-sensory interaction, which is centred on one's body. Simonsen (2005) explains, "the body constitutes a practico-sensory realm in which space is perceived through smell, taste, touch and hearing as well as through sight. For Lefebvre the body is a critical figure, the body seeks to make itself known, gain recognition as not only the subject but also an intrinsic part of the social production of space (Simonsen, 2005). For Lefebvre the body is the catalyst that develops this social production. This embodiment of space is explained by Thrift (2009):

Think of a walk in the city and place consists not just of eye making contact with other people or advertising signs or buildings, but also the sound of traffic noise and conversation, the touch of the ticket machine and hand rail, the smell of the exhaust fumes and cooking food (p. 92).

Thrift (2009) points out that with talk, gesture, and body movement we interact with space and open it up to assert ourselves. Hubbard (2006) explains, "Thrift's ruminations on city life serve to make the point that we cannot conceive of a city without thinking about the way it is experienced and registered via the body" (p. 116). It is much more than just thinking of the body as flesh and skin; Thrift (2009) believes that this container of thinking is too simple, as such the body is part of something much more complex. The embodiment of space together with forms of encounter produce connections that define space and characterize its meaning in not only the built environment but within one's daily geography.

While Lefebvre's production of space theory has significant impact on theorizing urban space, it nevertheless has also been subject to criticism. In particular, the production of space identifies an objective nature to space that functions to affirm a masculine dominated theory. This theory mistakenly assumes the knower as white, bourgeois, heterosexual, and cis-male and fails to take into account the role of the "body" in the production of space. The body cannot be removed from the production of space because as the catalyst to our interactions the body is constructed through our various personal demographics that make the body and thus personal

interactions unique, which stretch beyond the experiences of a white cis-male. Conceived space, as defined by Lefebvre, is a male-dominated space that is inherently repressive and directly affects the perceived and lived forms of space by users other than white cis-males. The presence of a male favoured and dominated environment in the notion of conceived space reaffirms that designed space only highlights the lifestyle of a single homogenous group, white successful men. The attention placed on men, masculinity, men's powers, practices, and identities shines a light on the meanings and enactments of dominant identities that have typically been taken for granted (e.g., whiteness and heterosexuality) (Bain, 2009). In Western societies masculinity along with the taken for granted aspects mentioned are the normative standard and/or the dominant form against which other forms of experiences are negated. This will be evident within the practices of the University's planning and operations, which tend to only acknowledge the gender normative notions of students' sense of safety on the Keele Campus.

As described by Schmid (2008) "space is to be understood in an active sense as an intricate web of relationships that is continuously produced and reproduced" (p. 41). Shields (2011) further explains, "people extend themselves – mentally and physically – out into space much as a spider extends its limbs in the form of a web. We become as much a part of these extensions, as they are of us" (p. 284). Production of space identifies a never-ending process that is entangled with the material and abstract nature of space and should emphasise the role of the body in that space.

Identifying Gender as a Continuum and Not as a Binary

Space is inherently gendered by the social and cultural practices that determine the ways men and women are permitted to use that space (Doan, 2011). However, gender is a topic that is not well integrated into planning practices as patriarchal tendencies see the world as belonging to men, where gender effectively becomes a simple dichotomy of male and not-male, i.e everyone else (Doan, 2011). For Doan (2011) this is termed as the tyranny of gender that is derived from the perspective that the world is divided into two clearly defined gender categories, based on the essentialist understanding that sex equals gender. Gender tyranny is reinforced by the social constructions of spaces and concretized in the built environment. As a result planning theory and practice have depended on the dichotomous gender categories in all areas of planning which include the design of public spaces (Doan, 2011). Recognizing gender as a dichotomy as

opposed to a continuum with active fluidity, highlights how planning practices around public space can further marginalize non-normative individuals whose daily geography and perceptions of place do not fit into the dichotomous categorization of planning. When institutions like York University develop initiatives to address safety concerns such as the adoption of CPTED practices, a university campus subsequently becomes an amplification of the exclusions and marginalization some students may experience in other public spaces. Safety initiatives are regarded as “safe spaces” only in the spheres of the male/female dichotomy. This thesis seeks to identify that the body is much more than just gender and it is layered with physical and social processes that develop perceptions of place beyond gender exclusions in the planning of the Campus. Students must first develop the Keele Campus space as a place that is engrained with meaning and belonging through their physical and social relations. If this fails to be done, students will not interact with space and therefore may not develop “place”.

Understanding Place, Sense of Place, and Place Attachment

It is important to keep in mind that Lefebvre’s (1991) concept of socially produced space is often described by human geographers as place. Space can often be defined as an abstraction or a specific location where interactions and connections occur, whereas place is considered a location with uniqueness that holds meaning for various individuals (Knox *et al.*, 2013). This common distinction is overly simplistic and lacks many of the dynamic processes that are intertwined with space and place. What contributes to the confusion between place and space, according to Cresswell (2004), is the idea of social space or socially produced space. Lefebvre pioneered the concept of socially produced space which Cresswell (2004) believes plays the same role as place in many ways. Place is both a simple and complicated concept as it is regularly used in everyday conversations, but the more geographical theorizations of the word are forgotten in its mundaneness. This mundaneness can refer to altering space by adding your own possessions in a room, rearranging the furniture, or putting up a poster on a wall – these actions attempt to make space into place (Cresswell, 2004).

Sense of place, refers to the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place, which is generated through use and interactions that, even when not physically in that place, individuals can express the emotions and attachments to it. As Cresswell (2004) describes, “place is not just a thing but it is a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world” (p. 11).

Lentini and Decortis (2010) identify key dimensions of place to include lived experiences, interaction, and use of space; it is through active, engaged participation that space is transformed into place. The qualitative experience of place extends beyond objective boundaries and this can be recognized in the concepts 'sense of place' and 'place attachment'. Sense of place is described by Lentini and Decortis (2010) as, "a concept for capturing people's relationships with the physical environment in which they act" (p. 410). It becomes a form of behavioural framing for an interaction with place that is apart from spatial features and instead is based on social cues that enable socialization (Lentini and Decortis, 2010). As such people, "apprehend physical space not only through the perception of its spatial characteristics, but also through the awareness of the social cues related to it" (Lentini and Decortis, 2010, p. 408). A sense of place does not necessarily permit or prevent people from interacting with place but it does aid in the quality of one's interaction, influencing the extent of their socialisation within space. Sense of place is linked to a sense of belonging as place carries meaning and identities (Ortiz *et al.*, 2004).

Place attachment, much like place, is a multidimensional construct that incorporates, "factors of identity, dependence on place, and social bonds" (Chow and Healey, 2008, p. 363). Place attachment fosters a sense of identity and belonging representing a connection that is qualified in the social relations/encounters of one's everyday life. However, place attachment is referred to as the emotional attachment one makes with a particular social space. Some of the most positive predictors for place attachment are length of residence in an area, social ties, and sense of security. When these predicators are present they contribute to a strong form of place attachment in people's lives (Lewicka, 2010, p. 38). These concepts investigate the sentimental and emotional attachments along with the behavioural cues that are associated with place that are intangible but use physical space as a reminder of their emotions and meanings.

Public Space Becomes an Arena for Developing Place Within Our Daily Geographies

Within society public space becomes the arena in which social relations develop place. Ortiz *et al.* (2004) defines public space as a

Place of interrelation, social encounter and exchange, where groups with different interests converge. Public spaces contribute to the democratization of the use of space in the city and thus foster the creation and development of urban identities (p. 219).

The efforts of planners, geographers, and governments to develop or control urban public space are recognition of the fundamental role public space plays within society. It is where people contribute to their collective community identity and their own quality of life, at times possibly facilitating resistance to forms of exclusion. Ortiz *et al.* (2004) explain that public spaces, in a political perspective, are where people can “participate in public life and where civil rights can be exercised” (p. 219). Two key contributors to the literature of public space are Jane Jacobs and Oscar Newman, whose literatures help guide the discussion of gender perceptions of place through a lens of personal safety on York University’s Keele Campus.

Within the literature on space and place in the city the ideas of Jane Jacobs (1961) and Oscar Newman (1973) critically analysed space to reveal illicit places, behaviours and groups in an effort to identify the characteristics in space that foster the ‘illicitness’ and how the public can be empowered to make effective change. In *Defensible Space* Newman (1973) examined the general design characteristics of typical public housing projects in the U.S. suffering high crime rates,⁵ while also noting the main differences between a low and a high-income development. His work describes how different features of physical design can reinforce or inhibit an inhabitant’s ability to control their environment, believing that the then crime problems facing urban America could not be effectively solved through an increase in police force or firepower. According to him, it is through a collective action and alternative methods of reconstructing the residential environments of the city that they can once again become liveable and controlled by the community itself. These thoughts inspired the movement CPTED, a crime prevention approached based on the theory that the built environment influences the behaviour of people.

In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* Jane Jacobs (1961) attacks the principles that have shaped modern, orthodox city planning and rebuilding. Jacobs focused on investigating how cities worked in real life for she believed this was the only way to understand how principles of planning practices could promote social and economic vitality for the city. Not being an urban planner, Jacobs relied on her observations and common sense to display why certain places worked, why others did not, and what could be done to improve those places. Jacobs (1961) viewed cities as an, “immense laboratory of trial and error, failure and success, in city building and city design” (p. 6). Jacobs (1961) argued that persons in charge of designing

⁵ Shortly after the publication of *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention Through Urban Design* (1973) Newman toured Regent Park in Toronto (See James, 2017).

our cities have derived principles from other suburbs and dream cities and have attempted to implement them, neglecting to learn, form, and test planning practices that support the uniqueness of the city itself. Jacobs's organization of grassroots movements emphasised the value of people inhabiting their social environments and taking ownership of both their function and management. The ideas of both Newman and Jacobs have been well received by a wide audience but these ideas are also not without critique, which will be further discussed in Chapter Six.

Expanding on the scope of public space beyond residential housing complexes and neighbourhoods, the post-secondary campus is a significant form of public space. Social relations in space reveal the vitality of a particular space and the type of social interactions that are being fostered. In this sense, a post-secondary campus is a space that has a significant role in how students, faculty, staff, and the general public engage in their daily routines. As well, and perhaps more importantly, the characteristics of the design of campuses can be considered integral to the ways in which individuals' perceptions of place are developed.

A Brief History of the Planning and Development of Post-Secondary Campuses

A post-secondary institution brings together people of different demographics into an environment that is expected to facilitate their needs in achieving an ultimate goal. Coulson, Roberts, & Taylor (2018) describe an idealized version of campuses:

The idea of a university education is inviolably associated with the idea of place. The steps of the library, the arcades of the faculty buildings, the lawns where lazy afternoons are spent, these are the backdrops against which the experience of academic life occurs (p. 10).

Integral to the experience of post-secondary life is the formation and facilitation of a community that a campus provides to students. Turner's (1984) examination of the architecture and planning of the American campus revealed that the American campus not only faces changes in the notions of planning and architecture, but in educational and social principles as well. A post-secondary institution aspires to be a place that is both admired and inclusive and the campus is a significant tool in facilitating this aspiration. The American campus created an ideal that influenced other institutions in being unique, attractive, and of significance to the public.

The campus not only satisfies physical needs but expresses and reinforces an institution's ideals. In describing the character of the American campus, Turner (1984) writes,

As a community, it is like a city – complex and inevitably subject to growth and change – and it therefore cannot be viewed as a static architectural monument. But it is not exactly a city; it requires a special kind of physical coherence and continuity (p. 304).

Amongst the ongoing growth and change higher education institutions face, campuses possess a special individual character that endures for successive generations of students and faculty and become a physical embodiment of a school's spirit (Turner, 1984). As a result the campus reveals the power a physical environment possesses as the embodiment of an institution's character and as a kind of microcosm shaped by the desire to create an ideal community (Turner, 1984, p. 305). The history of how the American campus came to be has influenced the design of campus landscapes for current institutions across the world and this history continues to be rewritten in the twenty-first century. The history of the American campus has distinct eras, each of which has its own defining moment in the development of campuses and its architecture, landscape, ambiance and identity characteristics. In their work on university planning and architecture, Coulson, Roberts, & Taylor (2011) identify nine specific eras in the history of the development of the American campus.⁶ For the purpose of this thesis, a brief history of how campuses have developed in terms of architecture will focus on the post-war revolution to the twenty-first century which have had an influence on the development of the Keele Campus.

Coulson *et al.* (2011) explain that the post-war period was, “one of heavy development for university building, set off by an equally heavy time for modern architecture” (p. 25). After the Second World War higher education faced a significant period of change in terms of enrolment and demand for quality education; this period also faced the surge of the ‘baby boomer’ generation coming of age in the 1960s (Coulson *et al.*, 2011). Hijrasouliha (2017) notes that this era saw a vast expansion of university campuses and the emphasis was more on the design of freestanding buildings rather than a campus master plan (p.166). During this period an influential component was circulation, both pedestrian and vehicular, as a result rather than dividing the campus by faculty, architects began to organize it instead by function. This was made in an attempt to “remedy feelings of isolation experienced by a commuter campus” (Coulson *et al.*, 2011, p. 27).⁷ The automobile was a notable factor in the post-war period and along with pedestrian traffic the changes in campus planning were determined largely by

⁶ See Coulson, J., Roberts, P., & Taylor I. (2011). *University planning and architecture: the search for perfection*. New York: Routledge.

⁷ Architect Walter Netsch's design of the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois was influential in reorganizing campus buildings by function.

vehicular considerations. For the first time, problems of vehicular access, parking, and traffic congestion became serious concerns of the planner (Turner, 1984, p. 267). Campuses increasingly were laid out in relationship to parking areas, resulting in linear buildings along roads and parking lots, and a “‘ring road’ type of plan, in which vehicles were kept mainly on the outside of a central campus area” (Turner, 1984, p. 267).

In the 1980s, campus architecture was influenced by post-modernist design. Coulson *et al.* (2011) note, “the term was applied to a wide spectrum of architecture whose designers rejected the unforgiving starkness and absence of contextual resonance that had come to characterize modern architecture by the 1970s” (p. 32). Postmodernism dominated campus design for nearly two decades and this period engendered the appearance of the star architect and the iconic building. During the late 1990s starchitecture began to influence the design of city buildings and universities were not immune. The period of starchitecture continues to influence campus buildings in the twenty-first century fostering a sense of excitement and enticement while at the same time creating a unique identity for an institution. However, the adoption of starchitecture within post-secondary institutions does run the risk of representing only the intentions of the designer, a lack of functionality, and/or going over budget. On the campus of a post-secondary institution the influence of starchitecture can become detached from context and function challenging the wholeness buildings should achieve on a campus and instead frame them as competing for attention. According to Coulson *et al.* (2018) “a campus is far more than a collection of individual buildings, it is a community and, as such, it needs to convey a sense of a whole” (p. 24).

For Coulson *et al.* (2011) the twenty-first-century university campus has three main components: to communicate institutional values and missions; to create a sense of place; and to facilitate social and organizational change. Decisions about the design of campus buildings and landscape frequently fail to represent the institutional vision and leaders of the institution fail to recognize how physical changes can either enforce or counteract their institution’s values or mission. Coulson *et al.* (2011) describe this as the first component: communicate institutional values and missions. Creating a sense of place involves the process of enhancing people’s ability to create meaningful experiences on the campus. The last component, facilitating social and organizational change, moves away from the physical design of buildings and spaces to advocate the importance in making decisions that are for the greater aim of the university as a whole. The

American campus has influenced university campus environments and landscapes across the world. Historical eras in architecture have also influenced planning principles of an institution's campus. Planning the physical, social, economic, and cultural aspects of daily life in space is an evolving task that is tightly woven within the day-to-day geographies of the individuals who utilize said space. A master plan ties together campus systems creating a strategy for approaching the physical, social, intellectual and sustainability challenges an institution will face (Coulson *et al.*, 2011). Hajrasouliha (2017) describes how in recent years, most universities have re-embraced the idea of master plans in order to achieve the following objectives: attract students, increase their community members' quality of life, promote a learning and research environment, be sustainable, and benefit their surrounding communities (p. 166). Planning principles for an institution's campus, more specifically a master plan, are essential in laying out the short and long term direction of the institution, which serves to provide a sustainable community and program for years to come.

Town and Gown Relations in the 21st Century

“Town and Gown” is a phrase used to describe the relationship between a city and a university; the two sides have shared a relationship that is perceived as symbolic, and at times complicated (Addie, Keil, & Olds, 2015; Coulson *et al.*, 2018). As Bruning, McGrew, & Cooper (2006) explain, during the period from 1945-1990 there was a split between town and gown relations as a vast majority of American institutions adopted a campus model. When designing their campus, institutions aspire to achieve a framework that would be, “analogous to self-sufficient ‘cities’ where students could eat, sleep, be entertained, and have nearly all their needs met without ever leaving the borders of campus” (p. 126).⁸ Although town and gown relations historically have been strained, many post-secondary institutions have recently made efforts to strengthen or develop relationship/partnerships and engage with their communities (Bruning *et al.* 2006).⁹ Allahwala & Bunce (2013) agree that institutions are attempting to increase their partnerships in the form of town and gown, stating it is “a strategy to enhance their presence in

⁸ Bruning *et al.* (2006) further explain that this resulted in an isolation process between universities and the surrounding area; “because students would barely leave campus, many universities developed an invisible barrier at the edge of campus” (p. 126).

⁹ Bruning *et al.* (2006) attributes this, in part, to neoliberal processes being integrated into university operations.

and commitment to neighbouring communities” (p. 43). Allahwala & Bunce (2013) explain, “universities have all too often been perceived as spatially and culturally disconnected and politically disengaged from the needs and concerns of the communities that surround them, unable, and sometimes quite unwilling, to develop meaningful and reciprocal relationships” (p. 43). The town and gown relationships between cities and universities are beginning to shift in the twenty-first-century as “globalization processes and neoliberalization agendas reconfigure the sociospatial organization of economic activity” (Addie *et al.*, 2015, p. 30). Addie *et al.* (2015) suggest that universities are more likely to be involved over multiple scales; they are global players who are influential beyond their immediate locale exhibiting the capacity to affect the social, spatial, and symbolic structure of the city.

This form of neoliberalism is increasingly affecting post-secondary institutions in terms of operating like a business, despite their public status. The development of a ‘knowledge-economy’ has placed increased pressure on post-secondary institutions to produce both skilled labour and relevant knowledge and in turn cities are increasingly viewing post-secondary institutions as an essential infrastructure to compete both locally and globally (Addie *et al.*, 2015, p. 43). Furthermore the effect of neoliberal policies in higher education institutions is described by Looser (2012) as leaving institutions with inadequate financial resources where public funding is displaced with private responsibility. This pressure to “do more with less” is experienced by public universities in Canada in a number of ways: they are then compelled to devote scarce resources to fundraising, accept corporate donations, increase tuition annually, and reduce full-time tenured faculty (Caivano, Doody, Maley, & Vandenberg, 2016). Caivano *et al.* (2016) explain that this results in faculty being subjected to more managerial control and self-administration, while students are treated like ‘customers’ (p. 502).

The above urban feminist literature which focused on fear of crime, its relation to physical space, and its limiting nature of a cis-normative lens on gender identity lead to the significance of understanding Lefebvre’s (1991) production of space. The production of space helps to define the use of place throughout this thesis and how one’s body and non-normative gender identity can be validated through their sense of place and place attachment. The works of both Oscar Newman (1973) and Jane Jacobs (1961) are influential in designing public space that put the user/resident at the forefront and understanding the history of campus design and town and gown relations can initiate the discussion around the themes and analyses of this thesis. The

following sections of this thesis aim to combine the literature with qualitative and quantitative findings of undergraduate and graduate students' and selected staff's experiences on the Keele Campus. I use the literature framework to validate the daily experiences of the participants in an effort to understand how the built environment and the geographical location of the Campus, its reputation, and its planning have developed specific perceptions of place.

Chapter Three: Methods

This thesis investigates how students' perception of place on the Keele Campus incorporates personal safety with a specific focus on four related objectives:

- Examine the spatial characteristics of York University through the dialogue of participants in relation to the principles of the various Campus Master Plans. Exploring the different uses and interactions students attribute to campus spaces.
- Explore the perceptions of place on the Keele Campus and the variations in students' perceptions that are rooted in their gender identity and to what extent their perceptions affect their experience with the Campus.
- Analyse how University policies, which use CPTED principles, security services (e.g., goSAFE; York Security Services; Community Safety Department), and student awareness initiatives contribute to an individual's sense of personal safety on the Keele Campus.
- Determine the effect of societal reputations attributed to York University, constructed by dialogues among students themselves, email notifications, and/or media reports of criminal activities on or around the Keele Campus, and how these reputations affect perceptions of place.

In order to achieve these objectives I have utilized a variety of research methods, almost all qualitative but also some quantitative. Qualitative methods consisted of semi-structured interviews, participant observations, analysing archival and current images of the Keele Campus, and retrieving various newspaper articles related to the Campus dating from 1992 to 2016. In addition to these resources a proportion of the qualitative analysis is of the 2010 METRAC Report that, in detail, investigates the public safety concerns of York University in both physical and social environments in response to reoccurring safety incidents in early 2000s. Quantitative methods consisted of dissecting various statistics provided by the *York University Fact Book (Fact Book)* which detail statistics about the University in terms of demographics and physical characteristics and security statistics provided by York University Security Services. In utilizing mostly qualitative methods I seek to align with Koskela's (1999) critique that more sensitive research methods are needed to explain the specific nature of individuals' fear more accurately than generic surveys are able to do. Nonetheless, together these research methods were utilized

to provide a comprehensive and in-depth representation of the daily geography of graduate and undergraduate students along with selected staff experiences on the Keele Campus and what individual factors have a role in these experiences. It is important to note that the following research was conducted before the completion of the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) Toronto-York Spadina Subway Extension at York University.

The Use of Safety Audits and The Application of The METRAC Report at York

In 1989, METRAC in partnership with the Council of Ontario Universities and Colleges developed a *Campus Safety Audit Guide*, which later evolved into METRAC's Campus Safety Audit process (METRAC, 2010, p. 5). It combines principles of CPTED with a gender-aware, anti-oppressive and intersectional analysis. METRAC (2010) explains the process would, "support a reduction in infrastructural deficiencies and help foster safer, more inclusive spaces for all members of the campus community" (p. 5). The development of the audit process was in response to safety issues Canadian university and college campuses may face. Yet despite knowing the risks marginalized constituents face on post-secondary campuses their safety needs and ideas tend to remain unheard (METRAC, 2010). Although women in general are cited by METRAC as marginalized their intersection with race, ethnicity, faith, income level, sexual orientation, gender identity, age and ability can serve to increase a woman's vulnerability to violence and can reduce options for support (METRAC, 2010, p. 6). While the social problems of society at large are not exclusive to any particular space, the audits display how they can be found in many campuses of universities and colleges. The 2010 METRAC Report was an instrumental document in addressing the belief that the Keele Campus had a significant issue with safety and it needed to be strategically addressed. This report detailed the progress of the institution and suggested changes to both the social and physical campus environment. The use of the METRAC Report within this thesis is not to discredit the findings and recommendations it suggests, but to look at the gaps within their research and attempt to address these gaps within my own methods. It provided a basis for determining what research methods to use for the approach of this thesis and what narratives needed to be emphasized.

Utilizing Qualitative Methods

Semi-Structured Interviews

When seeking participants for my thesis I intended to have the opportunity to speak with students who do not identified with cis-normative gender identities, however it proved difficult to confirm interviews. In respect to possible interview participants I can understand how difficult it may be to explain and reveal the interactions with and fears about space one has when their representation is already neglected in much of the conversations of safety. In my search for participants who identified outside of the gender normative, I contacted York University's SexGen Committee for a possible interview with a representative or to be put into contact with an individual willing to participate in the research. Unfortunately, this did not happen and aside from Staffer E, who identifies as a transgender female, I could not confirm interviews with potential participants whom I was put into contact with by other participants or colleagues. As such I conducted eighteen semi-structured interviews with current undergraduate and graduate students, and officials from York University's Community Safety, Planning and Development, and Student Engagement departments.¹⁰ Four interviews, (one Staff and three Students), were conducted through email due to scheduling issues or being uncomfortable with being interviewed face-to-face and fourteen, (five Staff and nine Students), were conducted in person at a mutually agreed upon location. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with twelve graduate and undergraduate students (nine cis-women and three cis-men) while six were conducted with York officials (three cis-women, two cis-men, and one transgender woman). In total the sample consisted of twelve cis-women, five cis-men, and one transgender female participant. This sample is not intended to develop a consensus for the whole York student population, rather it describes a particular group of individual perceptions of place on the York University Keele Campus through a lens of personal safety.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen to maintain enough openness for participants to answer freely, while not overly constraining their input. The interviews covered themes such as personal demographics and experiences, campus planning and design, perceptions of place, societal reputations of York University, and daily geographies on the Campus. The semi-structured interviews included a map activity in which participants identified areas of concern,

¹⁰ Interview responses from staff consisted of a positive and uncritical nature and there was a sense of inability for staff members to talk openly and freely as University employees about University matters.

areas where they feel safe, their daily routes, and what they perceive the borders of the Keele Campus to be.¹¹ This activity encouraged participants to consider their personal experiences, interactions and attitudes towards the Campus. These interviews were conducted in accordance with the regulations of the Office of Research Ethics and a research ethics protocol was approved by Alison M. Collins-Mrakas, Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor, Research Ethics (See Appendix A). The interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim and coded to identify key themes and patterns. Key findings included representations of the Keele Campus in public dialogue, the geographic location of York, spatial characteristics of the Campus, and the difference in experiences between staff and students. This will be discussed in detail in the following Chapters. The interviews were between 20 and 60 minutes in length (with an average time of approximately 52 minutes), and all participants signed an informed consent form which identified the ethical protocol of the thesis (See Appendix B). For email interviews participants were provided with the same documentation and once completed the informed consent form and the campus map activity were scanned and sent with their responses to the interview questions. All the participants chose to maintain anonymity. In order to maintain participants' anonymity I have used coded names (Staffer X for staff, Undergrad X for undergraduate students, and Student X for graduate students) as citation markers. Appendix C lists these codes with some information about each participant. Interviews were conducted at a mutually agreed upon location on campus addressing nine predetermined questions (see Appendix D). The nature of a semi-structured interview developed follow up questions during the interview process that expanded on experiences, feelings, or the role of individuals' position at York University.¹² Interviewing York officials was done in an attempt to understand the methods and rationale of officials charged with planning, engaging, and protecting the population of York and how these are used to address safety issues. This would help provide a perspective of top-down experiences and interactions that staff shared, in comparison with students who shared a bottom-up approach. The students, both graduate and undergraduate, developed significant experiences on the

¹¹ This would help identify if participants perceived the borders of the Keele Campus to be similar to official boundaries in an attempt to identify the extent of students understanding of the Campus landscape in relation to official maps.

¹² If follow-up questions were necessary for the email interviews the intention was to email the participants asking them to explain or expand on their answers. However this was not required as the detail in the email interviews was sufficient.

Campus during their extended time at York. Their experiences display a unique perception of place, and furthermore, the role safety and social interaction have in these perceptions.

Participant Observations

Participant observation is described by Bryman, Bell, & Teevan (2012) as being, “primarily qualitative and entails the relatively prolonged immersion of the observer in a particular social setting” (p. 104). The goal of this method is to determine or gain insight into the patterns and movements being observed. The form of participant observation used for this thesis is that of a ‘complete observer.’ “Rather than participating in the scene, the complete observer stands at the periphery, merely watching the scene unfold in front of them” (Tracey, 2013, p.113). The specific campus spaces that were observed, Complex One and Boyer Woodlot, Campus Walk, campus core (Ross Building, Vari Hall, and Central Square), York Lanes, and York University TTC subway station, were selected based on the interviews during which students and staff alike indicated these spaces as areas of concern or areas that foster feelings of safety. The observation of campus spaces was conducted at various times of day, as daylight can have a significant impact on feelings of safety, and during different days of the week and different seasons. A complete observer approach aimed to analyse the various ways space was used, frequent routes, the density and volume of people, and how these observations varied depending on the time of day. Furthermore, it enables the principle investigator to conduct this form of observation without imposing their presence on the participant(s), which could possibly cause individuals to alter how they would regularly interact with the Campus. To assist participant observation, photo documenting and note taking was done in order to provide visual interpretations to the dialogue created in the interview process and for the thesis as a whole.¹³

Archival Newspapers

Using York University as a case study is significant because of the negative reputation with respect to safety and crime attributed to it. Through the interviews it was agreed that the reputation is a result of media reports; ignoring whether they were accurate or not, the publication of reports in reference to York had a direct relation to the development of a negative reputation. In order to analyse the production of a reputation an archival analysis of newspaper

¹³ Photos can be viewed throughout the thesis. Examples of the note taking done during participant observations can be viewed in Appendix E.

articles regarding York University was undertaken. Using ProQuest *York University* and *Safety* was entered into the search box and *Newspapers* and *Canadian Major Dailies* filters were applied to the search. The results produced close to 300 Canadian newspaper articles that included the terms York, University, and Safety. Each of these articles was reviewed and those which were relevant, informative, and/or significant were used in this thesis. The articles selected ranged in date from 1992 to 2016 and included popular news media outlets: *The Toronto Star*, *Globe and Mail*, and *National Post*. Analysing these articles revealed that the reporting of safety events at York University almost always related to security concerns. These security concerns contributed to a larger public impression that the University continually faces security issues and only takes a reactive approach to addressing issues on campus. Newspaper articles were significant to understanding the public reputations attributed to York University because the reporting of incidents produces an account or perspective that is very particular in its narrative. As such, coding the individual articles included an examination of the article title, the type of wording being used, the type of perspectives from interviewees being cited, and the representation of the University. As public pieces of information these newspaper articles are available to not only the York community but to the general public at large. Without personal experience or knowledge of campus life at York the information within these articles can have a significant effect on individuals' perception of York University (both students and others) and more specifically to the reputation of the Keele Campus.

Utilizing Quantitative methods

Although the thesis is primarily concerned with qualitative research methods there are some quantitative aspects that I believe are necessary to include, such as statistical data provided from York Security Services, and the *Fact Book*. The Security Services data identified security incidents and the number of occurrences for a given year, along with comparing these statistics over a five-year period. This statistical data helped to identify the reported statistics for security incidents that can support participants' discussion and experiences. The *Fact Book* is essential in providing historical data for the University based on areas such as the built environment, enrolment, graduation rates, and other community demographics. These sources provided quantitative data for a set population in any given year in order to compare with the sample

group of interviewees. The contribution of quantitative data in this thesis is to acknowledge and validate the experiences of the research participants and their perceptions of place.

Case Study: York University Keele Campus

A case study involves an intensive and detailed analysis of a single case; which may be a community, family, organization, an event, or a local (Bryman *et al.*, 2012, p. 38). A standard criticism of the case study approach is that its findings cannot be generalized and often reflect a very specific viewpoint that may be unreliable to a wider target population. Nevertheless the aim of this thesis is to provide an intensive examination of the Keele Campus through students' gendered perceptions of place in relation to media reports, staff representation, campus design, and top-down recommendations that stem from documents like the 2010 METRAC Report. But before this the history of York University, the Keele Campus, the progression of York's campus planning, and its relation to Jane-Finch will be examined to provide context for the following chapters.

York University was founded in the late 1950s when an increasing demand for higher education within the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) began to put a strain on the University of Toronto (U of T). Initially, York University provided higher education for working adults, but in 1959 it began teaching a small group of students on the U of T St. George campus (UPACE, 1963, p. 8). The search for the "York Campus" would be complete in the mid-1960s when the University acquired farmland off of Keele Street just south of Steeles Avenue. The Keele Campus is bordered to the north by Steeles Avenue West, Keele Street to the east, Murray Ross Parkway to the south, and to the west by Black Creek and Murray Ross Parkway. The location of the Keele Campus generated a commuter population and the University's initial Master Plan reflected an attempt to organize the circulation of pedestrians and vehicles within its space. The following Master Plans would be instrumental in developing the Campus to accommodate its growth and facilitate the needs of its community members. The master plan for a university is instrumental to the development of the campus environment, whether purposely or not, these plans do not remain stagnant and over time are re-thought and re-designed. By investigating the various Campus Master Plans (1963, 1987, and 2014) the development of the Campus can be viewed over time and evaluated.

1963 Keele Campus Master Plan

York University's 1963 Master Plan by University Planners, Architects and Consulting Engineers (UPACE) acknowledged that it was presenting a planning framework which recognized that the campus would continue to evolve over time. Four significant components from the original Master Plan stand out as shaping the form of the Keele Campus: site, organization, circulation, and expansion. The location where the Campus was proposed was cited as a pleasant terrain for walking by UPACE. In addition to the access to major highways public transportation route extensions planned by the TTC displayed a strong future of accessibility for individuals. The undeveloped state of the site and surrounding land with the prospect of public transportation routes displayed a fortunate campus site that would not be hampered by existing development (UPACE, 1963, p. 12).

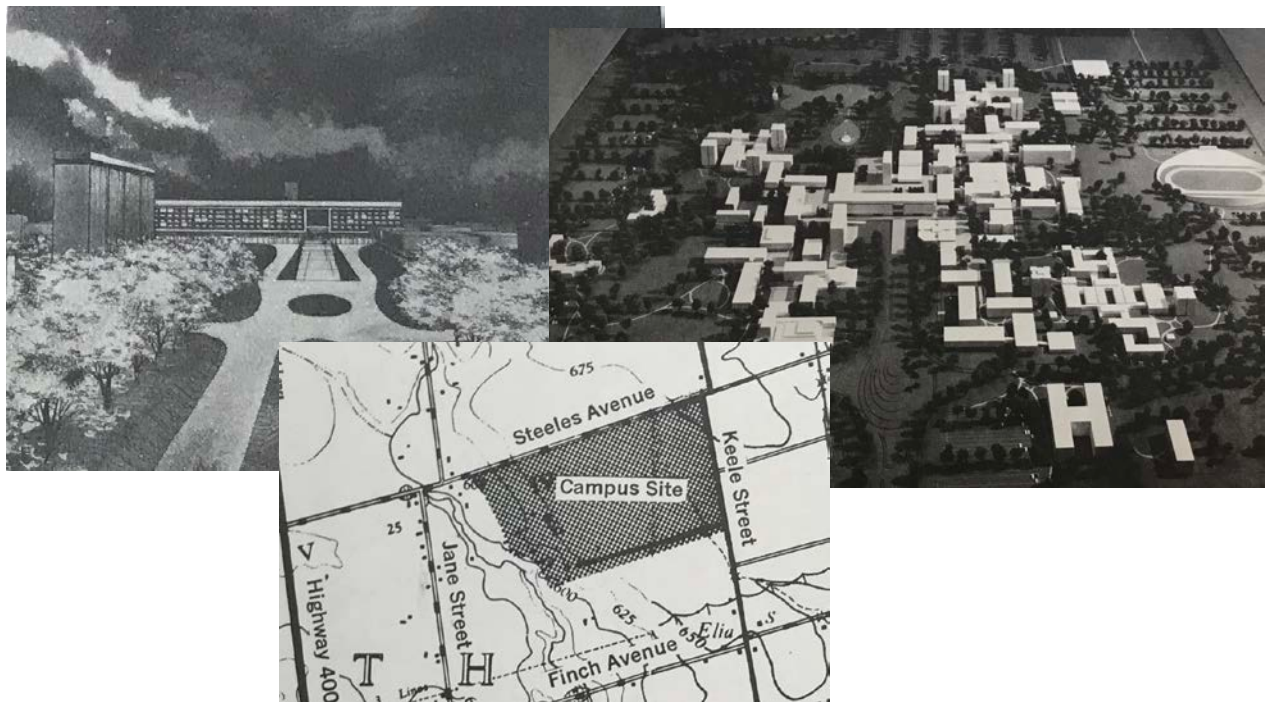


Image A: Images from the 1963 Campus Master Plan

The images above are excerpts taken from the 1963 Master Plan and display the original mapping of campus spaces and design but also determined how the development of the Keele Campus would affect the surrounding area and the buildings within its borders.

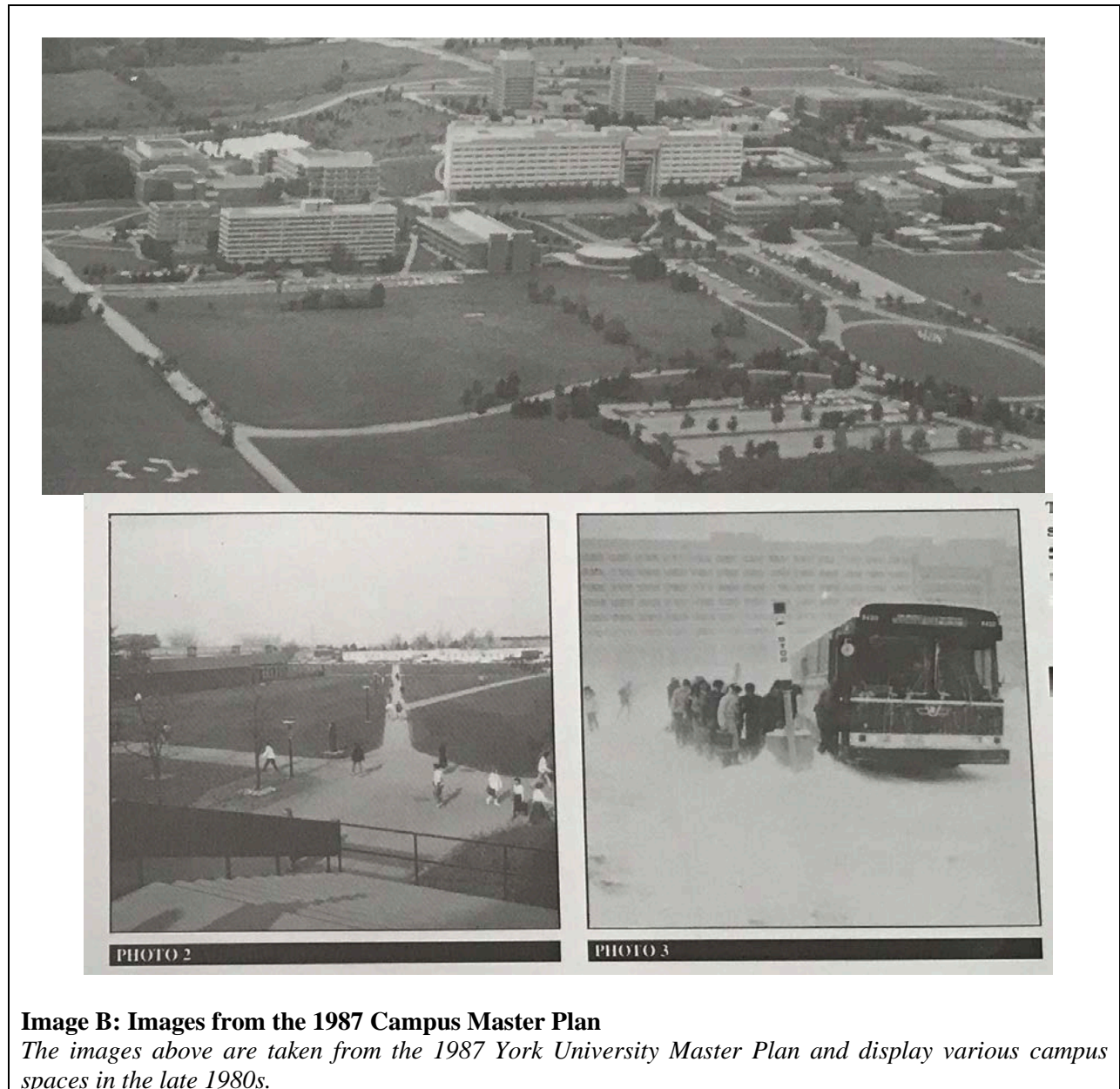
UPACE saw advantages in organizing students using a college system where students would belong to colleges on the Campus providing a space for residence, recreation, dining, and academics. The college system would also provide students with a form of association to their specific college, strengthening common purpose and spirit. Circulation of people and vehicles is an important aspect of organization on a campus and the Master Plan recognized this by stating, “in order to eliminate any conflict between students on foot and service vehicles the University proposed that the campus be developed around a central pedestrian zone” (UPACE, 1963, p. 14). Providing specific routes for vehicular and pedestrian traffic would organize the movement of the Campus in such a way that would reduce and/or eliminate disorganization. The Master Plan for the Keele Campus indicated that expansions to the Campus would be possible in the form of intensification – building vertically and horizontally – while also creating multi-storey parking garages the University could transform large parking lots into new spaces for campus buildings. The co-operation of public transportation services could potentially reduce the amount of vehicle traffic and parking spaces. The 1963 Master Plan conceived the University as an academic cluster, separate from the city, designed for the drivers and passengers who commuted on a daily basis (YUDC, 2013, p. 7).

1987 and 2014 Keele Campus Master Plan

As the University grew in enrolment, it developed another master plan. The 1987 Master Plan would address general deficiencies in campus design, and an emerging pattern of urbanization in the surrounding area (York University, 1987). This Master Plan was significant in the proposed changes to the circulation of people and vehicles on the Keele Campus. The original Ring Road was a major focus within this Master Plan as it attempted to replace it altogether with a grid of urban streets and blocks. However, the result in today’s Keele Campus is a hybrid where many elements of the Ring Road are still functional. In addition the plan identified the perimeter of the Campus and the academic core to be consolidated by the addition of new buildings and facilities (YUDC, 2013). Many of the buildings constructed post-1987 are prominent landmarks on the Campus today including Schulich School of Business, the Accolade buildings, Seneca@York, and the Kaneff Tower (YUDC, 2013, p. 8).¹⁴ The 1987 Master Plan focused on intensification, efficient circulation, and an identity within its geographical location.

¹⁴ Other Buildings include, the Pond Road residence, the Canlan Ice Sports, Aviva Tennis Centre, and the Life Science building.

Its strategic planning and proposed development had set in place a new direction for the Keele Campus which built on the foundation of its inception. As a result, the development of the new TTC subway extension, and the approved 2009 City of Toronto Secondary Plan provided a framework for the 2014 Master Plan that fused the foundational elements of the 1963 and 1987 Master Plans with new realities and development in the area (YUDC, 2013, p. 9).



The York University 2014 Master Plan was organized under three lenses which The York University Development Corporation (YUDC) describe as, Pedestrians first at York University,¹⁵ Greening York University,¹⁶ and Infilling York University¹⁷ (2014). The 2014 Master Plan provided a vision for the Keele Campus that, “moves it from a suburban campus to a campus in the city” (YUDC, 2013, p. 3). The evolution of the Campus over a half-century displays the urban intensification that has and continues to be facilitated at York University. A post-secondary campus should never be viewed as completed and as such a master plan must be in such general terms to develop new interpretations and development. In terms of the Keele Campus the Master Plans have guided the development of a once isolated suburban campus into an increasingly urban core.

The Relationship Between The Keele Campus and Jane-Finch

The development of the Keele Campus towards an urban core and recent transit infrastructure has made the Campus increasingly accessible. Aside from this, the Campus remains divided from the surrounding area to the west, Jane-Finch, by the Black Creek Ravine. However, the popular perception is that York is interlinked to Jane-Finch. Jane-Finch is often regarded, in media accounts and through local Toronto imaginary, as a low-income community with a high crime rate, plagued by gun violence. The profiling of Jane-Finch is an unfortunate labelling of a diverse area in suburban Toronto; this has affected the community for decades resulting in an increase in police presence. The marginalization of the community itself and its residents has developed a complex history of tensions between Jane-Finch and York University. The polarization of Jane-Finch has labelled racialized youth as a “generation of suspects” and these tensions have been felt in the safety and security efforts taken by York at the Keele Campus (Galanakis, 2016, p. 208). This polarization continues to dominate the narrative around the safety concerns of the Keele Campus and is illustrated in the responses provided by the participants. Nevertheless, responses from the participants also reinforce this polarization and

¹⁵ “Describes strategies with respect to transit, pedestrian routes, roads, parking, bicycling, way finding, service and delivery” (YUDC, 2014, p. 12).

¹⁶ “Describes strategies with respect to “greening” the Academic core and sets out strategies for natural areas, streetscapes, gateways, athletic facilities, public art, sustainability and storm water management” (YUDC, 2014, p. 12).

¹⁷ “Describes strategies focused on the distribution of development potential across underused parcels in and around the academic core, guidelines for urban design, student housing, protection of heritage buildings, protection of archaeological resources and provision for servicing” (YUDC, 2014, p. 12).

profiling of Jane-Finch and is used as a scapegoat for security incidents or safety concerns on campus.

The use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods in this thesis generate interesting findings to evaluate students' gendered perceptions of place through a lens of personal safety on York University's Keele Campus. The concepts and experiences related to participants' perception of place become layered onto the Campus which has been shaped by the Master Plans and its relation to Jane-Finch. The following chapters explore the difference and similarities among students and between students and staff identifying campus spaces that are perceived as safe, unsafe, and a mix of both. From the experiences of and discussion with participants the role of CPTED, gender, and perceived space is analysed in its relation to students' perceptions of place through a lens of personal safety.

Chapter Four: Exploring Participants' Perceptions of York University

This chapter details the findings from the dialogue with students and staff that identified the factors that contribute to certain perceptions of York University's Keele Campus, specifically the aspects that affect participants' sense of safety. This includes understanding the public discussion about the University that extends beyond just the descriptions from the participants, but also emphasizes understanding York University's representation in media reports, as well as its relation to the surrounding community. From the participants' perspective the characterization of York's surrounding community was identified as unsafe and isolated from an urban core. The dialogue of participants illustrates how the representations of York University factor into the daily geography of students on the Keele Campus. Additionally, participants were able to similarly characterize campus spaces using three distinctions; safe, unsafe, and a mix of both safe and unsafe. This characterization of campus spaces and the implications of York University's dialogue both from participants and other outside outlets display the factors students incorporate in their perceptions of place.

Perceptions of York Derived From Public Dialogue

A review of newspaper articles from 1992-2016 from various publishers reveals a common trend depicting the Keele Campus, in a sense, as a magnet for violence and safety concerns. The concerns stem from the rhetoric surrounding the institution's purported ineffectiveness to protect its community and deliver effective security measures. The following illustrates some of the messages and opinions published in various media reports. In a 2010 *Toronto Star* article Darshika Selvasivam, then vice-president of Campaigns and Advocacy for York Federation of Students said, "sexual violence is sadly becoming an all-too-common event around York University's campus" (Edwards, 2010). This came after a violent sexual assault of a 20-year-old student by three strangers outside her apartment just south of the Campus in, what is known as, The Village. In 2012 when police investigated three alleged sexual assaults that took place in one afternoon on the Keele Campus, Priya Kant, a sociology student said, "it's not good at all. It's scary being here by yourself. I would think after the first assaults, this wouldn't happen. It just shows that they're [York University] not doing anything about it" (Slaughter, & McDiarmid, 2012). In March 2014, a man fired a gun inside the Student Centre food court,

wounding two young women; a subsequent Toronto Star article explained, “again, recurring violence raises doubts about safety at York, particularly its sprawling Keele Campus in North York” (Diebel, 2014). Most recently in a 2016 article, focusing on the establishment of the Community Safety Department at York, the headline read, “York students remain sceptical of the effectiveness of safety initiatives”. In addition Aaliya Khan, a recent York graduate, explains, “the work York has done is mainly to say that they’ve done something,” acknowledging that there are awareness campaigns and training around key safety issues like sexual assault, but believes most of it is, “preaching to the choir” (Ibrahim, 2016).

The newspaper articles, examined over the 25-year period, consistently revealed a similar message of disbelief in the ability of York University to ensure the safety of its students. Its efforts are muffled by the occurrence of safety incidents that are all too frequent for students. The media reports represent a significant influence on the public perception of York University and its campus environment. The general public who reads or hears these media reports about the various incidents and reactions from the York community could easily form the opinion that York is unsafe and its current safety measures are ineffective. These perceptions very easily turn into a negative reputation and can be spread from person to person developing a sense of truth out of hearsay. But while the general public may develop a perception of crime and safety from the various media reports the students and staff at York University have a very strong and different stance on the reporting of campus incidents. The reporting of safety incidents on the Keele Campus undoubtedly affects students. For instance, Undergrad C, a fourth year undergraduate student who identifies as a cis-female, describes how the management of her safety on campus at night focuses on ensuring her boyfriend is also on campus with her during the hours of the night that concern her. The public dialogue fuelled by media reports, similar to the ones mentioned, represent York University as an institution that is riddled with danger and violence and that lacks the ability to protect community members’ safety. This is a feeling that came up with all the participants that were interviewed. The participants acknowledged the validity of the media reports, but all shared similar dissatisfaction with how their campus was represented as a whole. A cis-female graduate student who also completed her undergraduate at York University explains,

I find the media does an excellent job in telling an emphasized fabrication of what happens across the City. This is evidence that media reports on incidents occurring on

York University are no different. The media reports on York University have an overall effect on students' sense of safety on campus (Student D, Personal Interview, 2018).

In a direct manner, these reports influence how students choose their courses and when to be on campus and when not to be. This also influences whether potential students' will decide to enrol at York University or not. Nevertheless media reports are not the only sources of reporting that are influencing students' perceptions.

Interviews revealed students had issues with the internal email notifications they received from the University in regards to security incidents. Security bulletins are broadcasted via email by the University to inform the community of any security issues that occurred on campus (See Appendix F). At certain moments these emails seem all too frequent and can become alarming. When asked, "are you concerned with safety on the Keele Campus?" two cis-male students responded in similar ways. Undergrad D answered, "no, only when we get those alerts (referring to the security bulletin emails)," while Student C responded, "people are being triggered by all these security alerts that we are getting and I feel like these emails are what is triggering a worse perception of York" (Personal Interview, 2018). The email notifications have a difficult balance in providing the information to the community and ensuring at the same time that it does not negatively affect their interaction with the Campus. Staffer B, a cis-female, suggested that maybe there should be more follow-up statements on initial security bulletins to inform students that the University has acted on the issue and if a suspect(s) is still at large or has been taken into custody. The lack of information, or more specifically, the lack of follow up to on-going situations perpetuated the feeling that the Campus was risking individuals' personal safety due to their perception of increased incidents and the potential risk of encountering suspect(s).

In spite of this, the experiences of students demonstrated an acknowledgement of the reports, but also challenged the shared public misconception that the University was unsafe. Undergrad A, a fourth year cis-female undergraduate explains, "I think that media reports had more of an effect three-four years ago [speaking about her personal experience], and have much less of an effect today" (Personal Interview, 2018). She attributes this feeling to her experiences during her time as a first year student, noting that the reports had much more of an impact on her sense of safety, but once she was on campus she had something to base her opinion on. Similarly, another fourth year cis-female undergraduate describes, "as the years went by, my concern decreased because of constant improvements to security measures on campus (I would see more security cars around), and also because I am used to seeing these kinds of emails by

now” (Undergrad B, Personal Interview, 2018). Her description reveals how she has become desensitized to the reports and bulletins and, much like many other participants, she relies on her personal experience to judge her safety and day-to-day interaction on campus. Again, the perceptions held by students, and to what extent public dialogue influences those perceptions, are highly individualistic. Nonetheless, the students who were interviewed revealed a disconnect between how the reports they read or heard compared to their own experiences. The experiences of students who were interviewed demonstrated how their day-to-day interactions allowed them to develop an understanding of the safety on campus that was different from the public dialogue. As such, hearing those experiences is crucial to understanding what individuals interacting with the Campus everyday are actually experiencing. Thus, the reputation of being unsafe may be prominent in public dialogue but students and staff were not happy with this reputation: “the reputation York has acquired in regards to safety in my opinion is heavily due to the media and the physical location of the university,” a former student and now goSAFE staff noted (Staffer A, Personal Interview, 2018). As a whole, students and staff were generally disappointed with the representation of their institution and its level of safety expressed in media reports. As a result, it was clear that their dialogue aimed to combat this representation by addressing the reason for particular incidents and expressing the confidence gained from their experiences on campus throughout the conducted interviews.

Perceptions of York Derived From Its Geographic Location

Staffer A, who identifies as a cis-female, said, “the media tends to report any incidents that happen within the boundaries of Jane, Finch, Keele, and Steeles as a University incident”. Similar comments came from students who believed that the media used York University as a geographical marker in reference to any incidents that happened in this area of Toronto, even when it was not on York official property. Undergrad C explains, “sometimes they [media] will say it’s at York when it’s actually at Steeles and like Jane, but they will say York because it’s the closest landmark” (Personal Interview, 2018). During the interviews students and staff revealed their frustration about the misrepresentation of York University in media reports for particular incidents that may not have occurred on campus but rather near it. This misrepresentation had participants actively defending the integrity of their campus. Undergrad C described an encounter with co-workers, “oh my God did you hear what happened at York? And I will be like,

‘which one,’ and they will tell me and I will be like ‘that’s not York first of all.’ I can show you on a map and it’s not at York” (Personal Interview, 2018). The porous boundaries of York make the movement of people in the area seamless, whether on foot or in a vehicle and it also makes it difficult at times to distinguish what is York University and what is not. But as porous as these boundaries may be, the interviews revealed that there is a very hard divide between an ‘us and them’ at the Keele Campus. This ‘us and them’ dynamic deflects any negative attention caused by over arching media reports away from the University and places blame instead on the surrounding community. As Student E, who identifies as a cis-male, said, “I know York is plagued by a general safety negativity bias that I think spills over from the stigmatization of Jane-Finch” (Personal Interview, 2018). This public dialogue around York University has revealed that its geographical location is a key factor of blame for any negativity and that the media representations of this situation neglects to fairly represent the University. In an effort to understand some of these qualitative experiences of students beyond that of the representations in media reports, a key finding was the description participants provided of spaces on the Campus; what spaces were deemed safe, unsafe or a mix of both.

Campus Buildings and Landscapes That Are Associated With Personal Safety

The qualitative descriptions of and feelings about particular campus spaces illustrate the interactions students have with the landscape that may either differ from or be aligned with the intentions or principles documented in the Master Plans. Overall two main factors shaping sense of safety were present throughout the interviews, namely greenery and time of day i.e. day/night. The Keele Campus is fortunate to have ample amounts of greenery within the core and perimeter of the Campus. This was a feature of the Campus that the participants felt made the Keele Campus unique and enjoyable, but at the same time revealed another perspective, day/night complications. Although the participants believed the greenery was a strength of the University landscape this belief was only felt during daylight hours. Participants felt that as evening approached and the Campus became less populated and darker, the greenery became worrisome. A former undergraduate and current graduate student who identifies as cis-female, describes her feeling towards campus at night,

I think for the most part like in the day time I'm fine but the areas I walk through are usually pretty heavily wooded which is a thing I love about the Campus but also I just don't want to walk by it at night (Student B, Personal Interview, 2018).

Staffer C concurs with this idea that the green spaces added value in the daytime, however there is a dramatic change at night that generates fear. This extended beyond the feeling towards greenery on campus and to an overall feeling towards the Campus at night, which was described as drastically different from interacting with it in the day. Staffer A, explains, "I can imagine that what causes most people to feel unsafe on campus at night is the fact that some areas are darker than others and there are certain areas on campus which are isolated and there seems to be no one around" (Personal Interview, 2018). The dynamic of campus interaction being dependant on the hour of the day can be examined in all public spaces. It is a dynamic that is ingrained in our use of space, where the limitations of our interactions are fostered by the thoughts that one is at a higher risk during the night-time. As a result space that is lively during the day can become empty and desolate during the night. In the context of York the thought of being on campus during the night was fearful because of the concern of being on such a large campus alone, when there are few people around. If an incident were to occur the overwhelming thought of not having others around to go to for help leaves an individual with a sense of fear, and as a result, limits their interactions with that space.

Aside from these two main themes the interviews determined three general classifications of the Campus' landscape: safe, unsafe, and a mix of safe and unsafe.¹⁸ The distinction of these spaces as either safe/unsafe/mix was not absolutely clear through the mapping exercise involved in question eight of the interview.¹⁹ However, it was in conjunction with the dialogue from the participants that I was then able to distinguish campus spaces within the three categorizations (See Appendix G for a consolidation of the results to question eight). In the exercise, safe was categorized as 'safe at all times,' unsafe as 'unsafe at all times,' and mixed as being safe/unsafe depending on a multitude of factors such as, time of day.

¹⁸ A mix decision was determined by day versus night factors, particular incidents, a lack of interactions, or trying to understand how others may relate to their classification of space.

¹⁹ Using the attached map of the Keele Campus can you highlight the following: A) Do you think certain spaces on the Keele Campus are safer than others? What do spaces perceived as safe have that others spaces do not? B) What spaces on campus in particular cause you to question your safety at night compared to the day? What characteristics about these spaces cause them to be perceived as unsafe at night?

The spaces on campus that are classified as safe are Campus Walk, and the core of the campus which includes Central Square, Vari Hall and Ross Building. Complex One and Boyer Woodlot were classified as unsafe. Lastly the areas of campus considered being a mix of safe and unsafe are both York Lanes and the new TTC Subway extension (which had not yet opened at the time of the interviews). These five areas of focus illustrate the spatial characteristics that elicit the various feelings and perceptions of students over their time at York University. It provides a geographically specific reading of campus sites in an effort to extract the application of participants' sense of safety onto the physical characteristics of the Campus and how it relates to their perception of place.

Campus Spaces and Characteristics Which Are Perceived as Safe

Campus Walk

Campus Walk is a vital east-west walkway in the centre of the Keele Campus that stretches from Shoreham Drive east to York Lanes. It is a pedestrian highway that connects students to the various lecture halls, parking garages, storefronts, and residences. At any given time the walkway sees hundreds of individuals walking from one end of the Campus to another; granted the walkway may not be as populated during the late hours of the night (11pm-5am) but the various characteristics of the walkway generally made the participants feel that it was a safe space on campus. As identified by students, there are three main components to the perceived safety of Campus Walk. The first being the fact that Campus Walk is lined, on either side, with low-rise buildings that have many windows and entrances. These buildings for the most part are filled with students, staff, and faculty. Individuals felt that people could be a witness if something did occur. Secondly, participants felt that the populated nature of Campus Walk was effective at deterring unwanted activity and/or the presence of potentially threatening individuals. The last component was the physical characteristics of the walkway; along with being well lit there are clear sightlines that allow one to see what is ahead several metres down the walkway. The multiple signs and entrances connect individuals to spaces free of barriers and allow them to develop an understanding of where they are on campus and how to get where they need to be. A review of the University's Master Plans makes clear the walkway was never specifically identified as a planning objective, rather it was part of a bigger objective, namely to put pedestrians first.



Image C: Images of Campus Walk

These images of Campus Walk were taken during participant observation. Campus Walk is a vital pedestrian route through the Keele Campus that connects students to various campus spaces. Its greenery in the summer months provide a great aesthetic feel to the Campus and in the winter months its sightlines are maximized. Photos by: Jonathan De Iuliis.

Although participants' answers to question eight and observations suggest that there are some concerns with Campus Walk, like time of day and the fact that it can be hidden from view at certain sections, the overall general perception was that the walkway connected people to other areas of campus and made them feel safe. Especially with the large size of the Keele Campus, it is significant to have a clearly defined walkway like this to connect people from one end of campus to another.

Vari Hall, Ross Building, Central Square

The other area deemed safe by the participants is the core of the Campus, which is made up by Vari Hall, Ross Building, and Central Square (all of which are connected to one another through links of hallways). Question eight determined the overwhelming consensus that this core area of the Campus felt safe. Vari Hall is a unique building on campus and its construction in the early 1990s signalled a new era in campus design at York. It was constructed at the centre of the Campus where those entering from York Boulevard would see it in the distance.

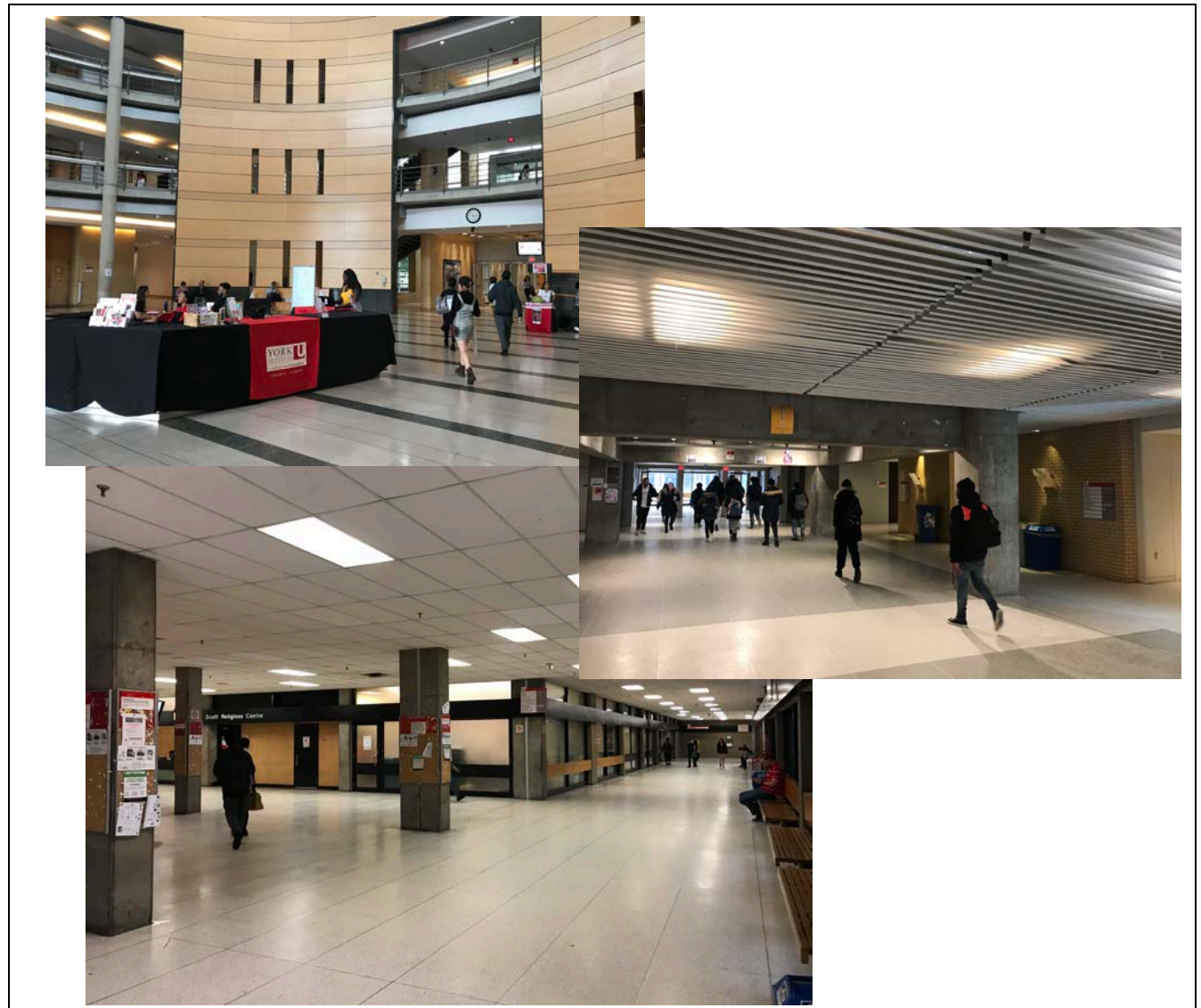


Image D: Images of Central Square

The images of Central Square were taken during participant observations. Central Square is an interior link of hallways and buildings that are heavily used by students on a daily basis. This can include the use of lecture halls, the library, restaurants, student clubs, and student services. Photos by: Jonathan De Iuliis.

Over the history of the building the rotunda of Vari Hall has seen frequent social and political debates: it is a space that is used by all members of the University to meet, relax, raise awareness, people watch and attend class (Sandberg, 2010). Undergrad F, a cis-female student, explains, “I think the high traffic areas like Central Square are pretty safe because there are so many people around. I really think it’s just the amount of people that makes it feel safe” (Personal Interviews, 2018). The explanation of Central Square from Undergrad F represents common feelings that were expressed of this area of campus by the students. From the interviews and observations this core is a significant portion of the Keele Campus with a high amount of traffic at all hours of the day, which made participants feel safe when in this space. Long before the construction of Vari Hall the original formation of this campus core was called Central Plaza. The Central Plaza, over the years, became both a physical and social unifying element of the Campus that developed itself as the social and geographical core of the University. Over the course of the development of the Campus this Central Plaza, which was mainly an exterior environment became an interior one that linked the Ross Building to Vari Hall, Scott Library, and Curtis Lecture Halls. Its connection and facilitation of day-to-day interactions, from attending classes to meeting friends in the Tim Hortons, support students’ connection to the space where their feeling of belonging and attachment are facilitated.

Campus Spaces and Characteristics Which Are Perceived As Unsafe

Complex 1

Complex 1 is a large area in the north-eastern section of the Keele Campus which was described in the interviews as being the area of most concern in terms of personal safety. Complex 1 is made up by six parking lots, a major bus terminal, Lumbers, Founders College and Residence, McLaughlin College, Tatham Hall, Winters College and Residence, and Vanier College and Residence. Boyer Woodlot, located just west of Complex 1, was grouped together with Complex 1 as being an area of concern for the participants. Student B describes her concern, “what’s creepy [is] the Woodlots where you try to get the bus and you have to walk through. In the summertime if you walk at night next to the Boyers Woodlot it is just creepy” (Personal Interview, 2018). This area of campus is large in size and, with four colleges and their residences, a large number of students come and go from this area at all times of day. The main concerns of the Boyer Woodlot contribute to the point made about greenery on campus. The

addition of greenery to the Campus landscape is welcomed and appreciated by community members, however the Woodlot at night is perceived quite differently. Aside from the students who travel to Complex 1 to get to their residence, many students pass through the Complex to get to the bus terminal or the various parking lots in this area. Their concern with traveling near the Woodlot at night results in them being cautious and more alert than normal when traveling around Complex 1. But the concerns with Complex 1 also included the lack of direction in and around the buildings where students described that they continually have trouble navigating within the area. The buildings also have many blind spots both in the interior and exterior where it is difficult to have a clear sightline of what is around the corner. Student D summarizes the general feeling of other students' concerns by saying,

Spaces on campus that are spatially distant from the central portion of the Campus are areas where there is a lack of security measures like lighting, security patrols, presence of other students etc. These spaces on campus are also closer to the woods or poorly lit pathways, where at night one may feel extremely unsafe (Personal Interview, 2018).

The concerns for Complex 1 that have been expressed by participants run parallel with the archival newspapers which locate many of the sexual assaults occurring within the various residences in Complex 1. The University administration has developed a "lockdown" system that locks entrances to the buildings in Complex 1 and can only be accessed by identification cards after 11pm. This security measure was aimed at restricting access to the buildings in Complex 1 to those who do not need to access them at those times at night. In an effort to keep strangers out and ensure the safety of college residence students, the lockdown results in community members having to navigate around the exterior of the buildings during late hours. For example, if a student were to be studying at Scott Library until the early hours of the morning, but parked in the Founders Road East Lot, they would have to navigate around the exterior of the complex; whereas they would feel more comfortable if they were able to walk in the interior of the complex.

I think one of the worst choices they [York University] made is locking buildings at night when often buildings are well lit, and I mean there are parts of buildings I wouldn't go, but I would feel better walking through a lit building then going around it which is way out of my way if I was here late at night (Student A, Personal Interview, 2018).

The original 1963 Master Plan designed Complex 1 to be a "College Cluster" where residential, academic, and recreational units would all be clustered together. Due to students requiring access to parking lots this College Cluster, Complex 1, was located farther from the Campus core.

Characteristics like distance from the University core, its confusing navigation and lockdown procedure, and lack of student engagement in this area of campus reaffirms the personal safety concerns expressed by the participants and the various staff who acknowledge the limitations of Complex 1's security measures. Although York staff acknowledged the downfalls of the lockdown procedure of Complex 1, there did not seem to be any indication of a change to this practice and rather the response from staff participants from both the Planning and the Community Safety departments suggested that this could be a trend for other campus buildings.



Image E: Images of Complex 1

The various photographs of Complex 1 were taken during participant observations. Complex 1 is the most contested space on the Campus. Its landscape is significant in size and it is important to remember that both its interior and exterior spaces were identified as a concern for the personal safety of student participants. Photos by: Jonathan De Iulii.

Campus Spaces and Characteristics Which Are Perceived As A Mix of Safe and Unsafe

York Lanes and The New Subway Extension

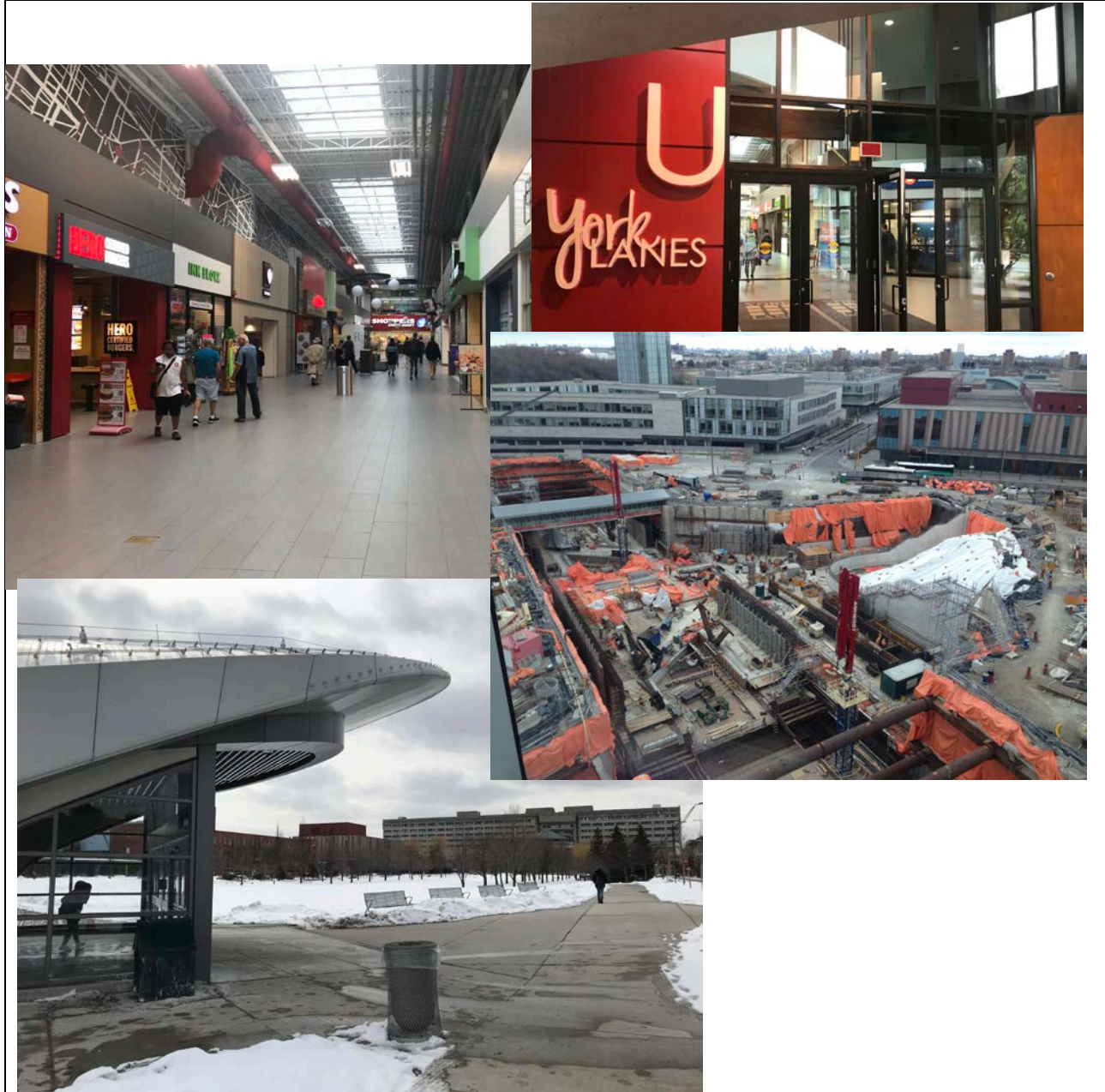


Image F: Images of York Lanes and The TTC Subway Extension

These images of York Lanes and the TTC Subway Extension, both pre-completion and post-completion (subway service began December 2017) were all taken during participant observations. York Lanes is a central space on the Keele Campus that provides services for students and the surrounding community. The TTC Subway extension pre-completion had a critical impact on the movement and layout of the Campus and now after its completion its impact continues to be assessed. Photos by: Jonathan De Iuliis.

Both York Lanes and the new subway extension were determined to be, in terms of safety, spaces in continual flux;²⁰ participants expressed their concerns for safety in these spaces but in the same instance expressed their comfort with the space. York Lanes is located just outside the central core of the Campus. It is a long indoor space that functions as a small shopping mall for the Campus with commercial business fronts on either side that include restaurants, a bookstore, dentist, credit union and a convenience store. York Lanes attempts to provide for the needs of community members, whether it be for shopping or socializing with friends at a bar. Its location on campus results in it being used as a passageway by students to go from the VIVA bus terminal on Ian Macdonald Boulevard to the buildings at the core of the Campus. The use of York Lanes by students, staff, faculty, and visitors illustrates its 24/7 nature, which is vital to the landscape of the Campus.²¹ But this 24/7 nature along with its openness develop mixed feelings among students. The pedestrian traffic that York Lanes sees on a daily basis helps to make this area feel safe; an individual can feel that they are in the presence of other community members who will come to their aid if they require it. But the main factor that makes York Lanes a mixed landscape on campus is the inability to distinguish who is who. The Keele Campus in general is subject to this because of its porous boundaries, but specific to York Lanes there are many people who use the space who are not necessarily members of the York community. This concerns students during the later hours of the day when the large amount of student traffic is not present. Safety concerns during the night could be a direct result of many of the store fronts being closed, locked, and as a result desolate, these individuals who use the space during this time could feel isolated if something were to occur. The descriptions by participants illustrate how perceptions of a space or a building in particular at specific times of the day can overpower the planning or safety measures taken within the space or building and this can vary by individual and by built environment.

The construction of the subway extension at York University has had a massive impact on the accessibility and daily geographies of, not only the participants, but to all members of the York community. There is no denying that the subway extension at York University will

²⁰ The term flux refers to the action or process of flowing or flowing out. In this context it is used to describe a constant shift in participants feeling of safety towards campus spaces, which depending on time of day, others in the space, or physical characteristic might have caused participants to feel safe at one moment and unsafe at another.

²¹ The building is open 24/7 however the stores within are not.

dramatically change the pedestrian routes in and around campus and subsequently, the daily geographies of commuters. But in terms of safety, participants felt overwhelmed and unsure of what implications it would have. Many participants expressed that “we are just going to have to deal with it.” Student A, a cis-female, expresses her concern for the impact of the extension,

I don't know how my sense of safety will change once the subway opens because it will bring a large number of people who would not necessarily be here otherwise. This makes me feel unsafe especially now because my bus won't come on campus so now I have to take a subway to get onto campus (Personal Interview, 2018).

The change to her daily geography on campus is challenging because the routes and passages Student A has felt comfortable using for her extensive period at York will change and it may force her to interact with new spaces/areas on campus which are of concern to her. Another sentiment expressed was the need for security actions to be taken, “the subway is going to bring a lot of people on campus we are going to be wide open so we are going to have to increase security; that's why we put a lot more cameras” (Staffer E, Personal Interview, 2018). However, there was positive feeling towards the future of the subway extension, “even at night, more students may be staying at school which will make the Campus less quiet and empty” (Undergrad B, Personal Interview, 2018). Similarly, Undergrad F thinks that by increasing accessibility, the ability for people to interact with the Campus develops a sense of familiarity that overpowers the negative perceptions or reports surrounding the Campus. Unlike other spaces on campus that were identified, as either safe or unsafe, by either the factor of greenery or day/night, this space on campus has a mixed feeling as a result of its construction and much anticipated completion. The Keele Campus is unique for its increased development and intensification over the years and this results in a large number of construction projects that change the landscape of the Campus. As such, the community members are left to wonder how the completion of construction will affect their daily geographies and until then students are left to contemplate all of the potential negative and positive scenarios of personal safety on their campus.

The two major components influencing students' sense of safety towards the Campus were greenery and the dynamic of being on campus during the day versus night. These two variables continually came up when participants were identifying safe or unsafe aspects of the Campus' spatial landscape. There was also a distinction between safe and unsafe spaces on campus with sub-factors like lighting, clear sightlines, foot traffic, and the presence of other

people being perceived as safe. Whereas lack of lighting, unclear sightlines, and lack of both foot traffic and people were identified by the participants as unsafe. Space being perceived as safe or unsafe is a significant component to the overall perception of place students hold while interacting with the Campus. The participants, both students and staff, had similar feelings towards campus spaces which express certain degrees of safety. However, as the next chapter will examine, the interpretations of safety by staff members differ as the University's methods around campus planning and security management focus on implementing top down approaches, which generalize students' experiences into two groups, cis-male and cis-female. This is in contrast to how students' methods of safety management depend on daily interactions and use of space to create a sense of place and foster perceptions that are highly dependant on the diverse personal demographics of students.

Chapter Five: The Role of CPTED, Gender, and Place on The Perceptions of Place on York's Keele Campus

The intent of this thesis is to develop an understanding of how campus planning and safety measures have impacted, whether in a positive or negative way, the daily geographies of students on a post-secondary campus. The literature on space, safety, and gender together with the research findings make clear three main concepts related to students' perception of place on the Keele Campus. These three concepts; CPTED principles, student's gender identity, and York's perceived space have a significant influence on students' perception of place that is interlinked with their forms of interaction and sense of safety.

Concepts of CPTED are present in both the planning initiatives and the day-to-day operations of the University. While the majority of students are not particularly knowledgeable about CPTED practices, these concepts are useful in understanding the role of the built environment surrounding them. However, the relationship between CPTED and the Keele Campus, in my opinion, concentrates heavily on physical variables to the built environment and in turn neglects to acknowledge the type of body²² its planning objectives are focused on serving. This is problematic because in neglecting to identify the type of body planning objectives seek to serve it reinforces normative notions of gender that assume space can and is only planned for a cis-male or a cis-female.

These misconceptions of gender, which reinforce a binary, influence the objectives of campus master plans and the information available within York's statistical data of campus demographics and security incidents. The negation of non-normative gender identities of students within the planning and operation of the Keele Campus can continue to marginalize gender variant students whose development of place is then hindered by the University's inability to recognize gender on a continuum. Although, both CPTED principles and misconceptions of gender have an impact on the physical construct of a built environment, perceived space is heavily rooted in the intangible aspects of space.

²² The term body is used to identify the particular individual or group of individuals planning practices are focused on serving and more specifically, which associated demographics such as gender identity, age, race, sexuality, and culture are included in those practices.

Perceived space affects the degree of interaction and sense of safety individuals have because of how reputations of and conversations about said space develop particular perceptions. These perceptions, influenced by media reports or casual conversations between individuals, can force individuals to avoid space and remove it from their daily geographies, as the information they have received has labelled said space as dangerous. Without the emotional connections and daily uses of individuals, the successfulness of space can fail to fulfill its role of fostering an individual's sense of belonging within their built environment. The following chapters will highlight each of these three concepts relating to students perception of place on the Keele Campus and, in particular, use participants dialogue to identify how each of these concepts is manifested within the daily geographies of students.

Chapter Six: How The Utilization and Application of CPTED on The Keele Campus Neglects The Experiences of Students, Especially Non-gender Normative Students

A Background on Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

CPTED is a widely used security and spatial concept that was popularised by Oscar Newman in his 1973 book, *Defensible Space*. The theories and examples in the book have been both studied and adopted all over the world in all forms of public and private spaces. I do not intend to evaluate the Keele Campus based on CPTED approaches, rather, I seek to introduce the main concepts of CPTED and explore the relationships between CPTED, the participants in my research, and the Keele Campus. Specifically, I will consider the difference between how students and staff express CPTED characteristics and to what extent CPTED planning principles involve concepts of gender when designing for campus safety.

The foundations of Jacobs (1961) and Newman (1973) determined that, “architectonic design could be moulded so as to create easily observable spaces, clearly marked as public or private, and not located near other areas of high crime” (Saraiva and Pinho, 2011, p. 214). This would create a safer and well-kept environment from the acceptance of responsibilities by a community to preserve its space (Newman, 1973). The four main principles of CPTED are 1) territoriality, 2) natural surveillance, 3) activity support and 4) access control; together and individually these principles have been deployed to modify the built environment in cities around the world with the intention to reduce crime (Sohn, 2016). Newman (1973) described his book as offering, “a means for restructuring the residential environments of our cities so they can again become liveable and controlled, controlled not by police but by a community of people sharing a common terrain” (p. 2). By providing a model for residential environments, CPTED aims to develop a social fabric, through the shaping of a space that is easy to defend. Newman’s approach was geared towards residential environments, particularly low-income housing projects in the United States suffering from high-crime rates. Nonetheless, CPTED has expanded and has been adapted to many types of public spaces where maintaining order and crime prevention is a priority, making it ideal for post-secondary campuses to adopt.

Newman (1973) explains that the principle of *Territoriality* is created when individuals perceive ownership over a physical environment because they feel as though they have imparted

some sort of territorial influence on said space. Basic forms of territoriality are expressing ownership over space, spatially defining private and public space, and creating boundaries as the basis of territoriality is the assumption that people will protect their own space and respect the spaces of others (Sohn, 2016). Similarly Saraiva and Pinho (2011) add, “inhabitants would keep and control areas that were clearly defined as theirs” (p. 215). As a crime prevention measure territoriality attempts to reduce crime by affecting would be criminals’ evaluation of a space’s vulnerability through the assertion of ownership and the exclusion of those who are perceived to not belong. *Natural Surveillance* is defined as the capacity of physical design to provide surveillance opportunities for residents (Newman, 1973, p. 78). Natural surveillance is not the installation of Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras in a space, but allowing one the ability to observe their own environment. It involves maintaining potential criminals under observation by designing areas to be easily observable. This can be achieved by modifying physical features to increase visibility and by placing people and activities in configurations that maximize surveillance possibilities (Sohn, 2019, p. 87). By facilitating purpose and activities, *Activity Support* aims to foster use and the ability for individuals to occupy space. Sohn (2016) explains, “safe activities are expected to attract ordinary individuals, who can be part of the natural surveillance system and take action to discourage potential offenders from committing crimes” (p. 87). The action of potential offenders and overall crime within a space is reduced by the presence of individuals engaged in an activity; in being active within their space, they reduce the vulnerability of their space. Lastly, *Access Control* aims to deny access to space or buildings to strangers/potential offenders to reduce and deter crime opportunities. It relies on physical elements such as doors, fences, and landscaping, to keep unauthorized personnel out of communities (Sohn, 2016). This method can be observed, for example, in the use of after-hours security measures such as the use of identification cards in place for entrances to the building in Complex 1 after certain hours of the day. By limiting access to those who are perceived to belong the security of both spaces and buildings is assumed to be effectively managed by controlling who can be within space and who cannot.

Newman (1973) explains, “when people begin to protect themselves as individuals and not as a community, the battle of crime is effectively lost” (p. 3). CPTED attempts to develop planning principles to configure space and the activity of residents in their residential environments. At the very foundation of CPTED is the involvement of people, it then becomes a

balance between designing out crime but being able to design in people and to do so in an inclusive manner (Saraiva and Pinho, 2011). To design space as inclusive the adoption of CPTED principles must be done with an understanding of the various demographics of individuals who use space, particularly, in relation to this thesis, identifying gender as beyond a binary. Therefore, implementing security measures to reduce the opportunity for crime must also incorporate the experiences and characteristics of individuals in a way that does not seek to solve safety concerns by grouping individual's safety concerns under one generalized solution.

Unfortunately, the CPTED principles incorporated with campus design and the day-to-day operations neglect to incorporate the dialogue of individuals' lived experiences of the built environment. The top-down nature of CPTED simply relies on the configuration of the physical environment to develop engaged citizens in preventing crime within their own built-environments. In analysing the Keele Campus my interactions with participants have revealed that CPTED principles are not acknowledged in students' dialogues, whereas staff heavily incorporated it into theirs. By analysing CPTED and the role it plays on the Campus' organization I seek to understand what effect environmental design has on student's perception of place and understand the other dynamics involved in this process that go beyond the physical configuration of the built-environment. In doing so, I uncover how the relationship between interaction, safety, and perceptions, affect students' perception of place. Compared to the variables of a residential high-rise complex, a university campus includes variables that are much more dynamic; this includes size, population, density, use, community, and security. Analysing CPTED driven approaches in the most recent Campus Master Plans and dialogue of York University staff can shed a light on the differences in the dialogue of students in an attempt to understand how to effectively link CPTED practices to students' sense of safety and in turn their perception of place.

The Application of CPTED in The Daily Geographies of Staff Compared to Students

York staff directly references CPTED, citing that the University has taken a proactive and practical approach to campus safety by following the famous principles of Newman (1973). As Staffer D explains,

We rely a lot on CPTED – we’ll have a lot of CPTED audits around campus so we have completed a few of them this year and it’s one of those things where we are just generally overall keeping the Campus safe (Personal Interview, 2018).

Safety audits were also brought up by Staffer A who stated that goSAFE is responsible for auditing emergency phones, accessible doors, lights, and the overall condition of the Campus landscape. From safety audits to safety groups like goSAFE the notions of CPTED are continuously on the minds of staff and especially those in both the Planning and the Community Safety departments. Staffer C, a cis-female, indicates that all of York’s planning follows CPTED principles with safety being a major concern. Their knowledge of the concept and its implication on the Campus is remarkably different from the students’ perspective of CPTED or even their knowledge of it. In fact, no student mentioned CPTED directly within their dialogue, although there were some descriptions of safety measures that were in line with the principles of the concept.

When asked what actions she believed York University needed to make in terms of campus safety Student D said,

In my experience, I believe that York needs to better tackle its preventative measures in order to tackle safety on campus; though it is a bit exhaustive for security, they do get the funding needed to do so. I also feel that we have the available amenities to tackle safety in terms of infrastructure and enforcement, security cameras, emergency call boxes and security guards (Personal Interview, 2018).

Many of the student participants hold higher expectations of the Security Services. The students, through their dialogue, suggested that security is more reactive than proactive and their management of funding could be more effective. Undergrad B indicated that she thought the Campus could add more security cameras or better lighting in areas that are more closed off, in turn making people feel safer walking from one place to another on campus (Personal Interview, 2018). Staffer D, who identifies as a cis-male, explains the rationale behind addressing similar comments to that of Undergrad B;

There is no amount of light that we can add on this campus that will make people feel safe. People like cameras, we have 800 cameras around campus right now, which sounds like a lot, but given the size of th’s really not, so people really like cameras but they are not the silver bullet that a lot of people think they are. They are more of a tool in the tool box, so it’s not like if we put a camera in this room nothing will happen in here, something can still happen (Personal Interview, 2018).

Similarly, to Staffer D, Staffer A, who works for the Community Safety Department, felt that, “many students do not realize the amount of CCTV cameras that are monitored 24/7 and are not

familiar with the goSAFE program” (Personal Interview, 2018). This suggests that if students would only “realize” the safety measures put into place by the University their perception of campus safety would be more optimistic. Their comments reveal that possibly a major part of CPTED on a post-secondary campus, involves educating community members on the prevention measures employed by the University. Providing students with the knowledge on how to access services, information, and insight on York’s security practices can provide students with a knowledge that can begin to foster positive perceptions and a secure sense of safety.

How the implementation of CPTED practices and the knowledge of community members are developed may be something that can be analysed in the future. Currently, I believe there is a divide between the promotion and use of CPTED by staff and how students perceive safety on the Keele Campus. For students the description of environmental design and safety is much simpler,

For myself, I think any space that is in a central location is safe because there are generally a lot of people around. I would perceive that places that I go to regularly are safer than those I don’t know as well. In terms of building characteristics that make places seem safer; I would say that being well-lit, being newly built and being close to other buildings are all relevant factors (Undergrad A, Personal Interview, 2018).

Rather than identifying territoriality, natural surveillance, activity support, or access control, students’ interaction with the Campus is based on functionality and familiarity, their interaction is guided by experiences and what they have heard or have been told about particular spaces. Their interaction with space is founded on basic principles of walking to class, finding new routes, or meeting a friend for coffee rather than establishing an explicit awareness of CPTED principles. My analysis suggests that there is a gap between the top-down approaches to campus management and the bottom-up experiences of students. The lack of integration and communication between the two at times can result in safety measures that may seem effective on plans and in reports but do not translate to the same effectiveness in the daily geographies of students.

The major focus of Newman’s (1973) conception of CPTED is the restructuring of residential environments in a way that they can become more liveable, and are not controlled by police but by the community members themselves (p. 2). Before I examine the gaps in the use of CPTED principles on the Keele Campus, and in general public space I want to highlight the different areas where the University employed a form of CPTED practices. University staff lead the effort of auditing the Campus within day-to-day operations and the 2010 METRAC Report

and 2014 Campus Master Plan display the efforts to consult with the York University community in order to develop a sense of understanding of experiences and to make recommendations and/or influence courses of action for York. The 2010 METRAC safety audit of the Campus highlighted safety needs and how to go about achieving them. METRAC describes their approach as combining CPTED with gender-based violence analysis, and community development to promote inclusion (METRAC, 2018). Their research of the Keele Campus concluded that

Building safety necessitates long-term commitment, leadership and responsibility from the top and bottom. It is a collaborative process that involves incremental change; equitable sharing of resources to actualise systems and processes for planning, and implementing and evaluating safety interventions. It requires a fundamental shift in personal and institutional values as well as sharing of power to create a culture of non-violence, safety and respect (METRAC, 2010, p. 38).

Moving forward from the 2010 METRAC Report, the 2014 Campus Master Plan outlines safety measures that relied on the infilling of the Campus to create a denser urban structure that would promote pedestrians populating spaces and reduce risk. This would involve the development of a greater sense of community that ensures spaces are well lit and visible to further enhance safety and security, animating public space with increase pedestrian traffic and improving the housing resources on campus (YUDC, 2014, p. 13).

In order for CPTED to be effective on the Campus it requires students and individuals who actively choose to be on campus for more than just their lectures and tutorials. In doing so, individuals can foster a greater notion of place on the Campus. The Master Plan constructs desirable pedestrian spaces, whether through easier navigation on campus or by making the Campus more liveable through the addition of restaurants, residences, or general places to gather. The ability to empower community members is the foundation of CPTED and in achieving this principle the Campus must also ensure this empowerment is sustained for future generations.

In my interview with Staffer B, I brought up a snippet of Jacobs' (1961) thinking from *The Death and Life of Great of American Cities*, which challenges the notion that by simply increasing the amount of lighting in a space, people tend to feel safer. Jacobs insisted that rather it is not until people begin to occupy space that an increased sense of safety can begin to be fostered. In reference to York University I asked Staffer B how the University, which continues to intensify through infilling, could attract more people to campus outside of just attending class. Staffer B expressed that this would require a dependence on CPTED, acknowledging that York

is a commuter centric school and needs to work towards attracting people on to the Campus at other times of the day by providing activities that are beyond just attending classes. Doing so not only maintains space, but also improves users' sense of safety and helps to develop a sense of belonging.

Robinson (1997) conducted a CPTED evaluation of the Keele Campus and recommended changes to improve the safety of its premises. She cited, "very few have explored crime prevention on campuses and even fewer examined their safety from the CPTED perspective" (p. 2). Robinson's findings suggested that the Keele Campus needed to improve on three components of CPTED; *natural surveillance*, *access control*, and *territoriality*, to help deter opportunistic crimes, especially those that can occur in parking lots or the travel routes to and from those lots (p. 105). Robinson's (1997) research determined that CPTED is a trial and error process; suggesting that understanding CPTED for what it is, how it can be used to implement change, and where it can be applied are the successful keys to reducing opportunistic crimes (p. 111). Hence it requires more than a physical application, but an attitude and lifestyle that are developed through education, consultation, and community involvement (Robinson, 1997, p. 111).

The planning and construction of York University's Keele Campus is heavily founded in a gender binary perspective and does not take into account particular vulnerabilities of non-gender normative students. CPTED includes measures to change the physical design and lay-out of space in a way that is effective in reducing crimes, much of which depends on the promotion of "eyes on the street," however this strategy that is part of making spaces defensible, often assumes a heteronormative perspective in preserving the status quo (Doan, 2011, p. 104). Transgendered and gender variant people can often search for anonymity within an environment and a demand for increased surveillance by the general public could potentially drive the gender variant from a safer and more heteronormative space into much less safer spaces (Doan, 2011, p. 104). The negation of gender beyond a binary in CPTED practices not only applies to non-normative genders, but also can be applied to other personal demographics like sexuality, age, race, culture, and physical (in)ability. The University applies a high dependence on CPTED principles to shape the safety and direction of the Keele Campus, which becomes complicated because CPTED does not provide an idea of the "body" it seeks to design space for. The type of "body" within CPTED is inherently that of only cis-male or cis-female persons. CPTED at its

very foundation should be a design concept for people and bodies, however leaves you to assume the type of body CPTED literature aims to serve without any clear definition or explanation, ultimately erasing the notion of bodies and subsequently reinforcing a gender binary practice. This is extremely problematic, because you cannot have a conversation about people's safety without first defining the bodies that those safety measures apply to and it inherently marginalizes the population that does not conform to binary identities (cis-male and cis-female).

Moving forward the question remains, how can the use of CPTED on the Keele Campus become a more inclusive and diverse process? By addressing what perceptions students hold and what limits they set in place, or even to what prevention measures they employ to remedy negative perceptions we can begin to attach understandings of gender as a continuum to the operation of the Campus. By validating non cis-normative experiences and daily geographies on campuses it can begin to encourage a progressive and proactive planning approach that is not only concerned with securing safety but developing an inclusive space that fosters learning and growth. Robinson (1997) explains, "it is essential to consider the needs, or fears, of the users when implementing and/or altering programs" (p. 107). This is a significant guideline for the Keele Campus achieving crime prevention and developing a greater sense of belonging. It is the basis of this thesis to bring these needs and fears of users, undergraduate and graduate students, to the forefront. These experiences are heavily rooted in social processes that determine interaction, use, and perception of place, all of which are rooted in an individual's sense of safety. The next chapter displays how gender binary perspectives have become central within the representation and operation of the Keele Campus. Although the participant group can not provide a substantial representation of non-binary experiences, the dialogue provided by Staffer E, a transgender female, can begin to open up a discourse to the other marginalized experiences others may share on the Keele Campus. Furthermore, the dialogue of Student D provides insight to the racialized experiences of a non-white cis-female student, exemplifying the many facets to the notion of the "body" and the importance of bringing these notions into the forefront when reviewing/implementing CPTED practices and campus planning for future generations.

Chapter Seven: Gender Identity at The Keele Campus; Breaking Down Cis-Normative and Non-Normative Conceptions of Gender in Participants' Experiences

During the interviews, I asked student participants if safety concerns are more disturbing when they occur on the University campus because it is a place that should, in principle, be designed as a safe haven with their needs as a top priority. The answers of Student B exposed gender as a key underlying factor in the relationship between personal safety and place. Student B said, “I feel like it is a part of life now, as a woman you kind of navigate your space [by avoiding male dominated spaces]” (Personal Interview, 2018). Koskela (1999) explains, “because of fear, women are restricting their access to and activity within public space” (p. 111). Student B revealed that one’s gender plays a significant role in such fear as well as in their sense of safety. However the outlook on gender can often be limited to a cis-normative perspective, and as Student B demonstrates, can determine daily geographies based on that binary divide – cis-male and cis-female. Such an outlook will further be discussed and analysed in this Chapter where I draw out two particular experiences in order to shed light on such a limited scope to safety on the Campus. An argument made by Pain (1997) stated that the built environment itself may redistribute fear, however the true cause of fear lies in the non-tangible and general feelings of unease or fear of victimization, which are manifested in spatial perceptions and behaviour (p. 233). This thought process can be deduced from the students’ descriptions, revealing that perceptions of place are dynamic and entirely individualistic, due to various factors such as the reputation attributed to space and how the personal demographics factor into one’s perceptions, as opposed to just solely being based on the design of space. The role of gender was the most prominent attribution to the sense of safety amongst students, however this is not to negate that these concepts are part of a multi-faceted range of factors such as age, race, culture, sexuality, and (in)ability that may play into perceptions of place. Specifically within this participant group, the non-gender normative experience of Staffer E, which is also linked to concepts of age and the racialized experience of Student D provide insight to the nature of personal experiences on the Keele Campus.

Gender Binary Experiences: Cis-Female Students' Experience

Undergrad A explains,

I think that my gender identity does somewhat affect my sense of safety on the Campus; being the only daughter in my family, my mom has told me countless times to not walk to the parking lot alone or to try to avoid being on campus late at night. These factors probably made me hyper-aware of any dangerous situations I might be putting myself in and may have had an effect on my sense of safety on campus (Personal Interviews, 2018).

The cis-female student's relation with their gender identity and sense of safety relate to the role social constructions have on the manifestations of fear women hold in their daily interactions with space (Koskela, 1999; Gordon *et al.*, 1980; Toseland, 1982; Valentine, 1989). These concerns are developed by parental warnings, crime coverage in news media, and discussions amongst friends, to create an exaggeration of the risk that women will face in public space. This directly affects their interaction with space and their perception of it as security education, crime-prevention advice and other warnings remind women that they should be prepared for something violent to happen (Koskela, 1999, p. 115). The parental warning Undergrad A receives is in direct relation to her gender, as she is reminded that she faces risks of victimization in all space, not just the Keele Campus. Undergrad C explains,

I remember in first year I had an exam from 7-10pm at the tennis centre and then my mom could pick me up at Tate McKenzie Centre, but then she made my brother walk to the tennis centre to walk me to the car and I was like, 'mom there are people walking I can walk with them and she was like, no, no' (Personal Interview, 2018).

The societal constructions of the risk women have in public space is something that the cis-female student participants carry with them in every interaction on campus. For some students, the relation between gender identity and sense of safety is more conscious. For example, Undergrad G, a cis-female student, explains, "being a female on campus does affect my sense of safety. Normally the victims are females. There have been many harassment cases involving women as the victims" (Personal Interview, 2018). The reporting of crimes and incidents in regards to the Keele Campus have made her feel that her gender directly impacts her sense of safety.

The Keele Campus is a significant environmental context where individuals may develop mental maps to navigate through the space, but more specifically use their sense of safety to

navigate and avoid areas which are of concern to them, much like how Undergrad G stated that she avoids night classes when she does not have a vehicle (Personal Interview, 2018). The preventative safety measures individuals employ to feel safe in their interactions with space are a direct result of the social constructions around gender, time of day, and space (Gordon *et al.*, 1980). Where some female students may choose avoidance as a strategy to manage their sense of safety, others, like Student A, actively seek other women in space to put their fears of potential risk at ease,

I noticed myself recently trying to make sure there was another woman in the room or near me so if something happens there would be someone that I could count on. Even on the subway going home from York I find myself looking for woman (Student A, Personal Interview, 2018).

The ‘coping strategies’ articulated by the cis-female students express ‘taken for granted’ choices that Valentine (1989) argues are determined by their social characteristics and result in the construction of individual mental maps that materialize into a restricted use of public space (p. 385-386). The role of gender identity was exposed by Valentine (1989) as a determining factor to the students’ sense of safety, so much so that their choices (for example: class times, routes, and amount of time spent on campus) become safety measures to mitigate their exposure on campus in order to reduce risk of victimization. As Student B explains, “I think that a lot of women do plan out their days and their schedules based on what time of day it is” (Personal Interview, 2018). But this role of gender is limited to a gender normative view where gender is not seen on a continuum but rather as a binary. In the following sections of this chapter, I seek to explore the other side of this cis-normative binary and also introduce two particular participants whose experiences break this notion of men’s versus women’s experiences and display the importance of viewing the body and, more specifically, gender on a continuum. In the final sections, I will bring forth the concept that no two people or experiences are the same and safety measures cannot serve as solutions when they are designed according to generalizations focused on making cis-men and cis-women feel safe.

Gender Binary Experiences: Cis-Male Students’ Experience

The sense of safety held by the cis-male participants is different from those of the cis-female participants, particularly in the areas of when, where, and whom to fear.

Talking with students, faculty and staff around campus they never complain about general unsafeness . . . I guess I should say that I have been at the Campus for about 12 years now. I was a student before and I have been a student here (Staffer D, Personal Interview, 2018).

By stating his length of time at the Keele Campus, as both a staff member and former student, Staffer D attempted to validate the image of York University as a safe campus. Staffer D suggested that the general safety concerns at York reflect those of everyday spaces, and should not necessarily be attributed to the notion that the University is unsafe; rather all spaces in general have the potential to be unsafe. Staffer D's confidence in his personal safety on the Campus is evident in the following quotation:

I feel pretty comfortable during the day but there are also places that you know you shouldn't, not saying you shouldn't, but saying I wouldn't necessarily go there at night time. Like I feel no problem, me personally, walking through one of the woodlots for example during the day or night. I would still feel comfortable walking through it in my role, but I can see where a student necessarily wouldn't (Staffer D, Personal Interview, 2018).

While Staffer D reaffirms his comfort with the Campus, he begins to reveal that there may be spaces on campus to be concerned about, but he catches himself doing this and reasserts his confidence, by saying "I feel no problem walking through," and "I would still feel comfortable". As previously alluded to in the literature review, men are most likely to suppress their expression of fear in an effort to reduce their vulnerability. This attempt may increase the chance of victimization, but solidifies a performance of fearlessness in an attempt to maintain a masculine identity (Brownlow, 2005; Starkweather, 2007; Day, 2006; Yavuz and Welch, 2010). His expressions illustrate the difference between the types of preventative measures deployed by cis-men and cis-women in this research group. The vulnerability expressed by cis-male students reflected concerns such as robbery of personal positions or physical confrontation, which differed from female students who were concerned with their vulnerability to sexual assault or harassment.

Student C and Undergrad D revealed which fears they are concerned with in regards to their personal safety while on campus. Student C stated that his primary concern is that their phone could potentially be stolen (Personal Interview, 2018) and similarly Undergrad D said,

Because the incident reports say, oh this six foot male wearing a blue hoodie and dark pants and this colour shoes, 90% of guys at York match that description. If I'm walking I don't know the guy beside me I am going to think, alright I'm the next guy on the

incident report he is going to try and steal my phone (Undergrad D, Personal Interview, 2018).

Undergrad D provides more detail about his perception of other males on campus from University generated email notifications. He feels that in all those reports the attacker or suspect is always a male wearing clothes that are not distinguishable from other pedestrians on campus, and is cause for concern for him. My impression was that Undergrad D is unaware that his concerns with the description of potential attackers are more concerning for female students who frequently, within the reports he is referring to, are the general victims. He neglects to comprehend how others including women on campus feel towards his presence, as he himself could easily match the attacker's description. I found, through conducting these interviews, that the cis-male voice's focus is on the "other" and how that "other" could pose a threat to themselves, whereas in the cis-female voices, many more factors were taken into consideration (physical landscape, social processes, culture etc.) In this perspective Undergrad D displays how little his concerns for safety are impacted by the physical landscape such as lighting or greenery. Student C is much more direct when defending his sense of safety on the Campus by questioning the validity of crime reports on the Campus. He explains his rationale behind his sense of safety:

Like in the 2014/15 year there was news that some of the reports of sexual assaults were fake and they were untruthful and stuff so you start to question how much of these are actually authentic and how many students are just trying to make York's reputation worse (Student C, Personal Interview, 2018).

By questioning the validity of the reports, Student C is able to reassure himself of his own personal safety. Similar to Undergrad D, Student C's only safety concern on campus is losing personal possessions. His rationale to questioning the validity of safety incidents plaguing the Keele Campus enables him to reassure himself that if those reports are possible fabrications then he should not have to worry about potential risks or potential offenders. Student E, a cis-male, differed from the other cis-male participants, in that he was the most aware of the dichotomy of campus safety. He explains "as a white male, I definitely think my gender identity impacts my personal safety" (Personal Interview, 2018). Acknowledging that as a white male in space he has certain privileges that are not necessarily shared by other students. He further explains,

Safety is definitely on the minds of certain students [women/racialized bodies] more than men, particularly white men. I would think that students who have unsafe perceptions of Keele Campus would organize their course schedule to suit times they would feel most safe (Student E, Personal Interview, 2018).

The privilege men, particularly white men, have in space is a direct result of the patriarchal power that has influenced the planning and organization of the built environment (Brownlow, 2005). Although strides have been made within society, male privilege continues to dominate conversations about public space and the design of the built environment. The conversation needs to continue to examine the existence of this privilege and expose its nature to ignore the voices of other gender identities and individuals or group of individuals. This is why the experiences of Staffer E and Student D are crucial to the analysis of gendered perceptions of place on the Keele Campus. Sense of safety and the fear of victimization for each individual are not static but change according to spatial and social contexts this is displayed in describing the difference between cis-male and cis-female students' experiences, fear, and concerns with the Keele Campus (Pain, 1997, p. 238). Both Staffer E and Student D provide insight as to how race and age in addition to gender identity influence perceptions of place going beyond the gender normative experience in the first half of this chapter.

Non-gender Normative Experiences: Staffer E's Transgender Perception of Safety

After I interviewed Staffer C she informed me that I may be interested in meeting with her colleague, Staffer E, so I contacted her and was fortunate enough to meet and have her agree to participate in my thesis. I asked Staffer E, "do you think the Keele Campus is accommodating to different gender identities?" She answered, "yes almost certainly so. I am one of them you know I am transgender myself, so I have had no problem on campus whatsoever" (Personal Interview, 2018). Staffer E, as noted, is a transgender female University employee in the Planning Department at York. Her experience has developed a knowledge of campus operations that has spanned over many years, and although she is not a student her dialogue provides insight on how transgender students may feel on the Campus. Staffer E defines being safe on campus as,

Being able to walk around campus or travel around campus; without feeling any oppression without having to look over my shoulder all the time. I'm not a student, I'm over 70 and I have worked here for ten years and I have never felt that I had any reason to feel unsafe (Staffer E, Personal Interview, 2018).

Beyond her gender identity, Staffer E also introduces the role that her age plays in her daily interactions on campus. This is something that was not evident in the group of student participants but in a post-secondary institution the age of a student can vary significantly and it is

important to acknowledge the role social factors, such as age play in daily geographies. Staffer E's age is a significant component to her experience because it highlights her familiarity with specific social experiences and the perceived risk space can present. But more importantly it reminds us that many students, especially at a post-secondary institution, vary in age and their perceptions of place can be drastically different depending on one's familiarity, experience, and understanding of both public space and interaction which age can significantly affect. Staffer E describes the various employment positions she had previously worked and how she had consistently faced discrimination for being openly transgender in the work place. This traumatizing experience caused Staffer E to actively look for a new position which would be more accepting to not only her gender identity, but her age as well. Her gender identity and age were personal characteristics which others used to discriminate against her, causing her to feel excluded within their social environment and further marginalized. Nonetheless, when receiving her position at York, Staffer E was excited as the University welcomed her with open arms. Staffer E attributes the experience of being welcomed into the University's community to the progressive nature of York's hiring process and the role of the SexGen York Committee, associated with the Centre for Human Rights, Equality and Inclusion at York University. SexGen as defined by their webpage, "aim to foster an accessible, inclusive, affirming intersectional environment for sexual and gender diversity among students, staff, faculty and community members at York University" (York University, 2018). Staffer E's personal account along with her feeling of safety on the Keele Campus illustrates a perception of place that is much different from the gender normative participants. Staffer E's journey and finding inclusion at York University is inspiring, but it remains unclear if this translates to the experiences of students who much like Staffer E identify on a gender continuum. Furthermore, it is a perception of place that falls outside of the parameters of CPTED and York University's campus planning in regards to safety. Pain (1997) describes ways in which space is appropriated by dominant groups, and the result of these spatial constraints are imposed by individuals' perceptions which reproduce social disadvantages for those who are marginalized (p. 237).

Beyond Gender Normative Experiences: Student D's Racialized Perception of Safety

Student D described the time she registered for York in her senior year of high school, “accepting my offer at York, I had family members tell me to ‘be careful’ and ‘be vigilant at all times’ because there are a great deal of incidents at the Keele Campus” (Personal Interview, 2018). The concern for her safety in the interactions with her family reflect the form of parental warnings women face and are reminded of when interacting with space. Women’s ability to interact with space is consistently questioned by others, and even at times themselves, often enough these concerns and/or warnings have a direct impact on the immersion of women in public space. When answering question seven,²³ Student D said,

From my understanding as a female, there is a consciousness that we can’t walk alone at night, or making sure we walk in a busier corridor in order to avoid the incidents like sexual assaults on campus. As a woman, that is the biggest fear of campus incidents and we make our own preventative measures like walking in groups, or walking in well lit, crowded areas to make sure we are not assaulted on campus (Personal Interview, 2018).

Her description is similar to those of other cis-female students in acknowledging self-imposed spatial limitations, but at the same time speaking in a manner that suggests resistance against the common thought that she is more at risk in space due to her gender identity. Resistance for Student D comes in the form of using space the way she chooses to, deciding to not alter her geography on campus even at times when her parents or others may suggest she does. When I asked her question three,²⁴ she answered,

To be honest, I find that safety is not a concern for me on the University campus. Growing up in an alarming neighbourhood, “the hood”, I find the Keele Campus is far less dangerous than my overall daily surroundings (Student D, Personal Interview, 2018).

Not only does she face the daily realities of being a cis-female in public space, but also a Black Muslim woman who wears a hijab, facing exclusions and perceptions that other participants in this research cannot relate to. Gordon *et al.* explain that, the significant relationship between neighbourhood and fear can suggest that fear may be a function of the amount of crime in the encompassing area (p. 906). Although not specifically revealed by Student D, she describes her

²³ Do you think campus safety is inclusive, does the Keele Campus accommodate to all gender identities in terms of campus safety? Do you feel your gender identity affects your perception of safety on the Keele Campus?

²⁴ Is safety a concern for you on the Keele Campus? What is your definition of safety on a university campus?

home neighbourhood as “alarming”, indicated that it is one of low to middle income, a high presence of immigrant families, and a frequent occurrences of safety incidents. Valentine (1990) describes how a woman’s sense of safety in her local environment is related to how well she knows and how she feels about both her social and physical surroundings. With concerns of her daily surroundings in her private life, Student D does not look at the Keele Campus as a threat or, at the very least, a concern. This is not to say that the planning or safety measures taken by York directly cause Student D to feel safe, but rather it displays how Student D’s perception of place on the Keele Campus is facilitated by the sense of safety that she does not feel within her neighbourhood. Much like Staffer E, it is unclear if this positive sense of safety applies to other students, but at the very least they reveal how individuals outside a gender normative identity may experience and interact with campus spaces. The racialized experience of Student D on the Keele Campus is significant in displaying how perceptions of place are rooted in individual’s gender, their sense of safety and interaction with space as also being reliant on how their personal demographics beyond gender actively play a role in their daily geography within their built environment. In addressing the negation of non-gender binary perspectives in campus safety and management solutions, the University should not be satisfied with its current state of campus inclusion and it must continue to strive to incorporate the non-normative experiences of its student population. These intangible exclusions within campus planning and construction then spill out onto the physical built environment of the Keele Campus. This can further marginalize an individual or a group of individuals who inherently feel they do not belong on the University campus that is meant to be a space built for them.

Understanding Gender at York University

The only data York University has in regards to the gender identity of its student population can be found in the *Fact Book*. The *Fact Book* provides data based on male and female gender categorizations on the number of graduate students registered as part time or full time and the total number of degrees granted. Interestingly, the data provided by the *Fact Book* revealed that women outnumber men in all of the available categories. This is significant because it affirms the importance of including gender in the conversations about planning for campus safety. Although this thesis aims to identify the experiences of students that do not identify with

cis-normativity, the experiences of Staffer E and Student D only provide a limited scope and not all community members who are transgender or black may feel the same as the two participants. They are not the voices speaking on behalf of everyone. Rather their experiences and identity both in terms of gender and personal demographics reveal the complexity of students' perception of place on a university campus, just because a person identifies as a Black Muslim woman does not mean she should only be limited to a niche that has safety concerns addressed in a particular way. It is my hope that campus planning and safety measures/security management do not operate in a manner that categorizes individuals into specific pools and identifies initiatives to make space safe depending on a particular pool of individuals that may not be suitable for another pool. The complexities of perceptions of place through a lens of personal safety are layered into the development of space and as such planning and safety/security management should be layered as well, addressing safety concerns of all that is developed by consulting with those who may be marginalized on campus. However, the first major step in achieving inclusion on the Keele Campus would be the acceptance of gender as not limited to a binary view and acknowledging that much like individuals' personal demographics their gender identify cannot be categorized into a cis-male or cis-female designed space. The next chapter explores how the perception of place through a lens of personal safety encompasses reputations that exist over many generations to influence how students should or may alter their daily geographies on campus.

Chapter Eight: Understanding The Different Materializations of Place in Students' Experiences on Campus

Being a part of a community, whether that is York University, one's neighbourhood, or local social club, developing place is integral to the sense of inclusion that empowers people to interact with their spatial environments. It is what makes streets lively providing a landscape to make connections while giving us the opportunities to inscribe memory and display personal histories. In doing so, the production of space becomes place — it is transformed into something that has meaning, we identify it and with it, and our daily geographies are attached to this sense. It is important to understand that although we live in pre-constructed places, place is not a finished product but rather a continual process actively shaped by our daily practices. Place becomes a way of seeing, understanding, and knowing the world; people create place in their environments at all scales and in different ways (Cresswell, 2004).

Since the 1960s the York University Keele Campus has developed new buildings, expanded its borders and intensified within its boundaries. Each building and space whether new or old is used by students, faculty and staff who inscribe meaning to space through their interactions. This transcends generations and the experiences of individuals are layered, dynamic and always incomplete. The layering of these emotions and attachments to spaces on the University campus continues to evolve with every entry of new students, visitors, and construction projects. Each individual interacts with the Keele Campus within a certain timeframe. Within this timeframe, the interaction between the individual and their environment is dynamic and their daily geography develops routines and understandings of the Campus landscape. We are always seeking to arrange space in a way to make it ours, to feel that we belong in the space and it is in a part our place. Our attempt to appropriate space into our place involves processes of negotiations that are continually occurring between individuals and the physical materials of space, other individuals in space, and the governance of space. The Keele Campus is no exception to this process and given the population of York and the proximity to the surrounding community, the negotiations that take place on the Keele Campus shape not only the physical environment but also the social environment, and the reputation of York University. Understanding the production of place for students and how the Keele Campus facilitates this process can only be done by considering and acknowledging the diverse dialogues of the

experiences students develop during their time at the Campus with input from selected staff. The emergence of place within the dialogue of the research participants came in three perspectives; defending place, place as home, and safe place. These perspectives all exemplify sense of place, which is well defined by Lentini and Decortis (2010) as a concept for capturing people's relationship within the physical environment in which they act (p. 410). This notion highlights the meaningful relationships we attach to our environment by addressing and specifying the nature of those daily interactions.

Defending Place: Challenging The Misconceptions of The Keele Campus

During the interviews, participants described the location for reported security incidents to be located outside of what they perceived the Campus borders to be, and described them instead as taking place in the surrounding community. Media companies often use the Keele Campus as a geographical marker within their reports of safety incidents in this area of Toronto, which I have argued can contribute to a negative reputation of the University. Participants challenged this method of reporting used by media in an attempt to defend their campus and place blame instead on the surrounding community. The dialogue with participants and how they defend their campus displayed the first notion of place; defending place. Undergrad C described an occurrence with a co-worker who had questioned her safety at school after hearing a report of an incident that had allegedly occurred on the Campus. "I will say, that didn't happen at York first of all. I can show you a map and it's not at York" (Undergrad C, Personal Interview, 2018). In response to her co-worker, she became defensive and defended the condition of the Campus while also expressing frustration with her colleague's misconception. The defending of place in Undergrad C's dialogue is similar to other participants who actively challenge negative reports of campus safety from outside media sources and the misconception they face by the general public. Lentini and Decortis (2010) explain,

Places can be associated with a particular person, or a group of persons, and this influences the feelings towards the place and contributes to the shaping of individual and social identities – a positive image of one's neighbourhood is linked to a positive self-image and a stronger sense of community (p. 411).

This definition of place is evident in Undergrad C's response to her co-worker; expressing anger and contempt at the accusations and defending the Campus was an act of defending her place to

her co-worker, and her identity in the process. Undergrad C chooses to defend the reputation of the Campus, attempting not to contribute to negative perceptions of York which label it a “dangerous” place. Much like other participants, media reports and concerns from family, friends, or the general public on the safety and incidents that occur on campus evoke a defensive nature in the participants’ responses that may or may not be representative of the greater York Community. The participants defend the Campus and their perception of place, as the expression of York as an unsafe or as a dangerous space is taken as an attack on the connection, meaning, and sense of belonging that they have established during their time at York. Our understanding of place is sometimes simplified as “home”; when we feel at home we feel in place, we feel like we belong, and it provides us with a sense of identity. In defending place, as in the example provided by Undergrad C, we seek to place ownership within our built environment where one’s memories and uses are layered within the experiences of others, which in turn becomes ingrained into the physical and social aspects of the built environment.

Place as Home: Inscribing Meaning and Attachment to The Keele Campus

Undergrad F and I discussed the general feeling of pride at York and the dialogue shifted to discussing whether other students perceive York as a home, or if there is any general feeling of hominess is evident in the general population.

There is no connection like “this is home”, but it’s weird because I feel that I have that connection with York. It’s my home, I spend so much time here and to me it actually does feel like home. I go to the gym here, I go to study here, I eat here, I see my friends here, so yeah it feels like my home (Undergrad F, Personal Interview, 2018).

In her description of how York is her home, Undergrad F does not mention attending lectures, tutorials, or work. All things that develop a sense of place on the Campus for Undergrad F are activities like working out, meeting with friends, and finding a place to eat. It is in mundane interactions and uses that place is developed and developing. This sense of “home” is not forced nor are we always conscious of it. It is this continual growth of ourselves along with the material and intangible spaces around us that make space into place. Cresswell (2004) illustrates place as home by saying, “home, more than anywhere else, is seen as a center of meaning and a field of care. Home is where you can be yourself. In this sense home acts as a kind of metaphor for place in general” (p. 24). For many, their home (as their place of residence) is physically their most significant example of place, and in this context the use of “home” expressed in the dialogue of

participants is, as Cresswell (2004) explains, a metaphor to describe place and emphasize its role in their daily geography. Furthermore, Chow and Healey (2008) explain, “the very concept of ‘home’ suggests that it is a key element in the development of people’s sense of themselves” (p. 364). The development of place as home is not limited to students. Much like students, staff members are required to come to campus on a regular basis for work. Through physical space, the facilitation of one’s scheduling and routines to develop place is evident in both the experiences of students and staff. It is important to grasp that, although factors may force people to interact with space like attending school or going to work, place is established through an organic process that make one want to inscribe meaning and connections with space and the people within it. Staffer D illustrates the perspective of staff members who are also students, he explains that because Security Services is an in-house team (not outsourced to another security company) there is a greater sense of attachment to York felt by the officers as opposed to just being on the Campus to do a job. This is even more evident as employees can receive tuition compensation, which often means staff are simultaneously students, integrating themselves within the community and thus heightening a sense of belonging. By having multiple identities on campus, Staffer D illustrates how place is intensified. It is a place where they spend the majority of their days, whether it be for work or studying, and their interactions are developed through the lens of being both a student and an employee. Staffer D expresses a sense of responsibility and pride he and other individuals in his position have on the Campus as a result of their dual identity. In a dynamic way, Staffer D in his role acts on behalf of the York community as well as the student population, since this population also includes him and his interest. In this process, the sense of campus pride in Staffer D causes him to voluntarily defend the Keele Campus; the place of his fellow students, staff, and his perception of place. In the next section of the chapter, I illustrate how safety plays a role in the interaction with place to foster place belonging, and how the participants are able to develop a perception of place through personal safety. This notion of place, place as home, highlights the pride and ownership individuals develop within their built environment which fosters a degree of interaction with space that, as the next section will further elaborate, is increased by an individual’s sense of safety.

Safe Place: Acknowledging The Development of Students' Sense of Safety on The Keele Campus

In discussing the process of interactions, I want to introduce the third element of place analysis, safe place. Those with a perception of place fostered by the feeling of safety are more likely to interact with spaces in landscapes to a greater degree. Feeling safe in space reduces one's apprehension within it and an individual feels less vulnerable and welcomes interaction, as opposed to being in a space where safety is a concern. Student D explains,

I definitely believe that there are some spaces on the Keele Campus that are safer than others. Some of the spaces I feel are safer on campus are based on the amenities provided in those spaces. Well-lit, having large traffic of students in the buildings with security regularly patrolling the site, are accessible and close to the subway, and are all located within the central confines of the Keele Campus (Personal Interview, 2018).

Answering question eight A,²⁵ Student D uses a map of the Keele Campus to identify areas of safety or of concern for her. Interestingly, in Student D's explanation of her perception of the Campus layout, she uses the term space to denote areas of concern and place when she identifies the areas on campus where she feels safe, indicating that place connection for her is established or initiated by her sense of safety. For almost all the participants, the Campus during the night-time was of concern to them. This in turn influences the choice of community member's to avoid the Campus at certain hours, and directly impacts one's ability to create place. As Undergrad A explains, her sense of safety can be a determining factor to whether she stays on campus at night or not,

There are portions of the Campus that are safe enough just because even late at night there are still a lot of people traversing, it's still well lit and there is security. So I feel my sense of safety has changed and I don't mind staying on campus later than 8:30 pm (Personal Interview, 2018).

Aside from the reasons as to why she feels safe on campus spaces later than 8:30pm Undergrad A displays how a change in her sense of safety directly impacts her interaction with the Campus. This allows Student A to develop a deeper perception of place which was previously limited due to her fear of victimization at certain hours.

²⁵ Using the attached map of the Keele Campus can you highlight the follow:A) Do you think certain spaces on the Keele Campus are safer than others? What do spaces perceived as safe have that other spaces do not (building characteristics)?

My concern about safety on campus has decreased significantly over my four years of being at the University. In first year, walking alone or being alone at night would worry me a lot but now, safety is not as big of a concern for me anymore (Undergrad B, Personal Interview, 2018).

Undergrad A suggests that a student's sense of safety on campus can be affected by the negative reputations that surround its landscape and this can be of great concern for first year students who chose to be apprehensive in their interactions. It is not until interacting with the Campus for an extended amount of time that they can start to question the validity of the negative reputations surrounding the Campus. Through interactions, the students above describe how they directly challenge the negative reputations of the Keele Campus and its spaces. They develop experiences and an understanding of space that over time with continual interactions create place. Breaking down the dialogue of students in relation to the staff members, the transformation of the University landscape from a space to a place is evidently a personal experience and can be impacted by social influences as well. In the analysis of place in the participants' dialogue, three distinctions were made: defending place, place as home, and safe place. These distinctions highlighted the transformation of space into place, and in doing so they suggested a very hard divide between space and place. However, space and place are extremely dynamic and a hard divide between the two is difficult to make. In the transformation of space to place, the physical landscape remains unpredictable, as at any given moment every student interacts with a different aspect of the Keele Campus, whether that is because of the day of the week, the time of day, the time of year, or the actual formation of the landscape (continual construction on the Campus), no two experiences are the same. This is why the evaluation of space and place is crucial; it enables us to understand what social, economic, political, and/or cultural factors are affecting a physical landscape. This can be said for all York community members from students to visitors. By identifying what aspects of that physical landscape are facilitating perceptions of place, we can continue to foster physical and emotional connections in an effort to eliminate or at least mitigate the exclusions that can exist in space. Temple (2014) explains,

These interactions, conditioned by the physical environment, give rise to the community that exists with the institution, and help form its culture. The creation of a community and its culture turns, I suggest, the university space into a place (p. 11).

The importance is not so much between what is identified as space and what is place, but understanding what components develop individuals' ability to create place within physical landscapes. This participant group displayed very specific and individualistic processes of their

perception of place on the Keele Campus and how in turn those perceptions governed their interactions and sense of safety. Although this research consists of a relatively small sample size in comparison to the overall population of York University, the experiences and insights shared by the participants can start to illustrate the social, political, economic, and cultural processes that occur everyday on campus. Furthermore, the extent of the interactions with place on the Campus, fostered by one's sense of safety, develop the Keele Campus as a place where community is formed by the daily transformation of campus spaces into places. These transformations are fluid and continuous with the daily geographies of the University's community members, and in turn, give the Campus a holistic identity that empowers community members to defend place or make it their home because they feel safe within it. Together the notions of perceptions of place and a sense of safety are layered with intangible emotions and connections of both former and current students; this process is termed perceived space by Lefebvre in his theory of the production of space.

Chapter Nine: Perceptions of Place Are Intertwined With Lefebvre's Production of Space, Specifically Perceived Space

My analysis of the Keele Campus has drawn upon Lefebvre's (1991) theorization of how space is produced in three moments; *perceived*, space as produced by society as space is mastered and appropriated beginning to reveal space by deciphering it; *conceived*, space as forms of knowledge which are connected with a dominant "order" of any society; and *lived*, space as the space of inhabitants and users who through their uses and interactions do no more than to describe space through experiences. Each of these moments hold specific qualities of space that together develop a structure of social space that contributes to the perception and experiences of a built environment. Perceived space, relates to media representations and public reputations, which are associated with the Keele Campus. Conceived space, relates to the role university administration and campus master plans have on the development of campus spaces. Lived space relates to the experiences and use of space by York community members, particularly students who interact with campus space on a daily basis. Students' uses and geography, reputations and representations, and the governance and planning of the Campus were the three dominant processes, which were actively involved in students' perception of place.

In order for students to develop a perception of place on the University campus interaction with the built environment was essential, but interaction was, for the most part, best fostered when a sense of safety was present. This cycle of interaction, creating place, and a sense of safety, was significant in the quality of connection, meaning, and memories students were able to make through their experiences, and this could also be said for the staff participants. This section will focus on perceived space, the reason being that the thesis has displayed the notion of lived space through the dialogue from the participants and their personal mapping of the Campus. In terms of conceived space, the Master Plans, the historical planning, and future projects for the development of the Keele Campus have both been described and observed. In my research I discovered that these two dimensions of space and their application in this thesis are in a sense more reactive than the third dimension — perceived space. Specifically, focusing on aspects of security services, and University email notifications.

Perceived Space and The Security Management of The Keele Campus

Perceived space is significant in guiding how professionals or non-professionals design space, which can include making new space or remaking a particular space in the city. In the case of York University and particularly its built environment, its dimension of perceived space has been challenging. The perceived space of the Campus consists of a history of sexual assaults, robberies, strangers on campus, a lack of security, porous boundaries, vicinity to a stereotyped neighbourhood, and in recent years, an increasing homeless population. These negative perceptions of the Keele Campus were evident in media reports, the METRAC Report, and the dialogue of the participants. As Toseland (1982) explains,

Crime also affects those persons who are not direct victims of crime, but who are fearful of becoming victims. Through the mass media, contacts with victims, and witnessing criminal behaviour, individuals who are not directly victimized become fearful of victimization (p. 199).

One's perceptions form into reputations and representations that influence a public perception but more importantly conflict with the experiences of York's community members who begin to question their sense of safety because of the negative representations put on them by outside influencers. When asked about what Staffer D thought the strengths of York University Security Services were, he indicated how perceived space affects the Campus,

The other strength that we have is we are very transparent with what is going on and I'm sure you have seen the weekly security incident log on our website as well as the crime statistics. If you go on our website right now you can see five years worth of crime statistics and a lot of other universities do not do that and a lot of times when media calls us and they ask for statistics they are always surprised when we tell them just go on our website. That is another one of our strengths and that is what, I find a really good way of building a rapport with the community. We are not going to hide anything so the transparency really helps develop our relationships (Personal Interview, 2018).

Staffer D indicates that, counter to the reputations and representations the Keele Campus receives in terms of being dangerous and having a lack of security, Security Services provide a log of reported incidents that have occurred. Staffer D referred to the security statistics available on the Security Services website as a transparent log that could challenge the negative reputations and representation of the Keele Campus. This data can provide quantifiable numbers to the concerns and perceptions generated by societal reputations and representations of the Campus, further verifying the openness Staffer D was alluding to in his interview. What role this

statistical information plays in students' sense of safety is unknown, but regardless of how the statistics are comprehended, the availability of quantifiable data can support or dispute approaches to perceived space which in turn shape the conceived and lived moments of space. It is important to understand that this data set only represents reported incidents. Many other security incidents possibly occur everyday but victims do not report them for various reasons and this is why I choose not to rely on these statistics or any other statistical data to determine if the University is safe or unsafe.

York's Email Notifications for Security Incidents Can Contribute to Negative Perceptions

The most negative effect on perceived space in student's experiences seemed to be the email notifications they received from the University. The emails sent to students from the University in regards to security incidents that had occurred on the Campus, usually significant incidents like robbery, threat, or assault, could be frequent. Speaking from personal experience, sometimes I would receive two to three emails a day and it would always be a centre of conversation with fellow students as the frequency of the reports desensitized students' concern. "Since people talk about it so much [and frequently as a joke], I don't see these safety issues as anything alarming anymore" (Undergrad B, Personal Interview, 2018). Over the years of my study period these emails have decreased in frequency, but it is undetermined if this is due to the reduction of incidents or because the University wants to minimize the frequency of broadcasting safety incidents. Staffer B explains, "we [Community Safety Department] think more safety stories would help give some balance and not sending out bulletins unless there is a risk to the public" (Personal Interview, 2018). Receiving this information at the frequency they once did was concerning for students mainly because of the lack of follow-up or detail about particular incidents which occurred. "If there has been a sexual assault on the bus we would say there has been a sexual assault on the bus but what we haven't been doing is when we capture the bad guy we don't send out a message, so you just really don't know" (Staffer B, Personal Interview, 2018). Often times students would be notified of an occurrence, but would have very little details of the suspect, if the suspect was apprehended, the condition of the victim, and other key details for students to feel that they were not at risk. The intention of the University in providing these notifications is not to instil fear in the students, but is an attempt to keep students informed on

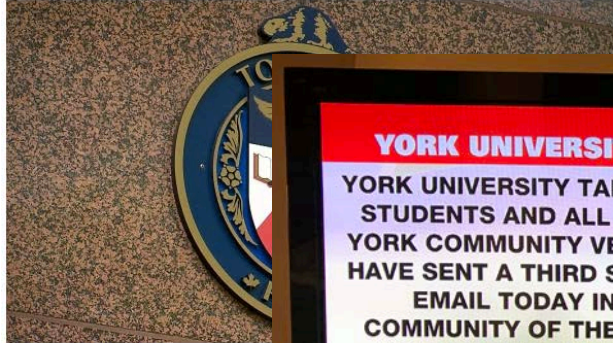
real-time occurrences. Unfortunately there has been a breakdown between the intention of communications and how they are received. Students feel uninformed due to the lack of follow-up about particular incidents with suspects, mainly because they could still be frequenting the Campus, and not knowing where to access relevant information in regards to reported incidents. This element reveals that although a major component to the perceived space on campus is developed from outside actors, inside actors like the University and its breakdown in communication with students have actively contributed to the perceived space as well. Throughout the history of the Keele Campus, every York community member has interacted with a different form of the Campus. The understanding that, whether it be campus borders, landscape, or a specific timeframe, community members and more importantly students have each interacted with a different form of the Keele Campus. In a non-physical form, the Keele Campus has always been different as it depends on the individual and their level of interaction with the Campus. As such, it is significant to acknowledge the different physical forms of the Campus individuals have interacted with over time because it can be understood that the effects of conceived and lived notions of space have resulted in the current form of the Keele Campus. Students' continual interaction (lived), to varying extents, and the planning and development (conceived) of the Campus have occurred in response to perceived space. Throughout the history of the Keele Campus, perceived space has remained consistent and because of its intangible nature it becomes hard to challenge it with traditional methods like planning and safety infrastructure.

Determining if the Keele Campus is safe or is a place involves a process that occurs over a period of time, especially with a built environment like the Campus that has experienced significant amount of development and intensification year after year. The layering of physical and social processes that are ingrained in the Keele Campus define its character and identity to its community and to others. In recent years, media reports of safety incidents occurring in the area, which previously would have been termed near or on York University's Campus, have begun to pinpoint the location with street addresses. This change would positively affect the perception of the Keele Campus, but not necessarily that of the surrounding area.

CHECK OUT OUR LIVE AND INTERACTIVE SCREEN

CP24 NOW

Sexual assault of three women in York University Heights prompts safety alert



The Toronto Police Service logo



Kavla Goodfield, CP24.com

YORK UNIVERSITY STATEMENT:
YORK UNIVERSITY TAKES THE SAFETY OF STUDENTS AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE YORK COMMUNITY VERY SERIOUSLY. WE HAVE SENT A THIRD SECURITY BULLETIN EMAIL TODAY INFORMING OUR COMMUNITY OF THE ARREST AND ARE DISTRIBUTING THE INFORMATION ON OTHER PLATFORMS AS WELL, INCLUDING OUR SAFETY APP AND SOCIAL MEDIA.

Iran executes a businessman convicted of fraud, bribery and embezzlement.

Sat Dec 22 2:02:49 -1°
AFT EVE NITE MORN AFT
1 -3 -5 -2 1
OVERCAST
MAPPE OF JAN 18 - DRAKE UNDERGROUND

CP Ontario 142 - 401 / EAST OF DVP
S&P/TSX VENTURE 530.20 ▼ 6.81

NHL ST. LOUIS CALGARY 4:00 PM Blues 13-16 (.455) Lost 1 7th in Central
SER NHL AHL CLS PHI 1 1ST INT

TORONTO'S BREAKING NEWS
POLICE INVESTIGATE SEX ASSAULTS NEAR YORK UNIVERSITY
Gatwick Airport is seeking to run a full schedule today after arrests were made in connection with the use of drones.

Sat Dec 22 10:34:09 -2°
SAT SUN MON TUE WED
1 1 -1 -1 0
ISLAMIC ARTS OF 19TH CENTURY IRAN UNTIL FEB 10 - AGA KHAN MUSEUM

CP Ontario 9106 - DVP / DON MILLS ROAD
S&P/TSX VENTURE 530.20 ▼ 6.81

NHL MONTREAL VEGAS 4:00 PM Canadiens 18-13 (.569) Won 1 5th in Atlantic
BUN AHL EPL BRI CHA 6 1 FINAL

Image G: York University Heights in Media Reports

These images were obtained from CP24 and display the use of the York University Heights neighbourhood in the headline for news reports in 2018. Also displayed is a response by York University after a sting of sexual assaults around the Campus. Photos by: Jonathan De Iuliis.

The intangible notion of perceived space continues to develop challenges to not only the Keele Campus, but to its surrounding community as well. The intangible nature of perceived space is difficult to quantify in the planning or design of any built environment and in the case of the Keele Campus, its misconceptions and reputations developed by society in regards to safety continue to cast a “black cloud” over the Campus. Campus design, planning, and governance have traditionally neglected to incorporate notions of safety from non cis-normative students whose inclusion on the Keele Campus has the potential to challenge the perceived reputations and negative concerns for safety that are attributed to York University.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

Researching the perceptions of place of undergraduate and graduate students on the Keele Campus through a lens of personal safety, I investigated the societal reputations attributed to the Keele Campus (perceived space), analysed the extent of University operations and its security infrastructure, studied its spatial characteristics and planning processes (conceived space) and explored students' perceptions of place (lived space). The thesis determined that interaction is the most significant variable to the perception of place students hold on the Keele Campus. However, the extent of student's interaction was interlinked with their sense of place and safety. The three variables (interaction, safety, and place) are so closely interlinked and dependant on one another that it is difficult to comprehend which variable occurs first, second, and third, rather they occur together synchronously in an instant. The grassroot experiences of students, which were highlighted in their perceptions of place on the Campus, revealed that the three variables occur on a cycle and overtime along with immersion in space the variables continue to develop, each strengthening the other. The built environment needs interaction, but interaction requires a sense of safety, however safety is fostered by a sense of place. Therefore, students' perception of place on the Keele Campus is intertwined with:

- 1) Gender identity, where cis-male students' expression of safety is determined by their level of confidence, cis-female students' expression of safety is determined by the level of vulnerability placed on them by others, and where non cis-normative students' expression of safety is determined by their inclusion;
- 2) Governance of space; where space is shaped by the security infrastructure available on campus, the level of consultation with and inclusion of community members, both academic and not, and the operation of security policies on a day-to-day basis that are beyond cis-normative views; and
- 3) Societal reputations; created by the way the Campus is represented in media reports, public perceptions, and presentation of safety resources.

The firsthand experiences of undergraduate and graduate students revealed that together, gender identity, governance of space, and societal reputations shape their perception of place. “Public space is segregated through time according to gender and age, due to different lifestyles and hence time-space routines” (Valentine, 1989, p. 388). As a microcosm of a city, the campus of a post-secondary institution has the ability to overcome this segregation by focusing its efforts on increasing campus inclusion. On the Keele Campus this includes acknowledging past practices and weaknesses to shape the future development and holistic identity that more accurately represents York’s student population. This involves validating the Campus’ diversity and students gender identity as beyond cis-normative identities, which can begin to foster a greater sense of place amongst students. The perceptions of place expressed by students illustrate the extent of place on the Keele Campus; these expressions of place become tangible expressions of institutional identities, where the Campus facilitates the personal and civic function of its community, much like a city. By incorporating the experiences of its population, the success of campus development can lend a new scope for campus planning and can further translates to the public spaces of the city.

This thesis has highlighted the distinct differences cis-men and cis-women face in their senses of safety in space, but the University places a limit on how it can effectively plan for safety as it only recognizes gender as a binary, when in reality its student population identifies gender as beyond cis-normative notions. The University must move forward recognizing the full range of identities of its students by including them in the discourse in regards to planning. Doing so, will help to create effective modes of campus planning that are based in the experiences of all those who use the space. A post-secondary institution in the twenty-first century is home to a wide range of individuals who most likely identify within a gender continuum, and whose perspectives may vary due to various factors such as age or racialization. It is imperative to the sustainability and quality of life of the University’s community members that the initiatives and consultation York University take encapsulate the full diversity of its population. Efforts of the University’s operational standard related to the physical configuration of the Campus in line with CPTED principles is inherently problematic, as the physical component of the Campus is only one element to students’ sense of safety. Reconfiguring the physical environment of the Campus can only produce limited results, as mentioned early the addition of a brighter light within a space does not produce a general sense of safety. What is

required is an approach to safety concerns that addresses social processes such as identifying gender as not only existing as a binary, and the reputations a space has amongst the public. It is critical to develop a planning process which does not use the development of the physical environment as an end result, but incorporates it into a foundation, along with the intangible aspects of space discussed in this thesis, that can begin to actively validate individuals' experiences to shape current and future approaches to achieving campus inclusivity, and in turn, safety.

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Appendix A: Office of Research Ethics Approval



OFFICE OF
RESEARCH
ETHICS (ORE)
5th Floor, Kaneff
Tower

4700 Keele St.
Toronto ON
Canada M3J 1P3

Certificate #:	STU 2017 - 120
Approval Period:	07/28/17-07/28/18

ETHICS APPROVAL

To: Jonathan De Iuliis
Graduate Student of Geography, Faculty of Liberal Arts & Professional Studies
[REDACTED]

From: Alison M. Collins-Mrakas, Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor, Research Ethics
(on behalf of Denise Henriques, Chair, Human Participants Review Committee)

Date: Friday, July 28, 2017

Title: Gendered Perceptions of Place on York University's Keele Campus
Through a Lens of Personal Safety

Risk Level: Minimal Risk More than Minimal Risk

Level of Review: Delegated Review Full Committee Review

I am writing to inform you that this research project, "Gendered Perceptions of Place on York University's Keele Campus Through a Lens of Personal Safety" has received ethics review and approval by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines.

Note that approval is granted for one year. Ongoing research – research that extends beyond one year – must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

Any changes to the approved protocol must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process by submission of an amendment application to the HPRC prior to its implementation.

Any adverse or unanticipated events in the research should be reported to the Office of Research ethics [REDACTED] as soon as possible.

For further information on researcher responsibilities as it pertains to this approved research ethics protocol, please refer to the attached document, "RESEARCH ETHICS: PROCEDURES to ENSURE ONGOING COMPLIANCE".

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at: [REDACTED] or via email at: [REDACTED]

Yours sincerely,

Alison M. Collins-Mrakas M.Sc., LLM
Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor,
Office of Research Ethics

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form Example



FACULTY OF
GRADUATE
STUDIES

Department of
Geography

4700 KEELE ST
TORONTO ON
CANADA M3J 1P3



INFORMED-CONSENT FORM

My name is Jonathan De Iuliis, and I am a Masters student in Geography at York University. I am doing research for my thesis about *Gendered Perceptions of Place on York University's Keele Campus Through A Lens of Personal Safety*. One way I am doing this research is by talking with people who are familiar with the York University Keele Campus about their experiences and use of the space, and I hope to secure your consent to speak with you. I would very much like to learn your perceptions of place from your own accounts and perspective.

Your identity will remain anonymous; our conversation will remain confidential (unless you choose to waive anonymity); and you may end the conversation or decline to answer my questions at any time you choose to do so. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future. You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

The conversation will be audio recorded for transcript purposes and will remain confidential and private. I am also happy to provide you with a summary of the results of my research when it is done if you request this. If you would like more information about my project, please contact me at [REDACTED] and/or [REDACTED]. You may also contact my research supervisor Dr. Douglas Young at [REDACTED] or by email at [REDACTED].



1 of 2



FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of Geography

4700 KEELE ST
TORONTO ON
CANADA M3J 1P3



This research has been reviewed and approved by the Graduate Student Delegated Ethics Review Committee, which is delegated authority to review research ethics protocols by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, you may contact the Senior Manager and Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, Kaneff Tower, York University, telephone [REDACTED] or e-mail [REDACTED]

Thank you for your participation in my research.

Participant - Print Name

Participant - Signature

Jonathan De Iuliis

Researcher - Print Name

Researcher - Signature

Date

I wish to remain anonymous

I _____ choose to waive anonymity.

Participant - Signature



Appendix C: Participant Interview Codes

Code	Role at York University	Experience	Gender	Age
Staffer D	Campus Relations Official, Security Services	Current staff member and former student (12 years)	Cis-male	30-40
Staffer B	Community Safety Department	Current staff member (1 year)	Cis-female	50-60
Staffer C	Campus Planning & Development	Current staff member	Cis-female	50-60
Staffer A	goSAFE	Former student and current staff member (15 years)	Cis-female	30-40
Staffer E	Campus Planning & Development	Current staff member (10 years)	Transgender female	70-80
Staffer F	Student Engagement & First Year Experience	Current staff member and student	Cis-male	30-40
Undergrad A	Undergraduate Student	Current student (4 years)	Cis-female	20-30
Undergrad B	Undergraduate Student	Current student (4 years)	Cis-female	20-30
Student A	Geography Graduate Student	Former York undergraduate and current graduate student (7 years)	Cis-female	20-30
Student B	Geography Graduate Student	Former York undergraduate and current graduate student (7 years)	Cis-female	20-30
Undergrad C	Undergraduate Student	Current undergraduate student (4 years)	Cis-female	20-30

Student C	Former Law Undergraduate & Current Political Science Graduate Student	Former York undergraduate and current graduate student (6 years)	Cis-male	20-30
Undergrad D	Former Undergraduate Student	Alumni (4 years)	Cis-male	20-30
Undergrad E	Former Undergraduate Student	Alumni (4 years)	Cis-female	20-30
Undergrad F	Undergraduate Student	Current student (5 years)	Cis-female	20-30
Student D	Former Undergraduate & Current Environmental Science Graduate Student	Former York undergraduate and current graduate student (5 years)	Cis-female	20-30
Undergrad G	Undergraduate Student	Current student (5 years)	Cis-female	20-30
Student E	Former Undergraduate and Current Graduate Student	Former York undergraduate and current graduate student (5 years)	Cis-male	20-30

Appendix D: Interview Questions

Please feel free to discuss anything you want when answering these questions I encourage you to be as honest and open to the questions as much as possible, while linking your experience as a student. Thank you again.

- 1) How long have you been at York University?

- 2) Do you think when students are on the Keele Campus safety is a concern for them? For example is it on their mind when attending classes or while just simply walking through the Campus? What impacts do you think perceptions of safety about the Keele Campus have on student's interaction with the Campus?

- 3) Is safety a concern for you on the Keele Campus? What is your definition of safety on a university campus?

- 4) Do you think media reports about incidents that have occurred on the York University Keele Campus in the past or in present day have an effect on how students perceive the safety of the Campus?

- 5) Do you think the Keele Campus has a reputation? If so what is that reputation? Furthermore, what extent do you think reputations attributed to a space have on how current or potential students may interact or engage with York University?

- 6) In your opinion, based on your experience of the Keele Campus, do you think actions need to be taken to manage safety on the Keele Campus? If so, what type of actions do you think should be taken (Infrastructure, policy development, awareness campaigns, funding to current services)?

7) Do you think campus safety is inclusive, does the Keele Campus accommodate to all gender identities in terms of campus safety? Do you feel your gender identity affects your perception of safety on the Keele Campus?

8) Using the attached map of the Keele Campus can you highlight the following:

A) Do you think certain spaces on the Keele Campus are safer than others? What do spaces perceived as safe have that other spaces do not (Building characteristics)?

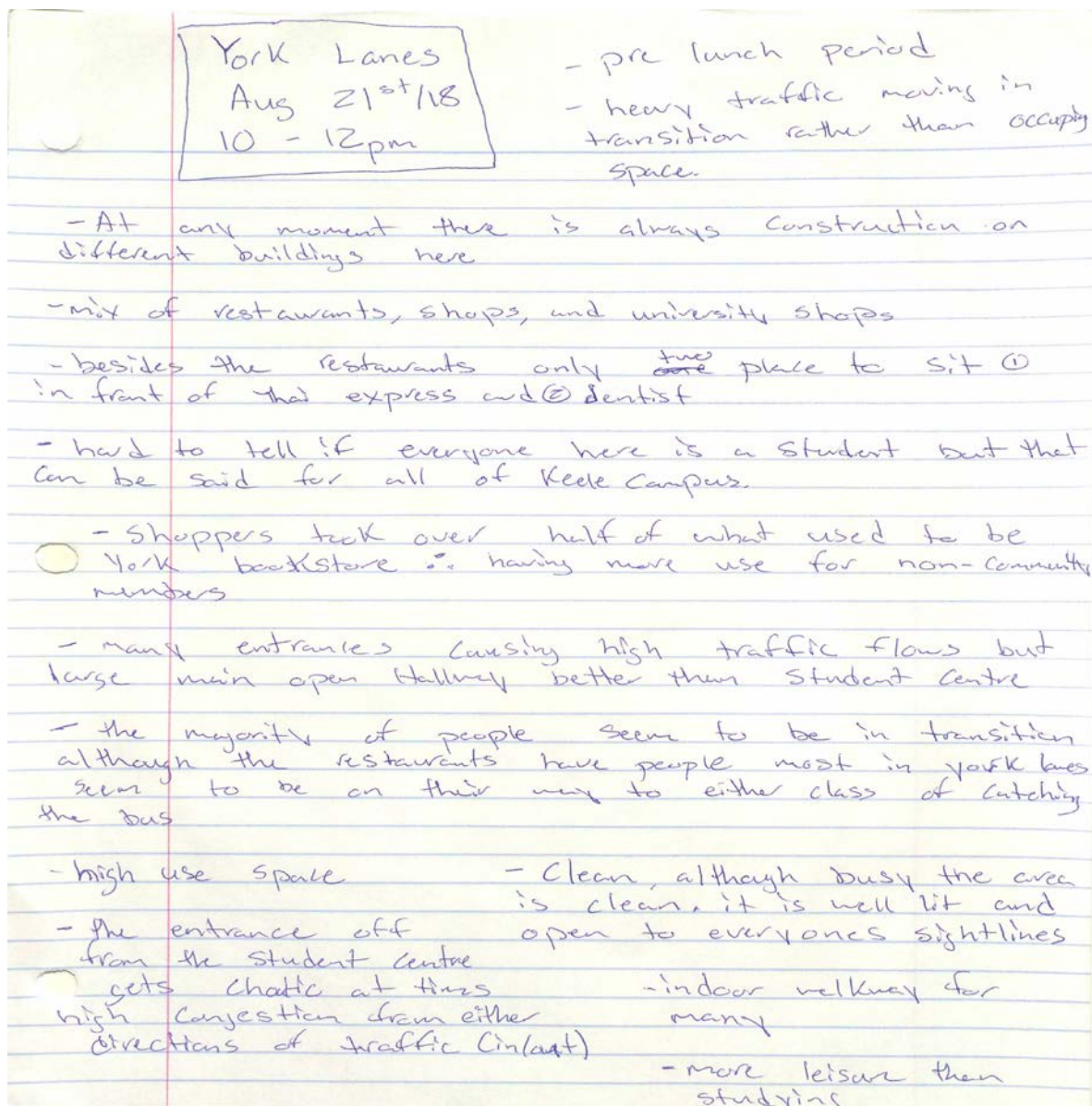
B) What spaces on campus in particular cause you to question your safety at night compared to the day? What characteristics about these spaces cause them to be perceived as unsafe at night?

9) What impact do you think the new subway extension will have on the Keele Campus?

10) Any remarks you would like to make about your experience on the Keele Campus in reference to safety?

Appendix E: Participant Observation and Note Taking Examples

Participant observations and note taking were consistent with each visit to the Campus. Observations were documented on a map printed from Google of the particular area/space being observed and associated notes were taken on a separate piece of paper. Together the observations and notes helped to develop an analysis for the thesis. The areas on campus chosen for participant observations were derived from the responses from Question eight where participants identified areas they perceived as safe, unsafe, or a mix.



Central Square
Vari Hall
ROSS
First floor connection
Aug 11th/2018

- popular smoking spot
and food spot
- lots of seating
and if not can go to
the library or empty
classes.

- Vari hall multi levels always have people hanging out
and people watching

- first floor is a high traffic area and that can be
said for all three areas

- the buildings and its amenities are high use/value
for the York community

- new additions to Central Square - Subway - Starbucks

○ - lots of seating in all 3 areas. always
in use

- depending on the time of year many booths
set up to promote groups/courses

- much like other areas people walk with a
strategy and "determined" (know where they are going)

- wide hallways well lit not hidden besides around
ROSS North and South base.

- lots of windows on all 3 hallways

- this is the heart of campus people feel that
those who surround them are all fellow students, staff,
faculty and do not have a heightened sense of
security. feel comfortable many of their classes or
study period or lunches take them here regularly.

September 11, 2018
4 - 6 pm
Sunny/cloudy

Campus Walk

- Summer + Spring very heavy with greenery
not so much in winter / fall

- Various seating options available here

- all directions of traffic no clear order of movement

- at night lighting is spotty and different lights between yellow and bright white

This area sees little traffic compared to

← Centre of Campus Walk →

- less open
- lots of hidden tree lines
- pillars and unclear sightlines

- Campus walk is surrounded by buildings 3-5 storeys with many windows

heavy flow here due to

- ① parking
- ② building
- ③ Tims
- ④ Computer lab

★ essential Google highway

Besides the buildings that surround Campus Walk " " " " " " " " flow towards CW

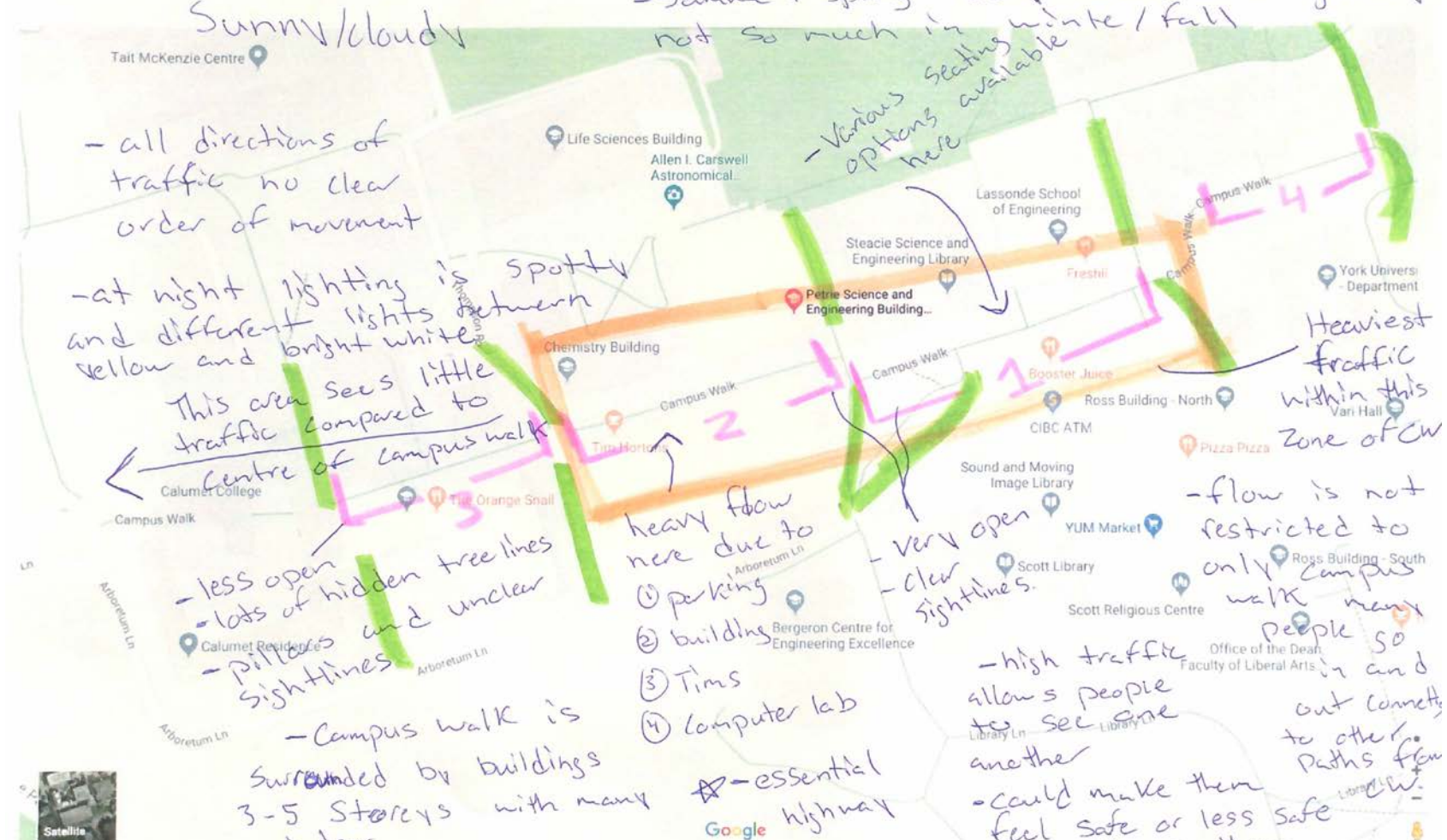
- very open
- clear sightlines

- high traffic allows people to see one another
- could make them feel safe or less safe depending on them

- flow is not restricted to only Campus walk

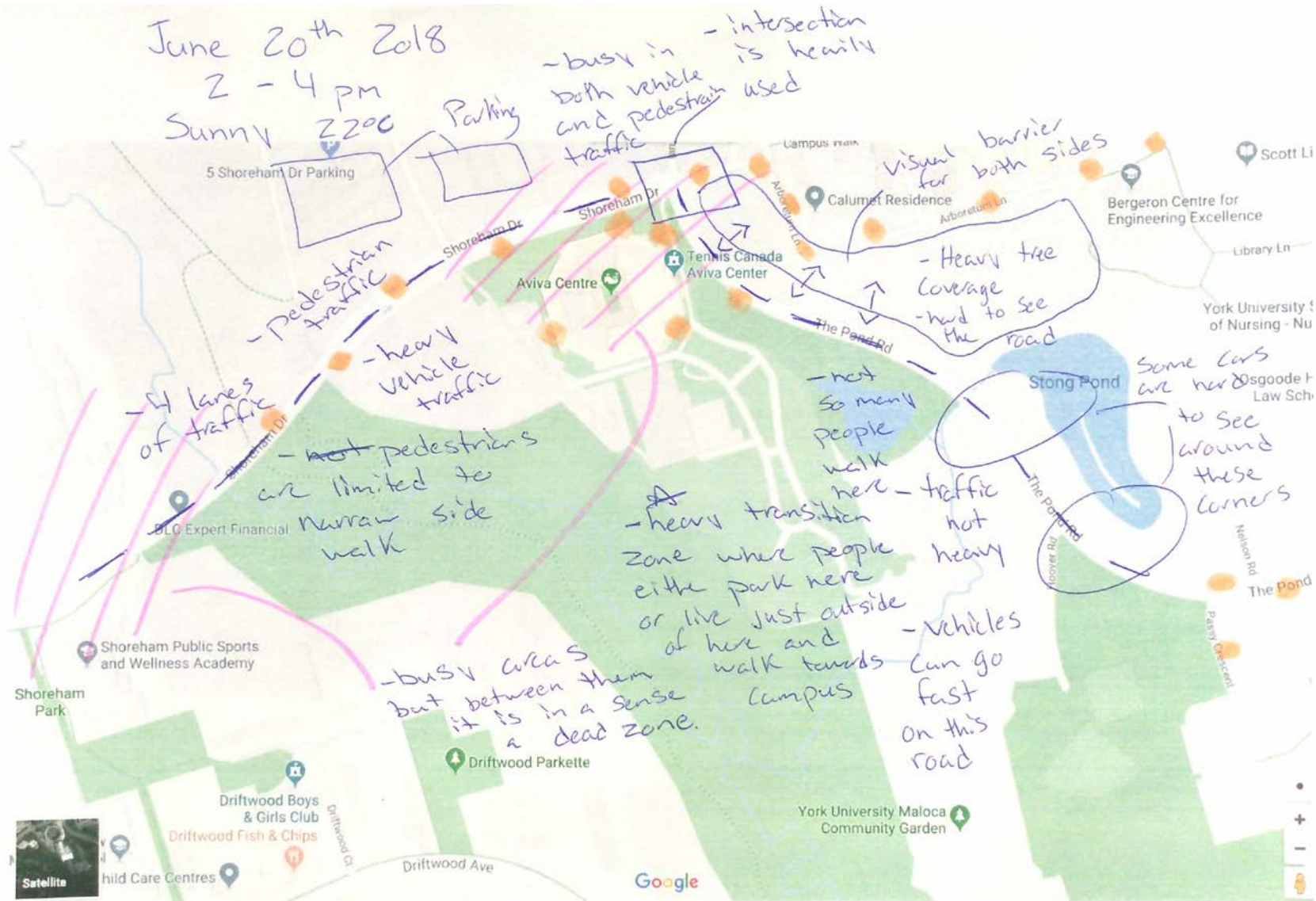
many people in and out connect to other paths few

Heaviest traffic within this zone of CW



June 20th 2018

2 - 4 pm
Sunny 22°C



- this area changes in terms of activity depending on the time of year and weather
- exam period sees a lot of traffic here

Appendix F: Security Bulletin Email Examples

The following security bulletin emails were obtained from my undergraduate email account from 2015 to 2017. These are examples of the frequent emails students would receive during an academic term.

Click [here](#) if you are having trouble viewing this message.



Message forwarded on behalf of Gary Brewer, Vice-President, Finance and Administration

SECURITY BULLETIN – 9 JANUARY 2016

ARREST MADE IN SEXUAL ASSAULTS

On Friday, January 8, York **Security** Services (YSS) received reports from two York students that they had been sexually assaulted by a male student earlier in the fall of 2015. York **Security** Services immediately contacted Toronto Police Service (TPS). The suspect was arrested early Friday evening.

Should you have any information about this or any incident you are asked to contact Toronto Police Service directly at 416.808.2222

York **Security** responds to all community calls at 416-736-5333. Please refer to the York **Security** Website for more information or further updates: <http://security.info.yorku.ca/>

For safety related information, please see: <http://safety.yorku.ca/>

Security Bulletin Protocol Overview

Security Bulletins are issued with regard to incidents that occur on York University property when:

Click [here](#) if you are having trouble viewing this message.



Security Bulletin - April 11, 2016

Reported Robbery - Sentinel Road Parking Lot

York Security Services (YSS) received a report from a York student regarding a robbery that occurred earlier in the Sentinel Road parking lot on Sunday, April 10, 2016 at approximately 12:15pm. The student reported being approached by two suspects as he finished parking his car and locking it. The student's cell phone was taken, after which the suspects fled east into the village. No weapons or injuries were reported. Toronto Police were contacted and are investigating. York Security Services have instituted directed patrols of the area.

Suspects are described as:

Males, at least 6' tall, very skinny build, wearing blue hoodies, black ball caps, possibly wearing jeans.

Should you have any information about this or any incident you are asked to contact Toronto Police Service directly at 416-808-2222 or York Security at 416-736-5333. Please refer to the York Security website for more information or further updates: <http://security.info.yorku.ca/>.

For safety related information, please see: <http://safety.yorku.ca/>.



Security Bulletin - December 6, 2015

Reported Armed Robbery - Near 340 Assiniboine Road

York Security Services (YSS) is assisting the Toronto Police Service (TPS) in their investigation of a reported armed robbery which occurred near 340 Assiniboine Road at approximately 6:10pm on Friday, December 4, 2015. A community member was approached by three suspects and a handgun was produced. A demand for personal property was made and a piece of personal electronic equipment was turned over. The suspects then fled in a westbound direction. No injuries were sustained. Toronto Police were contacted and are investigating. Enhanced high visibility patrols for the area have been initiated.

Suspects are described as:

#1 Male, 5'9" in his 20's, medium build, glasses, square jaw, wearing a black jacket with a grey hoodie underneath.

#2 Male, 6'3", thin build, dark jacket, baggy pants.

#3 Male, 5'6" thin build, dark clothes.

Should you have any information about this or any incident you are asked to contact Toronto Police Service directly at 416-808-2222.

York Security responds to all community calls at 416-736-5333. Please refer to the York Security website for more information or further updates: <http://security.info.yorku.ca/>.

For safety related information, please see: <http://safety.yorku.ca/>.

Click [here](#) if you are having trouble viewing this message.



Security Bulletin - December 13, 2015

Reported Indecent Act - Scott Library

York **Security** Services (YSS) received a report from a community member of a suspect seen performing an indecent act on the 4th floor of the Scott Library in an open study area on the south west side. The incident is reported to have occurred on Saturday, December 12, 2015 at approximately 7pm. York **Security** attended the scene and engaged in a comprehensive search for the suspect. Toronto Police were notified and received a report of the incident. Enhanced **security** patrols of the Scott Library have been initiated.

Suspect is described as:

Male, 23-24yrs of age, 5'5" tall, Asian, medium build, black spiky short hair, wearing a white "adidas" polo and/or sweater, grey sweat pants, carrying a black bag or backpack.

Should you have any information about this or any incident you are asked to contact Toronto Police Service directly at 416-808-2222.

York **Security** responds to all community calls at 416-736-5333. Please refer to the York **Security** website for more information or further updates: <http://security.info.yorku.ca/>.

For safety related information, please see: <http://safety.yorku.ca/>.



SECURITY BULLETIN

Department of Community Safety

URGENT INCIDENTS
KEELE & GLENDON
CAMPUSES
(416) 736-5333 or ext. 33333

Toronto Police Services,
Ambulance or Toronto Fire Dept.
911

Security TTY (for hearing
impaired)
(416) 736-5470 or ext. 55470

GENERAL SECURITY
INFORMATION
KEELE & GLENDON
CAMPUSES
(416) 650-8000 or ext. 58000

Sexual Violence Response Office
(416) 736-5211

Crime Prevention
(416) 736-5931 or ext. 55931

Investigations
(416) 736-5361 or ext. 55361

Centre for Human Rights
(416) 736-5682 or ext. 55682

Centre for Human Rights TTY
(for hearing impaired)
(416) 650-4823

Office of the Ombudsperson
ombuds@yorku.ca

Counselling & Disability Services
(416) 736-5297 or ext. 55297

Office of Student Community
Relations
(416) 736-5231 or ext. 55231

Crime Stoppers

Security Bulletin – 28 March 2017

Reported Sexual Assault – Accolade West Colonnade

York Security Services (YSS) and Toronto Police Service (TPS) are investigating a report of a sexual assault which occurred at approximately 9:45 p.m. on Monday, March 27, 2017. A community member reported they were walking through the Accolade West colonnade, where they were approached by an unknown male and sexually assaulted. The suspect left heading towards Accolade East.

York Security has increased patrols in this area, and is in close contact with Toronto Police.

Suspect is described as male, tall, thin build, blonde hair, clean shaven, wearing a black jacket and jeans










Should you have any information about this or any incident you are asked to contact Toronto Police Service directly at 416.808.2222 or York Security at 416-736-5333.

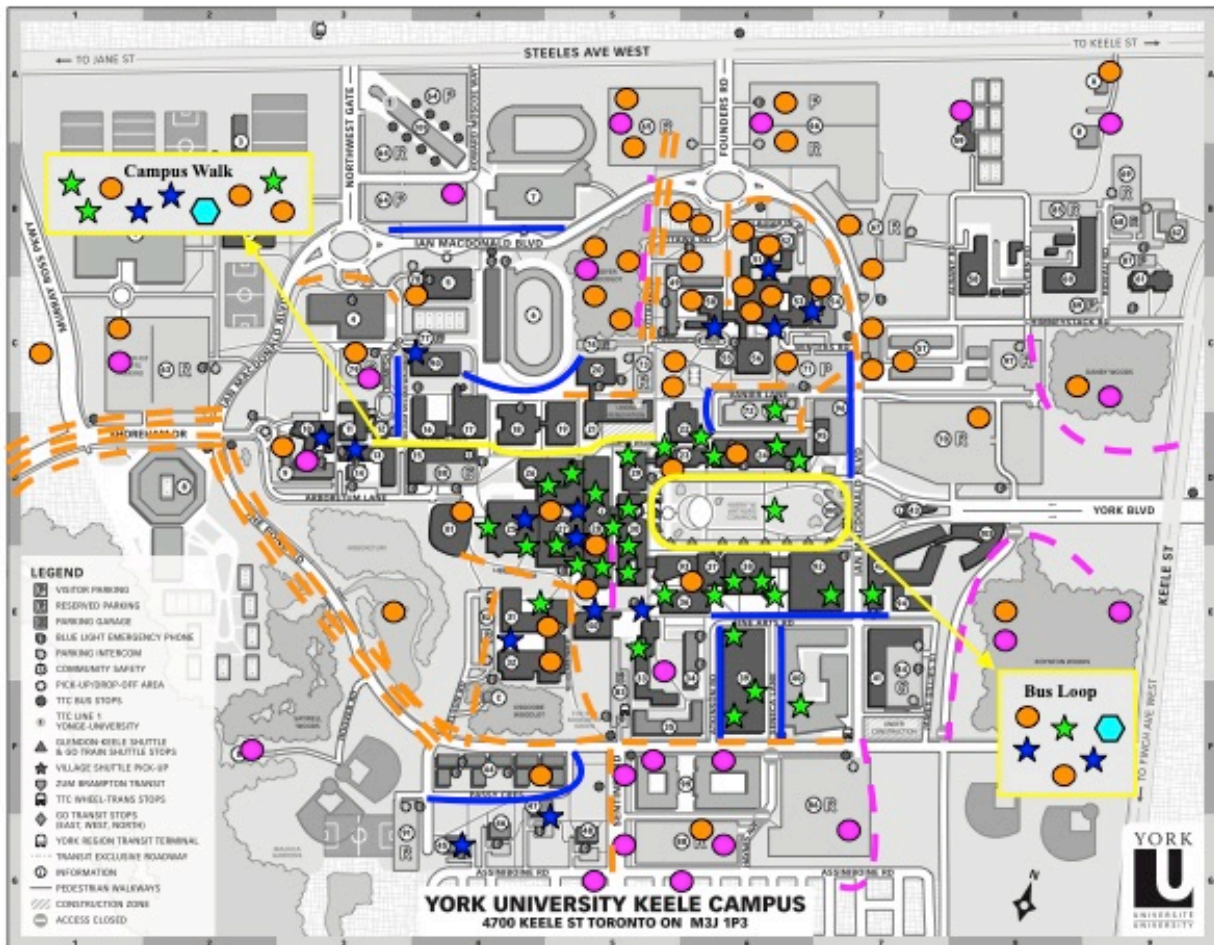
Please refer to the [York Security Website](#) for more information or further updates

For safety related information, please see the [York Safety Website](#).

Appendix G: Consolidation of Participants' Answers to Question Eight

The following map identifies participants' responses to question eight of the interview; this includes identifying spaces that are perceived as safe, unsafe, and mix (perceived as safe during the day and unsafe during the night). The map clearly displays that many participants perceive Complex 1 and Shoreham Drive to The Pond Road as unsafe and Vari Hall, Ross, Central Square as safe. The three other areas that were not easily identifiable, through mapping, as either unsafe or safe were Campus Walk, York Lanes, and the York Subway Station. However, through the dialogue of participants it was identified that Campus Walk was perceived as safe and both York Lanes and York Subway Extension were perceived as a mix. The identification map allowed for a consolidation of the participants varying responses to question eight and determined areas of the Campus that are perceived as safe or unsafe to participants through their interactions, use, and experience of the Keele Campus.

Legend	
 	Spaces Perceived as SAFE for Students
 	Spaces Perceived as UNSAFE for Students
 	Spaces Perceived as SAFE for Staff
 	Spaces Perceived as UNSAFE for Staff
	Spaces Perceived as a Mix of both SAFE and UNSAFE



CAMPUS DIRECTORY

ACADEMIC, ADMINISTRATIVE & COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

59	150 Albany Road	ALB	A8
93	Accolade East	ACC	E7
93	Accolade West	ACC	W6
33	Adkison	ADK	E5
29	Behavioural Science	BSE	D5
41	Barnett Centre for Student Services, Admissions	BDS	E7
81	Beegon Centre for Engineering Excellence	BEG	A4
24	Bookbind, York Lanes	YL	D6
19	Cultural College	CC	D3
27	Central Square	CSQ	D5
58	Central Utilities Building	CUA	B8
28	Centre for Film & Theatre	CFT	B6
18	Chemistry	CH	D4
26	Chris Lecture Halls	CLH	D5
94	Decade Learning Centre	ELC	E7
11	Farghnanian Life Sciences	FRQ	D5
30	Founders College	FC	C4
31	Health, Nursing & Therapeutic Studies	HNS	B4
32	Ignat Kaniell Building, Ogilvie Hall Law School, Joan & Martin Goldfarb Centre for Fine Arts	OSA	E4
36	Joan & Martin Goldfarb Centre for Fine Arts	CFA	E5
95	Kaniell Tower	KT	D7
41	Kinross	K	CF
19	Lassonde Building	LAS	D5
60	Life Sciences Building	LSB	C4
43	Lorra R. Marsden Harcourt Court & Wilcoxe Centre	HC	D7
20	Luttrells	LUM	E5
51	McLaughlin College	MC	B4
11	Norman Bethune College	BC	D3
17	Observatory, Petrie	PSG	D4
17	Petrie Science & Engineering	PSE	D4
60	Physical Resources Building	PRB	B9

103	Rob and Cheryl McIwain Graduate Study & Research Building	MG	D6
28	Ross Building	R	D6
25	Scott Library	SCL	B4
27	Scott Religious Centre, CSQ	SRC	D5
182	Second Student Centre	SSC	E5
42	Seymour Schulich Building	SSB	E7
2	Sherman Health Sciences Research Centre	SHR	B2
18	Shelco Science & Engineering Library	STL	D4
22	Student Lecture Halls	SLH	D4
13	Stong College	SC	D3
23	Student Centre	STC	D4
4	Tat McKeown Centre	TM	C3
56	Varier College	VC	C8
30	Vari Hall	VH	D5
39	Victor Phillip Dandash Building (Priority Technology Enhanced Learning - TEL)	VB	D6
5	West Office Building	WOB	C4
15	Williams Small Centre	WSC	D4
83	Winters College	WC	C4
24	York Lanes	YL	D6

RESIDENCES & APARTMENTS

48	320 Assiniboine Road	ASR	B6
47	380 Assiniboine Road	ASB	F4
46	380 Assiniboine Road	ASB	B4
45	380 Assiniboine Road	ASB	B4
34	Adkison Residence	AR	B6
12	Debraux Residence	DR	D3
9	Calmer Residence	CR	D3
49	Founders Residence	FR	C4
44	Press Gardens, 2-18 Paddy Cres.	PRSD	F4
35	The Ford Road Residence	FOR	F5
14	Stong Residence	SR	D3
52	Tatham Hall	TH	B4
55	Varier Residence	VR	C4
54	Winters Residence	WR	C7

PARKING GARAGES - VISITORS

80	Arboretum Lane Parking Garage	ABG	D4
86	Student Services Parking Garage	SSP	E7
72	York Lanes Parking Garage	YLP	D4

PARKING LOTS - VISITORS

46	Founders Road East Lot	AE	
87	Kinross Lot	AK	B9
44	Northwest Gate Lot	NG	B4
89	Physical Resources Building South Visitor Lot	PR	C9
77	Tat McKeown Lot	TM	C3
79	Thompson Road Lot	TR	C4
71	Varier Lot	VR	C7

PARKING LOTS - RESERVED

87	Albany Road Lot	ALB	D6
83	Adkison Lot	ADK	D5
97	Chimneystack Lot	CH	C8
44	Founders Road East Lot	AE	A4
46	Founders Road West Lot	AW	A5
75	Luttrells Lot	LUM	C5
74	Luttrells North Lot	LN	C5
82	Nelson Road Lot	NR	E4
64	Northwest Gate Lot	NG	B4
91	Paddy Crescent Lot	PC	G3
85	Physical Resources Building North Lot	PR	D7
68	Physical Resources Lot	PR	B9
89	Pillbox Road Lot	PR	B9
86	Serret Road Lot	SR	F6
43	Storham Drive Lot	SD	C2
84	The Ford Road Lot	FR	F5
71	Varier Lot	VR	C7
78	West Office Building West Lot	WO	C4
70	York Boulevard Lot	YB	B5

VISUAL PERFORMANCE ARTS FACILITIES

92	Art Gallery of York University	AG	E7
37	Barton Auditorium	BA	B6
93	Gelis Gallery	AG	E6
28	Joseph G. Green Studio Theatre	GTT	E6
92	McLennan Performance Studio	ACS	E7
92	Pice Family Camera	ACS	E7
92	Siedra Pale & Non Pice Theatre	ACE	E7
92	Tribea Communities Rock Hall	ACE	E7

SPORT & RECREATION FACILITIES

4	Tat McKeown Centre	TM	C3
3	York Stadium	YSA	A2
6	York Lanes Stadium	YLS	C4

HISTORICAL HOUSES

C	Sherman/Deva Gaming "Back-d M"	SKG	F4
6	Hoover House	HCH	F2
B	Stong Barn	SB	AP
A	Stong House	SH	AP

NON-YORK U BUILDINGS

94	Archives of Ontario *	AO	D7
1	Carleton Ice Sports *	ICS	B1
62	Computer Methods Building	CMB	B7
57	Henry Sherman Chow	HSC	C7
	Heating Co-op		
40	Seneca @ York, Stephen G. Gaudin Building	SAV	E7
8	Tennix Canada - Aviva Centre *	TC	D2
7	Trick & Poldi Centre *	TPC	D4
99	The Quad Student Housing (managed by Forum Campus Solutions)	OSH	F8
500	York University TTC subway station	YUS	D4
501	Forever Village TTC subway station	PVS	A3

Please visit yorku.ca/mapskeele for the most up to date version of the campus map

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