

**“We’re More Than Just The Guys With The Keys” -
The Professional Identity of Campus Security at an Atlantic Canadian University**

by
Matthew R. Howe

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Bachelor of Arts with
Honours in Anthropology

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
April 2015

Thesis Advisor:
Dr. Martha Radice

“We’re More Than Just The Guys With The Keys” -

The Professional Identity of Campus Security at an Atlantic Canadian University

Abstract

Currently there is little research on in-house campus security. Thus far literature has only looked at campus police and non-campus security organizations. This ethnography explores the professional identity and role of campus security officers at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia, Canada. Through the ethnographic approach of participant observation ride-alongs and interviews, the researcher examines the organizational structure, social norms and perspectives of Dalhousie Security personnel. Findings suggest that security officers view their professional identity through a lens of role multi-functionality. Dalhousie Security has shifted its philosophy towards a more complex community-oriented approach and are unlike campus police who are tied to an identity of law enforcement, the community-oriented approach complements campus security’s multifunctional identity and has lead to greater integration into the university community and improved professional role satisfaction among security officers. This ethnography contributes valuable anthropological insight to the research on private security and security on university campuses.

Keywords: private security, parapolicing, professional identity, campus security, university security, campus law enforcement, organizational ethnography, community-oriented policing.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my honours supervisor, Dr. Martha Radice. Without her assistance and dedicated involvement in every step of the process, this research would have never been accomplished. Thank you for such detailed critique and responding with patience to countless late-night emails. I have grown more than I thought possible under your guidance.

Second, I want to thank Director Michael Burns and my Dalhousie Security participants. Without Michael Burns' consent and total support this research would not have been possible. Mr. Burns has exceeded my every expectation. To my participants, thank you for your patience, letting me ride along, and bother you for hours with my questions. Your honest answers, kindness, and true desire for me to see Dalhousie Security improve left a real impact on me. All of you fulfill such an important role on campus that not enough people recognize, and I hope this thesis helps to change that.

To my Dalhousie Sociology and Social Anthropology Honours Class 2014/2015 compatriots, thank you for your friendship. Your conversation, insightful perspectives, and humour in the moments of extreme stress made all the difference. I am proud of what we all of have accomplished together. I would especially like to thank my peer, Kirstie Smith for her kind and incredible dedication helping me edit this thesis.

Thank you Dr. Christopher Murphy for reviewing my early iterations and your patience letting me drop by your office to bug you with questions. Your insightful answers and comments were critically important to writing up the findings in these pages. Furthermore, thank you for letting me borrow some of your books for such an extended period.

I would also like to thank Dr. Donald Clairmont of The Atlantic Institute of Criminology. Even though you predicted I would see no "action" during the course of my research, your

guidance was invaluable to determining my methodological approach. Thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule to meet with me and take me out to lunch.

However, getting through my honours thesis required more than academic support. I would like to thank Kieran Bradshaw for encouraging me to push myself beyond what I thought was possible. Thank you for listening and being there for me in both my highs and my lows, you are like a brother to me, and I cannot begin to express my gratitude and appreciation for your unwavering friendship. You taught me how to eat elephants - one bite at a time!

Most importantly, none of this could have happened without my family. To my parents and my sisters— it would be an understatement to say that, as a family, we have experienced some ups and downs in the past several years. To my mother and father, your financial support that made this honours thesis a reality. My mother, you offered your limitless encouragement through phone calls and proofreading – despite my limited devotion to correspondence. To my father, your patient understanding, support, and encouragement. Both of you kept me going even when I was ready to quit and I am forever grateful. This honours thesis stands as a testament to your unconditional love and encouragement.

Table of Contents

“We’re More Than Just The Guys With The Keys” -.....	i
The Professional Identity of Campus Security at an Atlantic Canadian University.....	i
Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iv
Introduction.....	1
Methodology	3
History of Dalhousie Security	6
Organizational Information.....	7
Legal Authority	8
“We’re More Than Just The Guys With The Keys” - An Ethnography of Dalhousie Security	9
Security, Protection and Enforcement.....	10
Campus Policing and Security: Boundaries, Legitimacy, and Professionalism.....	10
My First Night of Ride-Alongs.....	11
Wands, Pucks, and Keys	13
Stay Focused, Stay Sharp	14
Fight In The Residence Hall.....	15
Feelings of Legitimacy and Relations with the Police.....	17
The Community-Oriented Philosophy and Role Conflict.....	19
Campus Police and Community-Oriented Practice.....	19
The Community-Oriented Philosophy	20
Expanding Role Conflicting Philosophy	21
Community-Oriented In Action: Officer Jamie and Community Relations	22
Campus Security Professional Identity and Role Multiplicity	24
Police Culture and Campus Police Identity.....	24
The Surprise Party: “We Are Human, Too!”	25
The Action Men.....	26
The Service Role Aspect.....	27
Professional Identity - The Multi-tool.....	29
Pragmatism and Officer Role Satisfaction	31
Conclusion	32
References	34
Appendices.....	37

Appendix A: Oral Script Research Summary for Third-Parties encounters..... 37
Appendix B: General-purpose Information Leaflet 38
Appendix C: Information letter and invitation to participate 39
Appendix D: Oral Consent Script 41
Appendix E: Interview Guides 42
Appendix F: Codebook and Cipher 47
Appendix G: Dalhousie Security Organizational Structure 48
Appendix H: DalSafe App..... 49
Appendix I: Fieldwork Photos..... 50

Introduction

Most students, faculty, and staff of a university only vaguely understand the role of campus security. Many large universities in both Canada and the United States employ campus police, but Dalhousie University has a private in-house security organization with 36 full-time staff, Dalhousie Security Services (DS) (the distinction will be explored shortly). Private security is a growing industry in Canada. Statistics Canada (Li, 2008) reported that there were 102,000 private security personnel compared to 68,000 police officers in 2008. Further, private security personnel grew by 15% compared to three percent for the police. More recently, CBC News (2013) reported there are 140,000 licensed security guards in Canada compared to 70,000 active police officers. Despite the growing private security industry in Canada, there has been no research looking at private or in-house campus security. This study therefore contributes to knowledge on the growing role of private and corporate security in society today.

Over the last year, Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia and Canada more generally have been faced with serious security threats. On October 22nd 2014 Corporal Nathan Cirillo was fatally shot at the Canadian National War Memorial while on sentry duty in Ottawa (Wingrove, Chase, Curry, & Mahoney, 2014). Such security threats also took place closer to home. The next day, a man was seen carrying a rifle in downtown Halifax. Dalhousie Security responded by placing both the engineering and the medical campuses under first stage security protocol “Hold & Secure.” (“Halifax police arrest man downtown after gun report”, 2014). Then, on February 7th 2015, there was a bomb threat one block away from the university campus that shut down a major traffic route for several hours (Borden Colley & Mellor, 2015). Fortunately, no bomb was found. Almost a week later on February 12th, Canadian Royal Canadian Mounted Police and American Homeland Security foiled a planned mass-shooting set to take place at a Nova Scotia,

Halifax shopping mall (Taber, 2015). I use these examples to illustrate the growing danger in Nova Scotia that security professionals must be prepared for and the critical timing of my ethnography with its focus on the profession of Dalhousie campus security officers.

The aim of my research is to fill a gap in the literature related to private campus security in Canada. This ethnography focuses on the role, function and identity of private security within a Canadian university campus context. It is theoretically influenced by research on police culture, police ethnography, and campus police literature. Because this is the first ethnography that I know of to look at “campus security,” it is important to keep in mind the difference between campus security and “campus police.” Campus police are sworn officers of the law charged with the special responsibility of enforcing the law on campus. By contrast, campus security are not sworn officers of the law; they are privately hired personnel for the purpose of filling a specific need determined by the university.

At the beginning of each section of this thesis, I briefly review the relevant literature for the purpose of positioning my findings in reference to previous research. Earlier studies agree that qualitative methodology is critically insightful for understanding both law enforcement and security organizational behaviour. My method utilizes participant observation ride-alongs and a semi-structured interview guide.

This research aims to understand the professional identity of Dalhousie Security and the role it plays on campus. I explore this topic through three themes: firstly, security, protection, and enforcement; secondly, professional identity and role multiplicity; and thirdly, community-oriented policing and role conflict. These three themes will explore Dalhousie Security’s range of roles, the factors that influence identity, and how a community-oriented approach has yielded both philosophical conflict and officer role satisfaction.

Methodology

“What people say, what people do, and what they say they do are entirely different things.”

- attributed to Margaret Mead

In November 2014, I approached director of Security Services, Michael Burns with the request of conducting research with him and his security team. In the meeting I explained the purpose of my research and to my surprise not only did he consent, he was enthusiastic about it!

I conducted a qualitative study combining ethnography with in-depth semi-structured interviews to understand the professional role of campus security, which is central to the construction professional identity. I conducted participant observation ‘ride-alongs’ with two of the four shift groups. Each ride-along session ranged between five to seven hours and totalled 25 hours. In addition, I interviewed DS Director Michael Burns, and Officer Jamie, DS’s Community Officer. In addition to interviews and participant observation, I accompanied Mr. Burns to a campus transportation and security meeting, and observed Officer Jamie give a critical incidents training presentation to university staff. In total, I conducted 32 ½ hours of ethnographic field research.

Ethnography is frequently used to understand organizational behaviour and police subculture. Unfortunately, none of the literature I read explained in detail *how* to conduct fieldwork with law enforcement. Instead, I consulted with Dr. Christopher Murphy, a professor in Dalhousie’s Sociology and Social Anthropology department, and Dr. Donald Clairmont of The Atlantic Institute of Criminology. Both of them have extensive experience researching and writing about law enforcement. They advised that I should aim to spend between four to seven hours with my participants for each fieldwork session.

This approach has several benefits. First, it encourages the researcher and the participant to form a researcher-participant relationship rather than an interaction solely focused on answering a set of questions. Because I rode around with my participants for several hours at a time, there was a lot of small talk. Most of this small talk centered around questions related to the job as events happened. At other times, it was about fleshing out my interview guide questions with follow-up questions or conversations about family, perspectives on world conflicts, or just about the weather.

The second benefit of this approach is that it allows the researcher to weave the research questions into the fabric of the conversation as it emerges. Because I spent several hours with my participants, there was no need to ask rapid-fire questions. My main research instrument was an interview guide [see appendix E]. That contained core themes allowing me to adapt the questions based on what happened during the session. I learned that if I spaced my questions throughout the course of the session, oftentimes an event would occur that allowed me to frame my research question in a very “natural” way. This allowed the conversation to deviate and flow into related topics important to the participant. Frequently, the richest ethnographic data came from these minor and unplanned deviations.

The decision to conduct ethnographic fieldwork was influenced strongly by police culture and police ethnography literature. The study of law enforcement through ethnographic qualitative methods is well established (Chan, 1996; Cockcroft, 2007; Foster, 1986; Loftus, 2010; Rigakos, 2002; Waddington, 1999). In reference to P.A.J. Waddington’s research on police canteen sub-culture (1999), Robert Reiner (2000) writes:

Waddington stresses the gap between attitudes and behaviour that has long been established in social psychology. He also rightly notes that many observational studies of police work have shown that officers regularly fail to enact in practice the attitude they have articulated in the canteen or in interviews. (p.86)

Studying police and security officers in their professional environments allows the researcher to see into the difficulties of everyday life and it bridges the gap between espoused and enacted professional values.

At the time of my fieldwork, Dalhousie Security employed 36 full-time staff: 26 patrol officers and ten administrative staff. There are four shift groups and each group aims to have a complement of seven officers on duty. This is the aim but due to illness and injury this was not always possible. I spent time with DS director, the community officer, and two patrol shift groups, for a total of fourteen participants. Of the four shift groups, I chose to focus on two of them for the following two reasons. First, in this kind of study, the researcher is “studying up” and a gatekeeper in my case, the director of security services facilitates access. Second, time constraints meant I would not be able to build strong relationships with all participants if I tried to spend time with every shift group. My aim was depth not breadth; I wanted to know my participants as best I could with the limited time I had.

A limitation of qualitative study is the lack of quantitative measures. This limits organizational representivity and opts instead for deeper and more nuanced understanding. This limitation could be easily remedied in future research and would draw on the quantitative methods used by previous authors (Foster, 1986; Pauline & Sloan, 2003; Peak et al, 2008; Sloan, 1992; Wilson & Wilson, 2011).

In any research, the researcher must always be aware of ethical risk. My recruitment strategy was partially determined by management’s decision of which shift groups I spent time with. Each participant was given an information letter and invitation to participate [see appendix C]. After participants read the invitation to participate I received verbal consent via an oral script [see appendix D]. I used pseudonyms to anonymize participants, but a limiting factor was DS’s

management knowledge of the two shift groups that I spent time with. However, I witnessed no incidents that I believe would put their job at risk.

Data collection involved jotting notes on a notepad and on my cell phone. In her study of campus police, Kelli Brobeck (2014) found using a cell phone for notes made the researcher appear less conspicuous. In my own fieldwork I found similar results. The security officers who I spent time with were more aware, and engaged in more self-censorship when I took notes in a notepad. After each fieldwork session, sometimes until 6:00 am, I would spend one to two hours writing post-field site notes. After some much needed sleep, I would collate and code the data I gathered [see appendix F].

History of Dalhousie Security

Dalhousie University's first security team was formed in 1968 under the name "Campus Police". In the pages going forward, I will refer to "Dalhousie Security Services" either as Dalhousie Security or "DS". A Dalhousie University senate committee from 1972 wrote the following to illustrate part of the reason why DS was created.

In response to a need to provide a degree of crowd control and to prevent disorderly conduct at athletic events. It was hoped that the use of students to control the unruly behaviour of other students would reduce the need to call upon the City Police at University sporting events. The Campus Police Force began with approximately thirty students (p.4) (*sic*).

As illustrated by the quote, Dalhousie "campus police" was created in the beginning for the purpose of ensuring the safety of students, faculty, staff, and university property as well as to alleviate the workload of city police. The above quote is taken from a small section of old Dalhousie Security documents I was given to read during the course of my research.

In 2010, former Halifax Regional Police superintendent of the criminal investigation division for Halifax Regional Police, Michael Burns, took over as security services Director. The previous director of DS, “Andy”, had a background as a military police officer, which played a role in the reason why DS did not cultivate relationships with the wider university community. Over the last five years, DS has changed their focus away from an enforcement orientation and towards a “client-focused approach to the job - the clients being staff, faculty and especially, students”(Cosby, 2010). Mr. Burns’ goal of building community relationships has kept Dalhousie Security evolving to meet the needs of the campus.

Organizational Information

“Sometimes people will say, ‘Why don’t you go and get a real job?’ and I just kind of laugh because I like my job here! I don’t think I could go back working a 9-5 job!”
- Officer Harley

This section briefly outlines security officer background and Dalhousie Security’s organizational role. In literature on in-house security in Nova Scotia, Murphy & Clarke (2005) wrote, “in-house security personnel tend to be better paid, more skilled, and better educated than ‘contract’ private security guards” (p.226). This insight proved to be the case with Dalhousie Security officers, who indicated they are better paid than their contract security counterparts. With regards to education, some officers had completed a law enforcement professional program, while others had not. The occupational backgrounds of officers ranged from beginning in Dalhousie custodial staff, to parking enforcement, contract security, secure monetary transportation, security loss prevention, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), and the Canadian Armed Forces. All of the staff that I spent time were born and raised in Nova Scotia.

Before I began this project, I saw DS as a relatively homogeneous organization with a narrow and straightforward role of protecting both property and people on campus. In their 2014/2015 business plan, DS is listed as responsible for: security operations, education,

investigations, parking, emergency management, and community involvement. These responsibilities illustrate the wide scope of roles and activities that exceeded my expectation. DS also employs additional staff beyond patrol officers, such as a community police tasked with being “the face of DS”, a full-time traffic officer, and a Dalhousie co-op student to assist the community officer [see appendix G].

Legal Authority

“The difference between us and Joe Blow is that we have special training and a formal mandate [to protect Dalhousie property, students and staff on campus].”
- Officer Harley

Under Nova Scotia provincial law, Dalhousie Security is considered “in-house” security. The Department of Justice defines in-house security as: “[T]hose individuals who are employed by public or private organizations to provide security services exclusively to their direct employer. Their services are not contracted out by the employer.” (Nova Scotia Department of Justice, 2007).

When friends and acquaintances heard of my research project, they saw me as a sort of sympathetic insider who they could share their personal DS grievances with. The most common question I was asked related to the legal authority of Dalhousie Security. In Canada, citizen’s arrest is legal; if a citizen witnesses a criminal code offense being committed, they have the power to detain the offending individual until the police arrive. It is under the power of citizen’s arrest that DS officers have the authority to make an arrest.

Dalhousie Security Services functions under the legal Statutes of the *Private Investigators and Private Guards Act* (1989). The security officers function under designation of “Special Constables” within the *Constables Act, Revised Statutes of Canada (1989)*. Under these regulations, special constables have the power to arrest individuals who are in the act of committing a criminal code offense.

Unfortunately, this legal definition does little to elucidate on the lived reality of their authority. Most students carry a stereotype that DS exercises excessive rule enforcement. Yet when I inquired further on this topic by asking friends, most of them either would reference a friend's second-hand experience or could not draw on an exact instance of excessive rule enforcement. These sentiments of excessive rule enforcement stem from the reality that Dalhousie Security is the most visible authoritative body on campus. That being said, students have little opportunity to observe DS's other roles and responsibilities.

In discussions about authority with security officers, none of them expressed the desire for more legal authority. Even though all DS officers have handcuff training, most officers have never had to forcibly restrain someone. While they never articulated a desire for more authority, some officers did express frustration about their lack of ability to ban and remove permanently suspicious persons from the library. The Killam Library currently allows members of the public into the space. At times, this results in homeless persons attempting to sleep in the library overnight, "suspicious individuals" entering the building, or members of the public using the university computers to view pornography. While these individuals give officers cause for concern for the safety of the university, officers feel their hands are tied because the library is open to members of the public.

“We’re More Than Just The Guys With The Keys” - An Ethnography of Dalhousie Security

The following ethnography is divided into three theme sections. The first section focuses on “Security, Protection and Enforcement” and related areas. The second section looks at the community-oriented philosophy and the role conflict byproduct. The third and final section

articulates Dalhousie Security's professional identity and role construction.

Security, Protection and Enforcement

Campus Policing and Security: Boundaries, Legitimacy, and Professionalism

In the journal article "*Patrolling Borders: Symbolic Boundaries and the Culture of Campus Policing*," Kelli Brobeck (2014) explores the role of campus police at Cedarville College in the United States. She found that campus police officers face difficulty crafting an honourable professional identity when it came to balancing their law enforcement role as police officers and the service role required by Cedarville College.

Like Brobeck, James Christopher Wada (2007) found campus police have difficulty balancing their law enforcement role with the frequently required service role of the university. Campus police officers felt they had to promote their profession and because they felt less important than their non-campus counterparts, Wada concludes, "Campus police are based on prevention and service rather than arrest and control. Moreover, campus police were developed to enhance the mission of a university by providing a safe atmosphere for scholarly learning" (p.146).

Julia Foster (1986) surveyed 13 campus police departments with the purpose of understanding campus police professionalism and job satisfaction. She found that community attitudes towards campus security, officer rank, and the commitment to the job each played a significant role in job satisfaction. The multiple and sometimes conflicting roles of campus police are a factor. Foster concludes that campus police understand their role on campus, but are sensitive to the perceived attitudes of their communities. Additionally, they deserve to be recognized for the important law enforcement and safety role they play on campus.

In Canadian research on campus police, “*Loose Connections: Crime and Policing on the University Campus*,” Ian Gomme and Anthony Micucci (1997), found campus police view service duties as “dirty work.” The campus police’s disdain for service emanated from young officers who felt the service tasks took their attention away from crime fighting tasks. These officers saw riskier tasks as both adventurous and more satisfying. On the other hand, older ‘veteran’ officers took pride in the service, security, and loss prevention tasks that their younger counterparts disdained.

In his book *The New Parapolice*, George Rigakos (2002) conducts statistical and ethnographic study of Intelligarde International, a Canadian private security firm. Rigakos argues that private security companies utilize many of the same functions and tactics of public police. He states private security culture is typified by “future-oriented” thinking for the purpose of risk minimization. Private security companies generally focus on property protection and the minimization of risk through preventative measures. Preventative measures include security alarms, surveillance cameras, and security officer patrols. Rigakos concluded that private security have become more popular and will increasingly become indistinguishable from public police.

My First Night of Ride-Alongs

Dalhousie Security headquarters is difficult to find, located in the basement/parkade of the Marion McCain Arts & Social Sciences Building. The only evidence of their existence is a small-unlit sign with black lettering against a gray background underneath an overhang for the parking garage door.

I began my research on a Friday night in January at nine pm. It was a cold night with heavy snowfall. In the parkade, through a fogged-glass door is a small queuing area and a chest

high desk. On the opposite side of the desk was a bald man with a white beard and glasses. In a thick Cape Breton accent he said, “*Hiya, what can I do for you sir?*” After introducing myself he introduced himself as Supervisor Glen. He then invited me across the threshold, buzzed me through the security door, and I took a seat in the operations area.

Glen sat at a large wraparound desk. Mounted along the left wall were alarm panels, electricity panels with flashing LEDs, and a disconcerting red telephone. On the right side was the reception window, the main telephone, and two dispatch radios. In the centre, there were four large flat-screen monitors. Three of the monitors had security programs opened and each program contained at least two in-program windows. Most of them had flashing icons with varying levels of urgency. It was what was on the fourth monitor that caught my eye and surprised me most. I was expecting to see some kind of impersonal, professional wallpaper but instead it was a portrait of Glen’s dog wearing pink sunglasses with a very serious expression [see appendix I1]. This was the first of many surprises I would have while studying Dalhousie Security. I was surprised to find on the main operations computer because I was expecting something impersonal. Instead, the computer wallpaper reflected management’s contentment with staff making the workspace a happy and more enjoyable place to work in. I had always seen the security staff as austere and perhaps slightly inapproachable because of their police-like outfits. For myself, the wallpaper was the first experience that humanized Dalhousie Security officers.

Not long after, officers Neil, Laurel and Sidney came into the office and introduced themselves. After some small talk I learned that all three of them have different professional backgrounds. Officer Neil began in the university custodial before joining the security team.

Officer Laurel previously worked as contract security. Officer Sidney came from a military background. Officers Neil and Sidney invited me to do building lockup with them soon after.

Wands, Pucks, and Keys

“We’re more than just the guys with the keys”
- Officer Sidney

For several hours Neil, Sidney and I walked through silent university buildings locking, checking, and securing doors. As we walked through the buildings checking doors, Officer Neil apologized to me for how boring this part of the job must seem. This illustrates that while they know that securing buildings is a critical part of the job, it is also one of the most mundane tasks.

During the building checks, Officer Neil scanned his security wand against a wall mounted little black ‘puck’ [see appendix I2]. The wand is a small stainless steel baton that is scanned against the corresponding little black pucks, which are mounted on the walls inside all campus buildings. When the wand is scanned against a puck it leaves a digital time signature of when the officer was at that particular location. The wand functions to track and quantify where and when officers are doing their duties.

Such devices as the wand and puck are not new to private security practice. In Rigakos’s *The New Parapolice* (2002), Intelligarde security officers use a similar piece of technology. Rigakos concludes this technology increases accountability and “exemplifies the late capitalist compulsion to translate immaterial (and ‘unproductive’) security labour into a tangible commodity” (n.p.).

For Dalhousie Security officers, the wand and puck represent the boring part of the profession. On another night doing building checks, another officer, Emerson, characterized this aspect of the job with a derogatory phrase he had heard, “*a puck monkey who just punches the*

puck". Emerson said that he did not mind using the wand, but he knew that some of the other officers disliked how the wand quantified their work. The wand recorded time and location but it could not explain nuance such as why an officer missed a puck or was delayed punching the next puck. For this reason, Officer Neil carried a pocket notebook to record anything he felt was missed by the wand and puck.

Security officers felt like unlocking doors was sometimes the only task people called them to perform. Officer Sidney confided, "*The most challenging part of the job are the people who don't understand our role. We're more than just the guys with the keys*". Some of the officers felt that most faculty and students only interacted with them if it involved keys to unlocking doors. There was subtle disappointment that people saw their role in such narrow terms of unlocking and locking doors, or just "punching the puck". They also understood that very few people outside the organization had the opportunity to appreciate their range of duties. Nevertheless, some officers longed to be seen as more than just the person with the keys.

Stay Focused, Stay Sharp

"Sometimes it's nice when we get a chance to use our training"
- Officer Emerson

Dalhousie Security officers must be trained and prepared for dealing with a range of possible security situations. During one ride-along, Officer Emerson spoke of how it can be challenging to stay sharp and prepared for dangerous situations since they rarely get to put their security training into action. Emerson's sentiments reflect the uneasy relationship the officers have towards their enforcement training. On one hand, officers must be friendly service people ready to help anyone on campus, and at the same time they must be prepared, focused, and ready to deal with any dangerous or life threatening situations that could arise.

Julia Foster in her 1986 study of campus police notes, “Officers are thrust into a variety of roles and responsibilities that merit investigation. Their roles as peace officers, security guards, policy enforcers, and public relations officers for the institution are intermingled, and sometimes conflicting” (p.222). Campus security officers must be prepared for a wide array of situations and roles that could arise. One area that Dalhousie Security officers emphasized and Julia Foster did not is the area of medical first response. Medical first response has been a growing area of need on Dalhousie campus. Because of its critical nature, a medical emergency demands a fast and confident response in medical first-aid. To relieve some of the pressure that comes with the knowledge this situation will arise in the future, officers emphasized their medical preparedness.

To relieve some of the pressure that comes with always being prepared, the officers emphasized their preparedness for dealing with medical emergency first response.

Fight In The Residence Hall

As a police sociologist, Dr. Donald Clairmont has spent hundreds of hours in the back of police cars and warned me not to expect any ‘action’ in one of our meetings before I began my fieldwork. Fortunately he was wrong; it only took one night with DS for me to see my first piece of action.

For the first ride-along night, I was scheduled to finish at two am. Since it had been a quiet night, I decided to continue for another hour. Minutes after I made this decision, DS received a call of a fight that was taking place in one of the student residence halls. Officers Neil, Laurel, Sidney, and I quickly got into the van and headed towards the residence hall.

Tension in the van was palpable as we drove over. The situation at the residence when we arrived would be best described as “chaos”. On the floor there was a trail of blood leading down

one hallway and students were wandering the hall confused about why this was the case. Some students were shaken and others were curious about the commotion.

Security officers and resident assistants (RAs) began ordering uninvolved students back to their rooms. The blood from the lounge led to a room where two of the beaten boys were trying to catch their breath. One of them was badly beaten with most of his face swollen and bleeding. Officer Neil immediately called an ambulance. He also attended to the victims and took their statements [see appendix I3]. Officer Laurel approached the witnesses who were shaken, offering her support and taking their statements. Officer Sidney also took witness statements and went looking for the group that started the fight.

Personnel at the main entrance told us that the group of suspects had escaped. Twenty minutes later it came through the communications radio that the group tried sneaking back into the residence through another entrance and were now hiding in their friend's room. It was about this same time that four Halifax regional police officers arrived. We all walked down to the room where the group was hiding. By the time we reached the space outside the room, there were three Dalhousie Security officers, four police officers, one security commissioner, two RAs, myself, and a handful of students. I pressed myself against a wall, trying to appear as inconspicuous as possible while I jotted notes down on my phone. To everyone else around me it just looked like I was busily text messaging and I found this helped me appear less conspicuous.

After we gathered outside the room where the group was hiding, I noticed an interesting authority hierarchy take shape. Residence Assistants (RAs) led the dispersal of students by ordering them back to their rooms using their knowledge of each student's name to persuade them. If a student defied the RA, one of the security officers would step in to assert greater authority. The police officers sat back respectfully and let the campus authorities (RAs and

Dalhousie Security) handle the situation. Later in the evening when a student continually defied the orders of security Officer Sidney, one of the police officers stepped in and told the student that if he did not obey officer Sidney's orders, he would be arrested.

After a long wait outside the room where the group was hiding, one of the police officers knocked on the door and humorously announced "Housekeeping!" The door cracked open and the police officer explained that all of them had to leave Dalhousie University premises. As the group began to shuffle out, the police officer said, "Okay, all of you have to leave. And you [singling one of the boys in the group], yeah, you're being arrested." In a matter of seconds they turned him around and handcuffed him [see appendix I4].

This group of troublemakers was not unintelligent. In the time they spent hiding in the room, they had changed their clothes in an effort to not match the witness descriptions. After the group was dispelled from the residence they stood on the opposite side of the street (technically not Dalhousie University property) and began flashing gang signs. After a couple of minutes, they grew tired of the heavy snowfall and walked off into the surrounding neighbourhood, never to be heard from again.

Feelings of Legitimacy and Relations with the Police

In the literature about campus police (Foster, 1986; Heinsler et al, 1990, Wada, 2007; Wilson & Wilson, 2011), many authors agree that campus police have to work harder than their non-campus police counterparts to legitimize themselves and their authority. As Foster (1986) writes, "historically, the campus officer's position and responsibility has been viewed by the community as unimportant and/or unnecessary, which further hinders the officer's development of self-confidence, professional pride, and feeling of occupational worth" (p. 233). She concludes by stating it is long overdue that campus police receive the respect they deserve in

their contribution to public safety and law enforcement. Unfortunately, this still seems to be a problem today.

Wada (2007) found campus police felt like they had to sell their profession. “In most instances, CP [campus police] officers have to identify themselves and explain their functions, duties, roles, police powers, etc. whereas, a municipal police officer does not.” (p. 123). From this body of literature I expected security officers would not be respected by police officers, and further, that they would be under particular pressure to legitimize themselves and the importance of their role.

In one of the sessions, I asked the security officer to characterize their relationship with local police. They characterized their relationship with the police as “mostly positive.” Police officers respected DS as equals and only a few police officers harboured resentment. Dalhousie Security saw themselves as performing a different and complementary role to the police.

Dalhousie Security officers mentioned that Director Michael Burns has structured their work shifts in a similar way to regional police. This was specifically implemented for the purpose of security officers and police officers becoming familiar with each other and to promote good relations between the two groups. The events that transpired on the night of the residence fight illustrated the good relations between the two groups. The residence fight let me to critically observe the relationship between security officers and police officers in action. I observed that casual familiarity with each other produced positive work relations between DS and the police. While we were waiting outside the room where the fight group was hiding, DS officers and police officers exchanged small talk inquiring about how each other’s nights was going. None of the police officers I witnessed expressed any resentment towards the role of

Dalhousie Security. A positive relationship between the two groups appeared to be the norm, not the exception.

The Community-Oriented Philosophy and Role Conflict

The Literature: Campus Police and Community-Oriented Practice

Bonnie Fisher and John Sloan's (1995) edited book "*Campus Crime - legal, social, and policy perspectives*" was a useful resource for understanding the role of police on campus. It examines several aspects of policing on campus including how roles are conflicting and the way community policing is emerging on university campuses. Mark Lanier (1995) wrote a chapter that explores the possibility of using community-oriented policing on campus. He begins by defining the philosophy of community policing, examines the advantages and disadvantages, and then gives examples of universities that have already begun using a community-oriented approach.

Christopher Wada (2007) notes that community-oriented policing is an elusive term with no single agreed upon definition (p.20). Community-Oriented Policing (COP) can be thought of as a philosophy that combines traditional forms of law enforcement with personalized policing, where patrol officers work in the same area on a permanent basis, along with preventative measures, and community partnerships to identify and solve problems proactively (U.S. Justice Department, 2012). The advantage of the community-based approach on campus is that it allows officers to address an issue proactively before it becomes a problem. This approach allows officers to build positive relationships with students that makes both parties feel better acquainted with each other and promotes the university's sense of community.

In a 2003 journal article, Eugenie Pauline and John Sloan examine the organizational structure of campus police. They found campus police struggled to establish a strong

professional identity. Campus police copied existing police organizational models to shore up professional identity both with the campus community and their municipal police counterparts. Universities often will hire senior-level police officers to run campus police agencies. The implementation of a community-oriented approach made a positive impact on job satisfaction. The authors also recognize that further research needs to be done in the area of community-oriented policing on campus.

In their research Gomme and Mucci (1997) found campus police were slowly beginning to adopt a community-oriented policing model. They note that the community-oriented model holds particular benefits for campus police and the community they are sworn to protect. “In essence, campus police are now attempting to adopt the security-oriented prevention and service model that many believe has represented their mandate for years” (p.63). They conclude by calling for future Canadian research to look at the practice and effectiveness of the community-oriented model on campus. My research helps answer this call.

The Community-Oriented Philosophy

“I can either police you or I can police with you. I would rather police with you.”
- Michael Burns (Director of Dalhousie Security)

Since his arrival, Director Michael Burns has been spearheading major change in DS. In different ways and at different times several officers told me about the positive changes Mr. Burns has been making. The previous director came from a military police background and officers complained about his militaristic micromanagement mentality. DS was described, as a “well oiled security and enforcement machine” but had no communication with the university community. The narrowness of officers’ role made them feel like university community outsiders.

When Director Burns took over in the summer of 2010, it marked the beginning of change in the organization. In our interview Mr. Burns quoted his catchphrase “I can police you, or I can police *with* you”. In his introductory interview to Dalhousie he followed it up with “If I do it with you, you are going to be a partner and you'll have more confidence in the process” (Cosby, 2010). This reflects Mr. Burns’ community-oriented approach. I would argue Director Burns is in the midst of instituting this kind of philosophy with Dalhousie Security.

Expanding Role Conflicting Philosophy

When I interviewed Director Burns, he characterized the shift towards a community-oriented approach as a slow rebranding process that moves away from a rule enforcement approach towards a community-oriented approach that provides a service to the university community. The most difficult part has been the internal process of changing the perspectives and philosophy of his officers. This shift is reflected in the literature about campus police:

“There is mounting evidence that campus agencies are changing their philosophies (in much the same way as urban police departments have begun to change theirs) to a more service-related approach. This shift will include greater accountability to members of the campus community, more educated and less bureaucratic executives, and a reduction in the paramilitaristic structure of the agency.” (Lanier, 1995, p.242)

The philosophical difference is the biggest area of conflict. Under the previous militaristic director, Dalhousie Security had no contact with the wider university community, their role was strictly rule enforcement and building security. The community-oriented philosophy by contrast places the university community at the centre of their focus. It is understandable why this shift has been difficult; for a long time security officers have been strict rule enforcers with a clean, cut and dry role. The community-oriented approach by contrast is

more complex; officers must be patient and educate students through corrective means rather than through punishment.

The community-oriented approach also emphasizes the role of DS as a provider of service. An area that exemplifies their growth service is the emergency medical assistance role. In 2013 there were 27 medical assistance calls, 74 in 2014, and 101 in the first four months of 2015 (This may reflect better recording). Today, DS responds to more medical assistance calls than rule enforcement related calls. This movement towards a community-oriented approach is more than just an espoused value, it has also been enacted through the growing service role.

Community-Oriented In Action: Officer Jamie and Community Relations

“Building relations is a strategic thing.”
- Officer Jamie

Another two areas that significantly reflect the community orientation is the creation of the community officer position and the Restorative Justice (RJ) pilot program. Officer Jamie has a tough role within DS. As the community officer who interacts most readily with the faculty and students, Officer Jamie experiences a disproportionate amount of criticism. His roles include hearing student grievances, maintaining DS’s social media presence, student incident follow-up, mediation between students and Halifax law enforcement, the facilitation of restorative justice on campus, giving safety presentations, and representing DS wherever needed.

At the time of my research, Community Officer Jamie was very busy overseeing a controversial RJ case at the university. Unfortunately due to the nature of the case I was unable to witness the RJ program in action, but I did interview Officer Jamie and I accompanied him to a safety presentation. On our way to give the safety presentation, we were stopped on the street several times by people with security related requests. From the interactions I witnessed people

felt comfortable approaching Officer Jamie with security requests. Officer Jamie explains the corrective philosophy through education, “I would rather educate you than give you a ticket. A ticket doesn’t really teach you anything”.

Before DS, Officer Jamie was deeply involved in the Halifax RJ program. He was approached to join DS specifically for his experience in RJ. The Dalhousie University Restorative Justice Pilot Project is the first of its kind in Halifax. It is a project in conjunction with Halifax Regional Police and the Nova Scotia Department of Justice. The purpose according Dalhousie University’s website:

It aims to help Dalhousie students who have received a summary offence ticket (SOT) or certain criminal charges, by using positive steps to address their offenses. It brings together our students, the greater community, and other partners to encourage and support the acceptance of responsibility and accountability. (Dalhousie University, 2015).

However, it bears reminding that this is only a pilot program. Also involved in the RJ initiative at Dalhousie is sociologist Dr. Clairmont, whose task it is to evaluate the program’s effectiveness. In my discussions with Dr. Clairmont and DS, both would like to see RJ continue beyond a pilot program. The commitment to a restorative justice approach on campus is a critical shift in campus law enforcement away from rule enforcement and underscores the university’s commitment to a community-oriented educational approach.

New forms of communication technology are also important to Officer Jaime and his commitment to building community relationships. With +2,000 followers, DS’s twitter feed (@DalSecurity) is one of the highest followed Dalhousie organizations. It serves a twofold purpose: first, it allows DS to quickly relay security updates in a clear and simple fashion. Secondly, through the use of retweets, replies, and hashtags, Officer Jamie is able to respond to

social media voiced grievances and keep an eye on what people are talking about around campus. More recently DS, released a free smartphone application “DalSafe”. The application offers security updates, campus safety resources, a campus map, contact information for campus shuttle service, and an emergency “duress” call function [see appendix H]. Twitter and the DalSafe app are two good examples of the way technology is being utilized to support the community-oriented approach. The community-oriented approach sometimes causes friction with the traditional approach because it demands security officers be engaged with a university community that often misunderstands their role. The proactive focus of the community-oriented approach demands nuanced skill in mediation that can conflict with the narrow traditional role of “enforcement” in the security profession.

Campus Security Professional Identity and Role Multiplicity

Literature: Police Culture and Campus Police Identity

I used the literature on police culture and campus police professional identity to understand the professional identity of campus security. In their introduction to qualitative research in criminology, Michael Meuser & Gabi Löschper (2002) wrote “police people would like to see researchers as their advocate or as a mouthpiece for their point of view (‘Tell it like it really is here!’) - but this hope must be disappointed by researchers”. They also draw attention to the inevitable question of “Whose side we are on” (p.4). I faced this same issue with my security officer participants as well.

Important to this section is Janet Chan’s *“Changing Police Culture”*(1996) and T Cockcroft’s (2007) chapter *“Police cultures: some definitional methodological and analytical considerations”*. These sources call into question what “police culture” means. In reference to Chan’s research on police culture, Robert Reiner (1985) states “police culture is determined by

organizational values, norms, perspectives, and rules that are neither monolithic, universal nor unchanging” (p.87). Cockcroft (2007) echoes this when he says in order to fully appreciate police culture special attention must be paid to the particularities including social context, agency of the officers, police disposition, as well as power and social relations. This approach promotes understanding law enforcement and security subculture from the perspective of organizational particularly and justifies the need for the specific study of Dalhousie Security.

The literature on campus police professional identity found they focus their model of policing on improving their service to the university community. J.J. Sloan (1992), and Peak et al (2008) made similar findings about the role of police on campus. Both authors found campus police officers focused on non-enforcement service duties such as passing out safety flyers, hosting anti-campus-crime campaigns, and inviting students to campus safety committees. Campus police took pride in their work through preventative measures instead of through law enforcement activities. In similar research, Wada (2007) found the most common tasks of campus security related to service tasks such as locking and unlocking buildings, parking enforcement, and dispatch calls.

The Surprise Party: “We Are Human, Too!”

During one of my final nights of ride alongs, it was Officer Gary’s 47th birthday. Most of the evening Officer Gary was stationed away from headquarters at a different campus so we could plan a small surprise party. The security officers were excited and looking forward to having a little surprise party. Officer Cherie was especially excited because she managed to find a cake baker to write Gary’s name on his cake at two o’clock in the morning! At about 2:30 am Officer Gary and Emerson came into the office. I followed Cheri and Harley as they snuck downstairs to light the candles [see appendix I5].

When we came back singing “Happy Birthday” with a birthday cake and candles, Gary’s face turned a bright shade of red and he could not help but have a big smile. He blew out the candles and then we all enjoyed a quick piece of surprisingly good cake. As we were enjoying the cake, Harley turned to me and humorously said, “Now it’s your job to show everyone else around here that we’re human too!” I immediately thought of the Meuser & Löscher (2002) quote above. This was a challenge for me because before I began fieldwork many people aired their Dal Security grievances with me, but now that I was on the inside of the organization, I began to see the unappreciated challenges Dalhousie Security faces. Most people only remember Dalhousie Security when they need a door unlocked or have been caught breaking campus rules. Before I began fieldwork I too was also guilty of making too narrow of an assumption about their humanity.

The Action Men

“What you gotta understand about guys like Barry, Logan and I, is that we’re action men.”
- Officer Sidney

The night after the residence fight, I was introduced to the term “action men.” Officer Sidney and I were on patrol most of the evening. We saw Officer Barry doing foot patrol and decided to catch-up with him during a quick break. Barry, Sidney and I went for a walk. “I probably shouldn’t say this, but I think we should have been called to give you guys backup in that situation,” said Barry, referring to the residence fight from the night before. There was a moment of tense silent before Sidney interjected, “What you gotta understand about guys like Barry, Logan and I is that we’re action men! We don’t mind the high pressure situations!” In the ride-along sessions that followed, several other officers also identified themselves as action men.

When I spent time with the community officer, Officer Jamie, he expressed concern about patrol officers who overemphasized their enforcement role. His role as the ‘face’ of DS and intermediary to the campus community meant he had to deal with community grievances. Officer Jamie did not despise the patrol officers, rather his organizational position of fielding complaints, promoting community involvement and making Dal Security more approachable, meant that he had to sometimes scold patrol officers when they were overeager in their enforcement responsibilities.

The self-identified label of “Action Men” represented the officers who enjoy high-pressure situations. In their research, Gomme & Micucci (1997) found that enforcement oriented campus police carried out potentially dangerous and risky work with enthusiasm. They saw it as both adventurous and satisfying (p.58). This attitude was mirrored in the case of DS officers who identify as action men; they liked putting their dangerous situation training into action. “Action” represented a break from the monotony of routine tasks. From their perspective, situations of potential danger demand an officer who is calm, prepared and well trained. The security officers that I spent time with did not see themselves as law enforcement, nor did they exercise excessive authority, rather they saw themselves as well-trained personnel capable of handling dangerous and potentially dangerous situations. In my opinion, *responsible* action men are a necessary component of the organization. Even though community cooperation is ideal, there will be volatile situations that demand personnel capable of dealing with the threat. The question is, can you have a community-oriented action man security officer?

The Service Role Aspect

“We want a security force that is not a police force and one that is primarily concerned with service” - Dalhousie Senate Committee (1972)

“Once the university shuts down for the night or weekend, I run this place! It all has to come through here [the dispatch desk]!”
- Officer Glen

My last ride along session took place during the day shift on the weekend when many students who reside in campus residences go away for spring break. This day shift was my busiest ride along session, but not because of students. Torrential rain and warm temperatures that thawed the snow wreaked havoc on campus buildings. The phone did not stop ringing with people calling to complain about leaks and maintenance issues. Officer Neil was manning the dispatch desk. “I wish this phone would quit, it just won’t stop! If my phone rings when I get home I am going to chuck it out the window!” Neil was simultaneously talking to whoever was calling, writing down important details, dispatching officers to respond, and researching on the computer which maintenance staff were available to deal with these mini crises.

Over the next five hours I rode with Officer Sidney as DS attempted to respond to all of the service calls. We went around to various campus buildings to assess the water damage and then we radioed Officer Neil to report what we found. One call was for an office motion sensor alarm. Sidney checked inside the office but saw nothing out of place. As I stood outside the office door, I heard water trickling not far away. “Hey Sidney, come listen to this... Do you hear the water?” I asked. He assured me that it was just coming from the pipe. I felt bad insisting that he check the sound since he was the security personnel and I was only the anthropologist, but I managed to persuade him to check the room next door. He pulled out his keys and unlocked the door. “*Wow... Yeah I’ll say there’s a leak in here alright!*” He responded to me. Inside the office most of the ceiling had collapsed because of water damage. Everything inside the office was wet. We radioed Neil and told him about the critical nature of this leak. Not long afterwards, maintenance staff arrived and began to patch the leak.

This final ride along session taught me when most of the university services close during evenings, holidays or weekends, DS becomes the brain that coordinates the campus. Even when they are not ‘rule enforcers’, their service role thrusts them into making tough and unpopular decisions. Officer Logan was doing roof structural inspection and informed us that one of the auditoriums, which was set to host a Chinese New Year event, would need to be cleared or the event would have to be cancelled because the roof was unstable. When Officer Sidney and I went to inspect the roof [see appendix I6], there was a 60-centimeter thick layer of ice floating on top of 15 centimeters of water. We determined that this was definitely not safe. Unfortunately, the people who were hosting the event would not be able to witness this damage for themselves and would likely blame security for cancelling their event.

Professional Identity - The Multi-tool

“What tool in an ‘average toolbox’ do you feel best characterizes the role of Dalhousie Security?” This question turned out to be surprisingly useful because of the continuity in the answers. All except one of the participants agreed that a Gerber multi-tool best characterized their role as a Dalhousie Security Officer¹ [illustration of Gerber multi-tool see appendix I7].

This analogy proved to be very important for understanding their professional identity. More than just a requirement on their utility belt, the multi-tool symbolizes their multifunctional role. The multi-tool does not have a single purpose, rather it is defined by its versatility. Like, the multitool, Dalhousie Security has many purposes. The following are just some of the responsibilities of DS: the locking and unlocking of buildings, responding to motion sensor alarms, medical first aid response, mental health counselling², incident investigation/follow-up,

¹ The one different answer was “Glue”.

² This is a big role during exam period at the university.

the enforcement of campus rules, investigating reports of suspicious persons, shutting down parties that break campus regulations, writing up incident reports when items have been stolen, preventing student underage drinking (when possible), secure money pickup and delivery on campus, and protecting cadavers when they are delivered to Dalhousie medical school. This list of responsibilities is not exhaustive but it demonstrates the wide range of roles that Dalhousie Security performs.

In the literature on campus police, officers felt like they had to legitimize themselves. Since most university campuses have a low crime rate, campus police rarely get to exercise their law enforcement role, which is the basis of their police identity. Campus service tasks are seen as a hurdle to be cleared in order to focus on important enforcement responsibilities. Mark Lanier (1995) notes that campus police do not have a universal role: “the role of campus police organizations and officers is undefined” (p.237). The lack of professional purpose and law enforcement opportunities on campus led to police officer dissatisfaction. Since enforcement is only a small part of the campus police officer role, campus police participants felt like they were not performing an essential part of their “police/law enforcement” identity.

On the other hand, security officers do not have an identity rooted in law enforcement but rather, in safety, security, and the provision of service. This critical difference is why I believe Dalhousie Security officers experience role satisfaction where campus police do not. Campus police perceive themselves primarily as law enforcers. Campus security on the other hand, see themselves as multi-functional and able to fill a broad scope of roles. When the people on campus are safe, buildings secure, and those on campus are happy with the service provided, campus security officers can be satisfied with the work they are doing.

Pragmatism and Officer Role Satisfaction

“Depends on the situation... We’ve gotta be adaptive to the situation. Most important is community trust... They have to know that they can trust us.”
- Officer Sidney

The night of my second ride along, Officer Sidney and I responded to a call of students with open liquor in a university public space, which is against the school’s rules. After we found the group, they were very apologetic and explained that they were just visiting the campus because they were considering attending Dalhousie University. Officer Sidney took their information and explained to them that open liquor in public space is against campus rules but he would let them go with a warning.

During ride along one evening at headquarters, two security officers were talking about friends in similar security work who do not enjoy their job because of excessive micromanagement. “I tell those guys ‘I f*****g like my boss!’” They went on to agree that having a director who supports their decision-making gave them confidence in what they were doing. In the interview that I conducted with Mr. Burns, he went into detail about this subject. He described how he supports his officers in exercising good situational judgment. He explained, “I manage through objective not by task” and officers understand their role and their level of authority, and deviating from it is at the officer’s own risk. Security Officer deviation could be considered excessive use of force and authority that could result in charges being pressed against the officer in question.

From what I witnessed, DS officers took satisfaction through their ‘multi-tool’ role and the knowledge that management supported their decision-making. Management’s trust in officer self-regulation, pragmatic situational judgment and officer discretion were important

contributing factors to officer satisfaction. The faith in patrol officers' decision making gave them confidence, made their work feel important, and brought satisfaction to profession.

Conclusion

In the future, it is reasonable to expect that Dalhousie Security will continue to be influenced by contemporary law enforcement trends. The implementation of community-oriented practices is just one example of campus security adopting change inspired by police service evolution. The community-oriented approach has expanded the multi-tool role of DS to meet a wider set of needs, but it could also one day pave the way for campus police at Dalhousie University.

Especially in the United States, contemporary campus security has moved towards a model that deploys campus police instead of campus security. Some argue the police model is better equipped than the security model for dealing with growing security threats, but I contend that the police model also results in higher levels of officer role dissatisfaction. The dependence on law enforcement identity as a part of police identity makes role satisfaction difficult in a university environment where crime fighting is not required. The multi-functional identity of campus security makes them more satisfied in their role and better equipped to deal with the problems that arise on campus.

However, campus security employees do desire to be seen as multifunctional: fulfilling a wide array of services to the university beyond just locking and unlocking doors. Rather than strict enforcement that isolates the organization, situational judgment and discretion allow officers to utilize corrective and educational approaches that benefit both the university community and DS's acceptance into it. Dalhousie Security officers experience more satisfaction under the community-oriented approaches because this integrates them into the community they are protecting.

In reference to limitations, future research should specifically examine the unique experience of female security officers. While I did have two female officer participants, due to sick leave, holiday scheduling, and research time constraints, I did not have enough time to explore the female security officer experience. In a profession such as security that is stereotyped as male labour, female security officers are certain to have unique experience and insight. Also, a comparative study between campus police and campus security role satisfaction, and a comparative study between the experiences of rural campus security versus urban campus security would be fascinating research.

Finally, this fieldwork changed my perspective about DS more than I could have expected. Now I see that they have a much wider, multi-functional role to play that goes far beyond just enforcement and security. I am incredibly thankful for DS's participation in this research and my hope this ethnography will challenge other people's perspectives about Dalhousie Security as well.

References

- Borden Colley, S., & Mellor, C. (2015, February 7). Spring Garden Road reopens after bomb threat made on Twitter. *The Chronicle Herald*. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/metro/1267920-spring-garden-road-reopens-after-bomb-threat-made-on-twitter>
- Brobeck, K. (2014). Patrolling Borders: Symbolic Boundaries and the Culture of Campus Policing. *Sociological Insight*, 4, 4-21.
http://sites.utexas.edu/socinsight/files/2013/01/Sociological_Insight_6-revised.pdf
- CBC News. (2013) Surge in Private Security Raises Concern Over Rights. *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/surge-in-private-security-raises-concerns-over-rights-1.1335730>
- Chan, J. (1996). Changing Police Culture. *British Journal of Criminology*, 36(1), 109-134.
- Cockcroft, T. (2007). Chapter 3 Police Culture(s): some definitional methodological and analytical considerations. In O'Neill, Marks, M., Singh, A-M, (Eds.), *Police occupational culture new debates and directions* (p.47-84). Amsterdam; Oxford: Elsevier JAI.
- Constables Act, Revised Statutes of Canada (1989, c.87, s.1). Retrieved from the Nova Scotia Department of Justice website: <http://www.nslegislature.ca/legc/statutes/constab.htm>
- Cosby, C. (2010, September 20). Say Hello to the New Chief. *Dalhousie News*. Retrieved from <http://www.dal.ca/news/2010/09/20/mikeburns.html>
- Dalhousie University Senate Committee. (1972, July 4). *Role Responsibility and Control of Campus Police - Summary of Findings and Recommendations of the Committee*. Halifax: Dalhousie University.
- Dalhousie University. (2015). *Restorative Justice Project*. Retrieved from http://www.dal.ca/campus_life/student_services/student-rights-and-responsibilities/where-to-get-help/student-dispute-resolution/restorative-justice-project.html
- Fisher, B., Sloan, J. (1995). *Campus Crime Legal, Social, and Policy Perspectives*. Springfield: Charles C Thomas Publisher, Ltd.
- Foster, J. (1986). Professionalism and campus police officers. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 10(2), 222-235.
- Gomme, I., & Micucci, A. (1997). Loose connections: crime and policing on the university campus. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 27(1), 41-68.
- Halifax Police Arrest Man Downtown After Gun Report (2014, October 23). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/police-searching-downtown-halifax-after-report-of-man-with-rifle/article21255477/>

- Heinsler, J., Kleinman, S., Stenross, B. (1990). Making work matter: Satisfied detectives and dissatisfied campus police. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(3).
- Lanier, M. (1995). *Campus Crime legal, social, and policy perspectives*. Fisher B. & Sloan J. (Eds.). Springfield: Charles C Thomas Publisher, Ltd.
- Li, G. (2008). *Private Security and Public Policing*. (Juristat 85-002-X). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2008010/article/10730-eng.htm>
- Loftus, B. (March 01, 2010). Police occupational culture: Classic themes, altered times. *Policing and Society*, 20, 1, 1-20.
- Meuser, M., & L schper, G. (2002). Introduction: Qualitative Research in Criminology. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research Sozialforschung*, 3 (1). Retrieved from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/876>
- Murphy, C., & Clarke, C. (2005) *Re-imagining Policing in Canada*. D. Cooley (Ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Nova Scotia Department of Justice. (2007). *Regulating Private Security in Nova Scotia Discussion Paper* (Legislative Reform - Review of Private Security Industry 2007). Nova Scotia, Canada.
- Paoline, E., & Sloan, J., (2003). Variability in the organizational structure of contemporary campus law enforcement agencies: A national-level analysis. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 26(4), 612-639.
- Peak, K., Barthe, E., & Garcia, A. (2008). Campus Policing in America: A Twenty-Year Perspective. *Police Quarterly*, 11(2), 239-260.
- Private Investigators and Private Guards Act, Revised statutes of Canada, (1989, amended 1992, c.28, s.29). Retrieved from the Nova Scotia Department of Justice website: <http://nslegislature.ca/legc/statutes/privinvg.htm>
- Regolil, R. (1980). Police Professionalism and Role Conflict: A Comparison of Rural and Urban Departments. *Human Relations*, 33(4), 241-252.
- Reiner, R. (2000). *The politics of the police* (3rd ed.). Oxford ; Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Rigakos, G., (2002). *The new parapolice : Risk markets and commodified social control*. Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.
- Rigakos, G. S. (2008). *Nightclub : Bouncers, risk, and the spectacle of consumption*. Montr al, Qu bec: McGill-Queen's University Press.

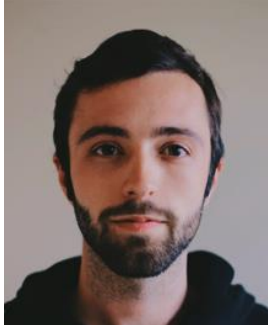
- Singh, A-M., Kempa, M. (2007). Chapter 12 Reflections on the study of private policing cultures: early leads and key themes. In O'Neill, M., Marks, M., Singh, A-M, (Eds.), *Police occupational culture new debates and directions* (p.297-320). Amsterdam; Oxford: Elsevier JAI.
- Sloan, J. J. (1992). Modern campus police: An analysis of their evolution, structure, and function *American Journal of Police*, 11(2), 85-104.
- Taber, J. (2015, February 14). Two Charged With Conspiracy To Commit Murder In Halifax Attack. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/mackay-halifax-mass-killings-plot-would-have-been-devastating/article23002993/>
- Thompson, A. (2015, March 11). Dalhousie's use of restorative justice in Facebook scandal gets expert praise. *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/dalhousie-s-use-of-restorative-justice-in-facebook-scandal-gets-expert-praise-1.2991078>
- U.S. Department of Justice (2012). *Community Policing Defined*. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office.
- Wada, J. C. (2007). *Betwixt and between: The perceived legitimacy of campus police*. (Ph.D., Washington State University). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/docview/304793225?accountid=10406>. (304793225).
- Waddington, P. (1999). Police (canteen) sub-culture. An appreciation. *British Journal of Criminology*, 39(2), 287-309.
- Willick, F. (2015). Dalhousie deals with fresh scandal. *The Chronicle Herald*. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/novascotia/1277271-dalhousie-deals-with-fresh-scandal>
- Wilson, C. P., & Wilson, S. A. (2011). Perceived Roles of Campus Law Enforcement: A Cognitive Review of Attitudes and Beliefs of Campus Constituents. *Professional Issues in Criminal Justice*, 6, 29-40.
- Wingrove, G., Chase, S., Curry, B., & Mahoney, J. (2014, October 22). Attack on Ottawa: PM Harper Cites Terrorist Motive. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/parliament-shooting/article21217602/?page=all>

Appendices

Appendix A: Oral Script Research Summary for Third-Parties encounters

“My name is Matthew Howe and I am a Social Anthropologist studying the organization and professional role of Dalhousie Security on campus. This is for my Honours Thesis project, which I’ll present and hand in in April. For my research, I’m observing security officers today so that I can better understand how they do their job, how they think about their profession and what their role is on campus. Please be assured I won’t use any details that identify you or anyone else at this scene in my research. Here’s a leaflet with my contact information if you’re interested.”

Appendix B: General-purpose Information Leaflet



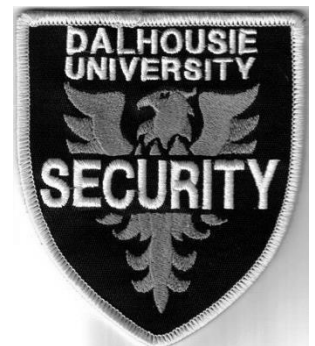
My name is Matthew

*Faculty of Arts and
Social Sciences*

Howe. I am a Dalhousie student doing my Honours Thesis in Social Anthropology looking at Dalhousie Security.

Dalhousie Security provides an important service to the university by guarding university property, protecting students, staff and faculty and ensuring safety on campus. While university members generally know of Dalhousie Security, most do not understand its duties or responsibilities. In addition, there are few studies of campus security services in the social science literature.

My research aim is to ride along with Dalhousie Security officers in order to observe and understand the professional role and responsibilities of a security officer. I will also be interviewing Dalhousie Security officers about their experiences. Thank you very much for your interest in my project. If you would like any further information about it, or if you would like to receive a report when I am finished (April 2015), please feel free to contact me at the following address.



Matthew Howe
Matthew.Howe@dal.ca
902-402-3545

Appendix C: Information letter and invitation to participate



*Faculty of Arts and
Social Sciences*

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

The Role of Dalhousie Security on Campus

You are invited to take part in research being conducted by me, Matthew Howe, an undergraduate student in Social Anthropology, as part of my honours degree at Dalhousie University. The purpose of this research is to understand how security officers feel about their role and the work they do on campus. While previous research has looked at police on campus, there has been little inquiry into the experience of campus security officers. I will research this topic through five ride-along sessions that will allow me to interview security officers, as well as to observe their duties and responsibilities. I will write up the results of this research in a paper for my class, called the honours thesis.

As a participant in the research you will be asked to allow me to ride-along with you while you conduct your Dalhousie Security duties. My aim is to spend five hours with you, allowing me to observe some of your duties and responsibilities. During quieter moments on the job I will ask questions for the purpose of learning about your experience as a security officer. I will be using an interview guide that will allow us to explore topics and themes of interest as they emerge through our time spent together. If I use any quotations from our conversations, I will use a pseudonym, not your real name, and I will remove any other details that could identify you from the quote.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You do not have to answer questions that you do not want to answer, and you are welcome to stop the interview at any time if you no longer want to participate. If you decide to stop participating after the interview, you can do so until March 1. I will not be able to remove the information you provided after that date, because I will have completed my analysis, but the information will not be used in any other research.

Information that you provide to me will be kept private and confidential. Although your managers may know which officers I accompany on which shift, and therefore which officers may have participated in the research, I will aim to keep information confidential by not recording your name or other identifying personal information in my notes. Only the honours class supervisor and I will have access to the unprocessed information you offer. I will describe and share the results of my

research in a presentation to the Sociology and Social Anthropology Department and in my honours thesis. Nothing that could identify you, such as your name or any other detail (e.g. dates or times) that could link you to specific incidents, will be included in the presentation or the thesis. I will retain anonymized information so that I can learn more from it as I continue with my graduate studies.

The risks associated with this study are minimal, but include the possibility of your managers figuring out who participated in this study. Otherwise, they are no greater than those you encounter in your everyday life. Should any difficult security situations arise as ride along with you, I will follow your lead on appropriate behaviour.

There will be no direct benefit to you for participating in this research and you will not receive compensation. The research, however, will contribute to new knowledge of the role of security on campus. If you would like to see how your information is used, please feel free to contact me and I will send you a copy of my honours thesis after April 30.

If you have questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact me or the honours class supervisor. My contact information is Matthew.Howe@dal.ca. You can contact the honours class supervisor, Dr Martha Radice, at the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Dalhousie University on (902) 494-6747, or email martha.radice@dal.ca.

If you have any ethical concerns about your participation in this research, you may contact Catherine Connors, Director, Research Ethics, Dalhousie University at (902) 494-1462, or email ethics@dal.ca.

Researcher's signature:

Date:

Appendix D: Oral Consent Script

MH: Have you read the letter of information about the research?

Participant: yes/no (If no, request they read it)

MH: I'd like to reiterate that you can choose not to answer any of my questions if you prefer, or even withdraw from the research any time up to March 1. Do you have any further questions about the research? (Answer any questions they have.)

MH: Do you agree to participate in the research?

Participant: yes/no

[I will make a note in my fieldnotes of the date and time of participant's consent, using a pseudonym for him/her.]

Appendix E: Interview Guides

Dalhousie Campus Security: Interview Guide for Security Officers

Matthew Howe. B00590890

Social Anthropology Honours Thesis 2014/15

Reminders:

- approach questions from the side
 - Espoused(things they believe they believe) values vs. in Use values (actual daily actions)
 - Hypothetical and vignette examples
 - Ask for elaboration
 - Look for: attitudes, values, and social norms,
-

Miscellaneous

- What tool in an “average toolbox” do you feel is a good metaphor for your role as a Dalhousie Security officer?

Work Experience and Professional Identity

- Employment history before Dalhousie Security:
 - “How did you hear about the job of working as Dalhousie Security?”
- Reasons for joining Dalhousie Security
 - “How long have you worked in this position?”
 - “Do you feel comfortable sharing your personal career goals?”
- What do you imagine as the role of Dalhousie Security?
- “What do you find is the most challenging part of this job”
 - Most unexpect part
- “Do you feel this job is personally rewarding?”
 - why/why not
 - what do you find is most rewarding part of this job
- “How has this job it changed perspective on students?”
- What did you think this job would be like before you joined and how has this perspective changed since becoming a Dalhousie Security officer?

Risk Management

- “What do you do when you’re on patrol? Where do you go? What are your tasks?”
- “What do you find is the most risky part of the job?”
 - How much risk do you feel exposed to doing this job
 - “How do *you* manage and prepare for those ‘What-if’ scenarios?”
- “How do you evaluate and regulate student behavior?”
 - especially related to Friday and Saturday nights when many students are drinking
- “What is the process when you or your co workers encounter drunk, volatile or belligerent students?”

Security, Legitimacy, Authority, and Law Enforcement

- Assess level of familiarity with the Canadian Criminal Code Act
- What is their “Bible” / manual

- what is guide for Dalhousie Security Officers in enforcing laws, rules and regulations?
- “Can you explain to me the amount of authority of Dalhousie Security has to exercise on campus”
 - Have any officers abuses this privilege that you are aware of?
 - How does limited powers affect your mandate of protecting university campus?
- Can you explain how it works between Dalhousie Security and “Designated Police Patrol” nights (as marked on the Dalhousie calendars)
 - How would you characterize your relationship as Dalhousie Security with the police?
 - How do you think police perceive Dal Security?
 - Has there ever been any conflict or stress between security and the police?
- “Do you ever receive phone calls from the community about students?”
- “Do you have (or did you used to have) any desire to join the police?”

Restorative Justice

- “Have you heard of the RS program?
 - if so, what do you think of the Restorative Justice program at Dal?”
 - “Do you think it works”
 - “How do you think it could be improved?”
- “What do you think trends of student drinking on campus?”
- “Do you think student drug use is on the rise or decline?”

Interview Guide Question Set 2

- For YOU what was the most challenging part about last night?
 - Do you think Howe security could have done more?
 - Do you think the police should have done more?
 - Do you feel there was good communication between other security officers
- How do you balance between the role of service person “with the keys” and security?
 - “If you could split it like a pie, how would you split the tasks of dal security?”
- What do you think about the security “climate” we’re living in? Specifically here in Canada and Halifax, Dalhousie more generally.
- Where do you derive satisfaction from the work?
 - What makes you most happy?
 - what gives you the most satisfaction
 - What is personally the discouraging or personally difficult?
- What is your office title? - Patrol officer?
- What is the official terminology when we’re clearing/checking the locks of a building?

- Do you think there is role conflict between what you have to deal with (fights, suspicious persons, security related tasks) and the role of others in DS who work more with the faculty and services?
- Do you see DS's law enforcement capacity decrease or increase into the future?
 - why?
 - How so and in what ways?
- What do you think of the DalSAFE app?
 - good idea?
 - do you think students will use it?
- What do you think about proposed uniform colour change?
- Some have suggested giving students more responsibility beyond being building attendants. Do you think that's a good idea?

Dalhousie Campus Security: Interview Guide for Mike Burns

Warm-up Questions

- Do you prefer Dalhousie Security or Security Services?
- If Dalhousie Security was a pie, what would the split of responsibilities?
- "What do you find is the most challenging part of this job?"
 - Most unexpected part
- "What would you say are some of the unique social aspects of this job?"
- What part about the job (if any) would you like to see the wider Dalhousie community understand or appreciate better?
- What do you think are the professional challenges for individuals are Dal Security officers?
- What tool in an average toolbox would you say describes the role of Dalhousie Security?

History and Organizational Information

- "Can you tell me about the history of Dalhousie Security?"
- "Do you know why Dalhousie chose to create a security service?"
 - Specific event or general need?
- "Can you please explain the organizational structure of Dalhousie Security."
 - Chain of command?
 - # of commanding officers
 - Role and influence of Student Services
 - Anne Forrestall Acting Vice-Provost, Student Affairs
- "What is Dalhousie Security's "Bible" / manual?"
 - Guide for enforcing rules, laws and regulations?

- “How would you describe the relationship between Dalhousie Security with faculty and students?”
- “What would you say are some of the unique social aspects of this job?”

Security, Legitimacy, Authority, and Law Enforcement

- What is guide for Dalhousie Security Officers in enforcing laws, rules and regulations?
 - “How does Dalhousie Security mitigate risk on campus?”
 - “Can you explain to me the amount of authority of Dalhousie Security has to exercise on campus”

Security Questions:

- Can you walk me through the Security Services rebranding process
 - where that desire came from?
 - what are the makes/elements of the mission statement you are working on?
- What’s the desire to move away from security/enforcement towards Security Services?

There is a difficult balance between security/enforcement and service related tasks.

- Could you tell me more about how you’re going through the rebranding process.
 - What have been some of the challenges?
- Has it proven difficult to get officers onboard with the rebranding?
- What areas of work would you like to see your officers find more satisfaction in?

In the past year Dalhousie and Nova Scotia more generally have experienced several threats to security: Downtown Shooter Suspect (October), Spring Garden Bomb threat (Feb), Averted shooter situation at Halifax Shopping Centre.

- What do you see as the future direction of Dalhousie Security?
- What areas do you see your authority either growing or contracting?

Globally, nationally and even locally, security and protection are becoming increasingly important.

- Do you think security and protection are a growing issue in Canada?
- What do you see as the role of Dalhousie Security in this?

Interview Question Set For Officer Jamie

- Could you tell me a bit about what you did before joining Dalhousie Security
- What tool in an average toolbox would you say describes the role of Dalhousie Security?

- What do you think are the professional challenges for individuals are Dal Security officers?
 - What is most challenge or unexpectedly challenging for you?
- How would you characterize the relationship between Dal Security and Students?
 - Do you see areas in need of immediate improvement?
- Mike suggested I ask you to tell me about how you've build lines of communication with students and residence life staff.
- Tell me about your social media strategy and how the corporate side of Dal feels about your twitter.
- What this job has taught you or changed your opinion about?
- From my experience as a student and conducting observation, alcohol seems to be the biggest substance concern for DS, would you say that is an accurate assessment?

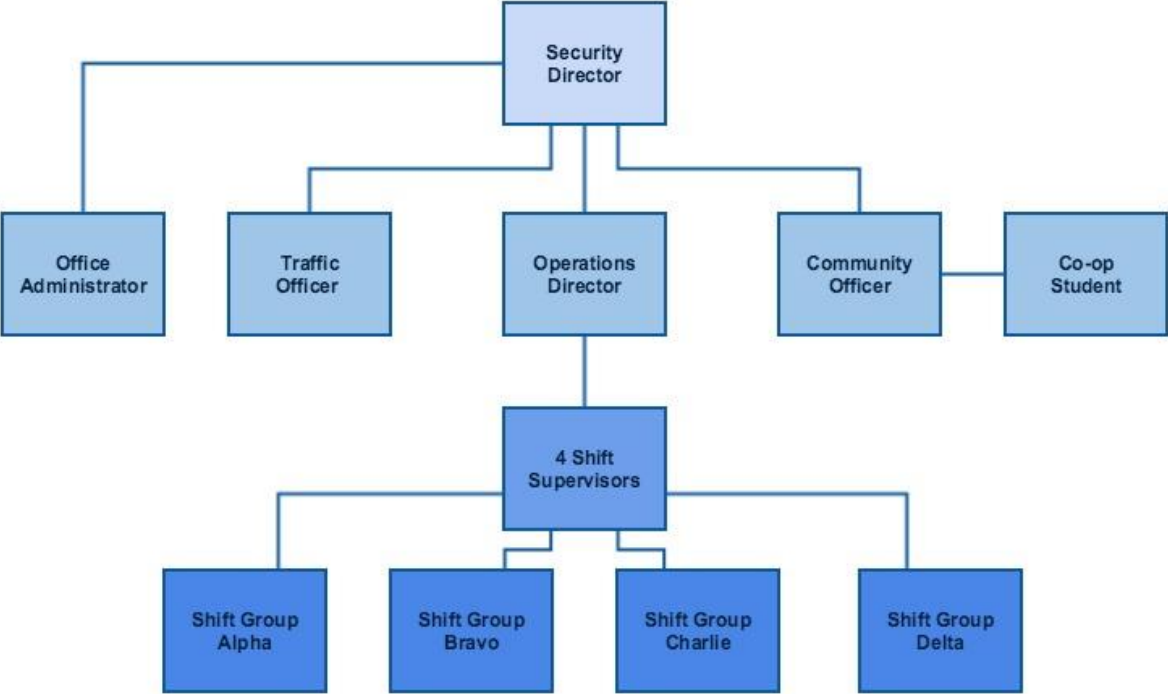
In the past year Dalhousie and Nova Scotia more generally have experienced several threats to security: Downtown Shooter Suspect (October), Spring Garden Bomb threat (Feb), Averted shooter situation at Halifax Shopping Centre.

- What do you see as the future direction of Dalhousie Security?
- What areas do you see your authority either growing or contracting?

Appendix F: Codebook and Cipher

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sypher</u>
Auth	Authority
Anx	Anxieties
Enforc	Law and rule enforcement
Facs	Faculty
Gen	Gender
PLC	Police
Legit	Legitimacy
Masc	Masculinity
Ops	Operations/ Operational Tasks
Rol	Professional role
Rsk	Risk
Rsk Mgm	Risk Management
S-Type	Stereotype
Stu	Students
SX	Sexuality
SXC	Sexuality on Campus
Txt	Text/ role in institution
V.C.	Chevy Volt electric Car
P.I	Professional Identity
I.E.	Institutional Ethnography
M.B.	Mike Burns
R.J.	Restorative Justice
W.T.	Walkie-Talkie used
↓ [word]	“Punching Down” Remark made towards [insert word]
↑ [word]	“Punching Up” Remark made towards [insert word]

Appendix G: Dalhousie Security Organizational Structure



Appendix H: DalSafe App



DALHOUSIE
UNIVERSITY

DalSAFE

@DalSecurity Feed

Apr 13 - RT @somardrawoh: Howe finds Dal security have 'multi-tool' role, rely on pragmatic judgement, and are expanding to a community oriented on



Emergency
Contacts



Tiger Patrol



Campus Map



Human Rights
& Harassment



Health &
Wellness



Critical
Incident
Response



Duress Alarm



Safety
Toolbox

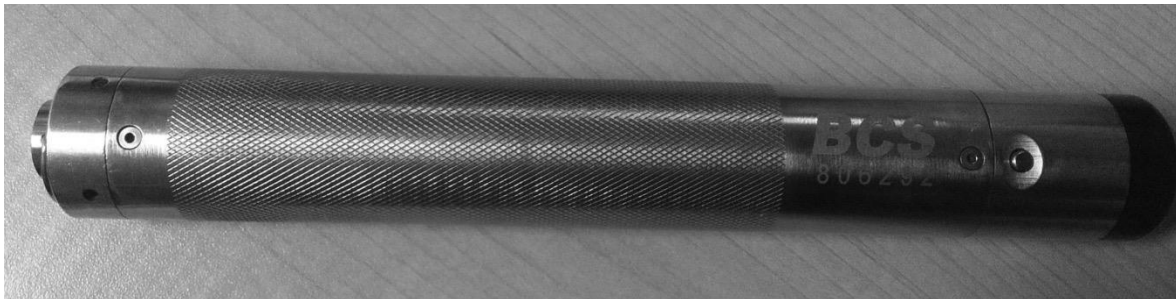


Parking at Dal

Appendix I: Fieldwork Photos



Appendix I1: Supervisor Glen at the operations desk with his dog's pink sunglasses wallpaper



Appendix I2: Security wand device



Appendix I3: Dalhousie Security officers take victim and witness statements



Appendix I4: Dalhousie Security (yellow dots) escorts the police (blue dots) and the arrested male (red dot) out of the residence hall



Appendix I5: Officers light the candles for Officer Gary's birthday cake



Appendix I6: Officer conducting roof inspection



Appendix I7: Example of Gerber Multi-tool
