CAMPUS POLICING PRACTICES AND LEGITIMACY IN DIFFERENT

COMMUNITY CONTEXTS: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF STUDENT

PERSPECTIVES

by

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ABSTRACT

Although college and university campus police are sworn law enforcement officers tasked with the same duties and responsibilities of other local law enforcement officers, they are in a unique situation because of the unique populations they serve. There is very little known about how their main constituency, undergraduate students, perceive them and how these perceptions are formed. The few studies that have examined this issue indicate that student perceptions run the gamut, with some viewing campus police as glorified security guards, and others viewing them as legitimate law enforcement authorities (Davis, 2007; Smith, 1989). The present study draws on findings in literature on traditional forms of policing to identify how students view their campus police in terms of satisfaction with campus police services (Ferrandino, 2012) and perceptions of campus policing legitimacy (Tyler, 1990) based on two primary factors: (1) students' direct and vicarious interactions/experience with campus police (or lack thereof) and, (2) the community context in which campuses are situated. Two universities in the Northeastern United States were selected for this study: one in a large metropolitan area and the other in a small, suburban town. Each is a public institution, is of similar geographic size, and has similar crime problems. Semi-structured interviews with students on both campuses were analyzed using an inductive approach of constant comparison. Findings here indicate that, while there are some similarities in students' levels of satisfaction with the duties that campus police fulfill in each environment, there are some stark differences in perceptions of procedural fairness and resulting views of legitimacy on each respective campus. Students on the suburban campus reported several direct or vicarious experiences in which the campus police treated them or someone they know in unfair or potentially unethical ways and as a result they indicated that they dislike and/or do not trust their campus police, particularly in comparison to other local law enforcement they have encountered. In contrast, students on the urban campus reported that their campus police treat students in fair and respectful ways and they did not indicate a dislike or distrust of them in regard to procedural treatment.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONT'D)

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Interest in crime and policing on college and university campuses has increased in

recent years due to high profile events and increased public attention regarding campus

crime and safety. Concerns about emergency situations, like the potential for active

shooters, have continued to grow, leading many campus police departments to develop

new emergency notification procedures and engage in intensive training for active shooter

scenarios (Wilson & Wilson, 2012). Additionally, there have recently been concerns

raised about the numbers of sexual assaults occurring on campuses across the United

States and the improper handling of cases, both administratively by the schools and in

investigation and response by campus police (White House Task Force to Protect

Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). A resurgence of campus-based protests in recent

years has also focused public attention on campus police and has called into question

some of the methods used to maintain order, including use of pepper spray on non-violent

protestors (Gordon, 2014). Much of these recently highlighted issues of crime on campus

involve the relationship of the campus police to the student body. While there are

numerous media and anecdotal accounts highlighting the dynamics of this student-

policing relationship, there has been little empirical work performed on the topic. The

overall purpose of this study is to begin filling this gap in the literature by assessing

undergraduate students' self-reported perceptions of and experiences with the campus

police that serve their campus communities in different campus environments, namely,

urban and suburban environments.

There has been some study of the perceptions of students and others regarding

campus police, but most work has been limited to differences based on age, race, and

gender. While these are important characteristics, there are other factors that have been

identified as important in shaping citizen perceptions of policing in general that have yet

to be examined with regard to the specific nature of the student-campus police

relationship. Within the literature on more traditional forms of policing, neighborhood

context can greatly impact the ways in which police are perceived (Brunson & Weitzer,

2009; Leiderbach, 2005; Lia & Zhao, 2010, Wu, Sun, and Triplett, 2009). Applying this

to campus policing, the type of community in which a college or university campus is

situated may contribute to specific crime problems, the types of activities that campus

police are involved in, the methods used by the police department to prevent and control

crime, and the ways in which they interface or interact with students on campus. All of

this and the general atmosphere of a particular type of community are likely to impact the

way students perceive their campus police. For the purposes of this study the terms

neighborhood, community, or municipality are used broadly to identify the larger

geographic city or town in which the university campuses are located[1].

Within the literature on policing, there has also been a great deal of work focused

on citizen perceptions of the police in the form of overall satisfaction with police, citizen

feelings about safety in their communities, and views on the legitimacy of policing

authorities, as well as identification of a number of factors that influence these

perceptions. This work has been focused on citizen perceptions of a variety of different

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[1] This decision was made because defining neighborhoods or communities for research purposes remains fairly challenging, with no standards of which to speak. According to Wright (1997), "Defining neighborhood boundaries has long perplexed urban scholars. Rather than consensus, decades of theoretical inquiry and empirical research have produced nearly as many typologies and methods for defining neighborhoods as there are studies on the topic." Additionally, according to Weiss, Ompad, Galea, and Vlaov (2007) defining a neighborhood is subjective, even amongst residence of a given place. Use of "neighborhood" or "community" to describe the entire geographic city or town is likely to ensure that analysis of information provided by students regarding the area surrounding each campus is properly characterized.

types of police departments, from large metropolitan forces to small rural departments, and everything in between, with neighborhood context specifically identified as one factor that may influence citizen perceptions of police. However, college and university campus policing is one sector of policing that has received far less attention than other types of police departments with regard to perceptions by the main group of people they serve, namely, undergraduate students. On the one hand, this is surprising, not only because of the increased prominence in attention to campus crime in recent years but also given the fact that campus police departments are a normal, routine facet of campus life today. In terms of the number of campus police officers, Reaves (2008) surveyed campus police departments in the United States and found that at that time, there were 13,000 sworn law enforcement officers serving 750 campus communities[2]. Campus policing is also in no way a new phenomenon, with some form of policing on campus in existence for nearly 120 years. According to Bordner and Petersen (1983), campus policing was created at Yale University in 1894, when the need for dedicated police service to the Yale campus community was identified. Two officers from the local New Haven, Connecticut police force were transferred to the campus full time, as employees of the university. Over time, other colleges and universities began to follow suit and created campus police departments of their own that have continued to grow in size and increase in levels of professionalism at a rate similar to the increases in professionalism in their metropolitan and municipal counterparts (Bordner & Petersen, 1983; Peak, Barthe & Garcia, 2006). While there has been a relatively long history of policing on college and university

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[2] Reaves' (2005) sample was limited to 4-year institutions with an enrollment of 2,500 or more students and 2-year institutions with an enrollment of 10,000 or more students. According to the U.S. Department of Education, there are 4,599 4-year and 2-year degree granting post-secondary institutions in the United States, so the number of sworn campus police officers at all forms of colleges and universities is likely to be much larger.

campuses in the United States, modern campus policing as it is known today had its roots

in changing campus environments and some specific incidents which occurred in the

1960s. According to Ferrandino (2012):

> The 1960s changed campus life, with events such as Charles Whitman sniping from the clock tower at the University of Texas, four students being shot at Kent State, and the breakup of student sit-ins protesting Vietnam as occurred at the University of Wisconsin….Court rulings began to limit the *in loco parentis* doctrine in higher education and hold college more responsible, legally, for victimization incurred on campus, essentially requiring colleges to not only warn students of potential harm but to provide a secure environment (Ferrandino, 2012, p.302).

Since campus police have a long history, and events in more recent times have brought

attention to issues of safety and policing on college and university campuses, it is

surprising that this particular form of policing has been largely overlooked by

criminologists. Sloan (1992) summarizes Bordner and Petersen's (19983) explanation

for:

> A lack of interest in campus policing as a product of (1) The campus protest literature of the 1960s and 1970s [having] virtually ignored the role of campus police in quelling student unrest…; (2) The fact that historically [until more recent times] campus police have been little more than custodians…; and (3) The fact that modern campus police did not originate until the late 1960s and early 1970s. (p. 85)

One potential additional reason for the lack of focus on this topic may be due to the fact

that campus police officers are in a unique situation among law enforcement officers

because of the populations they serve, namely, college and university communities which

are predominantly made up of young undergraduate students. The label of "campus" as

opposed to "metropolitan" or "municipal" may classify them, at best, as something other

than or different from other local police, and at worst, as something lesser than other

forms of local police. However, in most states in the U.S., university campus police

officers are sworn law enforcement personnel who receive training, carry firearms,

investigate criminal activity and enforce laws in much the same way as their metropolitan

and municipal counterparts (M. Shoulars, personal communication, September 9, 2013).

The work of campus police is somewhat unique because of the unique population

that they serve. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2005), "Campus law

enforcement officers patrol colleges and universities, providing a quicker response time

to incidents on campus than local police, and offer campus-specific services not

necessarily available from local policing organizations" (n.p.). These other services are

the result of some of the particular needs of a college or university campus, which usually

has a large population of young adult residents, living in close quarters, who require

specific services like transportation, campus escorts, or, in more recent times, access to

emergency information via text message, online notification, or some other form of

immediate communication. Wilson and Wilson (2012) summarize the role and function

of campus police as police and campus representatives in the following manner:

> The modern campus law enforcement agencies provide many of the same
> services, and more, albeit in a more microcosmic community. Most of these
> agencies incorporate the same community-oriented policing concepts, provide
> escort services and student and faculty training sessions in both personal and
> community safety procedures, and directly interact with members of the campus
> community in both professional and social settings. And as society becomes more
> complex, and crime spreads to every facet of life, institutions across the nation
> have been charged with the responsibility of providing a safe educational,
> working, and living environment on campus for employees, faculty, and students,
> alike. (Wilson and Wilson, 2012, p. 143-144)

Regardless of inattention from criminologists or perceptions of the general public,

these unique services provided by campus police may have some impact on the ways in

which their student populations perceive them; Wilson and Wilson (2011) report that

perceptions vary, with some viewing campus police as glorified security guards, while

others view them as legitimate police forces. However, these remark are not backed up

with empirical data and do not identify factors that shape these differing perceptions. There are likely several factors that influence college and university student perceptions or their campus policing, including their experiences with police overall and specifically with the police on their campus, and other factors that are noted as impacting general views of police, including age, race, and other demographic characteristics. These will be discussed in some detail in subsequent chapters. Drawing from policing literature, the present study, based on qualitative interviews with students at two universities, will focus on student experiences and interactions with campus police as well as the community context of the areas in which campuses are situated. The goal is to determine whether or not these factors, as well as others that may be discussed in interviews, may play a role in shaping student perceptions of the police that serve their respective campuses.

RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Using semi-structured interviews, the goal of this study is to compare student views of campus police in urban and suburban settings. This has previously been done to look at perceptions of more traditional metropolitan and municipal police, but not campus police specifically. This qualitative comparative study of students in urban and suburban university settings is designed to investigate issues related particularly to student perceptions of campus police in terms of students' (1) overall feelings about safety and security on their respective campuses and the role that campus police play in maintaining that safety, (2) level of overall satisfaction with their campus police in fulfilling what students perceive to be their official duties, and (3) understanding and definition of the role that campus police fulfill on campus, including whether or not campus police are perceived as legitimate law enforcement officers within each campus setting. Identifying

these factors and the potential reasons behind student perceptions of campus police in varying campus environments is important for a numbers of reasons.

First, as stated above, campus policing is a very large sector of the policing profession, but it has also been largely overlooked from a research perspective. This study will begin to fill the existing gap in the research literature on college and university policing by examining the factors that shape the way they are perceived by the students they serve. Because campus police do have some duties that may set them apart from other police, it is important to study and the ways in which their constituents perceived them and the nature of their work as part of gaining an overall understanding of policing and the dynamics of the student- police relationship in the college and university environment.

Secondly, because colleges and universities in the United States exist in a variety of neighborhood types, from large urban centers, to small rural towns, examining student experiences and perceptions of campus police at campuses within two different neighborhood environments should be helpful in identifying a variety of similarities and/or differences in student perceptions within or between these different neighborhood contexts. Put another way, campuses come in all shapes and sizes, are situated in very different types of neighborhoods, and these neighborhood differences are likely to impact student experience with crime, policing, and safety. The two universities selected for this study are both public institutions in the Northeastern United States, and while they will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 3, they have similar numbers of undergraduate students and campus police officers, are of similar geographic size, and have similar campus crime problems (i.e., underage drinking, property crimes, etc.). The primary

difference between the two schools is that one is located in a city in a large metropolitan area, and the other in a small, suburban town.

Thirdly, results of this study may be helpful in assisting campus police in varying environments better engage their student populations. Having an understanding of how the students they serve see them may be valuable for community-based policing initiatives, on-campus events involving students and campus police, or development or modification of existing police services, like shuttle services, emergency notifications, the ways in which campus police deal with student offenders, and the like. According to Mbuba (2010), "it is crucial that the major correlates of the community perceptions towards police be unraveled in order to develop a sound basis of formulating working police-community relations in the age of community-oriented policing and problem solving" (p. 210). Results of this study may be helpful for campus police in creating new policies and procedures or modifying existing ones to align with the ways in which their student populations view them.

And finally, the few studies that have focused on campus policing have been quantitative in nature. The qualitative approach to this study should allow for a rich, in-depth understanding of how undergraduate students perceive and formulate these perceptions of campus police. Students were not only asked to share their overall views about their campus police, but where appropriate, were asked follow-up questions about their initial responses to further elucidate and explain the origins of these perceptions. This expansion in scope would not be possible in the administration of a quantitative data collection instrument, such as a survey. The methods used for this study will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3; however, while the overall focus of this study is on differences between student perceptions in suburban and urban campus environments,

there are some other factors that were identified through the coding of student interviews as having an influence on student perceptions of campus police. These include, to a varying extent, experience with other law enforcement personnel, aspiring to become or currently working a police officer or in the justice system themselves, and the context of the neighborhood or community that each student considered to be their hometowns. The open-ended nature of the interview guide [See Attachment 2] developed for this study and analysis of the resulting data, based on an inductive, grounded theory approach using open coding and constant comparison of data, will be better able to capture any additional factors shaping student perceptions of campus police that are not explicitly accounted for in the study design.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The primary question guiding this study is, do undergraduate students at universities in urban and suburban settings have different views of the police that serve their respective campuses and if so, how are these views shaped? The study will also address the following additional questions:

- How safe do students feel on campus, and do students equate levels of safety with the duties of campus police? Do feelings of safety differ across neighborhood context or other context?

- What are students' overall levels of satisfaction with their campus police with regard to performance of policing duties and their police work? Does satisfaction with services differ across neighborhood context or other contexts?

- Do students on each respective campus see their campus police as fulfilling the same role as other local police they are aware of or have encountered? If not, why?

- Do students' interactions and/or experiences with campus police (or lack thereof) impact their overall satisfaction with campus police services or their view of campus police legitimacy? Or is satisfaction with technical efficiency a factor that is independent from perceptions of legitimacy and aspects of procedural justice?

- What, if any, role does the context of students' hometown environment or the environment of other undergraduate institutions they may have attended play in perceptions of their campus police?

OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation consists of seven chapters and an appendix. Chapter 2 will present an exhaustive review of existing literature on campus police as policing authorities, and perceptions of police, campus policing, based on several demographic characteristics and neighborhood context. Chapter 3 will describe the research methods to be employed, including discussion of how student respondents were be selected, description of the interview guide developed to collect data on student perceptions, a detailed discussion on how data has be analyzed, and identification of potential limitations and ways to address them. Chapter 3 will also include detailed descriptions of the two universities selected for this study and the communities in which they are embedded. Chapter 4 will present student views of safety on their campuses, their general feelings about police presence, and the actual visibility of campus police on each campus

in the form of students' experience seeing police on patrol. Chapter 5 will present student views of and experience with the official functions of police on each campus, including police response to calls for service, campus investigations, other dealings with campus police in their official capacity, unique service provisions, and comparisons of these formal policing duties between campus and other police forces. Chapter 6 will present student experiences with campus police that have shaped their views of the procedural fairness and legitimacy of campus police in each location. And finally, Chapter 7 will discuss the implications of this research for theory and campus policing practice; the strengths and any limitations to the data, results, and scope of the study; and recommendations for further research on the nature of the campus police-student relationship. An appendix includes institutional review board (IRB) approval from both universities involved in the study, the interview guide used for the study, and a sample copy of the consent form utilized.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The importance of student perceptions of campus police and student descriptions of their experiences, both direct and vicarious, with campus police in different university settings cannot be overstated. Exploring these particular factors is important for understanding the dynamics of the student-campus police relationship and other feature of campus policing. However, as stated in Chapter 1, there has been very little empirical study of this particular aspect of the student-campus police relationship. There is a large body of literature that addresses equivalent issues of citizen perceptions of and experiences with the municipal and metropolitan police that serve their communities. There is also a great deal of literature regarding neighborhood context and perceptions of crime, policing and safety that also holds relevance to the current study. This chapter will address a variety of pertinent issues regarding campus police as law enforcement practitioners and the implications of differences, real or perceived, between campus and other local police. Additionally, this chapter will include discussion of student and citizen perception of and experiences with campus and other local police as well as related issues of policing, safety, and risk in urban, suburban, and rural areas.

CAMPUS POLICING AND THE "AMERICAN POLICING PARADIGM"

Campus police are unique because of the nature of the communities they serve, but there are additional facets and features of campus police beyond merely the type of community served that set them apart from metropolitan and municipal police agencies. Some of these differences may result in giving campus police an advantage over other local law enforcement agencies, while others may leave them at a disadvantage. The

overall similarities and differences between campus and other local police that have been

identified by researchers are described below in greater detail.

Similarities between Campus Police and Other Local Police

      While every state is somewhat different in how they define the roles and

responsibilities of campus police as well as other forms of local police, most public

colleges and universities within the United States have sworn law enforcement officers

who carry firearms and are identified by law as having the same responsibility to enforce

and uphold the law as other local police in a given state (Schmalleger, 2014). As a result,

campus police departments generally engage in similar law enforcement activities as

other local police, including responding to calls for service, engaging in criminal

investigation, apprehending offenders, and maintaining order. A 2006 survey of campus

police departments across the United States indicates that investigations and crime

prevention were the highest priority activities as reported by campus policing

administrators (Peak, Barthe, and Garcia, 2008). A similar survey by the Bureau of

Justice Statistics indicates that nearly all large 4-year colleges and universities engage in

criminal investigations, respond to calls for service, and provide special security and

order maintenance services consistent with activities of other local police (Reaves, 2008).

Campus police have also been found to possess an organizational structure[3] and standard

operating procedures that are similar to those of metropolitan and municipal police

departments (Paoline & Sloan, 2003).

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[3]Paoline and Sloan (2003) defined the organizational structure of policing based on functional differentiation of units with a police department, vertical differentiation (i.e. the "height") of department hierarchy from line officer to chief or administrator, the number of sworn versus non-sworn personnel, the proportion of personnel assigned to law enforcement versus administrative duties, the size of geographic jurisdiction of a department, and the amount of department formalization in terms of written policies, procedures, and standards of behavior. They found that campus police and other types of local police departments were very similar with regard to these features of organizational structuring.

In addition to traditional law enforcement duties, campus police at many colleges and universities also engage in a great deal of service-oriented activities that are typically not associated with other local police. Some of these include building access control, fire prevention education, and parking enforcement and administration, which are all specific and unique functions required by college and university communities (Reaves, 2008; Peak, Barthe, and Garcia, 2008). The size of the school, in terms of enrollment, may be a factor in which functions are engaged in most often by campus police. Campus police at schools with smaller student bodies engage in all of the traditional law enforcement activities discussed here but, in comparison to campuses with larger student populations, police at smaller schools tend to engage in more security-oriented and public safety services that are unique to campus law enforcement than campuses with larger enrollment (Reaves, 2008). While the reason for this is not specified within the survey by Reaves (2008), it is possible that this is because many larger schools (including the two schools selected for this study) separate their public safety and security services from law enforcement activities by having both sworn law enforcement who work as campus police and unsworn service personnel who act as security guards, campus escorts, and administrative support staff.

Even with the separation of law enforcement and public safety on many college and university campuses, sworn campus police officers on all campuses tend to engage in other service-oriented activities that do not necessarily involve their law enforcement expertise. These include response to non-emergency calls, crowd control, and security for events held in campus facilities (Reaves, 2008). While campus police may be seen as different from other local, municipal, and metropolitan policing forces for doing so, other local police also tend to engage in similar service-oriented work that has very little to do

with law enforcement. According to Schmalleger (2014), only about 10-20% of the work performed by a typical local police officer, metropolitan, municipal, or otherwise, involves actual enforcement of the law and direct contact with individuals who have allegedly engaged in criminal behavior. The remainder of their time is spent dealing with non-emergency calls, finalizing paperwork and providing security services at places like sporting and entertainment venues (Schamalleger, 2014). In this regard, the actual day to day work of campus police officers may be no different from that of other local police officers in terms of time spent dealing with alleged offenders and addressing violations of the law. Bordner and Petersen (1983) identify this in comparing campus and other local police:

> [Municipal] Policemen usually engage in numerous activities that are only tangentially related to their responsibilities in law enforcement and…only a limited percentage of police work involves law enforcement….In reality, much of university police work on an everyday basis involves duties of a perfunctory, low level, clerical, security and service nature…[and] is not related to criminal behavior….Like their municipal counterparts, in many ways university police are more of a service organization than a law enforcement organization. (p. 17, 155)

All local police then, campus or otherwise, perform similar duties and functions both in terms of the type and extent of direct law enforcement activities as well as other duties not specifically related to their role as law enforcement officers. In addition to serving similar functions, other researchers have concluded that due to increases in the overall number of people enrolling in undergraduate programs, as well as increases in the diversity of these students, colleges and universities are in effect small cities or towns and as such, have the same crime problems that are seen in small cities and towns (Griffith, 2004; Ray 1991). If this is the case, campus police ideally serve the same purpose, have similar responsibilities, and address similar criminal activities and issues as their other local policing counterparts.

DIFFERENCES RESULTING IN POTENTIAL ADVANTAGE FOR CAMPUS POLICE

Even if campus police are no different from other local police in terms of

provision of services and overall function in general, there is a perception of campus

police as something different from other police. According to Falcone and Gehrand

(2003):

> Because campus police are charged with a number of activities and
> responsibilities not necessarily associated with the law enforcement focus of
> urban police, they are accorded less status within the paradigm of American
> policing. This is similar to the reduced status found among other non-
> metropolitan policing agencies like the sheriff and military police, who also have
> security functions inherent in their organization missions. Nonetheless, campus
> police are an important element of the larger mosaic of policing in the United
> States, and must be studied in order to more fully appreciate the complex
> apparatus that comprises the American policing function. (p. 66)

Campus police may be seen as something unique or different in comparison to more

traditional forms of policing due to the nature of some of the services they provide. This

could also merely be an artifact of the "campus police" label and does not necessarily

translate into campus police as "lesser" police who serve less important functions than

their other local policing counterparts. Police officers on most college and university

campuses (including the two schools that serve as the focus of this study) are sworn law

enforcement officers who are subject to the same educational and training requirements

as their municipal or metropolitan counterparts in their respective states. Campus and

other local police may serve the same overall purpose and range of services, but there are

some notable differences in training, education, and policing orientations and strategies.

In many cases, campus police officers actually have higher levels of education and

campus police departments have more stringent requirements in considering recruits for

policing positions than do their municipal and metropolitan policing counterparts.

According to Reaves (2008), campus police departments are more likely to require a

college degree as a condition of employment than other local police departments. Campus policing administrators, such as chiefs and/or directors also tend to have more advanced degrees. Peak, Barthe, and Garcia (2008) report an upward trend in the number of campus policing administrators obtaining masters degrees or doctorates since 1986. With regard to community policing, Reaves (2008) also reports that campus police departments are more likely to include assessment of potential recruits' community relation skills than other local police departments. This assessment includes examination of problem-solving abilities, understanding of cultural diversity, and conflict management skills (Reaves, 2008). Additionally, campus police recruit a greater percentage of women and minorities as police officers than other local police departments (Bromely & Reaves, 1998). This is an important and noteworthy difference because, in conjunction with an increased focus on community engagement, having a diverse policing force that is more representative of the population served is likely to enhance community-police relations quite extensively. As a result of the training, educational requirements, and recruiting strategies employed by campus police departments, campus police officers and administrators are generally more highly educated than their local policing counterparts and officers in particular are also potentially better equipped at dealing with the members of the community in interactions/encounters and in addressing crime problems within that campus community.

Training and education are obviously very important factors in comparing campus and other forms of policing, but the increased community focus may be one of the best assets of campus police departments when comparing them to other local police. Community policing is a policing model that many local law enforcement agencies, campus or otherwise, have begun to embrace over that last few decades. There are many recognized benefits of community policing practices for many kinds of police

departments; these techniques seem specifically conducive to dealing with crime on campus. According to the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) Community-Orientated Policing Services (COPS) program:

> Community policing is a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies, which support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime. ("Community Policing Defined", n.d., p. 3)

Within a campus environment this translates into partnerships with the school's administration at various levels, additional partnerships with student organizations, and an increased effort to engage with members of the student body on a day to day basis, beyond just interacting with them as a result of calls for service and/or criminal activity. A majority (69%) of all colleges and universities in the United States indicate that engaging in community policing activities is included in their respective campus security policies and many campuses, whether they have an explicit community policing policy or not, regularly engage in discussions about crime and safety with faculty and staff (84%), students (83%), and student organizations like fraternities and sororities (57%) (Reaves, 2008). Campus community policing also results in a variety of community-oriented strategies for addressing campus crime. The DOJ's COPS program has specific resources that campus police can use from a community policing perspective to address common forms of campus crime in three broad categories: (1) Drinking, Drugs and Related Issues, (2) Gender-Related Threats (i.e., rape, sexual assault, and stalking), and (3) General Campus Safety and Crime Problems (i.e., theft from vehicles, vandalism, security and planning for major special events) ("Campus Safety Through Community Policing," n.d.). Focusing on community engagement and partnerships to deal with crime may be

uniquely appropriate for college and university campuses. According to Falcone and

Gehrand (2003):

> Under the traditional/professional model, policing is a formal extension of the criminal justice system, and in theory is formally and legally accountable to the system. By way of contrast, community-oriented campus policing is an extension of the campus community with its normative value system and attendant organizational structure. (p. 64)

Put another way, college and university environments tend to consist primarily of young

undergraduate students living in close quarters in a somewhat self-contained community

focused on higher education that is separate even from the larger cities or towns in which

these campuses are situated. While campuses require policing functions like that of cities

and towns, there is a quite literal collegial nature that a college or university campus has

that a typical city or town does not have. The members of the community - students, and

faculty, staff, and administration alike - have a shared responsibility for and a shared goal

in being a part of an academic community. These shared responsibilities and goals

include the attainment of higher education, production of scholarly research, a fostering

of community through socialization and a shared sense of identity as belonging to the

college or university through groups, organizations, sports teams, and the like. It could

be argued that one of the primary goals of community policing is to foster a sense of

shared responsibility through community partnerships specifically in addressing and

preventing crime in a community. In this case, this policing orientation aligns nicely with

existing mechanisms of shared identity and shared responsibility for the welfare of the

community and those individuals who make up the community on college and university

campuses. With campus police more likely than other local police to select recruits based

on (1) the goal of representing the demographics of the campus community in the form of

hiring more women and minorities as sworn officers and (2) on recruits' proficiency in

typical community policing skills including problem-solving abilities, understanding of cultural diversity, and conflict management skills, they are leveraging the existing features of campus life to their benefit as law enforcement officers who control campus crime and as representatives of their schools who are actively engaged in the campus community.

DIFFERENCES RESULTING IN POTENTIAL DISADVANTAGE FOR CAMPUS POLICE

Despite organizational equivalencies, similarities in law enforcement, service provisions, and the types of crimes addressed, and an increased focus on education and community-oriented officers within campus police departments, there are some other potential differences between campus police and other local police. These particular differences may indicate deficiencies or potential disadvantage in the implementation and execution of policing practice in campus police departments; these potential deficiencies and disadvantages may account for the differential perception of campus policing versus other local policing and cast campus policing in a negative light in comparison to other policing forces. First of all, recent comparative studies of campus and municipal police indicate stark differences in the efficiency and efficacy of these two types of local policing. In a study of campus and municipal police in Florida, Ferrandino (2012) found that campus police are much less efficient in their duties as police based on number of officers and amount of policing activities they perform:

> In order to be technically efficient with their given levels of sworn officer inputs, these departments [i.e., campus police departments] would have to produce more traffic citations (a 258% increase of actual output), handle more index crimes (a 165% increase), and make more arrests (281% increase). (p. 313).

Clearly, this study is focused on measureable forms of policing based on outcomes related primarily to traditional types of reactive crime control after a crime or illegal act

has occurred. It does not account for other policing activities including the aforementioned community policing orientation which may lead to proactive prevention of crime. The handling of crime in the form of arrest, citations, and investigation of serious offenses is an important function of any police department, but there are obviously a diverse set of activities, duties, and functions that are not as easily measured and are not included in this study. However, since the outputs that Ferrandino (2012) is speaking about do qualify as more traditional forms of police work, and the findings indicate that campus police fall short with regard to this particular form of policing, there does seem to be a difference in the ways in which campus police actually function in comparison to other local police.

A second related issue also specific to campus police and their day to day responsibilities is the fact that the level of policing needs change seasonally since the population of a given campus dwindles rapidly during breaks and over the summer. Ferrandino (2012) contrasts campus police with other local police saying:

> Most municipal agencies police continuously, despite some lulls, while campus police have many periods of inactivity that may impact their ability to produce [a measurable] output (holidays, weekends, semester breaks, etc.) suggesting that they will always be less efficient comparatively. (Ferrandino, 2012, p.315)

The nature of the work of a municipal or metropolitan police force stays relatively consistent over the year and across years because unlike colleges and universities, the population does not increase or decrease severely several times a year. That is not to say that campus police do not have the same responsibilities and functions when there are fewer students on campus over breaks and across the summer. This does mean that the number of people that campus police are sworn to protect as well as the number of people they may need to encounter due to the fact that they have experiences some form of

victimization, and/or arrest due to the fact that they engaged in some form of criminal

behavior is substantially lower at off times of the academic year. Put another way,

campus police still perform all of their regular functions during these times, but not quite

as extensively due to the practical matter of fewer people within the campus environment

during these off times. While this may not necessarily translate into a true deficiency in

comparison to other local police forces, it is likely that this may account for some of the

lower outcome measures found by Ferrandino (2012) and at the very least, indicates that

campus police officers engage in fewer traditional policing activities with measurable

outcomes (i.e., citations, arrests, investigations, etc.) because they have less opportunity

to do so when the population they serve does dwindle as specific times during the year.

Thirdly, in an issue somewhat related to the technical efficiency of campus police,

there are a number of different viewpoints related to the arming of campus police officers

and as a result, while a majority of campus police departments do arm their officers there

is a large minority (28%) that report they do not allow their campus police to carry

firearms (Reaves, 2008). There is an on-going debate over use-of-force by campus police,

particularly with regard to the issue of allowing campus police to carry firearms and other

weapons (Jiao, 2001; Wilson & Wilson, 2012). The arguments opposing the arming of

campus police are identified as taking six different forms:

> Arming will decrease the value of the education environment [i.e., make it
> appear less safe]; armed campus police will increase adverse treatment of
> minority student groups; local law enforcement personnel [i.e., municipal
> and metropolitan forces] are readily accessible; there is a lack of violent
> episodes on campus; the non-deterrence factors of armed police; and
> financial considerations for implementation. (Wilson & Wilson, 2012,
> p.140)

Even with these concerns about arming campus police, recent statistics indicate that

carrying of firearms has continued to increase among campus policing agencies. In 1995,

two-thirds (66%) of all campuses reportedly had armed police officers and by 2005,

nearly three-quarters (72%) of those campuses reportedly having armed police officers

(Reaves, 2008). Wilson and Wilson (2012) go on to say that if campus police play the

same role and serve the same function as other local law enforcement agencies, then they

should be permitted to use the same levels of force and carry the same weapons as other

police officers and that there may even be legal ramifications for not doing so: "courts

have previously established that colleges and universities may be held liable for not

taking adequate and appropriate measures to insure the safety of students" (p. 139). As

discussed in Chapter 1, the push to create legitimate, professional police departments on

college and university campuses across the country was based on a recognized need for

schools to provide internal policing and public safety services after a number of incidents

increased concern about crime and safety in the campus environment during the 1960s. It

would stand to reason that in order to maintain the level of safety that was required of

colleges and universities by the courts at that time, they should be afforded the same right

to carrying weapons as their municipal and metropolitan counterparts. The fact that there

is a debate about campus police carrying weapons speaks, at the very least, to a difference

in perception about their function in comparison to other local police in the same way that

their efficiency in police work has been called into question by those like Ferrandino

(2012). In American society, a debate about whether or not municipal and metropolitan

police should carry firearms would likely be considered a laughable proposition fraught

with a great amount of public and political dissent. However, this debate still exists in

relation to campus policing. Ferrandino (2012) concludes his argument that campus

police are not the same as other police by saying that:

> Simply labeling people 'police' does not mean that the organization they comprise will be viewed with full legitimacy nor does it mean that the same police functions will be carried out despite the notion that 'the structure, function, tactics, and management style of campus police agencies parallel those of municipal departments' (Sloan III, Lanier, and Beer, 2000, p. 12) (Ferrandino, 2012, p. 313).

While this may be the case, continued increases in the number of colleges with armed officers since 1995 would seem to indicate that this debate is leaning heavily towards the continued arming of campus police officers. Within the current policing climate in the United States, some police departments are taking the arming of campus police one step further. The more timely debate about arming campus police may actually be about *how* campus police are armed and *what* types of weapons and equipment they should be armed with instead of merely asking *should* they be armed. The showdown between police and protestors in Ferguson, Missouri as a result of a police shooting of an unarmed black man has shed a light on the fact that many local police departments, including campus police departments, currently have weapons, vehicles, and other items typically associated with the military and they are continuing to seek out new militarized equipment. Grassgreen (2014) reports that this militarized equipment comes from Department of Defense surpluses and includes everything from office equipment to armored trucks. Alusen and Eason (2014) report on recently acquired materials on college and university campuses in Indiana:

> University police have obtained body armor, military vehicles and M-14 and M-16 rifles - high-powered weapons that remind Purdue University Calumet Police Chief Anthony Martin of ones he used in the Vietnam War. 'Particularly after we have just read about Ferguson, I have been re-evaluating the need of an M-14,' said Martin. 'It's [sic] a heavy weapon.'" (Alusen and Eason, 2014, n.p.)

Militarization of campus police may actually do more to equate them with other local police who also have these types of weapons and equipment, but it seems to inherently

conflict with the community policing strategies and policies that most college and universities report engaging in, in practice. Additionally, from a need standpoint, it has not yet been determined whether or not campus police would require this sort of material. The campus police chief quoted above seems to think that these may be needed in the wake of recent clashes between police and citizens. And concern about dangerous situations like active shooter scenarios in recent years has renewed feelings of concern about safety and the resources which may be required to effectively handle these emergency situations. The issue of arming campus police is a prime example of the wide range of different views and perceptions of campus police: with some believing that campus environments are no place for use of deadly weapons, while others not only support the arming of campus police, but also the militarization of police by arming them with military grade weapons, vehicles, and other equipment. Regardless of which debate – arming versus not arming, militarization versus non-militarization – is under discussion, the fact that there is a debate about these things at all indicates that campus police may have different levels of efficiency and different needs in comparison to other local police when it comes to the issues of carrying weapons and using force.

A fourth potential disadvantage faced by campus police is based on the fact that they are in a unique situation in terms of having to report to the administrative bodies of their respective schools, which may be focused on enhancing the public image of the university as opposed to enhancing overall safety through crime control. Like other local police, campus police are tasked with upholding and addressing violations of local, state, and federal laws and as such are accountable to governmental bodies in the execution of those law enforcement duties. But unlike other local law enforcement, campus police operate within the organizational structure of the school to which they provide policing

services and related duties and as such, they are also accountable to the leadership of that

school in reporting and addressing crime. This added level of accountability may impact

the ways that campus police address and report crimes occurring on their respective

campuses:

> The University Police Department is an integral, operating component of the
> university organization itself. As such it cannot function independently of the
> organization it serves. Hence, the attitude of administrators of the organization has
> a strong bearing on the nature and degree of law enforcement provided by the
> police department…they must be responsive in the performance of their law
> enforcement function to the discretion of university administrators (Bordner &
> Petersen, 1983, p.207)

Campus police must think of the impact that their actions will have on the public view of

the school which may ultimately affect perceptions of the campus, enrollment numbers,

endowments, scholarship donations, and things that would be of little concern to local

police in cities or towns simply because there is no equivalent features of cities and towns

that would have to factor into discretionary decisions of their police. It should be noted,

however, that other local police must also deal with civilian oversight and citizens groups.

According to Finn (2001), these groups are more likely to address issues of police

misconduct or pressure police into dealing with crime in more effective ways. Campus

administrators may be more concerned about the university's reputation, whether or not

that means dealing with crime more effectively or minimizing the information that is

publicly available about crime on campus. According to Johnson (2011) "an effective

[campus] police department contributes to both the safety and public image of the

university" (p.11). This is a very sensitive balancing act, especially considering the fact

that campus police, as a result of the Clery Act passed in 1990, are legally required to

disclose information about all reported crimes occurring on their campuses as well as all

crimes that occur in nearby areas off-campus involving students of the school each year

(Clery Center, 2012). However, recent evidence suggests that this balance may be heavily shifted towards maintaining a good public image while sacrificing campus safety and crime control. There is currently a pervasive culture of underreporting of crimes brought to the attention of campus police and school administrators. For example, in 2013 two California schools, the University of Southern California and Occidental College, admitted that they failed to disclose numerous sex crimes reported to campus police over the course of several years after a federal investigation into suspected underreporting of crime was initiated (Kingkade, 2013). Similarly, in 2014 several schools in the State University of New York (SUNY) system were found to have underreported sex offenses, burglaries, and weapon-based offenses (Bakeman, 2014). Additionally, as of this writing, there are 55 schools in the United States that are currently under federal investigation for alleged mishandling of sex crimes on their campuses (Morse, 2014). Sexual assault has become a particularly prominent issue with regard to campus crime and disclosure problems as a result of a White House report which identifies sexual assault as one of the biggest crime problems on American college and university campuses today (Whitehouse Task Force, 2014). These examples indicate that campus police across the country may be sacrificing overall safety in order to "save face" with regard to their school's reputation. It is highly likely that lack of disclosure of accurate crime information is a result of pressure to do so from campus leadership and administration. According to Bordner and Petersen (1983), "the strong influence of administrators on the university police may, in some cases, result in the selective enforcement of some laws" and administrators also generally "encourage a discretionary, non-punitive approach to policing" which results in "informal policy that limits officers' authority" (p.208, 209). In essence, campus police are not only accountable to the

leadership of a university, but their actual practices and methods of crime control are noted as being heavily influenced by civilian campus leadership in a system that is specific to institutions of higher learning. There is no equivalent oversight and influence experienced by other local police.

In sum, when situating campus police into the American policing paradigm, research has indicated that there are similarities in organizational structure, and most functions, however, there are noted differences between campus and other local police as well. Some of these differences shine a more positive light on campus policing then other local police, while others indicate that campus police are at best "other" than municipal or metropolitan police, and at worst, lesser than these other forms of local policing. On the positive side of things, campus police tend to engage in a wider range of public safety activities, recruit officers with more education and better community relation skills, and leverage the existing shared community experiences of colleges and universities to engage in community policing. While on the arguably negative side of things, campus police handle a significantly lower amount of calls for service and other law enforcement duties in comparison to other local police departments of a similar size, are less likely to be armed (even in an environment where both the arming of campus police and militarization of campus police continue to increase), experience large, delineated, and artificial increases and decreases in their constituent populations because of the academic calendar, and are subject to oversight and direction from non-sworn civilian administrations and campus leaders resulting in a need to balance campus safety and crime control with campus reputation. Wada, Patten, and Candela (2010) explain the unique situation of campus police in the follow way:

> The conundrum of [campus police] rests in their training versus their function. [Campus police] are trained as [municipal police], with control and arrest historically considered their primary law enforcement function. Due to the nature of the university, however, [campus police] departments' main duties are focused on prevention and services. The disparate ideological foci have placed [campus police] in an awkward position. First, universities do not recognize them as part of the university system because they are cops and not part of academia. Perhaps more importantly, scholars have indicated that [campus police] are not perceived by the public as "real" cops because they are based in the university system. (p. 9)

Campus police certainly are unique in the American policing paradigm, as Falcone and Gehrand (2003) put it, but they are policing authorities just the same and each of these factors of campus policing, those that may be an advantage and those that may be a disadvantage, not only effect how campus police do their duties but are likely to influence student perceptions of campus police as well. The interviews proposed for this study will be able to identify how these actual similarities and differences between campus and other local police may or may not influence student views and in turn, the student-campus police relationship.

ATTITUDES, BELIEFS, AND PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPUS AND OTHER POLICE

There is a great deal of research literature focused on factors that shape, influence, or correlate with various levels of satisfaction and other perceptual measures of police within the populations they serve. However, most of these studies focus on local police departments other than campus police and most existing work that does focus on campus policing is geared primarily toward issues of perceived technical efficiency of campus police with little regard for other general attitudes and beliefs about campus policing. There is almost no literature on issues of legitimacy and fairness with regard to student perceptions and interactions with their campus police, even though these particular concepts have been identified as very important in citizens' views of police in general. Tyler (1990, 2006), discusses fairness as procedural justice, which is rooted in police

behavior during encounters with citizens that is based in "neutrality, lack of bias, honesty, efforts to be fair, politeness, and respect for citizens' rights (Tyler, 2006, p.7). When police treat the citizens they encounter in a procedurally fair manner, these citizens perceive police more favorably or positively, regardless of whether or not they are arrested, cited, or otherwise sanctioned as a result of the encounter (Tyler 1990, 2006). Dai, Frank, and Sun (2011) summarize Tyler's theory of procedural justice in the following manner:

> The theory of procedural justice by Tyler and his colleagues directs attention to the effects of the fairness of procedures used by legal authorities and seeks to answer such important questions as why people obey the law, why people cooperate with legal authorities, and why people have trust and confidence in legal authorities….People's evaluations of and reaction to legal authorities are shaped by their judgments about the fairness of procedures used by legal authorities. Particularly, people are more likely to accept the constraints imposed by the law and legal authorities if they believe legal authorities use fair procedures in their decision-making and treatment of the public (Dai et al, 2011, p.160).

There have been several studies of policing legitimacy which will be discussed below, but few have focused on campus police, specifically. There are also no studies regarding the impact of different campus environments on perceptions of campus police. The remainder of this section will address the limited number of studies addressing attitudes and overall satisfaction with technical police services and perceptions of police, campus or otherwise, as legal authorities by college and university students. Discussion of perceptions of police by the general population and their potential implications for campus policing perceptions, specifically, will be included as well. The potential impact of neighborhood/campus context, police-citizen encounters, and related aspects of legitimacy that have yet to be examined when specifically looking at the student-campus policing relationship will also be discussed in relation to the general policing literature.

Attitudes Regarding Execution of Police Services by Campus Police

Overall undergraduate student satisfaction with campus police services is generally high, but students and other constituents on college and university campuses see campus police differently in comparison to other local police when asked about things like technical efficiency, accountability, and job responsibilities. In a survey of students and staff at one university, Wilson and Wilson (2011) found that campus police were generally viewed favorably, but when asked to compare them to municipal and metropolitan police, respondents indicated different views of the two forms of local policing:

> Campus constituents were in strong agreement that campus police officers should meet the same training (80.3%), hiring (84.2%), and performance standards (77.1%) as traditional law enforcement officers. Also, 61.1% of all respondents agreed that, if campus police officers are held to the same hiring, training, and performance standards as more traditionally employed law enforcement officers, they should be armed while in the normal course of their duties (Wilson & Wilson, 2011, p 35).

Although a majority of those surveyed indicated that these various parameters of policing should remain consistent between campus and other local police, the fact that approximately 15% to 20% believe there are different standards for campus police and nearly 40% indicate that they do not believe campus police should be armed is notable. In a similar study at Purdue University, most students expressed favorable views of the Purdue University Police Department (PUPD), but believed that the PUPD was not appropriately equipped to investigate and clear serious crimes (Miller & Pan, 1987). While general views of campus police are positive, there is a consistent indication in the few studies that have addressed this issue that they are viewed as something different from other forms of local law enforcement when it comes to the technical practice of police work.

Satisfaction with campus police is generally high, but this satisfaction appears to be based on informal evaluation criteria that hold campus police to a different and potentially lower standard than other forms of local police. Wada et al. (2010) confirmed this in a comparative study of undergraduate student perceptions of similarly situated campus and municipal police departments. Students viewed the municipal police department as a more legitimate policing authority than the campus police department (Wada et al., 2010). General issues of campus policing legitimacy, specifically with regard to procedural justice and direct experience with police, will be discussed in greater detail below. However, this particular comparison of perceived legitimacy is noted here because of the difference in views of campus and other forms of local police. These perceived differences are likely to impact the overall student-campus policing relationship, but no research to date has explicitly sought to discover why these differences in perceptions of campus police exist by asking students or others specifically about *why* they believe or *how* they have come to the conclusion that campus police may be different from other forms of police. It would stand to reason that the noted differences in technical efficiency and other aspects that are unique to campus policing discussed in the first half of this chapter are likely reasons, but this link between actual policing practices and perceptions has not been empirically established.

SPECIFIC DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND VIEWS OF POLICE

In addition to identification of overall satisfaction and perceptions of campus police, scholars have identified some specific student characteristics that impact perceptions of campus police. These include demographic characteristics such as age, gender, and race. However, other characteristics, such as those pertinent to the current study, including neighborhood context of campus environments and the role of student-

police interactions have not yet been studied with regard to their potential impact on student perceptions of their campus police. Discussion of findings related to the campus policing perceptions of students of different ages, genders, and races, as well as literature regarding general policing perceptions based on legitimacy and neighborhood context is presented below.

Age

Results of studies have been mixed when looking at age and perceptions of campus police. Some have noted that the impact of age may not even be an appropriate way of looking at student perceptions of police as college students are generally younger in comparison to the general population. In a study of students on six campuses in Illinois, Burruss, Schafer, and Giblin (2010) found that while a majority of students were generally satisfied with their campus police, levels of satisfaction were lower in this group than comparative levels of satisfaction with police in the general public:

> Relative to broader attitude toward police literature the levels of satisfaction are lower than what might be observed in the general public. This is not surprising given the younger age of the sample considered in these results. Encounters between youth and public safety personnel tend to have more legalistic outcomes. For a traditional college student seeking to establish their identity and independence, public safety personnel represent a controlling quasi-parental figure. That some overall satisfaction is a bit tempered within a college sample is to be expected. (Burruus et al., 2010, p. 24)

While this is an interesting finding, other studies have looked at differences in ages of students instead of aggregating them into one group and have found that younger students and lower-level students (i.e., freshmen and sophomores) tend to be more satisfied and hold more favorable views of campus police than older students and upper-level students (i.e., juniors and seniors) (Miller & Pan 1987). This may have little to do with age and more to do with the fact that students newer to the campus environment are less familiar

with campus police and the school overall. It is possible that from both technical efficiency and legitimacy perspectives, they are generally more satisfied with campus police because they have had less time to observe them or interact with them than their upper-level counterparts and just assume that they serve as a functional and legitimate policing force. There is also the possibility that simply being new to the environment is intimidating and therefore, one may be more likely to adhere to the socially agreed upon rules and show more favorable attitudes and respect for the recognized authorities within that new environment. If this is the case, years of college experienced may have more to do with the results in Miller and Pan (1987) than actual age.

Studying a population that is, on average, younger than the general population, makes it difficult to definitively identify age as a causal factor shaping perceptions of campus police. Since there is substantial overlap in younger ages and status as "college student," it may be difficult to differentiate between the effect of age and college student status in shaping perceptions of campus police. Williams and Nofziger (2003) surveyed college students and members of the general public about their perceptions of police and found that "being in college, not age, diminishes students' trust in law enforcement in this community and elicits more negative attitudes toward police performance…supporting a subgroup effect for college student status" (p.142). Similarly, educational attainment has been identified as having a negative impact on perceptions of police (Frank, Smith & Novak, 2005; Wu, 2014). So an increase in negative perceptions of police may be part of the very nature of being a college student who is in the process of increasing their level of education.

Age may play a role in perceptions, but there are a great deal of conflicting data regarding whether older or younger students have more positive or negative views of

campus police and whether it is actually age or student status that has a bigger effect.

However, the notion that younger people are less satisfied with campus police is

consistent with findings in general policing literature that indicates that younger people

tend to have lower levels of satisfaction with police and view police in less favorable

ways (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Hurst & Frank, 2000; Stoutland, 2001, Williams &

Nofziger, 2003, Wada et al. 2010).

Gender

     Although the issue of age and campus police perceptions is a bit muddled,

gendered perceptions are much more definitive and clear cut. Studies of gendered

differences in campus policing perceptions report that female students have higher levels

of satisfaction with and respect for campus police than male students (Griffith, 2004;

Miller & Pan, 1987). This may have something to do with the reported differences in

experiences and interactions that males and females report having with campus police. In

a study of student-police interactions at the University of California, Davis (UC Davis),

Davis (2007) found that male students at that school were more likely to report negative

perceptions of the UC Davis Police and had experienced more police-initiated

interactions and situations within those interactions where officers were rude, offensive,

intimidating, or had made threatening remarks to them. Females on campus reported

relatively positive attitudes, high levels of satisfaction with police, and had experienced

much less rude or intimidating behavior in interactions with campus police officers

(Davis, 2007). This example, which is specific to gender in this case, highlights the

broader relationship between student-police interactions and factors procedural justice

discussed by Tyler (1990, 2006). According to Tyler (1990, 2006), people are more

likely to perceive police as legitimate law enforcement authorities if they have

experienced (direct) or have heard about (vicarious) interactions with police in which the

police treat them fairly throughout the process. This holds true regardless of the end result

of the interaction in terms of arrest, receipt of citations, or other outcomes that may result

in sanctioning of an individual within the criminal justice system. This fairness is the

concept of Tyler's (2006) procedural justice. However, the UC Davis study is a

descriptive account of student experiences with police both on and off of campus

commissioned by the university as part of a review of student issues on campus for

informational purposes. It does not explore the potential implications of these findings

with regard to procedural issues of treatment by police nor the impact that lack of

procedural fairness in these encounters may have had on overall student perceptions of

police and future adherence to or violation of the law. Therefore, there is only an implicit

link to theory and concepts of fairness and legitimacy as described by Tyler (2006), but

the findings in the study are consistent with factors of procedural justice and the impact

that treatment by police has on attitudes and perceptions of police. Issues of procedural

justice, treatment by police, and legitimacy will be discussed in greater detail below.

Legitimacy issues aside, these findings regarding student gender and campus

police are consistent with literature on policing in general. Studies of gendered

perceptions of citizens with regard to policing generally indicate that females tend to view

police more favorably and more often see them as legitimate law enforcement authorities

than males (Frank, Smith, & Novak, 2005; Gabbidon, Higgins & Potter, 2010; Mbuba,

2010; Williams & Nozfiger, 2003). Similarly, research has generally indicated that there

is a gendered difference in the ways in which males and females are treated by police,

which is likely to impact satisfaction with technical proficiency of police and perceptions

of legitimacy based on procedural issues faced in police encounters (Brunson & Miller,

2006; Gabbidon et al. 2010).

Race

The final demographic characteristic that is addressed in existing literature on

perceptions and attitudes regarding campus police is student race. Attitudes and

perceptions of campus police by different races are also fairly cut and dry. Not

surprisingly, minorities have less favorable views of campus police and have also

indicated that they have less trust in campus and other local police. Williams and

Nofziger (2003) found that Black students' views of police are less favorable than other

students, and that this negative view becomes even stronger for Black students who have

had interactions or encounters with campus police, regardless of whether or not these

interactions were considered positive or negative by the student. In a similar study of

student perceptions of policing, campus or otherwise, Mbuba (2010) found that non-

White students are more likely to believe that police are a threat, too harsh on suspects,

not law abiding, and unfairly target racial minorities.

Similar to the gendered views of campus police, minority student views may be

shaped by the level of procedural fairness and resulting perceptions of legitimacy in

encounters with campus police. Minority students may be experiencing a greater number

of campus police-initiated contacts that seem random or unjustified. In the survey of UC,

Davis students, two racial minority groups, Black and East Indian/Pakistani students were

more likely than White students to report that they believed they were stopped without

cause in encounters where they felt that campus police officers did not provide legitimate

explanations for why they were approached (Davis, 2007). There clearly seem to be

lower levels of overall satisfaction, an increase in negative perceptions, and a decrease in

perceived legitimacy of police, campus or otherwise, among minority populations as described in existing research of such issues. Much of this is likely the result of issues of direct and vicarious experience with all forms of police by minority groups (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009).

Findings regarding race, satisfaction, and experiences with campus police remain largely consistent with findings regarding race and all forms of police. Studies indicate that racial minorities generally have less favorable opinions of police and more negative encounters with police in comparison to racial majorities (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Frank et al., 2005; Garcia and Cao, 2005; Lai & Zhao, 2010; Stewart, Baumer, Brunson & Simons, 2009; Wu, 2014). Additionally, it will be discussed below that there are implications for perceptions of legitimacy of racial minorities based on how they perceived treatment by police in interactions with them.

Assessments within existing literature of undergraduate students' attitudes and perceptions of campus police, based on student race, gender, and - to a certain extent – age, are generally consistent with the broader literature on policing. The noted potential exception is the on-going debate about age versus status as a college student, regardless of age. However, it should be mentioned that much of the literature on satisfaction and attitudes regarding police and their technical functions has neglected to address the fact that these characteristics do not exist in isolation from one another. For example, the experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of young Black males are likely to be different from young White males or young White females, even though younger people may generally view police less favorably. Williams and Nofziger (2003) summarize this saying:

> Group identities – as young, as Black, as male, as student – are interrelated in complex ways, some of which are seen as more (or less) oppositional to agents of social control. Interactions with police are likely to organize around these multiple identities (p.144).

Attitudes and perceptions are based on experiences, vicarious or direct, with policing authorities and the collective identity of an individual, made up of a myriad of unique characteristics that may have their own unique influence on views of police, indicate that attitudes and perceptions about police may not be as cut and dry as findings in these studies of individual characteristics may make it appear. The present study is designed to capture any existing nuances that result from the effect of the multiple group identities that Williams and Nofziger (2003) discuss.

ASPECTS OF STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPUS POLICE YET TO BE STUDIED

Much existing literature on student perceptions of policing has relied on examination of these basic demographic characteristics and the resulting differences in satisfaction and perceptions of police. It is important to identify and understand such differences. However, there are several other issues and factors that may impact student perceptions of campus police that have not been addressed in the research literature. Many of these have been studied in the wider population when looking at police in general, so there is some basis for examining these issues with regard to the citizen-police relationship but, examination of the student-campus policing relationship with regard to these issues has not yet occurred. These include specific description of legitimacy, procedural fairness, and the role that student-police encounters play in shaping both, and the impact of community context on student experiences with and perceptions of the campus police that serve them.

Legitimacy of Campus Police

Understanding how students of different genders, races, and age groups perceive police, as documented in the literature discussed above, is important. However, these perceptions may have less to do inherently with these characteristics and more to do with experiences, both direct and vicarious, that students of each respective demographic grouping have had with campus and other forms of police. This is rooted in ideas of procedural justice and the ways in which individuals are treated by police during interaction as seen in Tyler (1990, 2006) and expanded upon in the work of Tyler and Sunshine (2003) and others. In essence, if police treat the people that they encounter with fairness and respect, people are more likely to view them as legitimate authorities and more favorably overall. As a result, perceptions of students of different ages, races, and genders may have more to do with *how police perceive*, and therefore treat, individuals within that demographic grouping more so than any inherent qualities of age, gender, and race in undergraduate students. One goal of the present study is to document the encounters that students have with their campus police, from small, informal encounters in passing, like exchanging pleasantries, to larger, formal interactions, like arrest or reporting victimization, with the intention of identifying how campus police engage with students in encounters and how they treat students from a procedural perspective.

Most research on issues of procedural justice and legitimacy focuses on the more traditional forms of metropolitan and municipal policing, and there are no studies that emphasize or extensively examine issues of student-campus police interactions and the role they play in forming perceptions of campus policing legitimacy. However there have been some recent studies that have begun examining campus policing legitimacy. Wada et al. (2010), surveyed students about their perceptions of and experiences with both

campus and municipal police and found that students generally view campus police as less legitimate than municipal police. However, with the exception of one question asking about negative experiences with either campus or municipal police (and a noted absence of a question about positive experiences), there was no specific examination of the role of direct or vicarious encounters and interaction. Wada et al. (2010) were interested in a comparative view of legitimacy between campus and other forms of police, so specific details of these reportedly negative encounters were not necessarily required for their analysis. They concluded that campus police are perceived as less legitimate, but the role of direct and vicarious experiences, both positive and negative, and the details of these encounters, are not fully examined (Wada et al. 2010). Similarly, Jacobsen (2014) found that students at a suburban university generally view campus police as less legitimate than other local police. Information on the encounters that students have had in suburban and urban environments should serve to increase an overall understanding of exactly how legitimacy perceptions are formed. Instead of merely declaring that campus police are generally perceived as less legitimate, there is a need to examine why this is and how these perceptions are formed. This has been done in the current study by specifically detailing the experiences that students have with their campus police and how they interpret and understand them, in their own words.

While studies of student perceptions of the legitimacy of campus police are limited, there is an extensive body of literature that has examined the relationship between police-citizen encounters, procedural justice, and perceptions of legitimacy that provides a basis for conceptualization and examination of these issues specifically within a campus student-policing context. Because issues of legitimacy and police encounters are so complex, there are a number of different aspects of legitimacy that have been

examined within policing in general. There is evidence to suggest that the way in which

people are treated by police has an effect on citizens' immediate response to police within

the situational constraints of that encounter. When police treat people with procedural

fairness, these people are more likely to comply and submit to the demands of the

officer(s) within these interactions, as argued by Tyler (1990, 2006; see also Dai et al.,

2011, Dunham & Alpert, 2008; Mazerolle, Bennet, Antrobus, & Eggins, 2012; Wells,

2007). For example, in their field observation of police-citizen encounters during ride-

alongs with police, Duhnam and Alpert (2008) observed interactions in which both the

police and citizen(s) involved changed demeanor from negative to neutral or positive and

vice versa and noted that these changes, particularly in officer demeanor, were generally

reactions and reflections of the demeanor of other parties involved. There is additional

evidence that encounters with police have an impact on overall perceptions of police in

terms of legitimacy and support for police as enforcement authorities, outside of specific

interactions, in the long term (Bradford, Jackson, & Stanko, 2009; Sunshine & Tyler,

2003, Tyler 1990, 2006). For example, Bradford et al. (2009) found that:

> Unsatisfactory contacts [with police] are indeed associated with less favourable
> opinions about police effectiveness, fairness and engagement with the community.
> Yet consistent with the procedural justice model…positively received contacts can
> improve perceptions of fairness and community engagement (Bradford et al.,
> 2009, p.20).

While the studies above generally focus on the role of direct experience with police,

Rosenbaum, Shuck, Costello, Hawkins, and Ring (2005) found that vicarious experiences

with police that were relayed to respondents had an even greater impact on individual's

perceptions, with positive encounters having the largest overall impact:

> The findings indicate that vicarious knowledge of police encounters, both positive
> and negative, is an important predictor of police-related attitudes….A common
> assumption is that bad news travels faster than good news, the present study found

that positive information about the police produced larger attitudinal effect than negative information. Learning something positive about the police may be more newsworthy and unexpected. (Rosenbaum et al., 2009, p. 361).

Rosenbaum et al. (2005) also highlight the fact that vicarious experience may be a more salient issue in perceptions of policing due to the fact "that 4 out of 5 Americans do not have direct contact with the police during any given year," meaning that the majority of citizens only experience police through vicarious means (p. 360). In this case, positive experiences that are shared vicariously are likely to enhance an individual's perceptions of police, while negative experiences that are shared vicariously are likely to negatively affect an individual's perception, but to a lesser extent, with Rosenbaum et al. (2005) suspecting that this is due to a generally negative orientation or expectation placed on police.

Additional studies have looked specifically at the characteristics of gender and race in terms of treatment by police and resulting perceptions of legitimacy (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Brunson and Miller (2006) examined the intersection of age, race, and gender, as called for by Williams and Nofziger (2003) with regard to overall citizen satisfaction with police, and found that race may be a more salient factor than gender when it comes to police treatment and resulting perceptions and attitudes towards police, based on interviews with male and female Black youth. The males reported that police generally treated them as suspects and engaged in violence against them, regardless of whether they had participated in offending or not. Females, on the other hand, were generally treated more fairly. Although they also mentioned concerns about the potential for sexual assault at the hands of police officers based on accounts of such acts that they had vicarious experience with through stories and accounts that had been told to them (Brunson & Miller, 2006). While empirical study of

perceptions of campus policing legitimacy is severely limited, studies that address issues of policing in general are presented here as a guideline for broad views of police, the role that treatment and perceptions of fairness in that treatment play in police-citizen encounters. Studies like the descriptive account of student-police encounters by Davis (2007) and examination of the comparative legitimacy of campus police versus other local police by Wada, et al. (2010) do provide a preliminary indication that some of these wider issues of legitimacy and experiences in interactions may readily apply to a campus policing context, as well.

The Role of Neighborhood Context

According to Brunson and Weitzer (2009), "citizens' relations with the police are…ecologically structured. Specifically, neighborhood context shapes both police practices and police–citizen relations" (p. 859). Essentially, the characteristics of a neighborhood as a "place" are likely to have a dramatic impact on how the police address crime and interface with residents and in turn how the residents view the police. Important factors of neighborhood context for policing perceptions include crime rates and types of crimes occurring most frequently as well as residents' experiences with and fear of crime and the socio-economic status of the area (Lai & Zhao, 2010). There have been no empirical assessments of the differences in perceptions of students at colleges and universities in these differing neighborhood and campus contexts, however there has been some speculation about this particular factor in existing literature. In their study of student perceptions of police in a college town, Williams and Nofziger (2003) state that:

> A large proportion of students in this case study come from very small towns and rural areas, and anecdotal evidence suggests that they may be accustomed to local law enforcement who handle complaints and minor offenses on an informal basis. Being pulled over by a local sheriff who is a friend and a neighbor may elicit

different responses and outcomes than in this college town, where violations are more likely to be handled "by the book." (Williams & Nofziger, 2003, p. 142)

While there is speculation about the ways in which students may perceive their campus police, and the unique implications of students framing these perceptions based on their experiences and the contexts of their hometowns, this is currently limited to anecdotal accounts, as they state above, and not empirical evidence.

It is not currently known if students in different campus environments (i.e., urban, suburban, rural) perceive their campus police differently. As stated in the first section of this chapter, campus environments are unique due to the fact that they are communities defined by a shared identity and shared goals related to higher education. They may be similar and have similar policing needs to that of a small city or town as identified by Griffith, et al. (2004). However, they serve as small cities or towns with a very specific function and purpose aligned to this goal of higher education and scholarship. This specific function and purpose may set them apart from the context of the larger geographic areas in which they are situated - whether this larger geographic area is urban, suburban, or rural - with regard to the types of crimes and policing response required and thus, how students and campus police interact with one another within the campus environment. On the other hand, the context of the surrounding community could also play a role in overall safety and risk, the required police responses to crime, and therefore, the specific ways that students interact with or experience campus policing and their resulting perceptions of the campus police that serve them. Put another way, it is currently unclear if the larger context of the communities in which college and university campuses are situated impact factors that may influence student perceptions of their

campus police. This study serves to address this gap by examining student perceptions on campuses in both a suburban and an urban community.

Within the general policing literature, there is a noted connection between neighborhood context, policing in the area, and citizen perceptions of police. According to Liederbach (2005) the practices, procedures, and policies of a police department are shaped largely by the perceptions of the neighborhood environment, with police "formulat[ing] tactics that are responsive to particular community contexts" (p. 430). Based on this, police are likely to employ different strategies and interact with people differently in urban and suburban environments. Police are generally more visible and interact with citizens in more negatively, procedurally unfair ways in urban areas with socio-economic and crime problems (Terrill & Reisig, 2003; Brunson & Weitzer 2009). For example, according to Brunson and Weitzer (2009), "Compared to middle-class communities, neighborhoods characterized by high levels of economic disadvantage, social disorganization, and street crime typically have high levels of police involvement and hence, greater opportunities for conflicts between residents and officers" (p. 878). With police spending their time in these areas and engaging in less than fair activities, including the specific and disproportional targeting of young, Black, males as identified by Brunson and Miller (2006), Brunson and Weitzer (2009), Terrill and Reisig (2003), and others, there is certain to be some impact on how citizens in these areas view their police and indeed, the general indication is that residents in high crime, economically disadvantaged areas hold less favorable views of police as a result. Conversely, those who live in suburban communities hold more favorable views of police, encounter or see them less frequently, and experience less negativity in interactions with police (Nofziger & Williams, 2005).

Citizens in different neighborhood environments may also have strong innate preferences for policing styles that are also likely to impact their satisfaction and attitudes with police in encounters. Jiao (2001) found that, "urban residents have a stronger preference for community-policing, suburban residents have a greater preference for police professionalism, and rural residents have a stronger interest in problem-oriented policing[4]"(p.361). When other forms of policing are employed, citizens in these respective neighborhood types do not respond as well to police and/or report less favorable views of police. It seems that policing tactics identified by Brunson and Weitzer (2009) and others as being employed in urban neighborhoods, specifically is counter-intuitive and counterproductive with regard to the preference of urban residents for community based policing. It is currently unknown if this same relationship between policing tactics employed and neighborhood context exists within the college and university environment.

In addition to policing encounters in different neighborhood environments, Lai and Zhao (2010) identified that residents' experience with victimization also impact citizens' views of police, specifically in a negative manner. Victimization is more likely to be experienced by people living in high crime areas; so again, this reinforces the findings of previous studies discussed here in terms of less favorable views of police by those in disadvantaged urban communities. However, again, it is currently unknown if

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[4] Jaio (2001) defines police professionalism as traditional forms of policing that include random patrol, assignment of specialized policing units to deal with specific situations, like SWAT teams, and a legalistic view in terms of dealing with offenders. Conversely, problem-oriented policing is defined as involving the following activities: "(a) exploring patterns of where, when, and how certain incidents occur…(b) identifying and researching in great detail certain crime problems such as youth gang violence, (c) developing and implementing special tactics and measures to reduced certain crimes such as drug offenses; and (d) enlisting another government's or social service agency's help in solving certain problems such as domestic violence" (p.371).

this applies specifically to campus police and college communities within urban environments, or colleges in other environments with high rates of victimization on campus.

The role of neighborhood context for colleges and universities may be unique for a few reasons. First, these campuses essentially function as "cities within cities," or as small neighborhoods within their own right, as identified by Griffith et al. (2004). It is possible that a campus may be insulated from the features, both positive and negative, of the larger community in which is it situated, meaning that location in an urban or suburban setting does not matter. What does matter in this scenario is the status of the area as "campus," and police practices and student perceptions may be dependent on this context as opposed to the larger context of the surrounding community. Put another way, there may be no distinction between "suburban campus" or "urban campus" when it comes to policing and related perceptions. "College campus" could be considered its own neighborhood environment based on the fact that there is a collective community on campuses that shares a cultural identity and goals related to higher education and scholarly pursuits which may have a unique impact on policing and student perceptions. Jacobsen (2014) comes to this very conclusion. However, since this study was limited to one suburban campus only, additional research is needed to further examine the extent to which this is the case. On the other hand, it is also possible that the surrounding neighborhoods have a sunstantial impact on crime, policing, police-student encounters, and student perceptions and attitudes regarding their campus police. This study is designed to determine which of these possibilities is most accurate.

Secondly, because colleges and universities are places where students of all backgrounds, coming from all types of neighborhood environments, live and work

together in close quarters, perceptions of these new places are likely to be informed or influenced by students' hometowns. Williams and Nofziger (2003) acknowledge this in their discussion of the impact of neighborhood context presented above. Students may come to a suburban school from an urban, suburban, or rural background, or may come to an urban school from an urban, suburban, or rural background. They only spend approximately four or five years in the campus environment, with several breaks when many return to their hometowns for extended periods of time (i.e., winter and summer breaks), so their hometown contexts are likely to influence their views about their school's contexts. However, this is all hypothetical speculation because this particular issue has yet to be studied.

In sum, there are many potential reasons why students in varying campus environments may view their campus police differently. The current study is designed to specifically address two of these potential factors. First, the study is designed to document student views based their understanding and experiences with campus police in their unique role, which includes both traditional policing duties as well as services specifically required in a college campus environment. Secondly, the study will examine student views based on issues and encounters with campus police within different campus community contexts that may align with findings that neighborhood and community context are important factors in shaping perceptions and level of satisfaction with police and the general public.

Chapter 3

METHODLOGY

This dissertation is part of a previous study undertaken at the urban university

that examined multiple aspects of undergraduate students' perceptions of risk, safety,

protective measures, and policing in an urban context.[5] Data collection was expanded to

As stated in Chapter 1, this study is designed to examine and document (1) a more

extensive, complete, and holistic understanding and analysis of student interactions and

experience, both direct and vicarious, with campus police, (2) similarities and differences

in these experiences in different neighborhood contexts in which each campus is situated

and (3) the role that each may play in forming their perceptions of the police serving their

respective campus communities. The remainder of this chapter will discuss the

importance of specific conceptualization of various forms of student views of their

campus police, a description of both universities that constitute the study settings, the

sampling strategy employed, the specific method selected for data analysis, the steps

taken to protect human research subjects, and strategies used to both minimize threats to

validity and reliability, and enhance generalizability of the research findings of this study.

CONCEPTUALIZING STUDENT VIEWS OF POLICE

According to Maguire and Johnson (2010), those researching views of police by

the public "need to pay careful attention to conceptualization and measurement in

assessing service quality, procedural justice, satisfaction, legitimacy, and other related

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[5] This study involved 16 student researchers, including the author, who were interested in a variety of dimensions related to undergraduate student experience with risk, safety, and policing in an urban context. All 16 students were involved in the development of the interview guide and administration of interviews and were trained in effective interviewing techniques. Components of the interviews were then used by each researcher to develop individual papers on various themes of the interview data. This author's paper was specifically focused on the nature and quality of interactions with campus and other police and other factors that influenced students' overall views of campus policing authorities.

perceptual constructs" (p.723). Although this study is qualitative in nature and concepts

like measurement may not necessarily apply in the same way as discussed by Maguire

and Johnson (2010), an attempt will be made to pay close attention to the distinctions

between these disparate ways of viewing campus police. While satisfaction with policing

services and perceptions of police as legitimate authorities are likely to go hand in hand,

it is entirely possible that a student may be generally satisfied with the work that police

do on their campus with regard to providing safety, security, and in responding to crime

or emergency situations, but view them as procedurally unfair in the execution of these

duties based on direct or vicarious experience, or vice versa. Examination of satisfaction

with police services will be based on students' responses to questions about the role that

campus police should play in maintaining safety on campus, how effective they are in

actually executing those duties and how the execution of these duties by campus police

compare with students' understanding of services by other forms of local police.

Examination of procedural justice and legitimacy will be based on students' responses to

questions regarding whether or not they believe that their direct or vicarious experiences

with police were positive or negative, why they feel that way, and their level of comfort

in reporting crimes and/or victimization to campus police in the future. The development

of the interview guide used for this study as well as the specific formulation of questions

contained within the guide is discussed later in this chapter.

STUDY SETTING

This study is based on 56 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with undergraduate

students at two similarly situated (i.e., similar geographic size, similar rates of reported

crime) public universities in the Northeastern United States, with 28 students interviewed

at each institution. A majority of undergraduate students on both campuses are female

(60% suburban, and 53% urban, respectively). A large majority of students on the

suburban campus are white (82%), while a majority of students on the urban campus

identify as non-white (55%). Other pertinent characteristics of each university, current as

of the 2013-2014 academic year, are included in Table 1 below. One university is located

in an urban metropolitan area and the other is located in a moderately sized suburban

town. According to the 2010 United States Census, the suburban municipality is majority

White (72.1%) and the median income is $43,114 per year. The urban municipality is

majority Black (52.4%) and the median income is $34,387 per year. The suburban

university has a larger undergraduate student body, a larger residential student population,

fewer sworn campus police officers, and larger numbers of reported index crimes and

drug or alcohol-related violations. However, much of the differences in the number of

index crimes and drug/alcohol violations reported at both schools disappear when looking

at standardized

Table 1 – Characteristics of Universities That Serve as Study Settings, 2013

	Size of Municipal Area	Residential Population, Municipal Area	Size of Campus	Enroll-ment	Students Living on Campus	Campus Police Officers	Reported Index Crimes on Campus	Reported Index Crimes in the Municipal Area	Reported Alcohol and/or Drug Violations on Campus
Suburban University	1.8 sq. miles[a]	18,968[a]	135 acres[b]	13,711[c]	4,843[c]	24[c]	27[c]	929[c]	137
Urban University	26.11 sq. miles[a]	278,427[a]	100 acres	7,756[c]	1,280[c]	32[c]	12[c]	15,803[c]	96

[a] Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2013).
[b] The suburban university collectively consists of 409 acres, but this includes a 116-acre nature preserve separate from campus that is owned by the school and various ancillary administrative buildings also separate from the main campus that are not frequented by students including Human Resources, Facilities and Maintenance, a large storage warehouse, etc.
[c] Source: The 2013 Clery Act report for each respective university.
[d] Source: The Uniform Crime Report< federal Bureau of Investigation

rates[6] per 1000 students. The rate of index crimes per 1,000 students (both resident and commuter) during the 2013-2014 academic year is still slightly higher for the suburban campus, with 1.97 index crimes per 1000 undergraduates reported in the 2013-2014 academic year there, while there were 1.55 index crimes per 1000 undergraduates reported for the same time period by the urban campus. Interestingly, the rates for drug and alcohol violations indicate that when accounting for undergraduate student population, the urban university reports more drug and alcohol violations. The suburban campus rate was 9.99 alcohol or drug violations per 1000 students during the 2013-2014 academic year, while the urban university rate was 12.4 alcohol or drug use violations per 1000 students for the same time period.

Slight differences in the levels of offending and the ratio of students to sworn campus police officers are noted, but the impact of these differences is anticipated to be negligible in the findings from student interviews here. First of all, when accounting for size of the student population, the rates of serious crimes are equitable and the rates of alcohol and drug offending are near equitable for campuses of these geographic and enrollment sizes. Secondly, the amount of offenses in a given year fluctuates and is very fluid. Clery Act reports for both schools were reviewed for the last five years and in some years, the rate of offenses reported as occurring on or near campus is higher for the urban university than it is for the suburban.

With regard to campus policing numbers, total numbers of officers on each campus are similar, but a notable discrepancy between the numbers of sworn officers is

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[6] Rates were calculated by dividing the index crime total and drug and alcohol violation total for each campus by the total number of undergraduate students enrolled, then multiplying by 1000. The rates are limited to undergraduates only because both institutions report that no faculty, staff, or graduate students were involved in offenses on their campus in 2013.

identified when accounting for rates per 1000 students. At the suburban campus, there are 1.75 officers for every 1000 undergraduate students and at the urban university, there are over twofold that, with 4.13 campus police officers for every 1000 undergraduates there. Sampling will be discussed in detail below, but the sampling strategy for this particular study was designed in such a way as to minimize the potential impact of these differences in the number of police by selecting students that reported having a wide range of experiences with campus police, including lack of experience with them. Final results of the study indicate that the difference in the number of sworn officers on each campus had little impact on student views and experiences.

SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION

Sampling on both campuses has been purposive in nature, with most respondents on the urban campus and all respondents on the suburban campus recruited through use of a screening survey administered in core undergraduate classes. The only overall required inclusion criteria for the current study is that each participant must be an undergraduate student, age 18-years-old or over enrolled in one of the universities at the time that the interviews took place.   Among the pool of potential volunteers from the suburban school, subjects were generally selected based on three points of comparison: criminal justice majors versus other majors, newer students (freshmen/sophomore/transfer) versus older (non-transfer junior and senior) students in terms of campus experience, and a variety of experiences (or lack thereof) with campus police. The rationale for these selection criteria was based on the potential that criminal justice majors may have different views of campus police than individuals within other majors based on their understanding of the justice system and/or the desire of many who major in criminal justice to enter law enforcement themselves. Additionally, based on some of the findings of previous studies

discussed in Chapter 2, length of time at the university and/or age was also thought to be

a factor in student perceptions of campus police. Subjects were selected across different

class years and/or ages to examine any differences in views of students based on these

categories. Since the urban sample was selected prior to the suburban sample, an effort

was made to select a sample that was equitable across these specific categories. As a

result, the urban campus sample closely resembles the suburban campus sample in

composition across these categories. A summary of the two student subsamples is

presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2 – Sample Characteristics

	Urban University (N=28)		Suburban University (N=28)	
	f	%	f	%
Age				
Under 20	11	39.3	13	46.4
20-24	11	39.3	15	53.6
25-30	2	7.1	0	0
Over 30	4	14.3	0	0
Gender				
Male	14	50	12	42.9
Female	13	46.4	16	57.1
Other	1	3.6	0	0
Race				
White	7	25	20	71.4
Non-White	21	75	8	28.6
Time at University				
Less than 3 years	15	53.6	18	64.3
3 years or more	13	46.4	10	35.7
Major				
Criminal Justice	15	53.6	14	50
Non-Criminal Justice	13	46.4	14	50
Lives on campus				
Yes	11	39.3	16	57.1
No	17	60.7	12	42.9
Experience with campus police				
Yes	19	67.9	19	67.9
No	9	32.1	9	32.1
Experience with other police				
Yes	7	25	10	35.7
No	21	75	18	64.3

Interviews with 28 students from the urban university took place in October and

November 2013 for this previous study. The sample subset from the urban university

includes 14 women (one who identifies as gender queer) and 14 men. The respondents

ranged in age from 18 to 32. In terms of race, the sample included seven White, five

Black, five Hispanic, three South Asian, two Haitian American, and five multiracial

students. Other features of the sample that are most pertinent to this study include the fact

that 14 respondents have sought assistance of their campus police or another police force,

while 13 have not and 19 respondents reported having had some contact, for assistance or

otherwise with their campus police, while 9 report having no contact with police

whatsoever. All interviews that took place at the urban university were audio recorded

and field notes were taken for each interview. All of these interviews and field notes

have been transcribed into Microsoft Word documents and are currently being stored on a

password protected computer only accessible to the researcher.

Interviews with 28 students at the suburban university took place between

September 2014 and November 2014. The suburban campus sample includes 12 males

and 16 females ranging in age from 18 to 22. In terms of race, the suburban subsample

included 20 White, 7 Black, and 1 Asian student. With regard to contact with campus

police, 19 students have had contact of some kind, while 9 have not. As identified above,

students at the suburban university were selected purposely based on class year and/or

time at the university, major, and experience (or lack thereof) with campus police. Cases

were selected across these three parameters specifically in order to make reasonable

comparisons between urban and suburban cases. All of the interviews at the suburban

university were audio recorded and field notes were taken for each respondent. All of

these interviews and field notes have been transcribed into Microsoft Word documents

and are currently stored on a password protected computer only accessible to the

researcher.

Each respondent at both institutions was provided a $10 Starbucks gift card for their participation, was informed that their participation was voluntary, and was promised that all of the information they provide would be kept confidential. In the final presentation and analysis of data, pseudonyms have been utilized for the students and any streets, buildings, or other places with proper names to which they refer. Students were asked to sign an informed consent form indicating that they understand all of this and are willing to participate [See Attachment 3]. Interviews with students at the urban campus were conducted by the author and 15 additional trained interviewers. Each lasted between 45 minutes and 4 hours and took place in a private conference room on campus. All interviews on the suburban campus were conducted by the author, have lasted between 30 minutes to 3.5 hours, and have also taken place in a private conference room on that campus.

The original interview guide developed for use in examination of the urban campus was refined twice, once after a round of pre-test interviews and then again after the first round of student interviews to account for questions that seemed confusing to respondents or inappropriate to the final research products. The final interview guide contains 47 main questions with several follow ups (where appropriate) and room for probing questions in response to students' answers to specific questions that are not included as part of the structured guide. There were no substantive modifications made to the interview guide in administering interviews on the suburban campus, as many of the questions about general issues of safety and risk asked in the original study on the urban campus elicited salient data about the campus police on that campus. Questions specifically relevant to respondents' interaction with police (specifically, but not limited to their campus police) and those designed to identify respondents' satisfaction with and

perceptions of their campus police as a police force are also included on the guide used at both institutions. These questions are designed to allow respondents to share detailed information on their experiences (or lack thereof) with campus and other local police, their thoughts on the role that campus police officers play on campus and their thoughts about their campus police in comparison to other police forces. Although the guide is relatively structured, it was also designed in such a way as to allow for probing follow up questions that elicited additional information from students regarding their experiences with policing and safety on each campus. The guide includes several questions about aspects of safety and risk on campus, direct and vicarious experience with crime and victimization, and direct and vicarious experience with campus and other police that are designed to address all of the primary research questions proposed above. The interview guide used for this study is attached [See Attachment 2].

DATA ANALYSIS

Throughout the data collection effort, copious field notes were taken for each interview and transcription of audio recorded interview took place as quickly as possible after each interview. This was made priority so that pertinent information regarding events during the interviews, including subject demeanor, silent events not captured in audio recordings, and other things of that nature that may impact the information shared by students is not omitted from the data to be analyzed. The act of transcribing audio recorded interviews into text for further analysis has been identified as the initial stage in data analysis because, according to Lapadat and Lindsey (1999), the way in which data in transcribed is based on the theoretical approach selected for a given study and it can have "implications for the interpretation of research data" (p. 64). Transcription of interviews for this study has taken a semi-denaturalized form, with the emphasis on actual

substantive meaning within the interviews. According to Oliver, Serovich, and Mason

(2005), in comparison to a naturalistic approach:

> A denaturalized approach to transcription also attempts a verbatim depiction of
> speech. Yet while still working for a "full and faithful transcription" (Cameron,
> 1996,p. 33), denaturalism has less to do with depicting accents or involuntary
> vocalization. Rather, accuracy concerns the substance of the interview, that is, the
> meanings and perceptions created and shared during a conversation. (p. 1276)

Basic denoting of utterances other than words and pauses are included in the transcription

of interviews for this study so that some of the context of how things are said that might

impact or indicate something about the substantive piece of what is being said are

accounted for. However, the transcription method employed here does not emphasize

these utterances and pauses as specifically or in as much detail as they would be in a

naturalized transcript that is equally as concerned with language and speech as it is the

substantive content of subjects' interview responses. The primary concern here is with

what is being said by students with regard to their definitions and associated meanings

with regard to their on-campus experiences with police, but this should not discount the

fact that a pause or some vocal utterance other than words (e.g. "oh," "um," 'uh," etc.)

may indicate something about the substance and content of the response being given. As

such, there is some consideration given to these utterances with regard to their potential to

indicate something about a respondent's meaning in a given statement or response.

As noted above, all data collection and transcription was completed by the end of

November 2014. These transcripts are being kept on a computer with password protection

that is only accessible to the researcher. All respondents' names have been replaced with

pseudonyms, as have proper names of streets, buildings, or other places that students have

referred to in their interview responses.

Final transcripts were qualitatively coded based on the constant comparative method (CCM) from Glaser and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory. Within grounded theory, data is collected in order to develop theory in an inductive approach. While the extensive literature review in Chapter 2 explains how campus policing fits in as a sector of policing in the United States and as an administrative body on college and university campuses, and provides some insight into student satisfaction and views of campus police, there has been no empirical study of campus policing legitimacy or the role that campus context may play in shaping perceptions of both legitimacy and satisfaction. Because campus police are unique in some of the roles that they play, it cannot be assumed that existing empirical study of "policing" as a monolithic construct applies to campus policing or any other specialized form of policing, for that matter.

There is some evidence within the general literature on policing and neighborhood context that can be used as a baseline for comparison, but there are no theoretical findings or constructs that can specifically be used to test a theory. A theory of perceptions and views of campus policing is incomplete at best and nonexistent at worst. In colloquial terms, when it comes to a systematic, empirically-based understanding of the various ways that campus police are viewed or perceived, "we don't know what we don't know." In this regard, the data collected in interviews in this study is intended to provide specific conceptualization of campus police and specific views and perceptions of campus police so that a theoretical model of how these perceptions are formed can begin to be developed. A grounded approach allows for collection of a great deal of very rich data so that comparisons can be made. According to Tesch (1990):

> The main intellectual tool is comparison. The method of comparing and
> contrasting is used for practically all intellectual tasks during analysis:
> forming categories, establishing the boundaries of the categories, assigning

the segments to categories, summarizing the content of each category, finding negative evidence, etc. The goal is to discern conceptual similarities, to refine the discriminative power of categories, and to discover patterns. (Tesch, 1990, p.96)

While use of the CCM has become a standard analytical procedure in qualitative analysis, descriptions of the actual practices and procedures involved remain a bit vague in many studies which use this particular research method. This study will utilize a modified version of CCM proposed by Boeije (2002)[7]:

1. Comparison within a single interview.

2. Comparison between interviews within the same group.

3. Comparison of interviews from different groups. (Boeije, 2002, p. 395)

These steps above have been completed, resulting in qualitative coding of themes related to campus police and other police within each interview transcript. As each transcript was coded, they were check for consistency or discrepancies/contradictions within each respondent's answers and were compared to all previously coded transcripts as well.

The main comparison group for this study is urban versus suburban undergraduate students; therefore responses from each of these groupings form the primary findings with regard to similarities and/or differences in perceptions and views of campus police across community context. However, some other minor groupings and themes also emerged from the data as it was coded using CCM, including responses from those who have had experiences - both direct and vicarious - with campus and other police, responses from students who attend school in one community context, but are aware of and have experiences at colleges and universities in another or that come from a

---

[7] Boeije proposed a five step model based on CCM of interviews with individuals suffering from multiple sclerosis and their spouses who cared for them. His model is based on comparisons of individuals as well as couples. This modification was made to account for the fact that there is no equivalency to couple within the current proposed study and no call to compare interviews across such groupings. Therefore, some of the procedures, namely comparison at the couple level and comparison of couples, are omitted.

hometown in another. Additionally, some other student features or characteristics appear

to interact with the main comparison of campus context in unique ways (e.g., the views of

Black students at the urban school appear to be different from the views of Black students

at the suburban school). Use of CCM allowed these additional important themes to

emerge from and be accounted for in the data analysis. One of the strengths of the design

of this study as a qualitative assessment of interview data based in comparison is that any

and all themes that emerge from the data can be discussed and evaluated, even if the case

deviates somewhat from the overall views of a specific group of interest. Several

students who deviated from the majority in one way or another are described here to

further elucidate the nuances of student views and perceptions of campus police. With

that said, many of the narratives provided as evidence from respondents have been used

specifically because they are representative of the larger patterns of students' views with

regard to the specific theme being discussed. It should be noted that because this study is

based on information about policing views and perceptions coming directly in the form of

self-reported interview data, that it is not expected that all students' responses and

accounting of events are accurate or fully described. The reality of student-policing

encounters or the roles that campus police play on each respective campus included in

this study are not of as much importance in this study as students' understanding and

views on their police, generally and based on directly experienced encounters and

vicarious encounters relayed to them by others, because of the impact that these

perceptions can have on the relationship between students and campus police. With this

said, attempts are made to link the views of students and the work of campus police to the

context of the neighborhood or community in which these two campuses are situated. As

a result, some preliminary conclusions are drawn about how police may be making their

decisions. Specific regard is given to the ways in which campus police engage in their

police work in a given setting while dealing with students whose behaviors also seem to

be influenced by the campus setting.

MINIMIZATION OF THREATS TO VALIDITY, RELIABILITY, AND GENERALIZIBILITY

Engaging in interviews with students for the purpose of qualitative research

involves some inherent threats to validity and reliability. Maxwell (2005) specifically

identifies researcher bias and reactivity as two potential issues that may impact whether

or not the results of a study like the one proposed here accurately measure the reality of a

particular phenomenon of study. Bias involves "selection of data that fit the researcher's

existing theory or preconceptions and the selection of data that 'stand out' to the

researcher," and reactivity involves "the influence of the researcher on the research

setting" (Maxwell, 2005, p.108). In order to enhance the validity and reliability of this

study, special care has been taken in interviews to avoid leading questions and to note any

times during interviews when the researcher has felt or will feel that her behavior or

unstructured follow up questions may somehow influence a respondents' answer to a

question.

Additionally, bias has been minimized by obtaining data that is rich with regard

to the information provided about campus policing by students. The interview guide has

been designed in such a way as to obtain rich data about student views and experiences

with campus police across both campus environments by factoring in probing questions

and questions that ask about a variety of students' views of campus police at multiple

points throughout the interview. Secondly, audio recording and transcribing interviews

word for word in the collection of interview data has helped to diminish bias in the study

because all information has been accurately recorded and not subject to interviewer recall or field notes alone. In the data analysis, data presented are representative of the findings. Deviant cases have been identified as such and are discussed with regard to their plausibility in comparison with the general findings and with regard to what may have led to the deviant response based on other information and data on the respondent, as compared to others in the sample.

Generalizability can be a particularly problematic, and even contentious, concept with regard to qualitative research, with an ongoing debate as to whether studies with comparatively smaller, and usually non-random samples can be used to draw conclusions about the wider population they represent (Maxwell, 2005; Silverman, 2011). Silverman (2011) identifies comparative inference as a method of enhancing overall generalizability of qualitative research. This is a form of theoretical inference not based on random sampling of cases as is generally practiced in quantitative research, but is instead based on identifying cases in varying "situations in order to capture heterogeneity of a population. This criterion is used to make generalisations [sic] similar to statistical inferences, but without employing probability criteria" (Silverman, 2011, p. 386). The CCM approach to analyzing the data and the built-in comparative groups within the sample used for this study will serve to enhance generalizability of the study with regard to Silverman's (2011) identification of comparative inference inherent in the design of this study.

Chapter 4

STUDENT VIEWS OF SAFETY, POLICE VISIBILITY, AND PATROL

The features and services of the suburban and urban campus police departments described by students in this study seem to align well with those of other campus police departments. Although it will be discussed below that they have differing ideas about how well campus police engage in these activities, students at both universities indicated that the general policing work of campus police consists primarily of patrolling, responding to calls for service, investigations of crime on campus, and providing security services for events. This is all fairly consistent with the data presented by Reaves (2008) in describing the role of campus police on campuses across the United States. In addition, according to information provided by the police at both the urban and suburban universities, there are several unique service offerings from each of these campus police departments, including campus escort and shuttle services, rape prevention and other trainings, and property registration services, which are available to serve the distinct needs of the undergraduate populations they serve. This is consistent with the role of campus police departments identified by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2005), in providing services tailored to the specific nature of a college or university campus environment. However, most students at both universities reported that they had no awareness of these particular services until they were discussed in interviews for this study. Student views, attitudes, understanding of, and experiences with services and police work performed by their campus departments at both schools will be discussed throughout this chapter and Chapter 5.

SAFETY AND THE ROLE OF POLICING IN MAINTAINING SAFETY ON BOTH CAMPUSES

Students at both universities were eager to share thoughts on their beliefs about safety and risk on campus and how police presence impacts their perceptions. Students at both schools indicated that they feel safe on their campuses overall and view the general concept of police presence as important both as a deterrent and as something that enhances their feelings of safety. When it comes to how effective each campus police department was in terms of visibility in police activities and while on patrol, there is a difference between when and how often students have seen their campus police on each campus. This difference seems to have an impact on students' overall level of satisfaction in terms of how effective police on each campus are when it comes to their duty to be present and visible.

Students on both campuses generally indicated that they feel safe on their respective campuses and that the police on each campus play a part in enhancing their overall feelings of safety. This is particularly true when it comes to the general concept of police presence and visibility. However, students on each campus seemed to have very different ideas about the source of the largest threats to their safety on their respective campus and, in turn, very different ideas about just how integral the police are to maintaining safety on campus based on the source and nature of these threats. This section includes students' statements about the effectiveness of their campus police in maintaining safety and order on their campuses, their general feeling about the role of police visibility, and their specific experiences regarding when and how often they see campus police on the suburban and urban campuses, respectively.

THE SUBURBAN CAMPUS

With regard to the overall role of campus police in making campus safe, the suburban students viewed the campus police role in safety as mixed, predicated on the fact that many students believed the area where the suburban campus is situated to be generally safe regardless of the work that the campus police are doing. For example, when asked about whether or not she thought campus police do a good job of keeping campus safe, Janine stated: "I don't know if it's because of them or just because of the area. Maybe it's a mixture of both, you know what I mean?" Jessica echoed this sentiment when posed the same question saying, "Yeah, I think they do. I mean, they must. I don't feel like there is a lot of crime. [Pause] That has a lot to do with the area, too, not just their abilities I guess." So while Jessica initially attributed safety on campus to the work of the police on campus, after taking a moment to think about it, she realized that the area in which the campus is situated is also very safe from her point of view. Other students, like Richard and Jason, went so far as to say that they do not think the campus police are responsible for the safety of campus whatsoever and Jason specifically identified his perceptions of the area as a key reason why. When asked about the role that campus police play in maintaining safety, Richard said, "I mean, they don't have to work too hard I guess because…[this town], it's a safe place" and according to Jason, "No I don't think it's because of them (campus police) I think it's just more of the area, like, it seems to be a nicer, like a pretty affluent area." So in Jason's assessment, the suburban campus was safe not because the police are there necessarily, but because the general area was considered to be fairly nice and affluent and perhaps this "nice" quality has carried over into the campus environment.

The connection between the campus community, the wider community, and implications for safety is something that Patrice actually spoke about by making a comparison between his experience and a friend's at another university in an urban community relatively close in proximity to the suburban school that is the focus of this study:

> PATRICE: I have a friend who goes to [a university in an urban setting] and that school, it's like our school but more extreme with campus security. We have police on bikes or walking or whatever and so do they, but they have situations where people who live in [the surrounding city] will attack [university] students. Whereas in [our town here], residents are students [of the university] or they are families. Whereas the people in [the other city], they have no connection to the school and aren't good people. You see the same thing at [two other urban universities that are relatively close by],
>
> INT[8]: Ok, so you think that the residents of [this town] have more of a connection to this school?
>
> PATRICE: Yeah, definitely. Did you see the homecoming parade? People that go to it are alumni or people who live in [this town].
>
> INT: Ok, so you think that the campus is more ingrained in the larger community of [this town]?
>
> PATRICE: Yeah, definitely.

Patrice said a great deal about policing and community context in his statements. First of all, he acknowledged that campus police have a function in maintaining safety on the

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[8] Throughout the remainder of this dissertation, the abbreviation "INT" will be used to identify statements and questions asked by interviewers in pertinent exchanges presented in the text.

suburban campus but in comparison to other universities with which he is familiar, he does not believe his campus police are dealing with threats from the external community to the extent that campus police at urban universities do. This is because the suburban university seems to be viewed as part of the larger community while the urban university is removed from the surrounding community which, in his words, is populated by those who "aren't good people." Patrice went on, however, to say that he believes that campus police at his university are there to look out for student safety, but admitted they may have an easier time of it than police at urban universities because they are not constantly having to deal with threats or crime from those external to the campus community. So students believed that safety on campus is a direct result of the fact that, as they perceive it, the larger community in which their campus is situated is a safe place and perhaps even a relatively affluent area. In addition to that, Patrice actually made a comparison between safety, sources of risk, and the role that police play in maintaining order and safety on both urban and suburban campuses based on his understanding of these campuses and larger community contexts in which they are situated.

Interestingly enough, at least six other students at the suburban university also mentioned this same particular urban university as being somewhere they had considered attending, have transferred from, or a place where friends or relatives have attended. Most either decided not to attended or transferred because the area was considered very unsafe. For example, Mary was considering this particular urban university but after a campus visit, her father essentially forbade her from attending because he believed the area was unsafe. However, her boyfriend currently attends the school and she visits him often. She compared her views of her current school with views of the urban school with the following account of a time she was visiting her boyfriend:

MARY: We went to visit my boyfriend 'cause he just got a new puppy and this

guy was behind us and he was not doing anything but he was like pushing his

cart and I don't know, it just freaked us out. It was like late and it's kind of

like mean to say we were judging him but he was like creeping me out. But if

I saw someone in [this suburban area] doing that, it wouldn't scare me.

INT: Oh, if you were in the same situation? I guess this was at night too?

MARY: At night at [my boyfriend's school].

INT: So if you had the same situation where someone with a cart was following

you here?

MARY: Like I would think that's kind of weird but I wouldn't think "Oh my God,

he's gonna like kill us." But at [my boyfriend's school], I'm always scared.

I'm always looking behind my shoulder.

Clearly the immediate environment in which this incident occurred impacted her feelings

of safety. Mary's thoughts about overall feelings of safety on this particular urban campus

environment were consistent with the views of others who have had some connection to

that school. In another example, Chris, whose brother attended this same university,

believed that the campus police on both his suburban school campus and his brother's

urban school campus must have different priorities because of their respective locations:

CHRIS: At [my brother's school] you go to parties – huge parties – and the police

down there aren't worried about kids drinking. They'd rather kids drink than

they gotta watch people on the streets and like shootings and stuff. Here they

don't have to worry about that so they focus on the kids drinking.

> INT: OK. So if you have to compare [your campus] police to [your brother's
>
> campus] police, you think they have very different ideas about their role in
>
> maintaining safety?
>
> CHRIS: Absolutely, yeah. It's just 'cuz at [my brother's school] the whole area
>
> it's just –there's always something going on and it's like dangerous at some
>
> points.

The message from Chris and others who made this comparison between the two types of campuses was that safety on both was impacted by the larger communities and this has implications for how the police do their jobs. According to the suburban students discussed here, the suburban campus tends to be safe, so in their view the police may focus on other types of campus issues that are seen as less of a threat to overall campus safety. This included things like underage drinking and other illegal activities by students. Conversely, on the urban campus which students had some experience with, students believed that police have to focus on the crime problems of the urban area. Students believed these were relatively more serious and served as a threat to overall safety on that campus. This particular urban university likely came up many times because it is also a public institution in the same state and is located about one hour away from the location of the suburban campus focused upon in this study. The perception of students regarding this particular school is very telling when it comes to their thoughts and views on the role of campus police on their own suburban university campus. Chris also hinted at the issue of underage drinking and parties, specifically, which will be discussed in much greater detail below, as it seems there is a fairly large party component to the culture of the suburban campus.

Regardless of whether or not the suburban students have had some sort of experience with urban campus life, when it comes to the suburban students' views on the role of their campus police in maintaining safety on campus, they indicated feeling at best that campus police enhance the safety in an already safe area. At worst, they perceived police as serving more as a figurehead for deterrence and safety rather than as engaging in actual safety or protection-based police work. Interestingly enough, students who did indicate they believe the campus police play at least a partial role in keeping the suburban campus safe generally grew up in rural or other suburban locations. They also had limited experience with other police forces. Those who indicated that the police really have no bearing on the safety of campus generally came from or had experiences with urban areas and/or had extensive experience working with police or other facets of the criminal justice system.

For example, Jake grew up in a very remote, rural community about two hours from the suburban campus and he reported seeing the police as playing a role in safety, but also indicated that students at the school want to stay out of trouble and therefore do not engage in crime, which also plays a part in maintaining safety on campus:

> I think it's a combination of the police and just that this is a campus setting not prone to much crime. I mean, I know you have a lot of like students who are in that age range where they might be more prone to commit crime, but I don't know. I don't think a lot of it occurs here just because a lot of people who go here pay to go here and they have more of a, you know, an effect of "If I commit a crime I could get kicked out." I think if you get caught on campus committing a crime, it could go to the – you could get kicked out depending on the seriousness of it or multiple offenses.

Jake started to hint at something several students on the suburban campus also indicated, that if and when crime does occur on campus, it is more likely to involve campus insiders mostly in the form of other students. Jake also seemed to be speaking about the age

crime curve in his discussion of undergraduate students in the "age range" for crime. It is notable that Jake, who was a forensic toxicology major, was the only student to mention the relationship between age and crime when discussing the issue of student offending on the suburban campus. Like Patrice and others discussed above, those in the larger suburban community are not as likely to engage in crime or any other behavior that may put the campus community at risk as those in an urban context. If this is the case, then the greatest risk to students must come from within the campus community itself. Jake did not necessarily say this, but did identify students as those who engage in what little crime has occurred, in his estimation, on the suburban campus.

In terms of those who believed that the campus police have little to do with actual levels of safety on campus, Jason, whose thoughts about the campus police are described above, was a recent police academy graduate from a local urban community. His beliefs about the role that campus police play in maintaining safety of the campus community seem to be based on that context and experience. Regardless of which orientation students on the suburban campus had, either that police had at least a partial role in safety on campus or that they had very little to do with safety on campus, both were based on a consistent perception, repeated by each student, that the larger community in which the university is situated is generally a safe place.

Even with all students indicating the suburban campus is overwhelmingly safe, students there also repeatedly spoke about what appears to possibly be a previously mentioned persistent and pervasive party culture on campus. This involved extensive alcohol and drug use and regular reports of experiencing or witnessing minor violent assaults. Many stated that this culture may also be a causal factor for sexual assaults that have recently occurred on this campus. So while generally students perceived that the

campus was safe and the community around it was safe, the student body itself would

seem to be the one source in which safety at the suburban university came into question.

For example, Erika stated:

> I think it's really safe during like the weeknights, but when you get to the nights
> when students are drinking and stuff, like Thursday nights, Friday nights, and
> Saturday nights, sometimes Sunday if they want to go crazy. I feel like walking
> around, some of the students are intoxicated and like [that] raises the risk a little
> bit.

Similarly, when asked if his feelings of safety vary across time of day, Jason indicated

that he generally felt less safe when the parties begin at night:

> JASON: I guess that, I guess like - it's like if - at night especially, like out
>
> when everybody's drinking more 'cuz that causes walking around. Especially
>
> if you're by yourself walking. And guys, when they're drunk they tend to like
>
> want to almost like, want to fight somebody, so that's just an issue with that.
>
> Like, you gotta worry about getting into a fight.
>
> INT: So it isn't necessarily anything inherent about it being dark outside
>
> and being night other than the fact that that's when people are usually drinking
>
> and--
>
> JASON: Yeah and it's just like that, it- and people get rowdy and there's *so*
>
> many people around here at night.
>
> INT: Uh, students, you mean or other people?
>
> JASON: Yeah, students. Everybody like cuz they're going from parties and
>
> everything like kinda all going
>
> INT: So are there always parties going on somewhere?
>
> JASON: Yeah, always.

Jason was a commuter with reportedly limited experience on or near the campus after hours, having really only spent a brief amount of time attending a few off campus parties or visiting friends who live in the area. However, he still had a sense that this party environment may involve risk and that parties are a common and frequent occurrence. In contrast to Jason's limited experience, Nathan seemed very much imbedded in this party culture. He reportedly has been arrested by campus police for underage drinking at least twice, was taken to the hospital his freshman year for alcohol poisoning, and has been involved in several physical altercations with other males while attending or coming across parties on campus. Nathan described one of these altercations in discussing his feelings of safety on campus:

INT: Do you personally feel safe around campus?

NATHAN: For the most part. Um, I will get somewhat worried on weekends or Thursday nights when it's populated. If I'm by myself, I'll just try to keep my head down because there is a lot of testosterone flowing through the air, a lot of alcohol, too, and the combination can be bad.

INT: So have you ever had any experiences that have made you feel that way about Thursday nights?

NATHAN: Uh, yeah. Sophomore year was an exciting year [*laughs*] for a lot of people I know. Just, uh, I know two of my roommates got mugged by this group of guys off campus on [the street] behind my house. I don't know the full story but I know they got beat up pretty bad. Uh, then I got sucker punched before once. My – we lived in a house of two floors and the floor below us was having a party and [campus] cops came. The cops came several times to tell people to clear off of our property and so, we came down and

there's a bunch of kids sitting there right in our fenced area, clogging up

everything and I told them to leave. And they were like – they shoved me off

and were like, "Nah we're fine." I told them to leave again and I got, I got hit

right in the lip by someone. Then someone yelled, I yelled and apparently there

were cops right there and I went to one side and then they left.

The sentiments and experiences of Erika, Jason and Nathan are just a few examples of

stories that students on the suburban campus shared over and over again.

Engaging in violent physical altercations with other students was not the only

problem that students report having encountered. Several students also expressed concern

about a recent string of sexual assaults on the campus. There were reportedly eight crime

alert emails sent out to students during a two week span in Spring 2013 about sexual

assaults which had occurred on the campus. These alerts were still fresh in the minds of

students during their interviews and students linked these sexual assaults, much like the

violent assaults described above, to the parties on or near campus. According to Anna, "If

there is a party going on, everyone's drinking, then you'll see the sexual assaults, the

domestic violence or something like that." Katie and Rudy identified that in their view,

students of different genders were more likely to experience different forms of

victimization as a part of this party culture. Katie stated that "I feel like males will get

beat up and females will be sexually assaulted, something like that." Likewise, Rudy

stated, "Male on male crime would be fights and male on female crime would be sexual

assault. So I guess it's different types of victimization for each gender, I guess."

Essentially, students on the suburban campus indicated that they believe the biggest threat

they face is from insiders or other members of the campus community, specifically in

relation to this after hours party culture.

THE URBAN CAMPUS

In contrast to students on the suburban campus, students at the urban university consistently reported that their campus police were heavily responsible for maintaining safety on their campus. Additionally, when they felt less safe it is when they encountered outsiders to the school, not other students but other people in the community surrounding their campus. This seems very consistent with the astute observation of Patrice and others at the suburban university, who have had some experiences with urban campus environments. One student, Paz, sums up the general response of many students from the urban school when discussing whether she thinks that the campus police are responsible for making campus safe: "Definitely, I mean, campus is pretty safe, I think and I feel safe here, so I think they're doing a good job." Similarly, Lucas associated the visibility of campus police and security guards as enhancing safety of the campus, specifically: "I feel like the campus is pretty safe. I always see the security guards and the police officers and things like that so." Yardley also cited that the visibility of police has enhanced her feelings of safety on the urban campus:

> Generally, I-- I feel safe. Um, I'm saying that because, um, nothing happened to me. But, in general, I-- I feel safe. I feel like…every time…I'm outside I feel like there's just the right enough-- Just the right amount of security guards or police officers. So, I feel safe. Like, I don't feel threatened at all.

Another student, Kamal, did intimate that this particular urban environment is challenging from a law enforcement perspective when he answered the question of whether the campus police do a good job maintaining safety on campus: "They do the best that they can do. They do the best that they can do in a city like [this one]." So while the suburban students seem to equate safety with their perception that the suburb in which their campus is embedded is a safe place, students at the urban university indicated that policing a

campus in their location is likely very challenging and that they feel safe because the police are dealing with those challenges in an effective manner.

Students in the urban environment also report feeling less safe in certain circumstances in which they have encountered or heard about incidents involving places or people external to the campus in the wider community, which have no affiliation to the school. Students at the urban university generally felt that many places in the surrounding urban city are less safe than their campus. For example, Lucas reported that he feels safe on campus but stated that "once you start leaving campus, that's when you have certain [pause], certain places that you just know, alright, I probably shouldn't be here at night, or stuff like that." Another student on the urban campus, Jayden, stated that he also felt safe on campus, even at night, but when he and his friends on the urban campus have talked about safety he noted that "We've talked about it, like, once or twice I guess…it's not bad on campus, it's just off campus where you gotta worry." Another student Eric further explained that the physical status of areas that are off campus concerned him the most:

> INT: Ok. So what about the area around the campus itself? How safe do you think
>> The community outside of campus is?
> ERIC: I feel like it looks too shady. Like I feel like something happens, like really
>> often. Like, when I go outside the borders of campus. Like, because like the
>> neighborhoods, they don't look like they're like--the neighborhoods look like
>> they're just like the ghetto, kind of. And like the streets that are like around it,
>> and all the shops that are around it, they look like really sketchy.
> INT: What- what makes them look "sketchy"?
> ERIC: Like the appearance of them on the outside. Because they look like, really

old, like banged up sometimes and whatnot so it just looks like something

shady might go on.

INT: Ok, so beat up, run down, not well taken care of?

ERIC: Yeah.

Eric's reported view of the areas surrounding the urban campus as "banged up" and

"shady" contrasts sharply with Jason's description of the suburban community as a "Nice,

pretty, affluent" area. Tamara compared the area in which she grew up to the city where

the campus is located:

> They are pretty much the same area, but this is much more like students going to
> school, professional people come for work. You know it's totally a different
> environment outside, the outskirts. Go towards the city, the downtown area then
> you start to see, you know people hanging around, doing what they are not
> supposed to be doing. And stuff like that, but this [campus] is like a close knit
> community but once you step out of it you are just like, oh my God, you are
> worried about your safety and stuff like that.

Tamara not only referenced the difference in the actual locations both internal and

external to the school, but also identified the people that she has seen more so in each

place. On campus these were students and professionals; off campus these were people

"hanging around, doing what they are not supposed to be doing." When it comes to

place, students on the urban campus would seem to have made a much clearer distinction

between their campus environment and the rest of the urban community than the students

at the suburban university. Put another way, there would seem to be a greater sense of "us

versus them" when looking at the ways in which students on the urban campus view the

larger community in which they are embedded in comparison to the suburban students.

Other places, as well as the people that come from those places appeared to pose more a

threat to the urban students based on their beliefs. Their safety, then, is a direct result of

the protective function and visibility of the campus police. Students on the suburban

campus, on the other hand indicated that the external community is a large part of the

reason why they view their campus as safe.

Tamara was not the only student to identify differences in the people that are

internal and external to the urban campus. Many others indicated that those who are part

of the campus community (i.e., students, staff, and faculty) are not viewed as a threat.

According to Fahim, the mere presence of students and faculty has also enhanced his

safety because he would trust them to intervene is something was to happen to him:

> If I see somebody, or like the professor or fellow student who I can trust, then I
> would feel safe…. If…I'm like by myself and I know that the professor or the
> other student, nobody would be of help that's where I would feel like the greatest
> concern for my safety. Because I feel like by myself I would, if something does
> happen I would fend by myself nobody would be there to help.

For Fahim, professors and students belonged on the campus and therefore posed no

threat. Beyond that, they also enhanced Fahim's feelings safety when they were present

because he trusted them to intervene or assist him if he did find himself in an unsafe

situation. Zofia echoed this belief that the presence of students that she knows has

enhanced her feelings of safety as well:

> I feel safer for people are like-- if I see a lot of people around me. I know that, you
> know, that nothing major is not going to happen to me because I can call
> somebody for help…I see students. I guess I think the students because I have
> classes with some of them [*laughs*].

Similarly, Danica made the observation that she felt safe on the urban campus because

she was in the presence of other students:

> I feel like I'm mostly surrounded by students who are here for the same purpose
> as me so that makes me feel pretty comfortable and, yeah. Mostly surrounding me
> are students who hold no harm to me or couldn't pose a harm to me, really.

Her statement about being surrounded by students who are there to learn and get a degree

is reminiscent of the statement by Jake on the suburban campus and indicates that in her

mind, they were not there to harm or victimize people, primarily because they have a

shared goal, namely education and the attainment of a college degree.

Students and others that were part of the urban campus were generally reported as

enhancing safety of the students interviewed. However, when students reported

disagreements or altercations with other students on campus, none involved violence or

physicality.   Like Nathan on the suburban campus, Jayden also has experienced some

hostile students or has had disagreements with students on campus. Unlike the physical

altercations which seem to be fairly commonplace on the suburban campus, particularly

when alcohol or drugs are involved, this hostility did not result in violence or even an

exchange of harsh words in Jayden's experiences on the urban campus:

> The most I've ever felt is like we're all students, we're all kids, so, someone got
> an attitude I'll turn around and give them the little evil face, like, don't try me.
> Like that's the most that's ever really happened. I've never had to, you know,
> curse someone out or anything.

It seems that Jayden would think a disagreement with other students on campus would be

out of hand if it escalated to a verbal argument, let alone a physical altercation. This

suggests a difference between the roles that students play in levels of safety across both

campuses. The suburban students reported feeling unsafe in the presence of some of their

fellow students during the common party time periods on Thursday and weekend

evenings; the urban students' levels of safety were primarily enhanced by the presence of

their fellow classmates as well as faculty, staff, and others whom the students believed

looked like they belong within the campus environment.

Those who came from the larger urban environment were perceived to be a larger

threat to the urban students. When asked about what makes him feel less safe on the

urban campus, Shaun actually used the word "outsiders" to describe those who make him

feel less safe:

> What I don't like to see is, and what I don't, that, that, this makes me feel a little unsafe, or a little less safe is, is when I see, umm, and I know [the university] has a private library, when I see outsiders come in to the library and they, they're not, they're not sustained, they're not in one place where they probably should be, I guess, where the computers are but, I, I don't know if they have access to upstairs, to upper ground, levels. And, when I do see them, like, just wander around and some outsiders do, non-students or non-faculty members, they umm, they sorta just roam the, the, the floor, the grounds, the library floors or they, they sleep, on the desk. So I'm a little uncomfortable with that.

Shaun went on to discuss how he identifies those that are the outsiders to the campus

environment:

> SHAUN: I perceive a student to be a little cleaner looking and, uhh, maybe
>
> groomed a little better and uhh, they--some of the t-- some of the, umm, the
>
> outsiders look like, they look, like derelicts.
>
> INT: Derelicts, okay - so, insiders, a student, is cleaner looking, groo, more, well-
>
> groomed?
>
> SHAUN: Yeah.
>
> INT: Cleaner, cleaner as in, what, their dress?
>
> SHAUN: Appearance, dress, yes.
>
> INT: And they look derelict for non-[students]?
>
> SHAUN: Yeah, it seem like...
>
> INT: Okay, what do you mean by that?
>
> SHAUN: They look like, umm, bums.
>
> INT: They look like bums, okay.
>
> SHAUN: Yeah, some of them, they use the bathrooms and you can smell the,

their scent, body arom-- umm, scents and umm, some people don't--I guess it

could be students too--the bathrooms aren't flushed and, and, it's a little

unsanitary. I just, I noticed that, they, they don't look too sanitary, and they

look like they just walked off the street just to have someplace to be and stay

warm or some shelter.

INT: Okay, why do they make you feel-, well you mentioned a little bit of why

they make you feel unsafe in terms of their just walking around, sleeping on

desks, I mean, why, is there any other reason why they make you feel unsafe

other than, because you haven't indicated that they interact with anybody?

SHAUN: No they haven't, I don't know everyone else's experiences but umm, I

think umm, I don't know what they're capabl-, capable of doing, violently or,

what the case is but, uhh, just a little uncomfortable for me.

Similarly, Lucas described how he has differentiated between students and other people

he has encountered on campus:

> You generalize…a student, you see them with a book bag if they're coming out of
> the library, or holding a book, or paper, or stuff like that. They tend to be, uh,
> maybe a little younger. Um, it's just like, uh--It's kind of, like, I guess it's kind of
> like a gut feeling. Like, kind of, like, a vibe. You just know who's a student, who's
> not a student. Um, like, who belongs, who doesn't belong on campus kinda thing.

Shaun and Lucas' assessments of those who do not belong within the campus

environment were consistent with others on the urban campus, who described feeling less

safe when they have encountered homeless individuals panhandling or present in campus

buildings and others who are not affiliated with the campus. For example Tamara, who

previously identified that she felt safe when she was on campus because there were

students and others who seemed to belong there, also had an experience in which she felt

unsafe when encountering someone whom she believed to be homeless and whom did not appear to belong on the campus:

> I took a summer course and this lady--I won't say she is homeless--but she had a lot of baggage with her in the building, she kept going around asking people for money and I'm like "Okay, what is she doing here?" Everyone pretty much ignored her, then she started lashing out, just cursing and stuff. But there was no security in site, like who knows she could have attacked somebody, ran out the building, and went on her way.

Tamara perceived this woman, who was panhandling, to be an outsider to the campus and a potential safety risk for "lashing out." Combining this with the apparent absence of security or police, which was something Tamara was very concerned about throughout her interview (perhaps as a result of her victimization experience detailed below), may have increased Tamara's concern about safety in this specific situation. However, the presence of the woman who was an outsider to the campus seems to have been Tamara's primary concern, regardless of the absence of police or security. In a similar account on the urban campus, Zofia also encountered what she believed to be a homeless man who entered a classroom on campus:

> There was a situation once, I remember during the summer, homeless person literally walked in to the classroom and he was trying to snatch food from somebody. I feel like this is kind of crossing the line, you know, yea you are within the campus area. It is public, but I would not want him to come into the building. I am not saying that they will do anything to me, but it just makes me feel uncomfortable… people when they're hungry or scared or whatever, they might do different things, you know, so--

Out of 28 students, 17 specifically mentioned the presence and actions of homeless, or in Shaun's words "derelict," individuals as decreasing their feelings of safety on the urban campus. There was no mention of the presence of homeless individuals on the suburban campus.

Several students also spoke of others who came into the urban campus environment to hassle students or cause other disturbances. Yardley detailed two instances where people from the surrounding community came onto the campus and engaged in behaviors that made her feel unsafe:

> Because our campus is so open, I witnessed something. I think it was like two semesters ago, where these two adult men were, like, threatening each other and, like, chasing each other through our campus. And it got so bad that, um, uh, my housing director was sitting outside with one of, uh, I think she-- I forgot who she was sitting outside with. But, um, (brief pause) they had to call the cops because the guy was threatening the guy like, "I'm gonna stab you" and da-da-da and they were running through our campus and I'm just like, "Okay." Our campus is so open that anybody could just walk on and do anything. And um, yeah. I don't know. It's-- It's-- It's weird. And then there was another instance where I saw this guy with a little girl and I'm like, 'Shouldn't the girl be in school at this time?' It's like, during-- It's like ten o'clock in the morning. And they were selling candy on campus. And then, like, weeks later [the university] sent out an email saying that it was a strong-arm robbery where the guy who was selling candy forced a guy to give money, like, a donation. He was like, 'Oh, are you gonna give me this donation?' Like, he's like, 'Oh, do you want candy?' And the guy was like, 'No,' he's like, 'I don't have any money.' And he's like 'Oh, well you gotta give me a donation anyway' and he, like, forced the guy to give him money. And this was all on our campus.

In the description of these incidents, Yardley implicitly noted that these individuals were not from the campus community by describing the two males fighting as adult males who came onto "our campus" and the individual selling candy also as being on "our campus."

Based on the above, it is no surprise that students believed that one of the main functions of the urban university's campus police was to deal with these people or prevent them from entering the campus environment For instance, when asked about the role that campus police play on the campus Melissa stated that, "They watch for unusual things and people." Heather indicated that they not only watched for unusual people, but were responsible for "keep[ing] unwanted people off of our campus." None of the suburban students identified this as a role of their campus police.

There was very little mention of outsiders from the community decreasing levels of safety in the suburban students interviewed and, alternatively, students on the urban campus characterized the presence of fellow students as increasing, rather than decreasing, their feelings of safety on the urban campus.[9] All of this indicates that students see the biggest threat to their safety on this urban campus as coming from outsiders – people in the larger urban community from beyond the boundaries of campus who are not affiliated with the university. Clearly then, the suburban and urban campuses that are the focus of this study would seem to have very different issues related to safety, at least in the eyes of their respective student bodies.

STUDENT VIEWS ON THE GENERAL CONCEPT OF CAMPUS POLICE VISIBILITY

Students beliefs about that the suburban campus having more crime and other related problems originating from the insider group (i.e., the students and others affiliated with university), and the urban campus having more crime and other related problems originating from outsiders (i.e., those not affiliated with the university) are consistent with how students have witnessed and experienced police engaged in their duties on each campus. When it comes to student reports of campus police activities, there were some very clear differences in how police on both campuses were described as doing their jobs. This is particularly true when it came to issues of campus police visibility and patrol and had some implications for student satisfaction with police work on both campuses.

When asked about things that make them feel safer on their campuses, students at both schools consistently identified seeing campus police as a main feature that enhances

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[9] There is one exception to this lack of threat by campus insiders on the urban campus that was mentioned by one of the students interviewed there. A student was discovered to have bomb-making materials in a dorm room on that campus. Clearly though, this potential insider threat is of a more serious nature then the insider threat related to the party culture on the suburban campus.

their feelings of safety, indicating that they view police presence as an important deterrent for crime. This is consistent with the beliefs of the students on the urban campus. This it is an oddly contradictory view for the suburban students since they generally indicated that they believe that the police on campus play a very small role or no role at all in maintaining safety on campus. This contradiction may be the result of students' understanding of the role of police as a general concept and not specifically with regard to the actions or inaction of their campus police. However, the amount of police visible at different times seems to vary by campus. Students on the suburban campus reported they are more likely to see campus police on Thursday nights and weekend evenings, the exact times that students described as the prime times for parties on and near campus. Students on the urban campus generally reported seeing their campus police more consistently throughout the week, day or night. Student perspectives on campus police officer's presence at both universities are described in detail below.

THE SUBURBAN CAMPUS

On the suburban campus, Chris stated: "I feel pretty safe. There's always police presence and I think that having them there or close by is really important." Neil, another student at the suburban school, noted that not only did the presence of campus police enhance his feelings of safety, but it has also made him think about his own behavior:

> It's like when you see them in your rearview window, you are always driving more careful. You know, it is kind of the same thing. You are always being careful in the dorms with what you are doing and how you are acting.

Another student on the suburban campus, Rudy, makes a similar statement about feeling safe due to the deterrent effect of campus police presence saying that "if campus police are around I feel slightly safer simply because, unless you're a complete idiot or drunk out of your mind, you're not going to do something illegal in front of someone wearing a

badge." In these three observations, having the campus police visible or at least in close

proximity enhanced feelings of safety because of the ease in which they could respond to

requests for service and because they serve as a deterrent, not only for the community at

large but in this case primarily for the student body as well.

Keisha, another student from the suburban campus, reinforced this notion of

police presence as a deterrent based on her unique experience as a transfer student. Her

previous school was a small, suburban, private university located in the same area as the

suburban school featured in this study. However her previous school had no police force,

just unarmed security guards. Her assessment of the difference of having sworn campus

police officers is illustrated in the following description:

> You know, I think a lot of times, I mean, I think of the security guards at [my old
> school] and I think "That is not going to deter me from, that's not - It's a mall
> cop." Even though, like, it's not really a mall cop but like, if I wanted to do
> something, like a mall cop isn't going to stop me. Police are a visual deterrent.
> That is what the police are. And I think a lot of times when schools have these
> security guards, they aren't trained professionals. I'm like, I--I can still do x, y,
> and z. What they--their power is limited. The police's isn't and I think that
> visually, they serve as deterrents. Like, I may not physically see an officer, but
> then walk by Public Safety and see police cars, that serves as a visual deterrent.
> So, if I was thinking of committing some sort of crime –"Oh, wait -- those are real
> police. They're not security guards or pushovers."

Not only did Keisha echo the views of the other students quoted above and many of the

other students interviewed on the suburban campus, she also brought a unique perspective

having experienced a similarly situated campus environment where there was no campus

police presence. Her experience (or more appropriately, lack thereof) with a campus

police force on her previous campus highlighted the importance of having police presence

because of the greater deterrent effect, and in turn enhanced feelings of safety. It is also

noteworthy that many of the students above indicated that campus police serve as a

deterrent for the student body, consistent with their understanding that other students are

the source of most of the problems or potential crimes on that campus. None of the

students at the urban university discussed the campus police acting a deterrent for

students or other campus insiders.

The nature of student interactions with police on both campuses will be discussed

in Chapter 6, but students on the suburban campus reported some extremely negative

encounters with campus police from a procedural perspective. Even these students

indicated that seeing the campus police has enhanced their feelings of safety. Some

examples are mentioned here to illustrate that the result of encounters and perceptions of

procedural fairness seemed to have little bearing on students' beliefs about the deterrent

effect and enhanced feelings of safety they reported in relation to police presence and

visibility. Tara, for example, had a recent encounter with campus police during

Homecoming Weekend, in which she ended up being charged for underage drinking. She

described this encounter as follows:

> I was walking down the street, or I guess alley, behind the house I was at for a
> party. You know, there's people everywhere for Homecoming; there's people in
> backyards and I did have a beer in my hand. I walked down the street with it in
> my hand and a police officer came up to me and says "Are you going to stop or do
> I have to tackle you?" I didn't even know he was talking to me so I stop, I turn
> around, he grabs it and before I know it he's breathalyzing me. There's more cops
> coming and they got all of my information and I was on my way.

When subsequently asked about how the officers treated her during the rest of this

particular incident she stated: "Um, not nice at all, I would say. It was my first time, like,

with police and I was really upset and they just, like - I don't know - they were just very

cruel about it, I guess." While she was not comfortable elaborating on what exactly made

this a "cruel" encounter, Tara's experience with police was not viewed as a positive

interaction. However, like most students attending the suburban university, Tara later

indicated that she felt safe on campus and when asked why she responded, "Well, on the

positive side of seeing the police I know that they are everywhere so they are nearby if I ever need them. If I ever have a problem I know they are reachable." Tara's perspective about her encounter during Homecoming Weekend may have been negative, but it did not necessarily tarnish her image of the campus police in their role as campus protectors.

In a similar case, Brian recounted a story about the experience of someone living on the floor of his dormitory:

> This guy I know - he's a reserve police officer, uh, or on leave while he's at school or something like that - he lives down the hall from me. He's a grad student but Residential Housing, uh, screwed up and put him in [an undergrad dorm] instead of graduate housing. He was telling me that one night he set off the smoke alarm in his room and someone from [Campus] PD knocked on his door to see what happened. Because, you know, they are all wired and all that and they must have been notified. Apparently they were accusing him of something, like "How'd you set it off? Are you smoking pot in here?" And he was like, "No, I was cooking. Look, see I'm one of you guys." He tried to pull out a badge or ID or something showing them he's a cop and they were all like, "Whoa, keep your hands where we can see them." Like he was a criminal going for a gun or something, standing in the door of his dorm room [*laughs*]. When he finally showed them he was a cop too, and a graduate student on top of that, uh, their whole, their whole--uh, demeanor changed and they apologized and told him to have a good night and left. He's a police officer and even he thinks the campus police here are ridiculous after that. They are on this power trip and are always assuming the worst about students here, I think.

Like Tara above, this encounter, which was vicarious in nature, seems to have left Brian with a negative view of campus police, particularly when it comes to treatment of the undergraduate student population, or more specifically in this case, students who have been mistakenly believed to be undergraduates on that campus. However, this did not prevent Brian from indicating that he feels safe when he sees police on campus:

> Seeing a police officer walk around campus or their cars rolling down [the] street or like just parked out in front of the [Public Safety] building is reassuring and makes me feel safer than usual. If something happens or if I needed them and they are around, I do feel really safe. Not that I don't already feel safe here; there's not much to worry about in [this town].

The implications for legitimacy within the interactions of Tara and Brian's acquaintance with campus police will be discussed in the next chapter. They are presented here in order to point out the fact that there does seem to be a distinction between satisfaction with police in terms of their general presence and perceptions of legitimacy or procedural justice in specific encounters with campus police at the suburban campus. Put another way, even if students have experienced, directly or vicariously, what they perceive to be unfair treatment by campus police, the general presence of campus police has left them with feelings of safety. While these are just two examples of the negative experiences, either direct or indirect, that some students on the suburban campus reported having with campus police, they are representative of the fact that all students with a negative encounter had only positive things to say about the general idea of police presence on their campus. This idea that students who have had negative experiences with campus police still see their presence as a positive feature may relate back to Rudy's statement that "someone wearing a badge" is likely going to serve as an immediate deterrent, regardless of how that person or another with a badge has treated a person or someone they know in the past. These officers were still viewed as providing protection to the students of the suburban university when they were visible on campus and/or were performing their patrolling duties.

THE URBAN CAMPUS

Many of the students at the urban university indicated similar feelings to those of students on the suburban campus with regard to enhanced safety when police were visible. According to Yardley, "I feel that there's a lot of security and police presence when I'm around-- when I'm walking around. So, I don't feel threatened or anything." Previously, Yardley indicated uncertainty about whether the urban campus is a safe place

based on her witnessing a man who threatened to stab another and another man who engaged in robbery under the guise of selling candy and demanding donations. However, the presence of campus police is something that she does equate with enhanced feelings of safety on campus. When asked about safety at the urban university, another student, Fahim, indicated that he feels safe on campus and that police presence is a big part of why: " I've noticed that the [University] Police, they do patrol the area a lot so it does help…I feel that the cops they have an eye everywhere."

One feature of the urban campus that differs from the suburban campus is the urban campus' close proximity to other colleges and universities, all of which have their own police forces as well. This was noticed and identified as a feature that has also enhanced feelings of safety by 16 of the 28 students in the urban school's sample. For example, Waverly indicated that it is more than just the campus police of his university, but also the police forces of nearby campuses and the local city that contribute to his feelings of safety: "Umm there's, you have umm [City] Police, [our Campus] Police, then you have [the Technical College] and the [County College] Police. I think it's, I think it's pretty safe around that - I think it's a lot of protection." Regardless of whether it is the urban university's police or another institution's police, the presence of the officers makes Fahim feel safe. Similarly, Quinn initially identified the city in which the university is located as "hostile," but cited the presence of the same police forces mentioned by Fahim and the fact that they overlap in jurisdiction as something that enhanced his overall feelings of safety on the campus:

> I've heard that uh, [this city] is a little bit hostile—I guess is a good word to, to use, but uh, with having…police on campus uh, [the Technical College] is right across the street from us. And uh, the um, uh, what is the word I'm looking for? (*snaps three times as he thinks*) Just the community college is really close by as well. It's just like, there's overlapping three and then of course there's [the City}

Police by itself, so it's really--if I felt like safe with having that many people, I know I'm not really gonna wander off campus all that much, so.

Quinn talked about the overlap of these police forces' jurisdiction as important for safety. Brad identified the concentration of these police forces in one small area as an important safety enhancer for him: "I think on campus is pretty good. [Our School has] their own police department, [The County College] have a police department, [the Technical College] has police department, you know it`s a lotta security forces concentrated in this area." Whether it was the overlapping patrol areas or the concentration of so many police forces in one small location, the presence of multiple police forces in addition to the urban university's police force was identified as an important safety enhancement in the area. Students on the suburban campus did not identify the presence of other police departments as a safety enhancement. There are no other colleges or universities nearby, with only the local municipal police and the state police having jurisdiction in the suburban town.

Like students at the suburban university, students at the urban university also indicated that having campus police visible acted not only as a safety enhancer for them, but also as a deterrent. However, while the suburban students indicated that this deterrence is generally focused on campus insiders (meaning that the goal of the police patrols is to curtail or prevent illegal behavior by students) students at the urban university who identified this deterrent effect spoke primarily about deterring campus outsiders. Xavier, told a story about encountering an officer on campus:

XAVIER: I remember one night like I was heading off campus and one of [the officers] asked me if I was ok, if I needed anything, have you seen anything recently--and, it, it was a good feeling, you know that they came to me. I didn't

really need to come to them and--they were doing a good job--there was one of them on the, on the Segway--Rolled up right next to me. Yeah, it was good. I think they're doing a good job.

INT: Ok. Can you tell me a little bit more about that? Sort of why ah-you thought it was a good thing that they stopped and talked to you and sort of how the interaction went?

XAVIER: Yeah, it wa--it--it was just--he, he didn't have to do it-- I think if someone doesn't have to do anything and they do it then it's a good thing and--that's something that should be valued but you know--him wanting to make sure I was ok and I'm sure he - before me and after me he would- did it to other students--he, he just he's doing his job.

INT: And what do you think it means to "do his job?" as a [university] police department officer?

XAVIER: Well--Just keep the environment safe and you know--his, his mere presence on campus just, you know is a good deterrent for crime but and--it was cool experience, him coming up to me.

INT: Mhhmm. So when you said him being on campus was a deterrent of crime, what exactly do you mean by that?

XAVIER: Like I'm not gonna rob you if there's like one of them right next to you--Like right next to us or in eye sight of us. You know. It just--just you know that presence is--enough to stop anyone from doing something.

This encounter with police left Xavier with an increased sense that campus police are visible and watching over the campus, not just to keep students safe but also to serve as a deterrent. Lucas identified specific places on the urban campus where campus police

position themselves as important to deterrence as well: "They sit with their lights on actually, in [the] plaza, or by the library. Um, which I feel like is a pretty good deterrent factor." The general view of police presence by students on both campuses then indicates that, like Rudy's observation, from a crime prevention perspective, people will be less inclined to engage in criminal behavior when someone "wearing a badge" is present.

It should be noted that while there were several students on the suburban campus who reported some form of unfair treatment by their campus police, there were no reports of procedurally unfair treatment by campus police from students at the urban school. This will be explored in the next chapter but is mentioned here to indicate that the impact of procedural treatment on views of the role of police presence cannot be determined in the urban setting because none of the students interviewed there indicated that their encounters were procedurally unfair.

STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF AND DIRECT EXPERIENCES WITH CAMPUS POLICE PATROL

Beyond merely identifying that the general concept or idea of campus police as present and visible was something that has enhanced their safety, students on both campuses shared specific information on when and how often they see police on campus. Their actual presence had an impact on student views on satisfaction with police patrol service. Although the overall reality of the relationship between police patrol and crime prevention or deterrence is currently unclear, according to Weisburd, Telep, Ttofi, and Farrington (2013), "Patrol is typically the largest function in police agencies…[and] being present is a major component of patrol (p. 1-2). In this regard, whether or not having police present on the suburban or urban campuses actually would decrease the potential for crime, students on both campuses seemed to generally be satisfied when they

have seen campus police patrolling. Additionally, whether or not campus police patrol has had a noted crime control impact on these campuses, students associated greater general feelings of safety with police presence. The nature of their experiences, positive, negative, neutral, or none whatsoever, did not seem to change this view of police presence as enhancing safety. However, there did seem to be a difference between the general concept of police visibility and when and how often students on each campus actually see their campus police on patrol or present around campus.

THE SUBURBAN CAMPUS

Perhaps not surprisingly, most research participants on the suburban campus indicated that they see their campus police most often on weekend evenings and nights. Student also indicated that this patrol pattern was likely purposive to target parties that were occurring on or just peripheral to campus where underage drinking and other illegal activities were taking place. For example, Lindsay reported most frequently sighting campus police "at night, you know, like when you walk down [the street where all of the frat houses are located] and all the parties are going on like you do see police all over the place, which I think is actually a really good thing." Similarly, when asked about when and where he sees campus police, Nathan stated that he also sees them along the outskirts of campus near fraternities and other homes known for parties: "Always at night on the weekends. Especially nice days out on weekends you won't walk a block without seeing one. There's a lot of bike cops, lots of cars, and security guards even walk back and forth." Previously in the interview, Nathan indicated that in his assessment, the campus police were primarily focused on what he and many other suburban students interviewed referred to as the "party atmosphere" on campus. This involved targeted patrol of certain areas on or surrounding the university's campus that were known as party locations. The

purpose of this was, according to the students, citing students for underage drinking if visibly intoxicated or the lesser violation of noise laws for students who may have been drinking but were not visibly intoxicated. Nathan went on to discuss this assessment of targeted patrols and its potential link to how often and when he would see campus police:

> NATHAN: Uh, during the day I'm not seeing that many [campus police officers], unless – obviously when I get towards the Public Safety building. I'm walking past there all of the time. But I honestly don't see cops patrolling in cars much during the day. Maybe one or two max. I see more in [my suburban hometown] than here and you would think I would see more cop cars here than in my hometown. But when it comes to weekends and night, they are everywhere-- bikes, walking.

> INT: Now, in your perceptions, based on what we were talking about before, do you think they are out more at night because they are trying to protect people or they are trying to catch people on those "noise violations"?

> NATHAN: I would say they are trying to catch people on noise violations. They know where the party zones are and they are always there. They aren't in the dark alleys; they are all on [one particular] street, patrolling, waiting for someone to get rowdy.

Like the other students interviewed at the suburban school, Nathan indicated that most of the actual visibility of police patrols on campus coincides with the "party zones" on and around campus. In Nathan's assessment the police were not patrolling areas where more serious crimes could occur.

In relation to this, commuter students who were generally only present on campus during the week in the suburban sample indicated that they had almost never seen campus

police when they were on campus. This would be consistent with the observations of the students who report only seeing police on the weekends in known party locations. When asked about how often he sees campus police, Jason who is only on campus during weekday afternoons when he has class, indicated that he has seen more of the local municipal officers in the area:

> JASON: I've seen more of the [Local] Police Department.
>
> INT: More [local] police? Ok, and you see them around a lot in comparison to
>
>   campus police?
>
> JASON: Yeah. They're around a lot. Like they're riding around on their
>
>   bikes, they're doing a lot more. They do a pretty good job at patrolling around.

Similarly, when asked about what the campus police should be doing on the suburban campus, Faith who was also a commuter stated that if she did not pass by the Public Safety building on campus, she would not have been aware that the campus had a police department:

> I definitely think they should be more present. Not like walking around constantly, but like…I guess walking around. I don't know. I don't see them a lot. You see the building and the cars so you know they are there. But other than that, if the cars weren't there, you wouldn't know they were even here.

Faith's comments clearly contrasted with Nathan and others above who did live on campus and reported seeing officers on every street corner on nights and weekends. Other students, specifically other commuters, indicated that, like Jason and Faith, they rarely see the campus police.

Several students at the suburban school expressed a concern regarding this lack of visibility during the daytime and during the week when classes are actually in session. This comparative lack of police visibility contributed to some students feeling less safe

when they are on campus during the week for classes and other university activities. For

example, Bianca indicated that:

> I know, like, Public Safety can be really, uh -- they walk around the building to
> see if there are like bottles and stuff or like, kids drinking and rowdy on the
> weekends, but maybe they should spend more time walking around campus at
> night during the week when, like, it's dark and kids are out instead of like, you
> know, you spend a lot of time catching kids drinking. But also at the same -- I get
> you're worried about their safety -- but at the same time maybe there should be
> people walking around campus, on the bikes and not just on the weekends, during
> the week when kids are coming from the libraries to their halls.

Monica indicated a similar view and commented on how the types of offenses she

believed are those of most interest to the campus police are guiding these patrolling

decisions:

> MONICA: I feel like – yeah, I feel like it's more they are trying to catch
>
> people for minor offenses and get people in trouble instead of, I guess like --
>
> they are always in the wrong place, I feel like.
>
> INT: They are always in the wrong place?
>
> MONICA: Yeah, but I sometimes feel like that is police in general [*laughs*].
>
> We're busy yelling at the stupid 19-year-old boy and it's going to go on his
>
> record that he had whatever amount of alcohol because he was, whatever,
>
> stupid. And while they are distracted with that, something more serious might
>
> be going on, like an assault, elsewhere. So they're looking in the wrong place.

Most students like Lindsay discussed previously and Bianca above reporting seeing a

need for police to patrol in areas where they believe students on the suburban campus are

partying. However Bianca expressed the need for police to patrol the campus at other

times to keep the student body safe as they go about studying, going to class, and other

weekday activities. Whereas, Monica seemed to believe that targeting relatively minor

offenses like underage drinking may be keeping police away from some of the more serious crimes occurring on campus.

Regardless of how campus police patrol have actually been organized and deployed on the suburban campus, there was a consistent message from interviewed students on the suburban campus that campus police are not as visible during weekdays as they are on weekend nights and evenings. If this is the reality of campus police patrol dispatches, it may very well be because the types of offenses and offenders most commonly encountered by the suburban campus police force - specifically those involving the weekend activities of students - require this kind of attention and patrol activity. While all students indicated feelings of safety in general while on the suburban campus, as discussed above, some mentioned that they felt less safe if and when they encountered people that they would associate with the weekend party culture. In this case, the police may have been focusing their patrols in order to enhance the safety of all.

In addition to the views that the suburban campus is less safe on the weekends reported by students like Erika, Jason, and Nathan above, Mary, made statements that reinforce this idea and that of the campus police focusing their patrol activities and targeting students for their behavior during weekend evenings. However, her statement comes as a result of her own experience of having been in trouble with the suburban campus police for underage drinking in what she characterizes as a very negative encounter. While most of the suburban students who have had negative experiences, direct or vicarious, with police generally felt that the campus police enhance safety by their sheer presence, Mary deviated from this and had a very strong dislike for campus police. She instead indicated that she has not felt safer when she has seen them, has not been satisfied with any of the policing duties they have performed on campus, and as will

be discussed in subsequent chapters, that she has not viewed them as procedurally fair or

legitimate as a policing authority. Instead of expressing concern about her safety on and

near campus on weekend nights, she noted that in her view campus police at the suburban

school go out of their way to assume that all students who they encounter on nights and

weekends are doing something illegal:

> I could tell you, like if we did an experiment and we had all the [university] kids jaywalk all day long, nobody would have a word said to them. I jaywalk in front of the cops that are driving by during the day. Nothing. But at night you go and it's like [*claps hands*] "underage[10]." It is just so annoying and if I ever brought that to anyone they'd say "Ok, well, you were underage drinking." They'd be like "you're wrong." But it is not the actual act, it's like the fact that they're, like - they are only targeting kids to get them in trouble. It's just annoying.

Consistent with the observations of other students, Mary, not only identified the campus

police focus on patrolling on weekend nights, but also suspected that they will target

students for illegal activity more so on weekends as well. Mary may have expressed

some displeasure with regard to patrol by campus police, but her lack of satisfaction is

inconsistent with the general satisfaction of students on the suburban campus. Most

students believed that the increased patrols on the weekends were a good thing but also

believed they should see campus police more frequently on weekdays as well. Mary

intimated that patrolling was not required on the campus and that the targeted patrol on

weekend nights was, for her, specifically a very big problem. Mary's viewpoint about

police patrol deviated from the rest of the suburban sample, which may result from her

repeated statements that underage drinking and partying are normal behavior for college

students and, therefore, police should not focus on these activities. Her statement is

---

[10] To get an "underage" was to be cited and/or arrested for underage drinking. The term was used consistently in interviews with students on the suburban campus and the basic indication was that this was an informal terminology that was commonly used and understood by the student body on campus because of how common arrests or citations for underage drinking are on that campus.

presented here to illustrate the overall student perception that police on the suburban campus appeared to be more visible on the weekends and they may have been scrutinizing and targeting students differently (i.e., ignoring jaywalking students during the day and addressing issues of jaywalking at night because they suspect the student may have been drinking) at this time as well.

Some students were displeased by the fact that they did not see police on campus as frequently during weekdays as they did on weekend nights, while at least one (i.e., Mary) was equally displeased that the campus police were patrolling and more visible on weekend evenings. These patrolling strategies may be the result of the suburban campus police department's assessment of patrolling needs. This may be based on the fact that these parties seem to result in the need for police intervention more often than the average weekday on campus. Regardless of this, students' general perception that police presence was limited during the week served to decrease many students satisfaction with the actual visibility of campus police at the suburban university and in turn their policing function with regard to patrol and campus safety. This is very interesting based on the suburban student reports that they did not believe the campus police were as responsible for the safety of the campus as the overall "nice" affluence of the area suggested by Jason and others. On the one hand, students did not credit the safety of the suburban campus with the work the police have done, but on the other they were dissatisfied that police were around at certain times to act as a deterrent. An observation by Kimberly in the following exchange may explain why this discrepancy exists:

> KIMBERLY: I would say campus is safe and the police are here but I don't think they really do a lot. But, I mean, I couldn't imagine them not being here either.

INT: Why is that?

KIMBERLY: Well, it would be chaos. Even if I don't see them do a lot, their

being there and people seeing them may be enough to keep people in line.

It appears that while students did not want to give credit for the safety of the campus to

the campus police, they still expected them to be present more frequently because of a

general idea about police as a "visual deterrent" as stated by Keisha.

THE URBAN CAMPUS

Unlike the suburban university, many students at the urban school indicated that

the campus police there were frequently visible and constantly patrolling around campus

and surrounding neighborhoods. Based on student accounts, crime on that campus was

likely to involve campus outsiders and was not necessarily limited to a specific time of

day or day of the week. Statements of the urban students like Fahim and others present

above about police being "everywhere" were reiterated by Nikki in her discussion about

safety on the urban campus:

INT: Um, so do you usually feel safe on campus?

NIKKI: Yeah. Because everywhere I turn, there's a security guard or a police

officer. Everywhere.

INT: Everywhere?

NIKKI: Everywhere.

INT: So, what does everywhere mean? Does that literally mean, like, every,

every step you're taking or—

NIKKI: No, not every step but like--the police, um, department is right down the

street. So you have them, all, out and about on their breaks or whatever. Um,

go inside of [the] library, there's security guards right there. You have them

patrolling around campus and everything.

Nikki's feelings of safety are associated with seeing campus police and security

"everywhere," which was a common way that students described the police presence on

that campus. Similarly, Alex indicated that seeing campus police frequently was

something he was pleased about:

> I see them always fairly involved, like, I see them sometimes they`re, depending
> on like during the busier time of day, they`re outside right on [one particular road]
> controlling traffic just to make sure that no one goes crazy when there is traffic
> and I always see them walking around campus like, they`re always walking
> around campus, around the outskirts, coming in and out, they`re always patrolling
> everything. So, I feel they really do a great job.

Other students reported that the campus police patrol in a variety of styles beyond

merely walking or driving, including use of Segway vehicles and other less traditional

forms of vehicle patrol:

> JAYDEN: I'm dyin' to ride in their little scooter things.
>
> INT: (*laughs*) Their little Segways?
>
> JAYDEN: Mm-hmm.. Can I get a ride along? I see them everywhere.

While Jayden's main point was how entertaining a ride on a Segway might be, he also

made the point that officers were out and visible on these vehicles very frequently. The

use of Segway vehicles, specifically, was something that most students associated with

the urban campus police. Of the 28 students interviewed, 18 specifically mentioned the

frequent presence of officers on Segway vehicles when discussing police patrol on

campus. Students were likely struck by the novelty of this mode of transportation, which

made seeing police patrolling campus using such a method memorable. Other less

traditional methods of patrol were also witnessed by students on the urban campus.

Others like Melissa, spoke of seeing the urban campus police officers on mopeds or all-

terrain vehicles. When asked what campus police do when she would see them, Melissa

responded, "Walking around, on their mopeds, Segways." Similarly, Alex talked about

seeing campus police officers, "on the scooters that they have, some of them are, just in

regular beats, walking on the streets."   There seemed to be a variety of patrol methods

regularly witnessed by students on the urban campus, but this was not the case on the

suburban campus. Most students saw police in the vehicles or on foot, with only two

students having seen police on that campus patrol using other means, namely bicycle

patrol.

Some students on the urban campus even indicated that just the sight of a police

vehicle could act as a deterrent on the urban campus. Amina identified this in talking

about one particular place on campus where she always feels safe:

> There is always a police car parked there like all the time 24/7, so I don't think
> anything can happen to me. Even if there is not a cop over there, but just because
> there is a cop car over there I think nothing can happen.

Her statement is reminiscent of the statement made by Keisha on the suburban campus

regarding the visual deterrent effect that campus police, or in this case campus police

paraphernalia, may have on campus.

Out of 28 students interviewed on the urban campus, 20 believed that police are

visible and present with great frequency. An additional six students believed that campus

police were patrolling a great deal, but could be patrolling in greater numbers in certain

areas, at certain times of the day, or certain days of the week. The two remaining students

believed that campus police were not patrolling or present at satisfactory levels on the

campus. Many who thought the campus police were not present enough at certain times or on certain days were resident students living in dormitories on the campus. The urban university could be considered a commuter campus with only 15% of undergraduates living on the campus. Within the interview sample, 17 of the 28 students were commuter students and as a result, they likely spent a bulk of their time on campus on weekdays when classes were in session. Some students did report seeing fewer campus police officers on the weekends. In addition to feeling safe because police cars are present, Amina, who was a resident student on campus, noted that she rarely saw campus police on the weekends and was even uncertain about whether or not the Public Safety offices were open on the weekends:

> The public safety building is closed during the weekends, so where are these people staying, like working? … it's not safe at all to not have any cops even during the weekends you don't really see cops around. Weekends we really feel it's very unsafe during the weekends. So that's one thing I would like to recommend. That there should be some measures taken to make it more safer—

So while students reported that the amount of officers visible on patrol on the weekends were fewer than those during the week, most of the students interviewed on the urban campus report seeing the police frequently and as being pleased with their ongoing presence. One other student from the urban school, Tamara, indicated that she is generally happy with the job that the police on her campus do, but she also thinks they should enhance their patrols and visibility, particularly on the weekends:

> You rarely see police like the only time you see them is if you call them when something is really happening. You don't see police, I don't see them. In some buildings, they you know it's a public school. Each building should, how society is going nowadays, students committing suicide, each building should have these, some type of police officer. It's not safe at all to not have any cops even during the weekends you don't really see cops around. Weekends we really feel it's very unsafe during the weekends.

Tamara goes even further with her suggestions about police visibility on campus to include things like sweeps of classrooms:

> [Campus police should] just show up, make their presence a little more out there. Come to our classes, do sweeps, just pass, just walk the halls, they, they should just be able to come into our classroom and just walk out. And it's a public school like, its people everywhere. They are telling us 9 times out of 10, oh" if you see like a strange item or strange bags and stuff like that", but where are you? Like why don't you come walk the halls, especially like [this particular academic] hall. It's so open there are doors everywhere. So it's just like you need to, I saw a security guard sitting there and I was like "Oh okay, this is what you do, just sit there lounging, but if there really is an incident you are just lounging. By the time you get up the incident is going to pass." I they just need to make random visits to the school, do sweeps and stuff like that.

Tamara clearly believes that campus police should indeed be present not just outside, but in all of the buildings and throughout campus as well. Her extreme suggestions may stem from the fact that she is also one of the few students that has experienced direct victimization near the campus, which required a call for assistance first from the state police and then from the campus police:

> I was leaving campus….There was this guy, he must have been deranged or something but he had like--I was just walking and I noticed him, he was in a corner but I was just passing by walking, minding my business. Uut of nowhere he goes [*acts as if something is being thrown at her*]. He had like a can of soda in his hand, he hurled it at me, he is charging behind me, so I'm walking and I know that…on [this street] you know where the state troopers are usually, [where] those buildings are? So I went over there, but of course they were of no help. They said to call, they called [campus police]. They called [campus] police, they came on the scene, they did the drive around to see if they could find him. They didn't find him at first. A little while later they did find him…..they did a police report and everything, but they said it was nothing much that they could do because even if they take him, put him in a hospital, get him evaluated he is still going to be out.

Her experience with this potentially "deranged" man was quite a random encounter. This incident and its random nature may be the reason why Tamara believed that campus police were not as present on patrol as they should be and perhaps if they were as vigilant as she expected, they would have been there to assist her more quickly. So while a few

students were not pleased with the amount of police presence on the urban campus, either because they perceived there to be fewer police on the weekends or because there are no police consistently present in all locations or making sweeps of classrooms, most indicate campus police were patrolling and making themselves visible in sufficient amounts.

The findings here that indicate the suburban students reported seeing campus police more frequently on the weekends, particularly at night, and most of the urban students indicated seeing campus police frequently at most times of the day and most days of the week (with the possible exception of limited visibility on the weekends) is likely to be the result of the policing needs of each respective campus. And as stated before, based on student reports that the party culture on the suburban campus was the biggest threat there and crime from outsiders was the biggest threat to students on the urban campus, these patrol patterns and levels of visibility would seem to have been tailored to the specific needs of each campus.

However, since this study measures students' perceptions of police patrol and visibility, not necessarily the realities of actual police patrol deployments, it stands to reason that students on either campus would have seen campus police patrolling when they themselves were more likely to be out or around campus as well. One student from the urban school, Lucas, identified this when stating that he has seen campus police more frequently during the day, "I feel like I see them a lot more during the day, but that's probably the fact that I'm out more during the day than I am at night." In this regard, the students on the suburban campus may have spent more time out on campus in the evening hours on weekends. Additionally, because students there generally believed that the campus police were focused on student wrongdoing as opposed to student safety, they

themselves may have been watching for campus police more closely at these times. Since students on the urban campus did not state anything about campus police concerned with student offending or the targeting of students for enforcement, they would have no reason to watch for campus police at specific times of day or in specific places.

The fact that students are most likely busier and perhaps less observant during the day is another issue of police visibility that was brought up by a student. Anna from the suburban campus stated that she has seen campus police, "At night especially. That makes me feel safe. But during the day I don't see the cars, but that might just be because I'm not looking for it or there's a bunch of kids running around trying to get to class and stuff." If this is the case, then students may generally be more cognizant of the presence of campus police when they are not on their way to class or preoccupied with other weekday activities. At night then, when students are not concerned about getting to class or completing assignments or whatever it might be, they are perhaps a bit more observant and that may be why they see more police then. Some may also be more observant for campus police at night, particularly on the suburban campus, because, just like Mary and some others there indicated, campus police are also more likely to be watching them more closely on the weekend nights.

When and how often students reported seeing police on both the urban and suburban campuses may not necessarily reflect the reality of how police on each respective campus are dispatched or organized. That said, the perceived visibility of campus police on both campuses is consistent with student beliefs about what police on each campus were focused on in terms of enforcement and safety. The suburban police force was perceived as more interested in policing their students for law violations, specifically violations involving alcohol or drugs. Therefore according to students there,

police were more visible on weekend nights where they were more likely to encounter students engaging in these illegal behaviors. On the other hand, the urban campus police force was generally viewed as there to protect the student body from victimization by outsiders to the campus community and therefore, according to students, were generally present or patrol the campus with greater frequency and regularity across day and night as well as days of the week.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This purpose of this chapter was to identify and examine similarities and differences in the urban and suburban student views of and satisfaction with (1) the safety of each campus and the role that campus police play in maintaining that safety, (2) police presence as a general concept , and (3) actual experiences that students have had on both campus with regard to seeing police engaging in patrol or other official duties. When it comes to overall views of safety and related issues of campus police and police presence on these two campuses, students in both of these environments have both common and disparate views that seem to be predicated or contingent upon the larger community context in which each campus is located.

Students in both settings indicated that they felt safe on their respective campus and that seeing campus or other police has enhanced these feelings of safety. However, students on the suburban campus hesitated to fully credit campus police as the main reason for safety on campus. Instead, they believed that the campus and surrounding suburban community were fairly safe places in and of themselves and that this safety has spilled over onto the campus environment, leaving campus police with very few crime problems to address.   When there were crimes occurring on the suburban campus, students has a sense that these mostly involved other students in relation to the party

culture on campus. In terms of visibility, students reported seeing campus police most often patrolling and dealing with issues related to this party environment. While most students spoke of seeing increased patrols during typical party times as a good thing, a few others indicated that when they see campus police less frequently during the week, it makes them feel less secure. For the suburban students, this was somewhat of a contradiction considering that they had little regard for the actual role that the suburban campus police played in maintaining safety on that campus.

Counter to this, students on the urban campus very quickly associated safety on campus with the campus police and the work that they have done. They generally believed the campus environment was safe because the campus was protected or insulated from the surrounding urban community, which many indicated is comparatively unsafe. Students also believed that when crime has occurred on that campus, it has generally involved people from the larger community who are not affiliated with the university. They attributed much of this sense of being removed from or protected from the larger urban context on the belief that campus and other police are very visible on campus, with most indicating that they are visible on campus patrolling or engaging in other duties just about any time.

Chapter 5

STUDENT EXPERIENCES AND SATISFACTION WITH FORMAL POLICING DUTIES OF THEIR CAMPUS POLICE

As seen in Chapter 4, most students on both campuses were cognizant of campus police, based on their reports of when and where campus police patrolled, and they had varying levels of satisfaction with the ways in which police patrolled on each campus. Comparatively fewer reported having dealt directly or indirectly with campus police in the course of their official policing duties. On the suburban campus, 10 of the 28 students interviewed reported having direct or vicarious experience with campus police in an official capacity, while 6 out of the 28 students on the urban campus reported having such experiences. In this chapter, I analyze student discussions these official contacts, including the nature of police responses, calls for service, campus investigations, other dealings with campus police in their official capacity, as well as unique service provisions. In addition, I compare these formal policing duties between campus and other police forces.

THE SUBURBAN CAMPUS AND THE WORK OF CAMPUS POLICE

Perhaps not surprisingly, most student experiences with the suburban campus police involved students as perpetrators of party-based illegal activity. Students reported being generally pleased with the response from campus police in terms of assistance, calls for service, and other encounters. For example, Keisha shared a story about her friend who was caught smoking marijuana in a parked vehicle by campus police:

> I guess a friend had decided that it would be a good idea to go sit in somebody's car and smoke. Dumb idea, knowing that we have legit police, not mall cops. They left a party early and thought it would be a good idea to come back to campus and sit in the car and smoke. They were all arrested and had to go to court. Uh, my friend's case got dropped because they decided she was just in the wrong place at the wrong time. But, uh, they are swift and they will do their job.

While her friend's actions were illegal and may have been perceived as "dumb," Keisha

was very impressed by how quickly the campus police addressed this incident. She

continued to discuss the "swiftness" of their actions during this incident when asked

about the role of campus police in maintaining safety on campus:

> As a result of my friends getting arrested swiftly - It was a dumb mistake, but the police were there, swift in their actions. They may have just been patrolling, but even if they were, they still were swift in their decision-making process. The police showed up and they were swift in their actions.

It was unclear to Keisha whether the police stumbled upon the individuals during routine

patrol or if they were responding to a call about the vehicle, but either way the fact that

the campus police were there and handled the situation accordingly seemed to satisfy

Keisha.

In another example related to police response on the suburban campus, several

students indicated that they were pleased with campus police response to calls for overly

intoxicated people. Katie recalled a story involving a friend who was arrested by campus

police:

> . He decided it would be a good idea to chug a whole water bottle of vodka. So me being me, I'm like the mom, so I told him to stop. But my friends were like, "No, he's having fun, he's having fun." And I was like, "No, he's not. He's not going to be having fun tomorrow." And he decided to have some other alcohol and he-- we like went out--and he puked and we tried to get him back in [to the dorm] but the security guard obviously knew he was wasted. So, he sat him down and the police came and handcuffed him and took him out. And, it was kind of good for

him though because they took him to Public Safety and they breathalyzed him and

he had a .27[11].

Many students told similar stories about themselves or other friends who were very

intoxicated. Only 14 reported direct experience with the police as a result of their

drinking or drug use, an additional 21 out of the 28 students interviewed had vicarious

experience with campus police as a result of the behavior of their friends or other

associates on the campus. Typically, they indicated that while they or their friends were

not pleased they had been arrested, they were happy that campus police intervened and

responded when they did. Several of these suburban students, like Katie's friend, had to

be taken to a nearby hospital to be treated for alcohol poisoning and were grateful for the

police intervention due to the health risks involved.

All of these police responses for alcohol and drug related issues clearly align with

the party culture on the suburban campus, but students also spoke about police

responding to other calls or incidents on campus as well. Overall, they were pleased with

response times and the outcomes of encounters. For example, Anna shared an account of

how the police responded when someone set off fireworks on campus:

> I do think they are very fast to respond to a situation. For instance, when I was
> meeting a friend to head into town she was waiting outside and I was on my way
> down and she texted me to say I just missed an explosion. By the time I got
> outside, police were there. Police got there in less than a minute. So response
> times are great.

Similarly, Neil shared a story about police response to a medical emergency in class:

> NEIL: My roommate, last week had a girl in his class that seized and I know he

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[11] This student is referring to her friend's blood-alcohol content. According to AlcoMeters (n.d.), a
company that manufactures breathalyzer equipment, alcohol impairment in males begins with blood-
alcohol content between .02 and .08, depending on weight. Significant impairment occurs between .06
and .15 and death is possible once the blood-alcohol content reaches .27. ("Blood Alcohol Chart for
Estimation', n.d.)

said that they [campus police] were pretty quick about getting there and stuff

like that. So--

INT: Oh, no. So the situation was okay?

NEIL: Yeah. I guess she woke up and stuff and he said by the time he was

walking out of the building, the campus police was just getting there.

INT: So, they responded pretty quickly?

NEIL: Yeah from what he said they responded pretty quickly.

Jake described what happened when he called campus police because of an argument he

believed was a domestic dispute:

> There was like an argument going on between a girlfriend and boyfriend and I
> heard them saying like, "I'm going to stab you." And I heard the guy say, "Put the
> knife down, put the knife down." So I called [Campus Police] and they showed up
> and handled the situation calmly. So they settled them down. I don't think
> anything more came of it. So that was a pretty positive experience.

Students on the suburban campus, then, seem satisfied with how the campus police

response to and handle crimes and other emergency situations on campus.

Alternatively, only two students interviewed on the suburban campus had any

experience with investigative work by the campus police and neither student was satisfied

with the job that the police did in these investigations. Anna described an investigation of

marijuana use in her dorm. She was not the target of the investigation, but a friend was:

> What I remember about the night was I was in my room and I came out and the
> floor smelled extra strong of weed. We always had people smoking it in that hall,
> but this was potent. And I noticed – cuz I was walking to get some dinner – that
> the RA's were hanging out in the male end of the floor….I came back after dinner
> to basically a big commotion in the lounge – I saw my friend there and he looked
> distraught. So I went over and asked him about it and apparently they were
> pinning the weed possession on him, so he was upset. So he told me what
> happened – he and his roommate were at a hockey game when another friend of
> his called and said the RAs were banging on their door. They think that the RAs
> and the campus police picked their door because they had both lost their keys and
> were in the process of getting a new lock and keys. So when they left the room,

> they had to leave it unlocked so they were able to get in....So he let [the police] in the room and they took a few walkarounds but the officer apparently spied a small "leafy substance" on the desk and he was like, "Uh, I betcha if we test this it's gonna be weed." He sounded really happy about it. And he flashed it around so everyone could see it – it was literally the size of like a 12 point font letter or something. And I'm thinking, that could be anything – dirt from boots, oregano [*laughs*], anything. It just didn't seem like it was enough evidence, but if they tested it and it was pot, ok.

Though she did not believe the officers ever tested the leafy substance, Anna said her friend ended up being charged with drug possession regardless. She clearly thought that the officers did little in terms of an actual investigation and merely chose to charge the students whose room was easiest to get into based on questionable evidence:

> ANNA: There was no system to how they picked the room. It was simply that room was unlocked so they could go in that room. They could open the door, see what was in there.
>
> INT: So it was random luck that they hit that door?
>
> ANNA: Well, sort of – it was targeted in a sense that they knew the room was accessible so they went there. It seemed very targeted because the kid who actually was smoking weed was out in the lounge and had admitted it to a few of us.

Anna clearly did not believe that the police fully investigated this incident and merely chose to target the dorm room with the open door because it was the easiest course of action.

In another incident in which a student felt the police did not conduct an investigation properly on the suburban campus, Patrice recounted a time in which he was mistakenly identified as the perpetrator of some vandalism by the suburban campus police:

> I was accused of breaking the glass doors over at the library. I was a freshman and I got a call to report to Public Safety. So I go over and I'm taken to a room like this one and they were like, "Where were you this day? What were you doing?" And I told them I wasn't sure because it was a while ago. And they were like, "Well, did you have a paper due end of the semester?" And I was like, "I have papers due all of the time." They were like, "Was it a long paper?" And I was like, "Why are you asking me?" "Because we have you on camera destroying the monitor of a computer at the library and then breaking the door on your way out." And I'm like, "I don't go to the library." I genuinely don't. I had to go on my phone and show them my work schedule - at the time I worked at [a local pharmacy] and I always took a picture of the weekly schedule with my phone so I knew when I was working - and until they saw that, they didn't believe me. So I was just a black guy who sort of fit the description….It pissed me off. Once they realized it wasn't me, their attitude switched up….They were like, "Oh, we're sorry." I'm like, "I don't want to hear your sweet nothings because five minutes ago, that wasn't the case."

There may have been some underlying racial issues here, as well as some issues of procedural fairness, which will be discussed in the next chapter. The police had their facts wrong in implicating Patrice in the vandalism in the library and he was clearly displeased that their investigation led to this erroneous accusation.

It seems that student experience with investigations is not commonplace on the suburban campus, based on the fact that talk about investigations was only brought up by two students. Additionally, the two students' accounts of police investigations on the suburban campus were fairly negative, with both indicating that the police did not investigate the incidents effectively enough to actually identify the correct perpetrators. This is also consistent with existing research, specifically with regard to findings about students' belief that campus police are ill-equipped and lack the training and the ability to investigate and clear crimes on campus (Miller and Pan, 1987).

THE URBAN CAMPUS AND THE WORK OF CAMPUS POLICE

While the few calls for service and interactions with campus police recalled by the suburban students involved emergency situations or illegal activity involving drugs or

alcohol, the same cannot be said for the urban campus. Only three students indicated that they had interacted with campus police or had heard about an incident where campus police responded due to drug or alcohol use. One student, Rosario, was a resident advisor (RA) on the urban campus. She reported that campus police contacted her to let her know that one of her residents had been taken to the hospital for suspected alcohol poisoning from a nearby location off campus:

It happened to one of my residents and I was on duty so they ended up calling me. And they [campus police] just told me "FYI, so and so got sent to the hospital." So I remember, to get more info I called them and they told me to call the [Technical College] Police Department 'cuz they had - it was [where the fraternity houses are located] so they had picked up the student and called [our campus police].

Rosaria did not talk about whether she was pleased with the response from the campus police involved, but this example is included to illustrate that students on the urban campus rarely reported that campus police addressed issues of drinking as part of their policing duties. Based on the accounts of those students interviewed for this study, partying and drinking did not seem quite as widespread or common on the urban campus and therefore were not mentioned nearly as frequently when students discussed their understanding of policing duties on that campus.

Police response times and responsiveness, issues that were consistently brought up by students at the suburban campus, also were not widely discussed by students on the urban campus. The one exception was Tamara, whose experience of being assaulted by a man who threw a soda at her was described above. Because the incident occurred off

campus, she initially sought assistance from the local police before contacting her campus police.

> TAMARA: I waited for hours and hours and hours. I didn't, at first I didn't call [campus] police, I ended up waiting for the [city] police. That was the worst thing to do, I should have called [campus] police, duhhh. Someone said, "you are um a student at [the university]. Why didn't you call [the university]?" Finally when I called [campus police], they came, they took the umm ride around, you know they drove around. Couldn't find him, but then half hour later they ended up finding him because I gave the description of what the guy looked like.

> INT: Okay. So you found them helpful?

> TAMARA: But they said that there was nothing that I could do.

In Tamara's experience, the campus police were not only responsive to her call for assistance, but they were better and faster in responding to her call for assistance than the local police. Response time and responsiveness may not have been common themes that arose from students interviewed on the urban campus because fewer of them reported direct formal contact with their campus police. It also could be because most students reported that campus police on the urban campus were generally very visible and therefore fast response times may be implied as a result of their close proximity at most times.

Most of the calls for service and other interactions shared by the urban students involved such issues as being locked out of a vehicle, or lost or stolen small items like wallets and book bags; witnessing relatively minor crimes like theft of mobile phones; or direct crime victimization in the form of robbery or minor assault. Not surprisingly, these

latter events tended to involve perpetrators who were not members of the campus

community. Students generally reported being pleased with the police work performed by

the campus police in these instances. For example, Yardley shared her experience

contacting campus police when she locked herself out of her vehicle.

> It was on the campus. Um, she [the campus police officer] came--it was a female police officer. Um, she was very nice. Um, and she said, uh, what was she telling me? Um, actually the method that she used to open my car. I've never seen that method before and I was just asking her about it. And, she was just, generally, like, she was just, like, really nice. And I liked the interaction that I had with her.

Yardley reported being satisfied with the officer's work. From a legitimacy perspective,

she indicated that this was a positive encounter and seemed pleased that the officer was

nice, taking the time to explain how she opened the door. Danica recounted her

experience when reporting that her wallet was stolen from her vehicle:

> It was gone but I didn't really notice 'til I got home. So then I contacted the police and that was on a metered parking spot so they really didn't have any cameras to do anything. And … they were just like, "Oh, maybe it will turn up. Maybe you have it." You know, type of thing.

The campus police do not seem like they were very helpful in this scenario, but she

continued:

> DANICA: Umm well, I mean…I understand how they responded because like…I
>
> kind of woulda responded the same way too because like if some girl was like,
>
> "Ohh, there's no damage to my car but my wristlet's just gone." Like, maybe
>
> you lost it. You know. But after, like I knew, I knew I wasn't crazy but maybe
>
> to them, I sounded like I didn't know.
>
> INT: Okay so do you, you think they handled it okay?
>
> DANICA: Yea, they handled it okay.

Even though the campus police did not actively attempt to assist Danica in locating her

lost or stolen property, she was still satisfied with the actions of the police in this matter,

primarily because she herself admitted that she may have lost it and there was no other

damage. Several students on the urban campus also indicated that they did not bother

going to campus police for relatively minor issues like these because they felt that the

police had much more important or better things to do. For example, Rosaria stated that

she would likely never call for a campus police escort, even though the service is

available to students on the urban campus. She explained:

> I feel like that would, it would be like, irritate, like, [campus police] if anytime I
> come, leave from [the train station] I don't want to get a cab and I just call them.
> So that's one of the reasons why. And I feel like they have more important stuff to
> do. And unless it's an, uh, immediate danger for myself then I feel like, if it's not
> a life or death situation [I shouldn't call them].

This sentiment was repeated by several students who believed that because of the campus

environment, the police have much more important threats to address. When looking at

situations that could be considered "life or death" and the way that the urban campus

police reportedly responded, Eric shared his experience as a robbery victim:

> INT: Oh. Uh, have you ever witnessed a crime on campus?
>
> ERIC: Well, yeah, kind of.
>
> INT: Can you tell me about that?
>
> ERIC: Well, like January, maybe a day before, a day before the semester started I
>   got robbed.
>
> INT: Oh, wow. I'm sorry. Um, can you tell me more about that? Like what time
>   of day it was--
>
> ERIC: It was at like nighttime. Uh, that's why I'm kinda shaky at nighttime up

here. And I, as I was walking back to my dorms at the time and I was taking a

shortcut, and then three, three people came out of that short cut at the same

time I walked through. So they stopped me and made me empty out my

pockets. And I was just like, "Oh crap, I'm just trying to get back to my dorm

room without any problems."

INT: Um, ok. Did you report the incident when you were--

ERIC: Uh, yes. And they like put out a crime alert and everything so--

INT: And that was this semester?

ERIC: No, last semester.

INT: Last semester, ok. Um, so how was that experience with the [University]

Police? When you reported it?

ERIC: Well, like for me it took kinda long 'cuz it was like my fault on my part

because I wasn't descriptive enough in the report that I gave the first time….So

I had to go in about like, like one or two more times, just to give like a full like,

like description. Like, I had to be really descriptive and whatnot 'cuz I messed

that up on the first time, so I just had to go back. Like, they called me and I had

to go back, and had to be like, much more descriptive than I was. I just laid it

all out there, like, the last time I went, and then after that they said, "Alright,

you're good."

INT: Uhh, did you think that you had a good interaction with the [University]

Police?

ERIC: Uh, yeah it was alright. They, they were just telling me like, it's alright, it's

not a problem, we'll take care of it. Like, so they're helpful. I didn't have to

worry about it again after that.

INT: Alright, so you felt pretty good about it?

ERIC: Yeah.

Eric did not indicate whether or not the individual was found, but he felt "pretty good" about the fact that the campus police worked with him to get the best information and description of the offenders for inclusion in the campus email alert.

Students from the urban university made very little mentioned of experiences with campus police as they investigated crime or reports of crime. This is not necessarily surprising, since there were so few students in the urban sample that reported direct or vicarious experience with the police in the course of their formal policing duties on campus. However, this does make it difficult to engage in comparison of student views of the effectiveness of campus police investigations on each campus.

Consistent with existing studies of student levels of satisfaction with the work and services provided by campus police, students on both campuses seemed to view campus police responses to alcohol-related incidents, calls for service, and criminal activity in a positive light. The experiences of students on each respective campus highlight the seemingly very different dynamics of each campus in terms of who requires assistance from the campus police, who is engaging in crime on each campus, and who is most often the target of campus police investigations. Again, the difference between the campuses seems to be an issue of insiders versus outsiders. When police on the suburban campus were called for service, responding to or investigating criminal activity, the focus was primarily upon the undergraduate student body as perpetrators or those in need of assistance and most interactions involve alcohol or drugs. When the urban campus police are called for service or are responding to criminal activity, calls for routine service issues focus upon students in need, but criminal activity appears to be limited to student victims

who had been victimized by people with seemingly no connection to the university community.

The one area in which the suburban students did describe lack of satisfaction with the work the police do on their campus involved their investigative skills. Only two students discussed interfacing with the campus police in this way but neither was satisfied. Both believed that instead of investigating properly, campus police merely selected specific students as the culprits or accused them of criminal behavior because these students were easy targets based on circumstantial evidence or perhaps even racial bias. This could indicate some very problematic issues with regard to the investigative work on that campus. However, since only two students reported having witnessed or experienced investigative work on the campus, no specific conclusions can be drawn. Unfortunately, students interviewed from the urban university did not observe their campus police engaged in investigations and therefore had little to say about the investigative skills of their campus police, making comparison of the investigative skills of police on both campuses difficult. Overall, students at both schools seemed to have relatively positive views of the work that police are performing on their campuses, but there was some indication that, like Ferrandino (2012) and Miller and Pan (1987) found, the two students on the suburban campus who saw or were the subject of investigations believed campus police many not be as proficient when it comes to investigations and proper clearing of crimes.

STUDENT VIEWS OF UNIQUE SERVICE OFFERINGS BY CAMPUS POLICE

As previously noted, in addition to the general policing duties of campus police on both campuses, each department offered unique services tailored to the needs of the universities' respective community members. These include shuttle services, campus

escorts, defense training courses, and other services designed primarily with the safety

and security of students in mind. Both universities had emergency call boxes throughout

campus, provided trainings and seminars about crimes prevention and defense again rape.

The suburban university also offered a registration service for the serial numbers of

computers, bicycles, and other valuable items that would be helpful if they were ever lost

or stolen. Additionally, the urban university offered escorts by campus police and used

social media pages to communicate with students. However, when students on both

campuses were asked about their familiarity with or utilization of the specific services

offered by their respective campus police departments, most indicated that they were only

familiar with the most visible of these services. These visible services include campus

police patrolling the campus grounds, shuttle services, and emergency call boxes that are

installed on both campuses that can be used to connect to campus police in the event of an

emergency. Students on both campuses reported either little to no knowledge of other

services or no direct experience in utilizing these services either. For example, Stephen

on the suburban campus indicated awareness of the emergency call boxes, stating, "They

have the call boxes everywhere just in case." However, Stephen, like most other students

on each campus, reported no awareness or use of other safety services:

> INT: As far as the services that the [University] Police offer, how familiar are you
>
> with some of them? You've talked about the callboxes, that's obvious….Do
>
> you know of any of the others that they offer?
>
> STEPHEN: Yeah, no.
>
> INT: OK. Well I'm going to run through a list. We'll talk about them so you have
>
> seen the call boxes, have you ever umm found yourself in an opportunity where
>
> you needed to use them?

STEPHEN: No.

INT: No? OK. Have you ever attended any public safety instructional seminars or
 trainings?

STEPHEN: I have not.

INT: Ok. Did you know that the [Campus Police] Department offers a rape
 aggression defense training?

STEPHEN: No.

INT: And did you know that they offer a registration service for valuable items
 like laptops and that kind of stuff?

STEPHEN: No [*laughing*].

INT: So, my follow up question is how effective do you think the campus police
 are in making their programs and services known to students?

INT: Umm not too, [*laughing*] not too well, yeah, considering. I know the call
 boxes but. That was a thing on the tour.

Students at the urban university also had very little knowledge of the services provided by
their campus police. While some students had knowledge of a service and others did not,
following exchange with Nikki is fairly representative of the urban students' discussions
regarding special service offerings:

INT: So, how familiar are you with the public safety services that are offered by
 the [University] Department of Public Safety and the [University] Police?

NIKKI: All I know is that they ride Segways [*laughs*]

INT: So, so nothing beyond Segways?

NIKKI: Yeah.

INT: Um, so, do you know of any services that they offer?

NIKKI: No.

INT: Okay. Um, so we're going to run through some of them and I'm going to ask you some questions about it, uh, to get a sense of what you're aware of or what you may or may not have used. So have you noticed the emergency call boxes on or around campus? Like those little blue buttons?

NIKKI: Oh, okay, yeah.

INT: Okay, um, have you ever used them?

NIKKI: No.

INT: Okay. Uh, do you ever use the campus escort service? So that's like when somebody like walks you somewhere.

NIKKI: Oh no.

INT: So do you ever, um, or, I'm sorry, have you ever attended any public safety instructional seminars or trainings?

NIKKI: No.

INT: Okay. Um, were you aware that the Rutgers Department of Public Safety has both a Facebook page and a Twitter account?

NIKKI: No.

INT: Okay, um, so did you know that the Rutgers Public Safety Department offers a rape aggression defense training?

NIKKI: No, but I wouldn't be surprised.

INT: Um, so, have you, so you've never taken this training, then, you didn't even know about it?

NIKKI: [*Respondent nods*]

INT: Okay. Um, so how effective do you think the Rutgers Department of Public

Safety is in making its programs and services known to students?

NIKKI: I guess not effective if I didn't know about it. [*both laugh*]

Students from each school answered questions about their experiences and knowledge of these service offerings in much the same way as Stephen and Nikki, with a resounding "No" with regard to both utilization and awareness.

Of the few students on either campus who knew about some of these public safety services, most either had some official connection to the school, such as Bianca on the suburban campus who serves as a Peer Assistant, or Rosaria, who is an RA on the urban campus. Also some students had heard about services directly from RAs and other campus staff, but not from campus police specifically. Bianca was aware of the instructional seminars on the suburban campus because "the officer came and talked to us [Peer Assistants] about promoting them on campus," and Rosaria reported awareness of the campus escort and defense trainings offered on campus. However, as identified above, she had not utilized the campus escorts and later indicated that she had not attended any of the defense trainings.

The general consensus among students on both campuses was that if these services exist and are available but they have very little awareness of them, then campus police are not doing enough to promote or even market these service offerings. According to Keisha on the suburban campus, beyond the call boxes:

> I think the rest [of the services] are valuable but I don't think that students know about them. And it may just be that I am never up here long enough to figure it out. But I think that is something that should, like be known to students that all of these services are offered because if they have them, there is no point if people aren't using them. I think they need to let students know about this and could be doing a better job of it…Public safety should come speak to us.

Students on the urban campus had similar views that these services could be useful, but that campus police had not done a sufficient job of making them known to students. Tamara initially cited the possibility that she lived off campus as a possible reason why she has not been aware of many services offered by campus police, but then indicated that campus police should be doing more to make students like her aware of them:

> INT: So how effective do you think the Department of Public Safety is in making these programs and services known to students?

> TAMARA: I don't know, maybe because I'm off campus, but I've been here for a little, quite some time. I'm usually aware of what's happening on campus and a lot of times I just feel like uh where's security been?

While several students on both campuses felt the same as Keisha and Tamara, a few others identified the role of student agency and placed the responsibility for knowing about these services on the students instead of campus police. Patrice, on the suburban campus, observed, "I think they [campus police] just know that students don't care. They will do their part putting the information out there but it may not reach the people who need it the most, because they don't care." Kamal, a reporter for the student newspaper on the urban campus, initially shared sentiments similar to those of Patrice on the suburban campus, but ultimately decided that the campus police are not promoting these services as effectively as they could be:

> I feel the police department does an adequate job in doing this. I mean, the Chief did make a, did put all of his tips of safety in the newspaper. But then again you have to understand that not everyone in the school reads the newspaper in the first place, so, and also we have to understand that not everyone is going to…not everyone is getting the same information that I'm getting from the…police department [in my role as a crime reporter]. So, I don't think the general population knows a lot about the public safety tips, and the things that are offered by [the] Public Safety Department because it's not really doing the best job in advertising.

So while some students felt that the onus should be placed on the students to become informed about the service of the police on each campus, the majority placed this responsibility squarely upon the campus police. Many believed that, because they had very little knowledge of these services, the police needed to be more effective in providing information about them. Overall, students were generally dissatisfied with the perceived lack of information on these services, which they expected should come from police on both campuses.

STUDENT VIEWS OF CAMPUS VERSUS LOCAL POLICE

Students on both campuses made several comparisons between the police work and duties of their campus police in relation to those of other local police. Suburban students generally viewed other local police more favorably than their campus police. They specifically cited their perception that campus police are primarily focused on the party atmosphere on campus instead of other crime problems. Additionally, they viewed the campus police as less resourceful, less skilled in investigating crimes, even potentially more likely to cover up crime problems than other local police. The urban students reported mixed views of their campus police in comparison to the work performed by the local city police and other police departments in the area, with some seeing the campus police in a very favorable light in terms of the work they perform and other viewing them as less effective in their policing duties. When students on each campus where asked how they compare their campus police to other local police, it seems that students on the suburban campus measured these differences in terms of skill, training, and other background factors of the police. The urban students made comparisons based on actual

experiences of police officers in relation to the seriousness of crimes they address and how frequently they have to address them.

THE SUBURBAN CAMPUS

Students on the suburban campus generally indicated that the school's party culture was the source of most crime problems on campus. Many suggested that focusing on this issue made the campus police seem lesser than other police, who focus on what they considered more pressing crime problems. Nathan observed, "Where I live, cops are playing a much bigger role in public safety there because like I said, cops here are more focused on going door to door and fining people." Carolyn summed up the view of many students on the suburban campus in this regard when asked to compare the suburban campus' police to other local police forces:

> CAROLYN: Well, obviously, the [campus police] are more concerned about drinking on campus and things like that while the other police are focused on crimes in the town and stuff like that.
>
> INT: Ok, so you think university police are more focused on students committing crimes as opposed to general issues of public safety or victimization of students, or is there a mixture of both?
>
> CAROLYN: I think it's both but they have to focus on drinking and things like that more than other police.
>
> INT: OK, but why is that, do you think?
>
> CAROLYN: Well, there is a lot of drinking going on here and not much else. They really have nothing else to focus on besides alcohol. And besides that, I don't know if I'd be comfortable with them handling anything more serious than that.

INT: Why do you say that?

CAROLYN: I feel like since, since all they deal with is drunk people, they

wouldn't know what to do if these were real criminals they were facing. That

is terrible to say I guess [*laughs*], but that is how I feel.

Carolyn's comments suggest that the suburban campus police lack experience in dealing with the crime issues that more traditional forms of police would likely encounter on a more frequent basis. Other students indicated that they did not believe that campus police had other skills required to address serious crime problems. When asked about level of his comfort reporting victimization to campus police, Jason stated he would prefer to go to the local municipal police:

JASON: I think I'd feel more confident with the [local] police investigating it.

INT: Why is that? What's, what's the difference?

JASON: I know that the jurisdiction that would be -- I'd have to go to the

university. I'd just like, I don't know. The feeling I get from each of them--

like their command presence is a little bit better than--It just seems like their

tactics are better. What's the word I'm looking for? Like more, more in depth,

more thorough.

While Jason's view may be influenced by the fact that he wss a police academy graduate himself, his view seems consistent with the overall views of students on the suburban campus regarding their perceptions of the limited proficiency and skill of their police force in comparison to other police.

In addition to a perceived lack of skill or experience in handling issues other than drinking and various party-related activities, students on the suburban campus also indicated that they believed their campus police lack resources in comparison to other

police forces. Like Jason above, Janine also expressed that she would rather go to the local municipal police for what she deems more serious victimization:

> JANINE: It depends on what it is. Like, robbery I would report, but others – like sexual assault – I don't know. I just feel like they wouldn't do much about it.
>
> INT: So you wouldn't want to report a sexual assault?
>
> JANINE: No, I would, but I just feel like I don't know if I'd want to go through that whole – Like I would definitely report it, but I don't know if I would rather like go to a big – like the [local municipal police]. I don't know because I feel like [campus police] don't really do anything [*laughs*].
>
> INT: So you would get another police department involved in a more serious type of offense like sexual assault?
>
> JANINE: Yeah, with more resources, I guess. I don't know.
>
> INT: So if you were comparing the [local police] and [the campus police], the [local police] have what – more resources?
>
> JANINE: Yeah, more resources, bigger, more like – I don't know, experience. I just feel like [campus police] don't do anything that much. I mean, they do stuff but…they are more focused on underages and that stuff.

While Janine would prefer to seek assistance from the local municipal police for sexual assault, Richard indicated that he would prefer to seek assistance from local police, which he refers to as "the real police" if he experienced any serious crimes involving a weapon:

> If you pull an actual gun or knife on me and I visually, like see it, then I would rather go to the real police, the [local police here]. Because I would want to see if the gun is registered to you, or what other offenses you have….And I have a feeling that [local] police would go more, like I feel like they would investigate it more and actually make an arrest. Whereas [campus police] would be like, "Ok, this is in our hands. We'll get it resolved." When they probably would just take the weapon away and if it was a student, they would fine the student, or expel

them or something, whereas the [local police] would investigate and arrest the person.

Thus, Richard suggested that not only would campus police lack the resources to deal with a weapon-based offense in the appropriate way and with the proper investigatory skill, but that the perpetrator involved would not be handled appropriately in terms of adjudication and punishment, particularly if s/he were a student at the university.

One student, Monica, indicated she would not feel comfortable reporting victimization to the campus police because, through the influence of her father, she had concerns about underreporting of crime on college and university campuses.

> MONICA: You hear about other colleges who cover up cases and they don't go to the police, even though they are legally bound to do that. So my dad actually, um, would prefer if anything happened to me that I didn't deal with certain, um, things – like connected with the university. But then I actually found out from my RA – though I don't know if she's right – that if you call 911 from the university that they redirect you to campus police. So apparently you have to deal with them, but my dad didn't want me to.

> INT: So then who would you go to? Or who would he want you to go to?

> MONICA: I don't know. I guess the [local municipal police], I suppose. I think it's just from what he reads. He worries a lot.

> INT: So you think the [local] police would be less inclined to cover it up than the [campus police]?

> MONICA: I mean, the school has a reputation to uphold, so yeah.

These comments seem more to do with the influence of Monica's father and the general idea of underreporting of crime on college and university campuses than with anything

Monica has directly experienced with the police on her campus. However, this general feeling about campus police seems to enhance Monica's feelings about other local police whom, in her estimation, would not be as inclined to trivialize or minimize reported victimization. This parallels Bordner and Petersen's (1983) argument that campus police are subject to some pressures and scrutiny by campus administrators and others who would be concerned about the university's reputation in relation to crime and victimization.

While most students indicated that either the local police that serve the larger suburban community around their campus or the local police that serve their hometowns are more effective, have more resources, and have greater skills for engaging in police work than the suburban campus police officers, there was one student who notably differed in her view. According to Keisha, the campus police are the, "real police department. They went through the training and everything they would do outside of here needs to mirror what they would do inside of here. Like they are the real deal. They are here for a reason." While this might be a more accurate description of the expectation of campus police work, most students saw the suburban campus police and their related skills as tied to their response to the party culture on campus. Consequently, their role as actual police was perceived as somewhat limited when compared to other local police forces. As noted previously, Keisha had transferred from a university that had no police force, just non-sworn, unarmed security guards. This may be why her perspective differed from the rest of the suburban students interviewed for this research.

THE URBAN CAMPUS

Students on the urban campus appeared to have mixed views about their campus police that were not quite as cut and dry as the views of suburban students regarding their

campus police. Of the 28 students, 15 reported that they saw their campus police as "real deal" police officers who have the training, skills, and job responsibilities equal to or, in some cases, exceeding those of other local police. An additional 12 saw them as not living up to the standards of other police departments. This was not necessarily because they lacked skills and effectiveness, but instead because from a jurisdictional perspective, they were viewed as having to deal with comparatively fewer substantial crime problems than local police serving the urban community.

Jayden summed up his views of the urban campus police rather succinctly by saying, "I feel like they're basically our police department, like how regular police departments supposed to act." While many students reiterated this idea, some went so far as to indicate that the urban university's campus police are more highly skilled and perform their duties more effectively than the nearby local police. Victor believed that this was because the local police in the urban area were only funded by the city, but the campus police were funded by the state as well as the local city government. To him, this equates to more funding and in turn better training:

> [Campus police] get sufficient training because it's state funded, not like [the city police], it's ....they get funding from the state and the city…taxpayers, know what I mean? So their training is a little more extensive….These guys get trained for everything, know what I mean?

Victor had a military background, which may have shaped his assessment. He also felt his knowledge of the law and policing was superior to that of many citizens without his background, and described his general relationship with police as strained as a consequence:

> I'm not a deviant person, I just have a fuckin' big mouth. And a lot of cops don't like being told their laws, their rights and their procedures, and which laws and civil rights they're actually violating, uh, they don't like that shit, know what I

mean? They beat up on the people that don't know, that do commit crime, but they also like to oppress and know the laws.

These feelings of animosity did not appear to carry over to the police on Victor's campus primarily because he saw them as different from the average city or local police officers. Tamara also reported that she viewed the campus police and the work they do more favorably than other law enforcement. She attributed her views to the direct result of her interaction with both her campus police and the local city police during her experience with the man who assaulted her by throwing a soda at her on the street:

> Being really honest, um [Campus Police] are much better, much more effective than the [City] Police Department. Because when I called the [City] police, when the officer from the [City] Police Department [came], he said he was going to have another officer come to the scene, [and it took] hours. Then, I reached out to a friend of mine who works on campus here and she was like, "All this time who did you talk to?" I was like, um the police department, [the City] Police. She was like, "Are you crazy? You are a student!" I was like see, I didn't know. I didn't know I could call [Campus Police], and the minute I called them [*snaps her fingers*], it was so fast. So they made me feel safe, they said, "We are going to find him, relax." So I sat out there, 'cuz I had already called my friends and a few of them came. They met me on [the street], he was like, "Stay put I'm coming back to get your statement. We are going to drive around, to see if we can find him." And they eventually did.

Similar to Victor's views, experience seems to matter a great deal in Tamara's case. Her direct exposure to not only the campus police but the local city police in relation to this incident and the varying responsiveness of all of the police involved had a an impact on Tamara's satisfaction with the services of both. Since the campus police response was more satisfying her overall view was that campus police were more effective in their execution of policing duties.

Some students at the urban university seemed rather confused about how their campus police would compare to other forms of local police and were either unsure how to make the comparison, or were contradictory in their statements. For example, Isabel

began by stating that she thought the campus police were different because they serve a student population that is unique. But when specifically asked if she believed there is a difference, she indicated that there was no difference between her campus police and other local police:

> ISABEL: Um, they're different but because we are also different. The public is different. You know, if you're dealing with you already know criminal behavior over here, on the other hand it's like students. The chances are that you are not in trouble. But still they have a very serious face, because all police do. And so, to describe a difference--
>
> INT: That's only if you see a difference.
>
> ISABEL: Yeah, I don't see a difference.

The difference that Isabel began talking about was more related to the frequency with which campus police and other police would be needed to deal with serious crimes, and not necessarily with their abilities as police. Even so, she went on to note that fundamentally there was no difference between campus and other local police.

Some on the urban campus felt strongly that campus police engaged in their work more effectively than other police; others were not quite sure what their thoughts were regarding their campus police, noting that they had not really thought about how campus police fit within the echelon of policing work. Additionally, another group of students seemed to hold views that were similar to those of most students at the suburban school, namely, that campus police fall short in their duties in comparison to other local police. Often this was described in relation to jurisdictional issues, comparing the larger city in which the campus is located to the campus itself. Lucas, who wanted to be a police

officer himself, noted that campus police are dealing with an area of the city that is safer

and smaller than the police officers in the city as a whole:

> Even though I feel like [the campus police] do have a large responsibility, it's a lot less than that of the [City] Police Department. Um, because of the fact that there's such high crime in [this city], you can be getting calls consistently, constantly, um, all night. Uh, from someone who wants to become a police officer, it, I feel like being a [campus] police officer is a lot less strain and stress on your life that being a [City] Police officer, because you can be positioned anywhere in [the city]. Whereas in the [campus] police, [they] just do this [general area of campus and surrounding places], which is safer than, let's say [other sections of the city].

So while Lucas did not necessarily identify differences in the ability to engage in policing

activities across agencies, he did note that the campus police were, in his view, less likely

to have to frequently engage in activities that the city police did because they were not

responsible for what he believed were more dangerous areas of the city. Nikki shared this

view, but was unsure about the types of crimes occurring on campus and the regularity

with which campus police would have to respond to serious offenses.

> I guess they don't have as uh, as much of a difficult job as the regular police because they don't have to deal with murder. Or hopefully not. Or like, serious crimes. Because it's a college campus. The most they have to deal with are drunk teenagers and well, wait, wait, wait, let me back up. Rape is a serious crime. It is. So and I have, I don't know if it's common on this campus, I haven't heard about it, but hey. It is college. That does happen, so. But they don't have to deal with like, violent crimes or anything like that. I don't know. I guess they don't have to deal with crimes every day.

 For Lucas, who wanted to be a police officer and Nikki, whose father was a police officer

in the city where the urban campus is located, the campus police were different because

they did not serve a larger area nor did they deal with serious crime regularly. Similarly,

Kamal viewed the urban campus police differently because they were a much smaller

force than other city and municipal police he was familiar with and they served a unique

population:

I guess it's mainly because of the size. [Our campus police] is a very small size police force. Like if I can like take into perspective, I would hold the Chief of [another large city's police force] or [this City's] Police Department in higher regards than [the campus police Chief] mainly because they got bigger districts to control, lot more stuff to handle. These guys are just--in charge [of] just a bunch of college students.

For Kamal and others, the campus police were different not necessarily because of the work they do, the resources they have at their disposal, or the tactics they employ, but because they were smaller, served a smaller area, and served a unique population. In a sense, these students were equating *who* was being served with *how* the campus police were able to serve.

Students like Lucas, Nikki, and Kamal shared the view that the urban campus police are different than other urban police forces because of the nature and frequency with which the campus police are involved in addressing dangerous or serious crimes. These interpretations are somewhat different from those cited by suburban campus students, who identified their campus police as inferior in terms of police work because they lacked resources or training, or because they might cover up crime problems for reputational purposes. Thus, students on the urban campus appeared to assess reasons why their campus police may not live up to the standard of other police departments in different ways.

There are some interesting disparities in the reasons students on both campuses may have seen their respective campus police forces as limited in their policing duties. The overall picture of student perceptions of the work that the urban campus police engage in compared with other local police is not clear cut by any means. The urban student views of the campus police in comparison to other police are inconsistent and some students either did not feel competent in addressing the question or were

contradictory in their responses. This same contradictory confusion was not present in the responses of students on the suburban campus with regard to the suburban campus police. This may have to do with the nature of policing in these two different environments. Because the suburban area was reported as generally less dangerous, with students believing that both campus and local police were likely to address similar, less serious offenses, the students on the suburban campus focused on differences in skills and resources, along with the vigor with which each type of police department engaged in its work. In contrast, on the urban campus, students first compared the types of crimes and other situations police agencies must address before they could make comparisons about how well campus police engage in their duties relative to other law enforcement addressing within the city or the urban campus.

Even with this potentially different way of viewing policing effectiveness based on perceptions of community context, the urban campus students were much more inconsistent in how they viewed their campus police in comparison to other local authorities. This too could be a factor of the urban campus police force as exceptionally unique and potentially difficult to consistently assess. This could be based not only on the fact that they are a university police force, but unlike the suburban campus police, they are also embedded in a larger community where there are some serious crime issues. As a result, some students may perceive them as effective police because in the overall assessment of students on that campus, the campus is a safer environment than surrounding areas of the city. While still others see the safety on the campus and equate that with the campus police having very little do to in comparison with the city police counterparts. Heather on the urban campus sums up these conflicting and views of the urban university's campus police in just one statement: "I don't think that they do much,

you don't hear much going on either. So, they have to be doing something." This divide among students on the urban campus seems to be influenced by other experiences that students have had with police. Victor and Tamara, are left with more positive views of the campus police and the work they perform based on arrest and victimization experience with other urban police. Conversely, students like Lucas and Nikki reported a negative view of campus police work and capabilities based on personal desire to become a police officer or personal experience with a relative who is a local police officer.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This purpose of this chapter was to present information on student perceptions of campus policing services, both generally and in specific comparison to other local police. When it comes to satisfaction with the campus police at both universities, on the whole, students indicated that they were happy with the work that campus police do in assisting students in need and addressing crime problems within the campus environment. The one possible exception to this is lack of satisfaction with investigations and the potential for poor investigative skills identified by two students at the suburban campus. Students at both universities also seemed to be in general agreement regarding their view that campus police at each school have done a less than adequate job in making some of their unique services, like campus escort and defense trainings, known to students. Few in either site were aware of the many services available on campus, and those that were had come to that knowledge because of their organizational roles at their respective universities.

Satisfaction associated with the work that the campus police have engaged in on each campus remains generally consistent across both campuses, until students discussed their views of campus police in light of other forms of local police. Students attending the suburban university generally reported viewing the campus police as less capable than

(1) the local municipal police that are responsible for the larger suburban area in which the campus is situated and (2) other local police with which they reported familiarity. The views of the urban university students regarding their campus police and local police are not as clear cut, with some viewing campus police as better trained, better funded, and more responsive to calls for service than other local police. Others felt that because they have limited jurisdiction and are dealing with a relatively safe area within a city that has some comparatively unsafe areas, they do not have the same experiences as other local police and therefore fall short in comparison to other police forces.

Regardless of the incongruity and range of views that students at the urban university have when it comes to comparing their campus police to other police, the statement of students at both universities indicated that when it comes to police work and technical services, campus police were viewed as differing from their local and municipal counterparts. In some cases they are viewed more positively, but in most cases, across both universities campus police are viewed as less capable, less experienced, or less willing to appropriately address crime and other issues, giving the clear advantage to local municipal or city police forces.

Since students at both schools indicated that they are generally satisfied with the execution of many of the duties, but also indicated that they see them differently from other police, they would seem to be holding campus police to a different standard than other police. This is consistent with existing work on this topic that has examined comparative perceptions of campus and other local police. However, beyond merely identifying the fact that students view campus police differently than they do other police, the data here presents student explanations, in their own words, regarding potentially how

and why they reported having these different standards and views of the work of campus

police in comparison to other local policing forces.

Chapter 6

PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPUS POLICING LEGITIMACY ON URBAN AND SUBURBAN CAMPUSES

Identifying how campus police do their work, with regard to the ways in which they interact with students or others they encounter in the course of their duties, is generally regarded as more important in shaping student views of their campus police than mere satisfaction with the duties and roles they fulfill (Tyler, 1990; 2006). The ways in which police treat the people that they encounter in the course of their duties is noted as having a large impact on views of police authority Tyler (1990;2006) and others have identified that when people are treated with fairness and respect by police, they are more likely to view police as legitimate legal authorities. Procedural treatment in terms of fairness and respect is more salient in forming these views of legitimacy than the outcome of the interaction for the civilian involved, even if the outcome is something negative like arrest or citation (Tyler 1990; 2006). Student feelings regarding this procedural treatment, and resulting perceptions of campus police legitimacy differed greatly across the two universities. On the suburban campus, feelings of safety, perceptions of and experiences with campus police were very much intertwined with partying, drugs, and alcohol use on campus. So too were views of procedural fairness and the legitimacy of the suburban campus police. Conversely, students on the urban campus were more likely to encounter police on an informal basis or for official reasons other than partying, and this had implications for their views of procedural justice and legitimacy. In this chapter, I analyze students' perceptions of procedural justice on each campus, and how these shaped students views of campus police legitimacy.

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE ON THE SUBURBAN CAMPUS

The suburban university's campus police appear to be dealing with a legitimacy crisis when it comes to student levels of trust, students' views about their legal authority, and the ways in which students describe being treated by police during their interactions with them. Without using terms like "procedural justice" and "legitimacy" explicitly, students on the suburban campus described that overall they disliked and lacked trust in their campus police. This was very much linked to how they or other students they knew had been treated by the campus police. Students discussed procedural justice issues, whether discussing encounters that enhanced or decreased legitimacy, along three main themes: alcohol and the party atmosphere, racial bias and the potential for profiling, and age-based profiling. Each of these topics and their impact will be discussed in turn.

ALCOHOL, LEGITIMACY, AND THE PARTY CULTURE

Most of the encounters with campus police reported by students on the suburban campus involved alcohol or drug use in conjunction with parties on campus. Thus, it is not surprising that the party environment on campus had a large impact on student perceptions of campus police. Many of the encounters students described resulted from underage drinking, drug use, or excessive noise, and involved what students believed was unfair treatment. This resulted in very negative views of the campus police on the suburban campus. Many students described campus police as either angry when they had to deal with illegal student behavior or as very happy when they were able to get students in trouble. For example, Nathan encountered the police in the dorms, and reported that "They were not friendly at all. I think they were more mad, that um, to be there. They were mad….Every time cops came to the dorms they were always just really mad that they are there."

In Anna's previously mentioned experience witnessing a marijuana investigation in her dorm (see Chapter 5), she thought the police were excited and happy to have a drug case to work on: "Truthfully, the vibe I got from them was [*in a singing, childlike voice*]: "We've got a drug bust, nana nana, nana." Mary, who was cited for underage drinking when police discovered her jaywalking late one evening, summed up her feelings and the feelings of several other students on the suburban campus: "People judge us and say kids hate the cops. Shocker, kids hate cops. But I like, I just don't like the way they treat students." While Mary's encounter was briefly described in Chapter 4, she provided a much more detailed account of the incident, as well as the experiences of a few other friends and students that she knew on campus. She deemed her own encounter and arrest to be procedurally unfair because of the way the officer involved treated her:

> MARY: He was really mean. He was like um - First of all, I have never been in trouble in my life – So, like he called like five other cop cars that came over and I was like, "Why are all these cop cars here? I was literally not being rude or like trying to like fight you." He's like, "Well we don't know you, just like you don't know us." And I was just like "Ok." I wasn't, like - I remember everything - I was like, "Ok, like that's kind of rude." Like I'm this tiny little white girl just sitting there, like, "Get me in trouble. I don't care. Like, I'll do the community service." I was like, "I don't think I'm doing anything wrong. I just don't think it's that big of a deal because I don't do actual things to get in trouble."…[*tone changes to sarcasm*] "Oh, you caught me drinking. You're so, you're a great cop, like I don't know." It didn't really matter to me. I didn't even mind the community service. I got to work at this retirement home. It was really fun. You know I didn't really care. It was more the principal of the -

they are like so excited when they can get you, especially at the end of the

month when they have to reach their quota. I hate the [campus] police.

INT: You hate them. Ok. So, they actually pulled in five additional cop cars? And

you were alone at the time, correct?

MARY: Yeah and when I asked him about it, he wrote on the thing that I was

being argumentative by saying, by asking why other people showed up.

INT: So, I think I know the answer to this next question, but did you perceive this

interaction as a positive or a negative?

MARY: Definitely negative. He could have been cool about it like, "You were

drinking." "Yeah, I was." Like, "You're really gonna get in trouble," and I go

"Ok." I wasn't like fighting with him. I was just simply asking why you needed

five other guys to like control me when I'm standing there going, "Ok, yeah."

INT: So you were abiding by what he's saying?

MARY: Yeah, like what was I gonna do, run?

Mary clearly believed that calling in additional officers and listing her as argumentative
were both excessive and unfair. She also indicated that if the officer she initially
encountered had merely dealt with the issue himself she would have accepted the
consequences without viewing this as an excessive or unfair encounter and moved on.
However, it should be noted that since she did admit that she had been drinking that
evening, Mary's account of events may not have been entirely accurate. She may have
believed that she was not being argumentative, but clearly the campus police officer
thought otherwise. Regardless of what actually transpired in this encounter, Mary clearly
believed that the way she was treated by the campus officers was unfair and uncalled for.
As a result, she claimed to "hate" them. Additionally, her choice of words, referring to

the police "getting" her in trouble, suggests that she did not take responsibility for the fact

that her behavior was illegal, but instead blamed the police for addressing this illegal

behavior in the first place.

While other students indicated dislike or lack of trust, Mary's views are more

extreme than most. She also shared more accounts of direct and vicarious experiences

with campus police that, in her view, were procedurally unfair than any of the other

students on the suburban campus. These compounding experiences may explain why she

felt so strongly about the suburban campus police. For example, in addition to her own

experience with being cited for underage drinking, she detailed the story of a friend on

campus who was not only cited for drinking but was held at the Public Safety Office by

campus police until her father came for her:

> My friend that got an underage, she told me this story, like to my face, "I had to
> use the bathroom so bad and they [campus police] wouldn't let me go." So she
> peed herself. She was in Public Safety and they wouldn't let her use the restroom
> and so she went to the bathroom. So, that's a true story. Even her dad - they made
> her dad come and pick her up 'cuz she is 19-years-old, she had stains on her pants
> - He's like "did you pee your pants?" And she was like, "Yes. They wouldn't let
> me go to the bathroom." So you don't hear that stuff because nobody ever -- she
> really like had to pee her pants. She was like chained to the desk like all night.
> And she kept saying, "May I please use the bathroom?" And they wouldn't come
> in, they wouldn't let her use the bathroom or anything. So she like peed her pants.
> She was there all night.

Mary was very agitated while recounting this incident involving her friend. Her agitation

seems to have stemmed from her friend's presumed denial of a basic right to access

restroom facilities during her brief detention in the Public Safety Office on campus.

This incident involving Mary's friend was only one of several stories shared by

students about what they perceived to be unfair or even unsafe treatment by campus

police when dealing with students who were under the influence of alcohol or drugs on

the suburban campus. Nathan also recalled a friend who ended up in a situation similar to

Mary's friend: "Yeah, he was charged. He was tossed in the drunk pen, was hand cuffed.

Pissed himself actually because he was handcuffed and the officer didn't let him go to the

bathroom." Brian also recalled a story about an acquaintance on campus who was

detained at the Public Safety office by campus police:

> Apparently, there was one officer watching him and something happened across
> campus so he had to go assist some other officers. This kid was left all alone,
> ended up puking all over himself. Luckily, he was ok but if he had choked or
> something and the cop wasn't there, that coulda been bad."

In another incident involving Nathan directly, instead of citing him or taking him into

custody for drinking, a suburban campus police officer was described as having turned

him away from his own dorm one evening:

> NATHAN: Uh, yeah, I will admit that freshman year they did not let me in
>
> because they thought I was – well, I *was* drunk – but they thought I was
>
> considerably wasted and they didn't let me in the dorms.
>
> INT: Was that the dorm where you lived?
>
> NATHAN: Yeah.
>
> INT: So they wouldn't even let you in your own dorm?
>
> NATHAN: Yeah.
>
> INT: So what did you do?
>
> NATHAN: Slept in my car.
>
> INT: Wow. Why wouldn't they let you in your own dorm? I mean, did you get in
>
> trouble for the underage drinking too?
>
> NATHAN: No, they just said, "You're not coming in." They told me to turn
>
> around.
>
> INT: Did they know that it was your dorm?

NATHAN: I don't know. I didn't think I had that choice. I wasn't going to sit

there and debate because I was drunk. I went and slept in my car for about

four hours, came back. They will tell people to walk if they see them and they

look drunk or high or something like that.

These experiences shared by students suggest that police on the suburban campus may

have made some questionable and risky decisions with regard to the treatment of students

for underage drinking. It may be appropriate to cite, arrest, or detain students for

engaging in this illegal behavior. However, denying them access to bathroom facilities,

not monitoring them when they are in custody and intoxicated at potentially dangerous

levels, or denying them entry to the place where they live are not official forms of

punishment. Such decisions could also place the student's health or safety in jeopardy.

As a consequence, students believed that these incidents qualified as improper treatment

by campus police. Recall from Chapter 5 that some students indicated satisfaction with

the work that police have done in dealing with overly intoxicated students by ensuring

that these students are properly treated and even taken to the hospital when required. It

seems, however, that this was not always the case. This not only suggests differential

treatment of students, but in some cases, students believed that this treatment actually did

more harm than good.

In addition to questionable and inconsistent practices and actions taken by campus

police when dealing with student offenders, some students shared stories about campus

police either threatening or using what they believed to be excessive force. Tara's case

was first described in Chapter 4. This involved an encounter with campus police during

Homecoming Weekend and threats of being tackled by the officer. Chris shared a similar

story in which he witnessed someone get tackled by campus police while the officers were breaking up a party on campus:

> CHRIS: I was out at my friend's house one time a couple weeks ago and the cops made everyone leave and there was a kid who walked out with a beer in his hand….They came over and just tackled him and arrested him. I felt like that wasn't necessary at all.
>
> INT: They tackled him? Did he make any threatening remarks or gestures?
>
> CHRIS: No.
>
> INT: OK, so how did that make you feel?
>
> CHRIS: I felt it was very unnecessary. It's just a party; I mean obviously there are kids there drinking. Just have him drop the beer and leave. You don't need to tackle him. I mean, if he made a run for it, that would be different, but he was just walking away.
>
> INT: So you thought it was excessive?
>
> CHRIS: Yeah, definitely.

While all of the above encounters with campus police were viewed as procedurally unfair, there were some students on the suburban campus who had good experiences with the campus police when they addressed incidents involving underage drinking. These exceptions appear to be distinct, in that the students themselves had not consumed any alcohol or the individuals who were engaged in drinking were not loud or out in public. For example, Lindsay had a friend who was caught with alcohol in his dormitory room but he was not drinking at the time. She indicated that he was pleased with the outcome because the police were respectful and did not do anything that he would have considered unfair or excessive:

Last year one of my best friends, he lived in the room next to me and had like two cases of beer in his fridge like getting ready for the weekend. His roommate, I think, called Public Safety on him. They did not get along, so he got back to his room and there was two officers like waiting for him there like, "Is this your fridge?" And he had like ummm, like the beer cases like taped on his wall as decorations like basically a wallpaper of like the boxes and they were like, "What is all this from?" And so, they were nice to him.

They made him pour it all down the sink, of course. So that's like 40 beers down the sink and he had his court date um, [but] they were really nice at the time. He's a criminal justice major too, so he was like really respectful and understanding um, and I know they were nice to him at the time. But then like once it got to his court date it didn't go as well. Like, at the time they said like to plead not guilty and then a lot of times it gets bumped down as a noise violation and they were giving him advice and they were really nice to him, but then when it actually came around like he had to take classes and pay a huge fine and do like the alcohol education stuff.

Even though the outcome may not have been viewed favorably, Lindsay's friend was described as having been satisfied with the way that the officers interacted with him during their call for service. Lindsay described the friend's encounter as respectful and nice. In contrast to the other cases described above, Lindsay's friend was not intoxicated at the time, which may have made a substantial difference in terms of how he interacted with the campus police and how the police officers responded to him as well.

Even when students were drinking, their stories suggest that the way in which police responded to them depended on how the students themselves were acting. For example, Rudy shared an experience in which the campus police intervened when he and some friends, all underage, were drinking in a friend's room in one of the on-campus apartments. He described this not as a party but as a small, relatively low key gathering:

RUDY: I was there with some people and the music was louder than it should have been. So they [campus police] came into the apartment and were like, "OK, we know there is alcohol in here, so we're going to let you off. Take the bottles, dump them and we'll be writing it down as an Inspection of Noise

Complaint. We'll know, you'll know, our boss will know, but none of you will

get in any trouble. Keep it quiet the rest of the night and you're good to go."

INT: So did you comply with their request?

RUDY: Yeah.

INT: OK and how did that kind of interaction make you feel in terms of what the

police do here on campus?

RUDY: I was more freaking out at the time. I was still a music ed[ucation] major

and half of the group was music ed. We were all thinking that if we get in

trouble with the department, our future careers are over before they start.

INT: So then you were pleased with the outcome, I would imagine?

RUDY: Yeah. It's one of those, it may not have been the correct or legal way to

handle it but it was the first time they were in that apartment. It wasn't like

crazy rowdy. So, I mean whether how correct or right of an action it was, it

was nice to get the warning.

Here, there was alcohol being consumed by underage drinkers, but since it was, as

described by Rudy, a relatively quiet evening and this was the first time any of them had

encountered campus police, the police not only used their discretion in determining how

to handle the case but were also seemingly respectful in how they treated the students.

These students were not barred from the on-campus apartment, nor arrested or detained.

The experiences of Lindsay's friend and Rudy and his friends clearly run counter

to the experiences of Mary and others discussed above. Students who had bad

experiences with the suburban campus police from a procedural perspective did not recall

being disrespectful themselves. However, it is very possible that because they were

intoxicated at the time that they merely did not recall this facet of the interaction. Anna,

who reported that she was very against the party culture on the campus and did not drink

or use drugs, made an observation about this possibility. Even though she had heard

stories about how the police treated students on campus, she questioned students'

accuracy and validity because of the alcohol involved:

> INT: OK, so, you said you think most people here don't like campus police, do
>
> > you think that is true?
>
> ANNA: Well, I think that they hear all of the bad stories and then decide they
>
> > don't want to deal with them.
>
> INT: The bad stories about here on campus?
>
> ANNA: Yeah, where it's like they are getting kids for underage drinking.
>
> > Especially in the dorms – the stories I hear are a bit outrageous in terms of
> >
> > what happens and what officers say and do. Because I hear some of these
> >
> > stories and I'm like, "Excuse me, is that actually what they said?" And the
> >
> > person telling me will be like, "Well that is how I heard it from my friend."
> >
> > And that friend probably heard it from someone else, who heard it from
> >
> > someone else.
>
> INT: So you think there is definitely some sort of "whisper down the lane"
>
> > happening in regard to campus police activities here?
>
> ANNA: Yeah and also you're having people who were drunk at this time
>
> > retelling these stories, so do they know what is actually going on? Because I
> >
> > have friends who have worked with the campus police when dealing with these
> >
> > drunk kids and according to them, the only time that the police start really
> >
> > getting annoyed and agitated is when they have to deal with the obnoxious
> >
> > ones. One of my professors did a ride along with EMTs and campus police for

Homecoming. And they had two guys in the drunk tank at Public Safety and he had, um, thrown up all over himself so they called the EMTs. And this guy was being severely obnoxious to everyone, like, "Who are you, what's your badge number?" "I'm not doing anything wrong, fuck you all." And then he started dancing. So see, this is where the original sources, who aren't drunk, say that sources and details are getting misconstrued. So I feel like the police are at least more respectful in that they know how to better approach a situation because you are dealing with college kids where you don't know if you're going to have a kid who's absolutely obnoxious or you have the good one that understands what you're trying to do to help them.

INT: OK. So you think that there is a relationship between how, you know – police are only going to reflect back to whoever they are dealing with what is coming at them?

ANNA: Yeah, if you have someone being obnoxious, you have a police officer who can deal with it until he's had his limit. Like when the kid started dancing, an officer came in and sat him down and said, "You are going to cooperate." But if you have someone acting normal, not being obnoxious, you'll most certainly get respect back from the campus police officer I think. When you're dealing with a bunch of drunk kids and you hit your limit, and go, "No, I am done with this," that is reasonable. I don't get it, but then again, I don't really drink. Even when I hear bad stories about the police I can usually tell, well, no he didn't just fly off the handle, he took steps before hitting his limit.

Anna's observations about how police and students interact on campus when alcohol has been involved would seem to explain some of the disparity in students' experiences

presented here. Students may either not have had accurate recall of their own behaviors

due to the alcohol they consumed, or were getting stories second and third hand from

other students. Additionally, she made an observation similar to the findings of Duhnam

and Alpert (2008), in which officer demeanor is likely to reflect the demeanor of the

individual being dealt with, good, bad, or indifferent. However, Anna also reported

witnessing what she believed to be unfair treatment of students by officers during the

investigation concerning marijuana use in the dorms discussed in Chapter 5. After

detailing what she believed to be the improper investigation, she described the police and

their demeanor:

> And the officers were very rude about everything. Not even just to my friend with
> the room, but any student who was in the area. Another friend of mine, we'll call
> him T – he was walking down the hallway to his room and had to pass by all of
> this. The officer stopped him and asked him, "Are you this guy's roommate?"
> And T said, "No. My room's down there." And the officer said, "Well you need to
> stay out here in the lounge for now." T was like, "Listen, I didn't do anything
> wrong, I'm just trying to get back to my room." And T wasn't doing it in the most
> respectful way to the officer, but it's just like – he still had a point, they can't keep
> him out of his room. So the officer got annoyed and slapped him with a citation
> for pretty much nothing, other than being rude to the police officer. So I think it
> was just the officer trying to handle the situation, but he realized he was dealing
> with a bunch of teenage guys and I feel like when one started to back mouth he
> just wanted to try and shut it down immediately. Of course, it backfired and got
> everyone there really angry. So I don't know.

In this case, Anna's friend "T" may have been rude to the officer, but was not engaged in

any sort of illegal behavior. Yet she reported that he was still given a citation of some

kind.

Anna's account of this incident also indicates that the officers were, in her view,

overzealous in their treatment of student onlookers:

ANNA: I'm serious, like they, any time they'd deal with a crowd of us, they

would just shove it in our faces, "We have full control here. You do anything and we'll find out."

INT: So how did that, those types of comments make you feel? "We have full control"?

ANNA: I was just kind of like, you are making this worse for the rest of the police force, who I assume are better behaved and better controlled. Because I actually got to meet one of the campus police officers before who handles alcohol related incidents. They are still hard on you if they catch you, but they are calm, pulled back, not letting their emotions get mixed in. While these two guys, I don't know. They were just so happy to have this drug bust.

Anna made some astute observations in her assessment of campus police encounters involving alcohol, believing that such incidents were exaggerated and blown out of proportion by the student body. Yet, she herself had witnessed procedurally unfair treatment by suburban campus police officers. However, she still wanted to believe that this encounter was the exception, not the rule. Her view of the campus police was likely influenced by her belief that the party culture on campus was out of control and, as a result, students who experienced poor treatment by the campus police may only have themselves to blame.

Interestingly, the entire lengthy account of this marijuana investigation was prompted when Anna was asked about anyone she knew who had experienced victimization on campus. So within the confines of this encounter, she identified the friend who was the target of the investigation and her other friend, T, who just happened to pass by, as being victimized by the campus police. Anna was not the only student to

associate campus police with victimization or risk. When asked about students and their

concern about safety on campus, Tara mentioned getting caught at parties:

> INT: In your experience are some students more concerned for their safety than
>
> others?
>
> TARA: Um, yeah. I would definitely say so. I know some people who won't go
>
> out to parties knowing that the party's going to get busted, but then other
>
> people just don't care.
>
> INT: Ok. So the question was about safety, but you're talking about parties getting
>
> busted up. So you're actually talking about them being safe from the police?
>
> TARA: Yes.

Tara's own experience with the campus police threatening to tackle her during

Homecoming, which was detailed in Chapter 4 is likely part of the reason she equated

safety and risk with the police specifically. These feelings are not surprising since

students at the suburban campus seemed to have a fairly negative view of campus police

treatment, and the relationship between students and police on that campus appeared to be

largely adversarial in nature.

Clearly, the main safety and crime issues that students described police dealing

with involved the party culture on the suburban campus. Therefore, most student

interactions with the police were based in this culture as well. Most students interviewed

indicated that partying, alcohol use and, to a certain extent, drug use were considered

normative on campus. In their view, police interventions on this acceptable behavior set

up an adversarial "us versus them" relationship between students and campus police

officers. This was further enhanced by students' direct and vicarious experiences in

which the campus police were reportedly engaging in what students deemed unfair or excessive treatment of some students while intervening on these illegal behaviors.

STUDENT STATUS, AGE-BASED PROFILING, AND LEGITIMACY

In an issue that is peripherally related to the normative party culture on the suburban campus, some students made the observation that they believed their campus police equated "student" status with "someone who is up to no good." Brian commented on this when discussing his graduate student friend's encounter with campus police, described in Chapter 4. Recall that he ended this story by stating, "They are on this power trip and are always assuming the worst about students here, I think." Monica reiterated this as well, stating, "I was going to say I feel like they kind of group us together. Yeah. So it's like if you're here and a student, you're probably doing something you shouldn't be." Tara's experience with the campus police and threats of being tackled during Homecoming festivities left her with a similar point of view: "I feel like if you're quote, unquote a 'student' they just want to get you in trouble." Students' perceptions that campus police assumed the worst about students and desired to get them in trouble were fairly evident in student accounts of their experiences and interactions with the suburban campus police force.

In addition to the notion of students as troublemakers, some identified campus police as essentially engaging in age-based profiling. Since most of the students on this campus are young people, age and student status overlap a great deal. Janine did not talk specifically about campus police targeting students, but she did speak of campus police and their views of young people: "I feel like they are always out looking for our age. They just kind of assume that we're doing something, like, wrong." Jason actually called

what the campus police do age profiling. He based his understanding of this behavior on

his experience as a police academy graduate:

> JASON: In the police academy they tell you like you're not legally supposed to
> um, profile. That's a bad word and, but they say don't call it "profile." That's
> your job to do it….That's what you do so you just don't, don't say that's what
> you're doing. And I definitely get that because I've seen people stopped on
> campus and I've had friends stopped on campus a bunch of times even though
> they weren't doing anything wrong.
>
> INT: Interesting. So what do you think they were profiling you or your friends
> as?
>
> JASON: As a younger guy because I, like - they're looking for marijuana, alcohol,
> anything like that.

To the extent that campus police at the suburban university profiled students or young

people as troublemakers, these practices may have further alienated them from the student

body of the suburban campus. This in turn has decreased views of fairness and

legitimacy.

RACE, PROCEDURAL FAIRNESS AND LEGITIMACY

In all, seven Black students from the suburban university participated in this

study. Three of them spoke about negative experiences with campus police that, in their

assessment, were based on racial bias. Perhaps not surprisingly, none of the other

students, one of whom was Asian and the remaining twenty White, mentioned anything

regarding race-based bias in their or others' interactions with campus police. When asked

if there was anything the campus police should be doing differently, Bianca indicated that

the campus police should "be friendly and be nice 'cuz that can change somebody's

perspective on how they feel about the police, how their interaction was with them." Bianca felt the police were not "friendly and nice," specifically because of stories she has heard about their treatment of other minority students, specifically black males on campus. Like several other students on the suburban campus, she began talking about how campus police treat students when asked a question about whether she knew people who had been victimized. This suggests that she and others viewed campus policing practices as so negative and distressing that it equated with victimization:

> INT: So have any of your friends, classmates, or other students that you know of –
> have they ever been a victim of a crime on or near campus?
>
> BIANCA: Yes.
>
> INT: Yes? OK, can you tell me a little bit more about that?
>
> BIANCA: One student - we were in my criminology class - I mean, excuse me
> my criminal justice class last semester - and he, he is Black also, he was saying
> how he and another friend of his who is also Black were detained by the
> campus police and everything. They were sitting on the bench and the police
> officer came up and told him he had to move. But it was a public bench on
> campus, so they should be able to sit there and they weren't like disturbing the
> peace or anything and they were like walking on the street and I guess they like
> walked down an alleyway and the officer came and like called another officer
> and they detained him and his friends.
>
> INT: Do you know if the police gave any justification? Or reason why they were
> detaining them?
>
> BIANCA: Right, yeah. No they were like clean. They didn't have anything on
> them.

> They were just sitting there one afternoon.

> INT: So what did--did he talk about the experience, how it made him feel or what the outcome of that was or anything like that?

> BIANCA: Um, no he really didn't. He just like explained his story to the class and everything, but like, he seemed like a strong person but you could tell like it sucked that, "Why would I have to go through that? I'm a college student. I'm here trying to get my education like, I'm just walking around enjoying myself like seeing things for what they are and I'm not bothering anyone." And then they couldn't even get an apology.…It's too bad they didn't get their badge number or anything.

Bianca not only equated this particular interaction between students and campus police as a form of victimization, she also believed that it was a targeted action with no justification that was instead based on the race of the two students involved.

Interestingly, Kimberly, another Black female student attending the suburban university, also began talking about the campus police when she was questioned about victimization:

> KIMBERLY: The Homecoming party…was cancelled right before it was supposed to start by the campus police. It was a party at one of the Black fraternities. It was just like, why?

> INT: So what happened there? Do you know the specifics?

> KIMBERLY: I looked on Twitter and the person hosting it said the [Campus] Police came and they couldn't have it there anymore.

> INT: Was there a reason given or any justification?

> KIMBERLY: The people just kept saying the police were shutting it down before

it even started. They shut it down at 2pm and it was starting at 9, 10 o' clock at night. I don't really know. A lot of times this happens – a lot of minority events are shutdown.

INT: So do you think there is a perception there that minority events will lead to trouble or something like that?

KIMBERLY: Yeah, there's another place [off campus] and the police are always there before it even starts. I guess they just have that perception that there are a lot of people in one room, of color. So something is bound to happen. I don't know. So it would be like five, ten police cars just on the side of [the street] but then it's like you walk up the street, next to Burger King, the frat houses there, they are outside drinking and there are no police, nothing. They walk past but then go right to [the club where the minority parties are] and shut everything down.

INT: So you think there is a racial issue here? Like, if there was an equivalent white club it wouldn't get shut down?

KIMBERLY: Yeah. I remember on Homecoming it was like signs posted, "Honk if you want us to drink. We'll take a shot every time someone honks a horn." And there were police driving by honking their horns going down. And it's just like – well you just shut down our party. And these guys are outside on the street drinking and stuff. I mean, I guess it's their property.

INT: OK. My initial question was about being victimized. So I guess you kind of equate the way the campus police interact with minority groups is a form of victimization?

KIMBERLY: Yeah.

Some students, like Tara discussed here as well as in Chapter 4, reported that Homecoming is a time when the campus police tended to increase patrols and heavily enforce alcohol violations and things of that nature. However, Kimberly believed that even then, there was selective enforcement predicated on the racial makeup of attendees. Additionally, since this treatment was seen as unfair based on equivalent treatment of White students, the campus police were seen by Kimberly as victimizing the Black students involved.

These two students very clearly indicated that they believed the campus police were acting based on racial bias. This was not the case for Patrice, the Black male whose description of being investigated by the campus police for destruction of library property was detailed in Chapter 4. He instead reported being hopeful that he was not targeted as the suspect simply because he was a Black male. However, this encounter did change his view of the suburban campus police:

INT: Do you feel like there are some bias issues in the [Campus Police Department]?

PATRICE: I really want to believe that even though it happened to me, that no, there aren't….I genuinely want to believe that they were just trying to figure out what happened and that was their tactic. But it rubbed me the wrong way and made me look at them differently.

INT: OK, so do you think they seem friendly and approachable when you're not being suspected of vandalism on campus or that sort of thing?

PATRICE: Maybe before, but I want to avoid them based on how they have treated me. I don't have kind words for them.

Patrice's views of the campus police became decidedly negative as a result of this experience.

PROCEDURAL FAIRNESS AND THE SUBURBAN CAMPUS

It is possible that both the students and the campus police have been partially responsible for these challenges to procedural justice on the suburban campus, with their roots tracing back to the suburban environment in which the campus is situated. First, there were students who felt safe and perhaps were more likely to engage in behaviors consistent with the university's party culture because the outside community was not perceived as posing a threat. For example, students were willing to be out and about on campus at all hours of the day or night because they did not feel any threats to their safety, even during later hours. Second, the campus police were described as not having to deal with many substantial crime problems from the external community and therefore focused their attention on other issues. This primarily took the form of the wrongdoing of students. The suburban campus police may also have disproportionately focused their enforcement and authority on minority students. At least this appeared to be a concern for several of the Black students interviewed for this research.

While the school's party culture might explain targeting and perhaps profiling of students on the suburban campus, it does not explain the differential treatment of students. Some described being cited for alcohol or other illegal substances, while others described being let off on a noise violation and still others being arrested and detained. This could be arbitrary differences based on individual officer's discretion or could be based on the level of inebriation or the severity of the illegal behavior of the student. However, since the focus of this study is on student perceptions, it is unclear whether student accounts reflect the reality of campus police officers' decision-making in dealing

with students at this university. Echoing an observation made by Anna, it is possible that since the campus police were reportedly most often dealing with students who are under the influence of alcohol or drugs, they may reach a breaking point because of the demeanor of the student who is intoxicated. In a sense, the officers' treatment of students may have been merely a reflection of the way in which the student was treating them. Students here may not have accurately recalled their own attitudes during these encounters, or perhaps were not forthcoming in interviews, if this is the case. It is also possible that because these officers seem to have addressed these problems consistently, that they may have been generally frustrated by the persistence of this party culture. Again, however, since this study is focused on student experiences and perceptions and not necessarily the realities of policing on either campus, this cannot be definitely determined.

Regardless of the realities faced by campus police, the larger suburban community in which the campus is situated appears to play a role in shaping student and police activities on campus. It seems that the activities of both groups intersect most often when there are student parties taking place or where alcohol or drugs are possessed or consumed. The policing of such activities results in negative student experiences and perceptions of campus police in the suburban environment.

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE ON THE URBAN CAMPUS

While the students on the suburban campus shared a great deal of what they considered negative experiences with their campus police, the same cannot be said of the students at the urban university.   Students on the urban campus had comparatively very little to say about how they viewed police treatment during encounters and interactions with their campus police. As detailed below, most students that did share their views of

fairness and police treatment spoke of the urban campus police as being friendly, approachable, and serving student interests. Since this was the case, issues of fairness and legitimacy may not have been as salient to them. The idea that bad news travels fast would seem to apply in regard to the disparity between accounts of police treatment and perceptions of legitimacy on the urban and suburban campuses. The students who did discuss their views of treatment by police on the urban campus and resulting perceptions of trust and legitimacy had mostly positive things to say. According to Paz, for example, "I think they (campus police) are very fair." Lucas described the campus police as friendlier than most other police he has encountered and observed that this friendliness is:

> Definitely good for the whole community, uh, if the police officers are friendly, willing to interact with you. Uh, just for the simple fact that it makes you feel safer because these are the people that are supposed to protect you.

Like Paz and Lucas, most students on the urban campus had either informal experience with campus police or had sought some sort of assistance from them. This assistance was either as a result of victimization or minor issues like locking keys in vehicles. There were very few students who reported direct or vicarious experience with the urban campus police regarding engagement in illegal activities by members of the urban student body.

Many students reported talking to campus police in passing or otherwise exchanging pleasantries as the extent of their experience with campus police. They indicated that not only were the campus police likable and friendly, but, as Lucas stated above, these interactions enhanced their feelings of safety and their view of the campus police in general. Jayden's experience of seeing campus police in passing was typical of student encounters with campus police at the urban university:

JAYDEN: [They] just [say], "Hi, how you doin?" I'm like, "I'm good, how are

you? Nice day." [*laughs*] Your little passerby conversation.

INT: Alright. That's cool. Umm…so…how would you describe the way they

interacted with you then, when you talked to them?

JAYDEN: So far, it's been nice, little passerby conversation.

INT: Alright. Did they seem like approachable like when they--do they seem

approachable typically?

JAYDEN: Yeah, pretty much.

INT: Okay, and how did the interaction make you feel with the police?

JAYDEN: [*laughs*] It was just like, aw, this is so nice! He's here to save me, guys.

He also said "Hi" to me, "How are you?"

These types of exchanges in which the police were friendly were reported by several

students in informal encounters on the campus. Jayden's encounter is also noteworthy

because he was a Black male and his experience contrasted sharply with those of Black

students on the suburban campus.   Even though these may seem like trivial experiences,

for many students on the urban campus these were the only types of encounters that they

had with campus police. These then appeared to form the basis of their experience with

police and, in turn, their views about procedural fairness and legitimacy as well. For

example, when Jayden was later asked about whether or not he trusted the campus police,

he stated, "Yeah. You don't trust the police, we got a problem." In a similar example,

Xavier was not only satisfied when he encountered a campus police officer patrolling, as

detailed in Chapter 4, he also reported that this left him valuing the campus police:

> I remember one night like I was heading off campus and one of [the
> officers] asked me if I was ok, if I needed anything, have you seen anything
> recently--and, it, it was a good feeling, you know that they came to me… he
> didn't have to do it-- I think if someone doesn't have to do anything and they do it
> then it's a good thing and--that's something that should be valued.

Xavier was on campus at night; most students indicated they felt less safe at night on the

urban campus[12]. Having the officer present at a time that involved more risk enhanced

Xavier's feelings of safety and left him satisfied with the patrol work of campus police, as

identified in Chapter 4. In addition to that, in Xavier's view, the officer went out of his

way to ensure that Xavier was safe, which enhanced his feelings about the campus police.

It should be noted that the ability to exchange pleasantries with the campus police in the

first place, as Jayden, Xavier, and others on the urban campus had, appears to have

resulted from the visibility of police on the urban campus. The urban campus police were

seemingly present and patrolling very frequently. On the other hand, students on the

suburban campus generally reported seeing fewer campus police during the week, and did

not report engaging with police in this manner. Like Xavier's statement above, student

observations regarding treatment and legitimacy of the urban campus police generally

overlapped with their discussion of satisfaction with policing services. Put another way,

when students talked about levels of satisfaction with campus police (recall these

statements in Chapter 4), they also spoke about the ways in which they have been treated

and their resulting views of legitimacy. The same cannot be said for students on the

suburban campus, who made a stark distinction between their views of campus policing

services and issues of legitimacy, speaking of each concept at different times.

The general student view of campus police on the urban campus was one of trust,

respect, and the perception that the police were friendly and respectful. This clearly runs

counter to the views expressed by the suburban students. Differences in the campus

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[12] Students on both campuses indicated feeling less safe at night. On the urban campus, students spoke of encountering campus outsiders and/or the fact that there were fewer students and others affiliated with the campus present at night. On the suburban campus, students were generally more concerned about students using drugs or alcohol at parties that took place at the time.

cultures, as well as community contexts, likely played a part in these differences. Much

of this seems to be predicated on the types of interactions students were more likely to

have with campus police based on the source of the largest threats to each of the

respective campus communities. Discussion in Chapter 4 presents pertinent student

views of safety, risk, and fear of crime that would appear to be related to how and when

students on both campuses have interacted with police on each campus. Clearly the

suburban students were more likely to interact with or encounter campus police for their

own wrongdoing or the wrongdoing of other students. There were no reports of

victimization or experiences with risk coming from the external suburban community. In

contrast, students on the urban campus were more likely to encounter police in three

different types of scenarios: (1) randomly while the campus police there were out

patrolling extensively, (2) as a result of needing assistance due to victimization from

campus outsiders, (3) or other minor issues like loss of items, locking keys in a vehicle

and things of that nature. The more frequently reported interactions on each campus were

different and would seem to have had different implications for the potential of

procedurally unfair treatment. Since campus police were more often reported as coming

to the aid of students on the urban campus, there may have been less opportunity for

procedurally unfair treatment to occur. This is not to say that unfair or poor treatment

could not possibly result from these encounters. However, this type of behavior would be

inconsistent with the assistance that was being provided. Student-campus police

interactions on the suburban campus seemed to have greater potential for confrontation or

unfair treatment because the students were not seeking assistance, but instead were the

criminal perpetrators themselves.

Beyond merely encountering campus police informally while they were patrolling the urban campus, eight students had some form of official contact with campus police as a result of victimization or requests for assistance. These students did not report experiencing any negative treatment by campus police but instead viewed these as positive experiences. For example, Tamara stated that campus police treated her very well when assisting her after a man threw a soda at her on the street: "They took real good care of me.... they made me feel safe." Here the relationship between community context and legitimacy is fairly clear. In the face of a threat from the external campus community, Tamara was pleased with the campus police's treatment and the way in which they kept her safe. Later, when asked about how campus police treat students she stated, "I would assume they treat everyone fairly and do their job and to get our statements to make sure we are safe." Again, just as Jayden and Xavier above, Tamara seems to have linked treatment by police with the job that they do. Other students experiencing victimization seemed primarily concerned about how the police did their work; all were satisfied with the work the police did to assist them and deal with the outcome of the crimes. There was very little mention of how they interacted with the police or their thoughts on whether these interactions were positive or negative.

Even though the suburban students shared experiences that identified campus police there as potentially having acted in procedurally unfair ways when it comes to alcohol and drug use, racial and age based profiling, there was no indication of the same on the urban campus. For example, Melissa shared a story about encountering the urban campus police while with a large group of people drinking alcohol in an area just peripheral to campus:

MELISSA: There was, it was us, volleyball girls and soccer guys, so it was a

bunch of people and...we were standing, talking on the sidewalk and they
[campus police] told us to get off the sidewalk.

INT: Okay, how did the...

MELISSA: He got out of his car, he turned around, made a U-turn, got out of his
car, then came up to us. And, my one friend just kept asking a bunch of
[questions], she's like "Why? Why can't we be here?" "It's private property,"
[the officer replied]. She was just being, she didn't really know how to talk to
cops so, she just started asking questions. I just walked away. I walked away
with my one friend and they all stayed there, so--

INT: Alright, you said that she didn't really know how to talk to cops?

MELISSA: Like, she kept on asking questions. You don't ask a cop questions like
that.

INT: Okay, so, do you think the cop was right in--

MELISSA: Stopping us?

INT: Stopping you guys?

MELISSA: I mean, we were on private property.

Melissa, in respecting the authority of the officer, walked away to comply with his

request while her friend began questioning the officer much to her dismay. Melissa also

understood that his request was not out of line because she and her friends were in front

of private property. Melissa indicated that they had been drinking and had alcohol with

them during the interaction. After she walked away the police officer discovered it, but he

merely confiscated it and made them disperse from the area. This encounter differs

greatly from comparable scenarios described by students on the suburban campus. It does

not appear that Melissa, who seems to have already had high levels of respect and views

of the legitimate authority of police, thought the officer was making an unreasonable request or was acting in an improper or unfair manner. In contrast to this, Mary's experience in the suburban campus occurred and was viewed a bit differently. Not only did the police stop her initially for jaywalking and cited her for underage drinking, she herself questioned why the officer she encountered called for additional officers. She was also noted as argumentative. These seem like similar scenarios, with an officer present seeing students engaging in illegal or questionable behaviors. In the case of Melissa's experience on the urban campus, she and her friends were loitering near private property and in Mary's case, she was jaywalking across the street near the suburban campus. When each officer went to address the situation, alcohol was either present or had been consumed and the police were questioned about their actions or requests by students involved. However, Melissa's experience did not result in any citations, arrests, calls for back up or the like, as Mary's experience did. The ways in which the officers involved in these two cases interacted with each student likely impacted both students' views of their campus police. In Melissa's case, this probably reinforced her belief in the fairness and legitimacy of the urban campus police. In Mary's case her experience served to diminish her views of the suburban campus police all the more.

The contrast between Melissa and Mary's experiences are representative of the conflicting views of police legitimacy and the procedural experiences that students on each respective campus reported. This conflict is further highlighted in comparing the experience of Brian's friend on the suburban campus (detailed in Chapter 4) and the experience of Rosaria's friend on the urban campus. Both encounters involved the campus police responding to fire alarms. On the suburban campus, as presented in Chapter 4, the campus police were very accusatory, immediately believing that the

student involved – who was also a police officer himself – must have set it off by smoking marijuana. In contrast to this, Rosaria recounts the experience of her friend on the urban campus in a similar situation:

> One of my friends recently, the toaster caught on fire or something. So the alarm went off and they had to evacuate the whole building, but she told me that the [campus police] was there, one of the officers with a British accent. [The officer] was telling them [pause] I guess like re-informing them about, uh [pause] fire safety but then she was like "You know it's all - like you guys should've, like next time leave right away," things like that. "Because at the end of the day, it's all about your safety." So, even though they felt like it wasn't necessary because they knew it wouldn't get out of control, at the same time they're like, "She was really nice about it and saying that it was all about your safety."

The students involved in this case were not accused of doing something illegal, but were instead given advice by the campus police officer, who described their safety as the biggest priority. Conversely, the suburban campus police reportedly showed no concern for the safety of the graduate student, but merely assumed he was engaged in drug use. Again, these examples seem to come down to community context and the issue of outsiders versus insiders which is key in terms of (1) the types of crimes and related incidents which are occurring on campuses, (2) who is more involved in these crimes and incidents, (3) the biggest threats to each campus, and the (4) potential priorities of the campus police on each campus in terms of related enforcement and response.

Contrary to student reports on the suburban campus, this fair and unbiased treatment extended to students of different races and ethnicities on the urban campus. Additionally, there was no mention of police viewing students or young people as troublemakers on the urban campus. The urban university had a very diverse student body, and a majority of the students interviewed for this study (21 of 28) were non-white. None of the students interviewed shared any experiences with campus police that left them feeling there was racial bias within the ranks of the urban campus police. Instead,

students noted that they believe the campus police treat everyone in similar ways. According to Fahim, who identified as mixed race Asian and white, "So far [I've heard] very good things about them, negatives not as much as so I am assuming they are doing good jobs trying not to profile everyone." Similarly, Shaun, a Black male on the urban campus stated, "I've never had a problem with them, any issues, and I've never heard of any stories, um, where…they were biased, or any, any inequalities." Others went so far as to indicate that the urban campus police are less biased than other police they have encountered. Waverly, who was also a Black male specifically identified a conflict between police and the people they serve in general terms but then went on the say the campus police did not operate in that way:

> When you think of police I mean, I guess it's sorta, being young and black…a lot of people think of police as, I want to say, I'm not going to say malevolent because that's a little harsh. I would say almost like insidious in a way. Know what I mean? People think of police as bad people. You know what I mean? Which is crazy 'cuz they're supposed to protect. People think police are the enemy. So in a hidden way they're kinda - people find them to be harmful because you can't do certain things you would like to do because of police. But I think that in here [on campus] it's sort of the other way around. Like I kinda see the police as people you can rely on….Like I feel other police are - you see them look at you. They stare whatever like that. The [university] police is kinda, just they see something going on. They're not like - I don't feel like they judging or walking looking around profiling people.

Waverly not only saw the urban campus police as fair in their treatment of different races, but he contrasted the way he felt about the campus police and his view of other police agencies. Waverly reported that he did not see this same relationship between the urban campus police and the students there, but instead saw them as an entity on which he could rely. From a general point of view, the students at the urban university have reported experiencing fair and unbiased treatment when dealing with their campus police.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter was to present student experiences with and perceptions of campus police with regard to the procedural treatment of students by officers as well as their resulting views of the legitimacy of their campus police. The students on the suburban campus generally reported viewing the campus police in a negative light based on the ways campus police have treated them and others they know. Most of these interactions involved students engaging in or being accused of engaging in drug use or underage drinking. The students on the urban campus generally reported viewing campus police positively as a result of their interactions with them. Most of these interactions involved random encounters with police on patrol, student victimization, or other calls for assistance made by the urban students.

Students and police on the urban campus did not seem to interact in the same way or for the same reasons as those on the suburban campus. This may be part of the reason why student experiences with their campus police were so different on each campus. Just as the focus on student behavior on the suburban campus was likely prompted by the fact that there was perceived to be very little threat of crime from the surrounding community, so too was the focus on students safety on the urban campus in the face of threats from the external environment. However, this does not necessarily explain the actual treatment of students by police during their encounters. This specifically does not explain why the suburban campus police were reported to have engaged in unfair and questionable practices when dealing with students nor why the urban campus police did not seem to do so. One possible explanation for this is that, because of external community context, the urban campus police have focused on protection of students from the outside, while the suburban campus police have focused on targeting students for minor offenses in the

absence of major external threats. Another possible explanation is rooted in the fact that, as previously identified, students on the suburban campus were themselves acting difficult in their encounters with police; whereas, students on the urban campus were respectful and adhering to requests for compliance from the campus police more readily. It is also possible that according to students on the suburban campus, the police there could possibly have negative views of the student body of the university. They may have assumed that students will be hostile when encountered and they began these interactions from a defensive orientation as a result. In contrast to that, all indications from students interviewed on the urban campus point to their understanding that the campus police there were unbiased in their views, fair in their treatment of students, and primarily concerned with keeping students safe. This goal of safety is twofold on the urban campus and includes general issues of safety and specific safety concerns about victimization from outsiders to the campus community. If this is the case, the urban campus police would not have a need to initiate an interaction with a student in a defensive or hostile manner, regardless of what led to the interaction in the first place (i.e., alcohol consumption, other illegal activity, etc.). This would be counterproductive to these goals of safety and fairness.

Regardless of how these two different campus police-student relationships have formed and persisted, it is very clear that students and police on each campus viewed each other, as well as the communities in which each respective campus is located, in very different ways. These differences ultimately translate into the distinctive crime problems, student attitudes about campus police, students' perceptions of the attitudes of campus police toward students, and resulting actions of the campus police in both locations. Put another way, in the suburban environment, students reported believing that

campus police did not have to contend with the external community on a daily basis from an enforcement perspective. Instead, because of limited need for enforcement elsewhere, the students also believed that their campus police have focused their enforcement on the students. Students reported that they believe campus police have seen all students as unruly troublemakers. In the course of their interaction with students in this manner, students also reported that officers overstepped their bounds or treated students in unfair and perhaps unsafe ways. Clearly, students believed that safety did not seem to be a high priority for some of the suburban campus police when dealing with student offenders. Students experienced this or heard about it from others which then may impact their views on police and feedback into their demeanor in interactions with them, thus perpetuating this circumstance. In essence, according to the suburban students' assessment of the relationship they had with campus police, the campus police did not like the students and the students did not like the campus police. When this was coupled with perceived targeted enforcement of typical student behavior on that campus, these views were continuously reinforced by the behavior and demeanor of both sides in student-campus police interactions.

Conversely, the urban campus police were also perhaps concerned with issues of illegal student behavior. However they seemed to be contending with more serious threats to the campus from the external community, as indicated by students in their interviews and corroborated with campus crime alerts and crime data from the university's annual Clery Act report. Also, since the urban campus was more of a commuter campus than the suburban school, there may be less student-based offending and a less fervent party

atmosphere[13]. Therefore, their enforcement focus may be more evenly allocated for illegal student activities and campus outsiders who may target students as victims. There was no indication that students believed the urban campus police perceived them as troublemakers or unruly in the course of their interactions with students. Officers were viewed as respectful and fair, with student safety as a main priority. When comparing the suburban and urban campuses with regard to student views of procedural justice and legitimacy, there seems to be a substantial problem in the ways in which students and campus police have interacted with one another on the suburban campus. This has perpetuated a rather tenuous and adversarial dynamic within the campus environment that was not reported by students on the urban campus.

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[13] However, based on Clery Act data presented in Chapter 3, the urban campus has cited or arrested students at a higher rate for drug/alcohol offenses than the suburban campus police. It is possible that, since many students on the suburban campus stated that many times officers documented underage drinking as a noise violation instead, that this difference is merely an artifact of how these incidents were reported. These statistics may not reflect the realities of campus drug use and drinking as a result.

Chapter 7

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study is to examine and document student understanding, perceptions, and experiences with campus police at urban and suburban universities. This is to identify the specific nature of these experiences and how they shape student views of campus police in two different community contexts. Satisfaction with services and perceptions of legitimacy are very important features of the police-constituent relationship; yet examination of these with regard to the campus police-student relationship has remained scarce. The few studies that have examined this particular sector of policing have noted campus police as distinct because of work and services they perform (Bordner & Petersen, 1983; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005; Ferrandino 2012). Differences in satisfaction across many groupings, including gender, age, race, length of time at the university, and several others have previously been noted as salient in the limited number of research studies performed on perceptions of campus police (Burruus et al., 2010; Davis 2007 ; Mbuba, 2010; Miller & Pan 1987; Williams & Nofziger, 2003). Similarly, campus police are perceived as less legitimate than other forms of local police (Wada, et al. 2010; Jacobsen, 2014). However, previous studies have not explored exactly how perceptions are formed based on student experiences and encounters with campus police. Additionally, neighborhood and community context, which have been identified by Brunson and Weitzer (2009), among others, as important in shaping citizen perceptions of police in general has not been examined when looking at student views of campus police. This study examines specifically how students had formed their views of campus police in urban and suburban campus environments based on their own accounts of seeing or encountering police on their campus. Results here indicate that

neighborhood or community context appears to have a large impact on student views of campus police goals and how students interact with their campus police officers.

The primary question guiding this study is, "do undergraduate students at universities in urban and suburban settings have different views of the police that serve their respective campuses and if so, how are these views shaped?" Based on the interviews with students at both campuses presented here, the basic answer to this question is that students on each campus do indeed have some differing ideas and views of their campus police. This is primarily based on how students see campus police engaging in their work or on how students and campus police interact. The overall culture of the campus, as influenced by the characteristics of the geographic location in which the campus is situated, seems to play a very important role in shaping how police and students interact. Not surprisingly, this in turn would appear to affect student satisfaction with campus police services and student views of campus police legitimacy.

The interviews with students on both campuses would seem to indicate that there are some marked differences as well as interesting similarities between student views of and experiences with campus police which may be directly related to differences in community context. According to students on both campuses, threats to safety and the greatest potential of crime come from very different places – internal campus members, and usually other students on the suburban campus and people external to the university on the urban campus. This has very important implications for how students on each campus interact with their environment, how they make decisions about activities to engage in on campus, and most importantly for this study, how they interact with the police when such interactions are required or warranted. This chapter will present (1) a brief and general discussion of findings in relation to the research questions posed at the

outset of this study, (2) specific discussion and summary of the themes related to student interactions with, satisfaction with, and perceptions of legitimacy of their campus police, (3) recommendations for campus policing practice in terms of how to potentially engage their constituent populations more effectively, (4) and recommendations for additional research regarding campus policing in different neighborhood contexts.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In addition to the main question guiding this study, five additional questions were asked to further elucidate the student-campus police relationship within these two different community contexts. With regard to the question, "how safe do students feel on campus, and do students equate levels of safety with the duties of campus police?", students on both campuses indicated that they generally do feel safe on their respective campuses, but the fundamental reasons why differed across both. Students on the suburban campus reported that they believe the surrounding suburban community was inherently safe; therefore, while seeing police on campus may enhance existing feelings of safety, the campus police were view as not necessarily responsible for overall safety on that campus. Similarly, the urban campus students indicated that they also feel safe on their campus; however, they credit the campus police and their almost omnipresent patrolling as insulating them from the potential risks in the urban environment which is external to campus.

With regard to the question of whether or not students on each respective campus saw their campus police as fulfilling the same role as other local police they have encountered, there were some differences as well. The students on the suburban campus indicated that their campus police were not necessarily concerned with what they would consider "real crime problems," but instead were most interested in targeted enforcement

of the students themselves in relation to the partying, alcohol, and drug use on campus. Students at the suburban university also indicated that they would prefer to go to the local municipal police if they were in need of assistance, if they had the choice or option to do so. Students on the urban campus were split in their belief about the urban campus police in comparison to other forms of local police. Some indicated that the campus police fulfilled the same role and may have even be better at doing so than other local police. Others noted that they have comparatively less serious crimes to deal with than the local city police serving that area. In some students' minds this made the campus police different from other local police.

Surprisingly, students' hometown environment and their experiences growing up in specific types of community contexts did not seem to have a great deal of influence on views of campus policing practices and/or legitimacy as posited by Williams and Nofziger (2003). The one exception to this is the fact that students attending the suburban university who came from comparatively rural areas consistently reported that the campus police there had at least a moderate role in maintaining safety on that campus. Others who came from other suburban or urban hometowns viewed the area as safe and therefore the campus police as either enhancing an already safe area or as superfluous in regard to safety. This indicates that immediate environment and experience in that environment may be an overall more salient issue with regard to views, experiences, and perceptions of police in a given area than hometowns and other communities.

When looking at the question of student interactions and/or experiences with campus police and their potential impact on students' overall satisfaction with campus police services and legitimacy, there are some similarities and several marked differences in the views of students on both campuses. Additionally, it would seem that students are

able to separate notions of satisfaction with policing services and the work that they do from aspects of procedural fairness and legitimacy. Students also were able to further differentiate their levels of satisfaction specifically for individual forms of policing services such as patrolling practices, responding to calls for service or assistance, investigating criminal activity, dealing with student victims, and other policing services of that nature. The patterns, issues, and themes that emerged regarding satisfaction with services and legitimacy of campus police from the student interviews are presented in detail to support the student comments, stories, observations, and experiences in Chapters 4 through 6. A brief overview and summary of these themes is also present in the next section below.

It should be mentioned that, beyond the main comparison group of students on urban and suburban campuses, additional groupings and comparisons that should have resulted in differences in views of campus police based on existing research did not result in any notable or consistent differences. These include age, race, and gender. Other issues pertinent to campus policing based on existing literature, including the debate about arming officers and the more recent issue of militarization were not mentioned by students in their interviews. These issues may not be of much importance to students or they may not be aware of their campus police departments' current state of armament.

THEMES OF STUDENT VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES WITH CAMPUS POLICE

While discussion in the previous three chapters was very much focused on comparing the suburban campus student experience to that of the urban campus student experience, several overall themes came out of the student interviews from both universities. While information on each was discussed throughout these previous chapters, all of the themes and the variation in them are identified here to summarize

student views across campuses. These overarching themes that consistently came

through in student interviews include the influence of the neighborhood or community

context on views of safety, the presence of a party culture (particularly with regard to the

suburban campus), the source of the largest or most serious threats to students on each

campus, and the role of police and protectors or enforcers. Each theme has implications

for student views and experiences with policing services and procedural treatment as well

as resulting views of legitimacy.

The Influence of Community Context on Views of Safety

Both groupings of students talked about safety on their respective campuses with

regard to the influence of the external areas in the surrounding city or town without any

prompting to do so specifically. The suburban students generally viewed the town in

which their campus is located as safe and free from risk. Many cited the features of the

surrounding town (i.e., affluence, the presence of young families living in the area, the

connection that the external residents feel to the university) as the specific reasons why

they believed the area was safe. The most commonly cited feature of the suburban

campus that made students feel less safe were the students themselves, which is part of

another theme that emerged most prominently on the suburban campus.

Conversely, students on the urban campus reported that the city they were located

in had, in their view, some notable crime problems and they were most fearful for their

safety or potential victimization from people in the surrounding community. These views

were based on their understanding of the area and experiences either directly with

victimization or vicariously. Students generally did not indicate that risks to their safety

were increased by students or others who were connected to the urban university.

Interestingly, the views of students on both the suburban and urban campuses run counter

to findings in studies of citizens and their local police in urban or suburban environments. As identified in Chapter 2, Williams and Nofziger (2005) found that those who live in suburban communities hold more favorable views of police, encounter or see them less frequently, and experience less negativity in interactions with police. Based on suburban student experiences, this is certainly not the case on the suburban university campus, but instead sounds much more like what students on the urban campus are experiencing. Additionally, Terrill & Reisig, (2003), Brunson & Weitzer (2009) and others found that police in urban settings tend to engage in more procedurally unfair treatment of citizens and are likely to target specific areas or specific activities of people in those areas. This sounds very much like what students on the suburban campus had reported experiencing. However, the procedurally unfair treatment reported on the suburban campus was relatively minor in comparison to things like police brutality or routine stop and frisk that are documented as occurring with great frequency in urban communities (Brunson and Miller, 2006).

It is unclear why this slight reversal may be happening, but it likely involved the unique nature of university campuses. Even though the urban university is located in an area that students deemed as potentially unsafe, there were relatively fewer crimes occurring within the bounds of campus in comparison to the larger urban community. Police there acted accordingly in terms of protecting students within the campus environment. On the suburban campus students believed that police had the mindset that the students themselves were troublemakers. With reportedly limited serious crime problems, campus police turned their attention squarely on the student body and the campus crime problems there. Put another way, this may not be so much an issue of urban versus suburban context, but whether or not police perceive the problems to come

from within their constituent population or external to it. These ideas and the ways in which the campus police on each respective campus view their constituent population of insiders, as reported by those insiders will be discussed as one of the themes below in more detail.

This particular theme has implications for each of the remaining themes. The issue of insider versus outsider threat clearly relates to views of who poses the largest threat, whether that is internal or external to campus. Similarly, even though there may be some implications for the difference in residential students on each campus, views of safety in the surrounding community may lend themselves to increased party-based activity on one campus versus the other from a mere practical perspective. Students on the suburban campus felt that they were not exposing themselves to any great risk by becoming intoxicated and/or going out around campus at all hours of the day or night. Students at the urban school expressed concern and shared experiences about encountering what they considered strange people when they were out on campus and in the surrounding area late at night and therefore, they tried to avoid being out on campus at night. And finally, since there appeared to be very little risk from the external community on the suburban campus based on students accounts, the police there may have served less as protectors to enhance the overall safety and security of students from external threats. They instead focused on enforcing the behavior of students who appeared to pose a greater threat to themselves in some cases or to other students in other cases.

The Party Culture and its Role in Student Views and Perceptions of Campus Police

Within any college environment there will likely be a party aspect, but the suburban students' experiences indicated that the party activities on campus were widespread, commonly occurring, and that many students on that campus were part of the

partying culture or have encountered those who were. These experiences were negative and made them feel unsafe. According to many of the student statements presented in Chapters 4 through 6, much of the crime and police response to crime which occurred on that campus came directly from the activities of students engaged in this party culture. Therefore, views of policing services and the legitimacy of police on that campus are very much linked to these student behaviors as well, simply because when students saw or interacted with police, it was more often than not a direct result of behavior related to the party culture. Police are reported to have patrolled more frequently on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights and concentrated their patrols around known party locations. They also seemed to take a very hardline approach to students, not just for having gatherings where underage drinking was occurring, but specifically in instances where students were visibly intoxicated, causing a disturbance through noise, or were using illicit drugs. According to students on campus who have seen or interacted with campus police when they were engaged in policing duties related to this targeted enforcement, their response to incidents involving this party culture have occasionally been positive or satisfactory. However, not all of these responses were satisfactory, particularly when it came to their investigatory skills and the treatment of some student offenders. Students on the suburban campus have perceived that they themselves or other students that they know have been treated improperly or unfairly due in large part to the targeted enforcement of the campus party culture. They reported their overall views of the campus police as a legitimate authority and as an effective campus police department had decreased as a result. Additionally, the suburban campus had a greater number of resident students, which may explain why the party culture was reported quite as extensively as it was.

Even commuters who did not spend much time on the campus during prime party times had some familiarity with and awareness of the drinking and drug use on campus.

On the urban campus, students did note that parties have taken place on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights on or near campus. Students' experiences there did not indicate that party activities were as frequently occurring or commonplace as those on the suburban campus. There was very little mention of campus police enforcing alcohol, drug, and other laws that would prevent or prohibit the students from attending gatherings or parties. There was also no mention whatsoever about the potential for unfair treatment of students or potential campus police misconduct in relation to party-based infractions. The few interactions that students did discuss with regard to student parties and campus police were not described as unsatisfactory from a service provision perspective; nor were they reported as unfair from a procedural justice or legitimacy perspective. The urban campus police were potentially not as concerned from an enforcement perspective about partying activities on campus as the suburban campus police had been. It is also possible that the partying environment on the urban campus may have been a much smaller aspect of campus life on the urban campus. It could also possibly be a combination of the two. The urban campus also had comparatively fewer residential students and most commuters indicated that they came to campus to attend classes and generally left immediately after. This would leave them with little time to be made aware of parties, drinking, and drug use that might occur after hours in comparison to their on campus counterparts. Regardless of which of these possibilities may be valid, the fact of the matter is that the party culture on the suburban campus had a very large impact on how and when students and police have interacted on the suburban campus. Additionally, the seeming lack of a party culture as

vigorous as that on the suburban campus left students on the urban campus to assess their campus police in terms of other duties and responsibilities.

The Source of Threats to Students on Each Campus: Insider versus Outsider

Student views of the external environment surrounding each campus obviously had an impact on their views of those within the university environment as well. The suburban students did not view the surrounding town or its residents as a threat to their safety; the comparatively larger threat was identified as coming from insiders, students who engaged in the party culture (i.e., using drugs or alcohol) on the weekend evenings. Students reported that they have experienced violent altercations, verbal harassment and vandalism and some suspected that the party environment on campus had also led to sexual assaults that are not being reported by victims. In this case, the largest threat of victimization or compromised safety came from within the campus itself. When it comes to policing services, this was fairly evident based on the repeated student accounts of police patrol visibility on weekend evenings, police response to incidents involving alcohol or drugs, and the students' general sense that the suburban campus police viewed undergraduate students on that campus collectively as troublemakers. From a procedural justice and legitimacy perspective, the only accounts of campus police dealing with offenders on the suburban campus involved these insiders/students as offenders. Treatment of some students by police was reported, as viewed by students, as excessive, unequal, or perhaps even akin to police misconduct. Additionally, in relation to legitimacy, some students reported that the largest source of risk on their campus was, in their view, the campus police themselves. This was based on their responses to questions about victimization and other comments about the desire to avoid them based on issues of racial or age-based profiling.

In contrast to this, the urban students consistently spoke about the crime or victimization incidents on campus that they witnessed, experienced, or heard about that involved individuals with no ties to the university. Even though there was brief mention of parties at fraternities on Thursday and weekend evenings on the urban campus, students were not identified as engaging in any behaviors associated with these parties which put other students at risk or decreased their feelings of safety. Therefore, outsiders to the campus from the external community were identified as the main source of risk. With regard to policing services, this translated into the belief of most students that there were sufficient patrols at all times of the day or night on the urban campus. Students also felt that campus police were generally responsive and were proficient in maintaining safety on campus in spite of the dangers of the external city environment. Students also felt that they were treated fairly in dealing with police when victimized by an outsider to the campus or when dealing with the police for their own infractions related to drugs, alcohol, or other illegal behavior.

Police as Enforcers versus Police as Protectors

The suburban students reportedly believed that the area surrounding their campus was generally safe and they identified other students as posing the largest threat due to the party culture on campus. It is no surprise, then, that they also believed that their campus police served more as enforcers targeting their own activity and the activity of their fellow students than as protectors of the campus environment. Although intrinsically, enforcing laws related to underage drinking and drug use on college campuses would serve to protect the students to a certain extent, the students on the suburban campus generally did not see the actions of their campus police as protective in any way. They instead believed that the campus police were overlooking more serious crime problems

on campus and overstepping their bounds, engaging in unfair and potentially excessive tactics to address minor offending within the suburban student population. When it came to issues of procedural fairness and resulting views of legitimacy, the actions of the suburban campus police, in the eyes of the students there, served only to discredit their authority and diminish students' level of trust.

In direct contrast to this, students on the urban campus described their campus police as primarily concerned with protecting the students and the entire campus community. There was no mention of targeting students or policing strategies like patrol at certain times and places to uncover illegal student behavior. The urban students also indicated their campus police are satisfactory in this protective role and they have accomplished this in a fair manner as a legitimate policing authority. Students cited the fact that the campus is in a large, urban area with crime problems originating from the external urban community as a primary reason that the campus police have acted satisfactorily and have fulfilled a legitimate role as a campus police department.

CAMPUS POLICE POLICY AND PRACTICE RECOMMENDATIONS

While there are some noted similarities in the views of students on each campus, the differences in the ways in which suburban and urban university students reported experiencing campus policing are the most notable when it comes to potential recommendations for policing practice. This is particularly true with regard to enhancing effective engagement and in turn student views of legitimacy on each campus. Students at the urban university generally reported viewing their campus police as a fairly legitimate policing authority intent on engaging in satisfactory services that protect the campus and its constituent population. The suburban university students did not share this view of their campus police as legitimate authorities and while satisfied with some

services, they generally did not see them as responsible for the safety of the campus. They instead believed the campus police were more interested in targeting students for their wrongdoing than they were in the overall protection of all suburban campus constituents. The manner in which students on both campuses have interacted with and experienced campus police has some potential implications for campus policing practices that could be employed on any college or university campus to enhance relations between students and police.

First of all, examples of extreme or excessive treatment of students in custody on the suburban campus would indicate that the police there are utilizing their authority in a questionable and reckless manner. While it may be prudent for campus police to deal with those who are drinking alcohol while underage or using drugs that are illegal, there are appropriate and inappropriate ways to handle these individuals. It seems that while sometimes officers on the suburban campus have addressed these issues of campus crime in acceptable ways, there are other times where they have not. If things like students urinating on themselves, or officers tackling or threatening to tackle students were consistently occurring in each incident, there could be an overall culture within the campus police department or within the administration there that encourages and promotes this kind of behavior. Since this does not appear to be the case, there may be some individual officers on the suburban campus police force that are treating students in this way, of their own accord and using their own discretion. One way of addressing the actions of these individual officers could potentially involve training and increased communication from the department's leadership or the administrative leaders. This communication would include an emphasis on appropriate ways of dealing with students and the potential consequences - in terms of legitimacy and overall issues of crime

control - of officers' actions and decisions when interfacing with members of the student body. This type of training could be beneficial to any campus police department, regardless of neighborhood or community context or existing issues that may threaten legitimacy of that police force.

Another tactic or policy that could be beneficial to any campus police force, not necessarily just those dealing with legitimacy issues, would be to employ or encourage greater emphasis on community policing initiatives. As discussed in Chapter 1, the DOJ argues that community policing practices can have a profound and positive impact on police-community relations. These practices include police and their constituents interacting, getting to know one another outside of official interactions (i.e., arrest, calls for service, victimization), and coming together to deal with crime problems in a cooperative collaboration. ("Campus Safety,' n.d.) The urban university in this study seems to employ some minor methods of community policing in terms of the overall pleasantness that many students on that campus reported having experienced. Even something as simple as saying hello in passing seems to have had an impact on student views of the officers there. There were no accounts of similar informal exchanges on the suburban campus. This is likely due to the fact that an adversarial relationship already exists between the two and the related fact that many students on the suburban campus indicated that they actively try to avoid campus police when they have seen them on campus. While any campus police department may benefit from employing community policing strategies, departments that are dealing with legitimacy problems and a very tenuous relationship with their student constituents, like the suburban campus featured in this study, could see the greatest benefit of all. Outreach to existing and future students

could go a long way towards enhancing the student-campus police relationship in this regard.

Lastly, there is one area in which students on both campuses were in complete agreement regarding their dissatisfaction with campus police services. Students on both campuses indicated that they had little to no knowledge of many of the unique services (i.e., safety presentations, defense trainings, etc.) that the campus police offered. A few students from each campus noted that this may have been because students are generally not interested or concerned about these issues on a daily basis and they therefore have not done enough to become informed. However, several others put the onus squarely on the campus police for not marketing their services in a way as to get the attention of an undergraduate constituency. Regardless of who was believed to be responsible for this lack of knowledge, it could be prudent for campus police in any community to make sure that they are marketing or promoting their services in effective ways so that students can utilize them. Several students on the suburban campus noted that perhaps having a campus police officer present a session about the campus police and safety during orientation, which was not something done at that university, could go a long way towards increasing students' knowledge of services. Others suggested that campus police could speak to residence halls or during required introductory general education courses. If police on both campuses could make students more aware of these services, more students would likely utilize them. Additionally, it stands to reason that if these services are helpful and more students were able to use them due to better promotion, they could also positively impact students' overall view of campus police.

In sum, campus police could potentially benefit a great deal by adopting practices that are commonly used by other local police in an attempt to enhance police-community

relations. This would include emphasizing the importance of fairness and equal treatment in encounters to all officers within the department and engaging students in an active relationship based on interactions that are not merely limited to formal police-student interactions via community policing. Employing these strategies may not eradicate all animosity between campus police and students or all negative views of the campus police, especially on a campus like the suburban university featured in this study, but it could begin to repair the relationship. It should be noted that both universities focused on in this study claim that they utilize community policing methods to engage with their student populations. Unfortunately, beyond the informal greetings by officers on the urban campus, none of the experiences or interactions that students reported on either campus involved campus police reaching out in informal ways. It would appear that while the campus police at both universities outwardly extol the virtues of community policing strategies[14], they do not seem to be actively engaged in them based on students' reported experiences.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study is an attempt to expand upon what is currently a very limited understanding of the relationship between college and university police officers and the main demographic group that they serve, undergraduate students. The main goal in this study was to take issues that have been studied and documented extensively with regard to more traditional forms of policing, namely neighborhood context and legitimacy, and examine how they may relate to the unique nature of campus policing, specifically. Study findings here have several implications for the study of perceptions of campus

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[14]This information came from an interview with an officer representing the urban campus police department, as well as information provided on both the suburban and urban campus police departments' websites, where their community-policing initiatives and goals were described.

police as well as implications for study of procedural justice and policing legitimacy when looking more broadly at policing in general.

First of all, findings from student observations provided for this study extend the understanding of how campus police departments operate. Most previous studies of campus police have focused on self-report or direct observation of campus police regarding the work of these police forces (Bordner & Petersen, 1983; Ferrandino, 2012; Peake, Barthe, and Garcia, 2008; Reaves, 2008).This study expands on this existing self-reported activity by accounting not just for what campus police departments may be doing, but how their primary constituency has witnessed and experienced this work. Triangulation in this way serves to better explain and identify the scope of campus policing work as it compares to other forms of local policing and to student/constituent expectations. Examination of citizen experiences with police is common practice in policing research; however, this has not historically extended specifically to campus policing. This study is a step towards identifying the ways in which campus constituents experience campus policing and the role that different campus environments may play in shaping those experiences.

In a related issue, this study serves to reinforce the previously identified reality that campus police are viewed as different or separate from other forms of local police. One thing that this study specifically contributes to this observation is that, while students collectively viewed campus police differently, these differences were not uniform across community context. Student views were based on how they had interacted with them and how they viewed other local police, most specifically the local police that served the town or city in which each campus was situated. Most on the suburban campus viewed their campus police as less capable or less resourceful than other local police. Conversely,

students on the urban campus had a variety of views about their police. Some saw them as different and perhaps lesser because they had a smaller jurisdiction to handle and dealt with comparatively less serious crimes than their city police counterparts. Others saw their police in a more positive light because of beliefs that they are better trained and funded in comparison to other police forces. While still others on the urban campus remained uncertain how to characterize them or compare them to other police. While Wada et al (2010), Wilson and Wilson (2011), and Jacobsen (2014) identified that students view campus police as different from and potentially less legitimate than other forms of local police, findings here indicate that student comparisons of campus and local police may be more nuanced than this. Much of their assessment of campus police in light of other local police seems to do with the ways in which students have experienced or interacted with campus police, local police, or both within each campus environment.

Surprisingly, views of campus police based on student demographic characteristics that have been used as points of comparison in previous studies (i.e., age, race, and gender) did not differ consistently across the attributes of these characteristics. There were no consistent patterns related to age, which was identified in Chapter 2 as a questionable variable to use with such a young grouping to begin with. This held true when looking at the 28 students from each university separately and the entire group of 56 respondents together. Similarly, no consistent patterns were seen with regard to time at the university and gender on either campus in comparison to one another, or when looking at the entire 56 student respondents. The one potentially notable finding with regard to demographic characteristics was based on race, particularly minority student views. Black students at the suburban university reported experience with procedurally unfair treatment and even equated treatment by police with victimization. There was no

discussion of similar views or experiences by Black students or other minorities on the urban campus. Based on student interviews here, it would seem that campus environment and community context may be more salient when it comes to issues of campus policing perceptions than some of the previously studied demographic characteristics. With that said, results here may indicate that students of different races within different environments and community contexts may experience different forms of treatment. This particular issue is something that should be examined more closely in future work on campus policing perceptions across neighborhood and community contexts.

Regarding the inductive nature of this study, there are several findings here which highlight certain concepts, mechanisms, and processes at work that can be used to create hypotheses or tentative propositions regarding student experiences on different college and university campuses. First of all, it may not be appropriate to classify "college/university campus" as its own unilateral community construct when looking at issues of safety, risk, the role and function of campus police, and student views of each. The larger geographic communities in which these campuses were situated were reported by students as having a very large impact on their views and experiences with these factors and with the campus police, specifically. This study accounts for specific ways that campus police and students interact (and resulting feelings about legitimacy of campus police) based on safety of the community in which the campus is located. Put another way, it is not just all students at all universities generally feeling a certain way about their campus police. Instead the results of this study would suggest that students on specific campuses in specific places with specific perceptions and experiences (both direct and vicarious) with crime and safety in that place are, as a result, interacting in specific ways with their campus police. Future studies regarding campus policing should

account for these differences and specifications based on community context. The experiences shared by students at both universities for this study would indicate that campus environments are unique and the campus culture and related issues of student-campus police relations are shaped, at least in part, by the context of the larger community in which the school is embedded.

Secondly, student views of safety of the larger community in which their schools were situated clearly aligned with their views on the role that campus police fulfill within the campus environment, specifically. Perceiving environments as safe, like the suburban campus featured in this study, would appear to result in subsequent perceptions that campus police may serve as little more than a deterrent by default. Conversely, environments perceived to be full of risk, like the urban campus here, result in perceptions that campus police play a major role in protecting the campus environment. This also results in students viewing them more favorably overall. Generally speaking, student perceptions of community context would appear to play a causal role in student perceptions of campus police in terms of their role in crime control and maintaining safety on a given campus.Thirdly, it would appear that students engaging in risk-taking or risky behaviors within their campus environment, regardless of community context, are more likely to encounter police and potentially, to experience policing services in ways that differ from those who do not. This is clearly evident based on the disparate accounts shared by suburban and urban campus students. Partying, alcohol, and drug use were a common and reportedly normative part of campus life on the suburban campus. This was not the case on the urban campus. Students' primary motivations and goals for attending college (i.e., experienceing the typical "college life" versus obtaining a degree) could be a factor here, but it is possible that larger community context contributes to this in some

manner as well. Results here would indicate that community context may partially account for the activities of students and campus police, which then shapes how these two entities interface and interact with one another. Students expecting the traditional campus life experiences (i.e., living on campus, attending parties, creating new social groups, etc.) could self-select to a campus that is perceived to be located in a safe place so that they can enjoy college life without feeling they are at risk within that community. On the other hand, students with a more instrumental orientation to higher education who are simply seeking to attend classes and get their degree may not weigh the safety of the larger community context quite as heavily since their experiences on the campus may be more academically focused. Future studies should identify student motivations for going to college and how that may impact their choice of college to attend and in turn may shape the situations in which students and campus police encounter one another. However, the conclusion here is that students' engagement in a college party culture may enhance their overall risk as well as their overall potential for offending or engaging in illegal behavior. This in turn, results in encounters with police that seem more likely to involve what students perceive to be procedurally unfair treatment. In essence, traditional forms of college student life lead to specific types of interactions with campus police that have great potential to be deemed negative by the students involved. This in turn decreases views of campus policing legitimacy for students experiencing this form of college life. Each of these conclusions should prove useful in future research, not just on campus police, but also for studies of campus cultures or crime and victimization on college and university campuses.

There are also several things that this study contributes to broader issues of procedural justice and policing legitimacy in general, and not just specifically for campus

policing authorities. First of all, student experiences presented here reinforce the work of Tyler (1990; 2006), Tyler and Sunshine (2003) and others who have studied the link between procedural fairness and perceptions of police as legal authorities. Similarly, this study has identified that community context plays a substantial role in shaping police-citizen encounters as described by Brunson and Weitzer (2009) and Leiderbach (2005). However, it would seem that unlike citizens in an urban setting, students at the urban university examined in this study held fairly favorable views of police in terms of their legal authority. Additionally, unlike citizens in a suburban area, students at the suburban university examined here held fairly negative views of campus police in terms of their legal authority. Clearly, this study identified some interesting issues related to the student-police relationship that run counter to current understanding of neighborhood context and legitimacy when looking at issues of traditional local policing. More specifically, it appears that suburban campus police may be more likely to profile, target specific offenders (mostly if not entirely students) and treat those offenders harshly and in unfair ways[15]. Urban campus police are not as likely to profile students and may be more likely to treat students and potentially offenders in fair and respectful ways. The specific mechanisms of this relationship and many others are yet to be understood. Therefore, there is still a great deal of research to be done in looking at campus policing as a part of the policing paradigm in America and all of the issues related to that, including the issues of neighborhood context, legitimacy, and a number of other concepts not addressed within this study.

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[15] Again, the unfair treatment experienced by students on the suburban campus is relatively minor in comparison to unfair treatment of individuals documented in studies like those by Brunson and Miller (2006) and Brunson and Weitzer (2009). However, students still perceived this as procedurally unfair treatment that greatly affected their views of their campus police.

Since this is one of the few studies that has addressed campus policing from an empirical perspective, there are some limitations that should be attended to in subsequent research on campus police. First of all, the initial study which involved interviews at the urban university was very broad in scope, focusing not just on issues of student experiences and perceptions of policing, but also issues of safety, risk, protective measures, routine activities, and activity spaces on that campus. Because of this, it is possible that more information regarding campus policing was garnered from the suburban campus interviews, which took place at a later time specifically for the purpose of examining the student-campus policing relationship. In a related issue, the urban interviews were conducted by 16 individuals, including the author here, while the suburban interviews were only conducted by the author of this study. Each interviewer was trained in proper administration of qualitative interviews and was well-versed in the specific interview guide and appropriate follow-up questions. However, any disparities in interview style among these 16 individuals could have resulted in specific responses or omission of certain responses in the students who were interviewed on the urban campus. Future studies of this phenomenon should be designed to focus on campus police and students from the outset and there should be consistency in the measurement tool utilized and the data collected. That being said, if issues of policing services or negative procedural treatment were as salient for the urban students as they were for the suburban students, it is likely that these issues would have come out based on the way in which the interview guide was structured.

Secondly, while this was designed as a qualitative study in order to understand how students formulate the views and perceptions that they have of campus police, there are some potential limitations related to this as well. It is possible that one or both of the

universities selected for this study are not necessarily representative of other urban or suburban campuses. In which case, results here can only be applicable to the two campuses in question. Additional research of a quantitative nature should be designed to determine if themes that emerged from students at the two campuses in focus here are consistent for other campuses having the same community contexts. This could potentially be accomplished by collecting data via surveys administered to students at several different universities situated in different community settings. The data collected and the themes identified in the interviews here provide a good source for conceptualizing and operationalizing variables for further quantitative analysis.

Lastly, some speculation was made as to what may have motivated campus police on each campus to have engaged in certain behaviors or utilized certain tactics, but these are just that, speculations. Actual police motivations cannot be determined because this is a study of student perceptions, views, and experience. This is not a study of campus police perceptions, views, and experiences. As a follow up to this study, it would be interesting to interview campus police officers on these two campuses to triangulate their views and rationales with the observations made by students in the interviews administered for this study. Regardless of whether or not the campus police at these two schools are interviewed, it certainly would be worthwhile and perhaps beneficial to interview or survey campus police in different neighborhood contexts about their backgrounds, experiences as police officers on these campuses, decisions they make about ways in which to engage in their work, and how they perceive their interactions with students and their own role on their campuses.

This study expands on a growing catalog of research regarding this particular form of local policing, but clearly, there is a great deal that has yet to be determined about

many facets of this particular form of policing. This includes the nature of campus policing, the factors that shape their role on college and university campuses, and the relationship that they have to the constituents that they serve. The hope is that the findings in this particular study that indicate there are differences between campus police in varying contexts will be useful to campus police departments and researchers, alike. Findings here would suggest that campus police departments should engage in policies and practices that enhance procedural fairness and students views of their legitimacy, in order to maintain important relations with their campus constituents. Findings here also have the potential to inform future studies that may examine the rather unique but important role that campus police play not only in the policing paradigm of the United States, but also as protectors and representatives of their campus communities.

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APPENDIX 1 – IRB Approvals

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
ASB III, 3 Rutgers Plaza, Cook Campus
New Brunswick, NJ 08901

July 22, 2014

P.I. Name: Grogan
Protocol #: 14-764M

Shannon Grogan
School of Criminal Justice
123 Washington St
Newark NJ

Dear Shannon Grogan:

(Initial / Amendment / Continuation / Continuation w/ Amendment)

Protocol Title: "Differences in Perceptions of Safety, Risk, and Campus Policing among Students at Suburban and Urban Universities"

This is to advise you that the above-referenced study has been presented to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research, and the following action was taken subject to the conditions and explanations provided below:

Approval Date:	7/10/2014	**Expiration Date:**	7/9/2015
Expedited Category(s):	5,6,7	**Approved # of Subject(s):**	25

This approval is based on the assumption that the materials you submitted to the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP) contain a complete and accurate description of the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research. The following conditions apply:

- **This Approval**-The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted. **This approval is valid ONLY for the dates listed above;**
- **Reporting**-ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;
- **Modifications**-Any proposed changes MUST be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;
- **Consent Form(s)** Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document. If you are using such documents in your research, The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;
- **Continuing Review**-You should receive a courtesy e-mail renewal notice for a Request for Continuing Review before the expiration of this project's approval. However, it is your responsibility to ensure that an application for continuing review has been submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to the expiration date to extend the approval period;
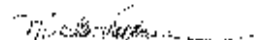
Additional Notes: Expedited Approval per 45 CFR 46.110;

Additional Conditions: **Approval From The Following IRB Must Be Forwarded To The Rutgers IRB Prior To Commencement Of Study Procedures At: Westchester University;**

Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.
Please note that the IRB has the authority to observe, or have a third party observe, the consent process or the research itself. The Federal-wide Assurance (FWA) number for the Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.

Respectfully yours,

Acting For--
Dr. Beverly Tepper, Ph.D.
Professor
Chair, Rutgers University Institutional Review Board

cc: Jody A. Miller

(MW:bL)

WCU
WEST CHESTER
UNIVERSITY

Office of Sponsored Research | West Chester University | Filano Hall
West Chester, PA 19383 | 610-436-3557 | www.wcupa.edu

TO: **Shannon Grugan**

FROM: **Paul K. Smith, Ph.D.**
Chair, WCU Human Subjects Committee (HSC)

DATE: 6/16/2014

Proposed Project Title: Differences in Perceptions of Safety, Risk, and Campus Policing

☒ **Expedited Approval**
☐ **Full Board Review Approval**
☐ **Exempt From Further Review**

Date of Approval: 6/16/2014

☒ This protocol has been approved for a period of one year. Approximately two months prior to the approval end date, you will receive a Continuing Review Request form. Please complete it and return it to Human Subjects Committee, even if the project has been completed or is discontinued.

Please remember that any changes to the protocol will require the submission of a revised protocol to the HSC. Any adverse reaction by a research subject is to be reported immediately to the Chair of the Institutional Review Board (Gautam Pillay, Ph.D.) and Chair of the HSC (Paul K. Smith, Ph.D.) through the Office of Sponsored Research via email at irb@wcupa.edu Dr. Smith can also be reached directly at 610-436-2764 or via e-mail at psmith@wcupa.edu.

Paul K. Smith

Signature:
Chair

APPENDIX 2 – Interview Guide

ATTACHMENT 2 – Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Thanks for agreeing to talk with me. I want to start with a few basic demographic questions.

1. What is your gender?
2. How would you describe your race/ethnicity?
3. How old are you?
4. Where were you born?
5. And where did you grow up?

Thanks for sharing that information. Now I want ▉▉▉▉▉▉ of a conversation about your experiences at West Chester University.

6. First, can you tell me how you decided to come to West Chester?

> Thinking back, what were the things that most appealed to you about the place?

> Were you considering other schools in addition to West Chester at the time? *If so:* What were the reasons you chose to come here?

> Was there anything that concerned you about coming here? (Anything else?)

7. What did your family think about you coming to West Chester?

> Did they share any opinions with you about coming here? (What did they say?)
> Have their opinions changed since you've been here? (In what ways/why not?)

8. How long have you been a West Chester student?

> IF RECENT: What do you think of it so far?
> Have you decided on a major yet?

> IF LONGER: What are your general impressions of the place?
> What are you studying/majoring in? How do you like that program.

9. Aside from classes, are you involved in any activities on campus?

       IF YES: Tell me a bit more about the things you're involved in.
       IF NO: What are the reasons you're not?

10. Where are you currently living? (With whom/what's it

like?) How close is it to campus?

       IF ON/NEAR CAMPUS: How long have you lived there?
                                     Why did you decide to live close to campus?

                                       How do you find living around here? (What's good/bad about it?)
                                       Do you ever think about moving off/away from campus?
                                          (Why/why not?)

               IF NOT: How long have you lived there?
                      How do you find living there? (What's good/bad about it?)

                      Why did you decide *not* to live close to campus?
                      Have you ever thought about living on campus or close to campus?
                            (Why/why not?; *If they've lived on campus before, ask:* Why
                            did you decide to move?)

                      How do you generally travel to and from campus?

11. Can you tell me a bit more about where you grew up/where you've lived most of your life?

       IF NOT Fɪ████████████: How does it compare to V██████████
                            What things are similar or different?

               (If they've moved around a lot – reference the place they most consider 'home'; if
               they don't have a place they most consider home, discuss the most recent place they
               lived prior to coming ████████████*)*

       Did that have an impact on your decision to come here? (How so?)

Now I want to ask a few questions about how you spend your time.

12. What's a typical day like when you have classes?

       How about days when you don't have classes?
       And on the weekends?

       Do you spend much of your time with other people at school? (Who, when, where)

How do you generally spend your free time (on campus)?

What do you usually do to have fun? (with whom,

where?)

Now I have a few questions about your perceptions of safety and risk on and around campus.

13. How safe do you think███████████campus is? Can you tell me a bit more about the reasons you feel this way?

14. Do you usually feel safe on campus? (Why or why not? Anything else?)

Are there particular people, places or things in the environment that make you feel **more safe** at some times than others? (Like what?)

Are there particular people, places or things in the environment that make you feel **less safe**
at times? (Like what?)

How about times of day, evening, or night?

15. How about the community arou████████████how safe do you think it is? Can you tell me a bit more about the reasons you feel this way?

How much time do you spend off campus in
████████? Do you generally feel safe there?
(Why/whynot?)
Are there particular people, places or things in the environment that heighten your concern at times? (Like what?)

16. What about your friends and other students at school – do they ever talk about their perceptions ████████████campus, or the surrounding community, as safe or dangerous?

IF YES: What kinds of things have you heard or talked about? (Anything else?)

Do they say different things about the campus versus the community? Like

what? Is this something you talk about often? How do these conversations

affect you?

17. Has there ever been a time when you were concerned for your safety **on campus**?

    IF YES: How many times has that happened?

        Tell me about the most recent time you were concerned for your safety on

        campus. (*As appropriate, ask for details:* Where were they? What time of

        day/night? Were
        they alone or with others? Who else was around? What made them feel

    unsafe?) IF NO: Why do you think that is?

18. More than feeling concerned for your safety, have you ever been truly afraid that you were in immediate danger **on campus**?

    IF YES: How many times has that happened?

        Can you tell me about the most recent time that happened?

        (*As appropriate, ask for details:* Where were they? What time of day/night?
        Were they alone or with others? Who else was around? What made them
        feel unsafe?)

19. Has there ever been a time when you were concerned for your safety in the community around the ██████████ campus?

    IF YES: How many times has that happened?

        Tell me about the most recent time you were concerned for your safety
        in the community around campus.

        (*As appropriate, ask for details:* Where were they? What time of day/night?
        Were they alone or with others? Who else was around? What made them
        feel unsafe?)

    IF NO: Why do you think that is?

20. More than feeling concerned for your safety, have you ever been truly afraid that you were in immediate danger when you were in the community around ████████ s campus?

    IF YES: How many times has that happened?

Can you tell me about the most recent time it happened?

(*As appropriate, ask for details:* Where were they? What time of day/night? Were they alone or with others? Who else was around? What made them feel unsafe?)

21. Are you ever concerned for the safety for your friends, girlfriend/boyfriend, or roommates?

IF YES: When is that likely to happen? Is there anything you do about it? (Such as?)

22. What kinds of things do you do, on campus or in the nearby community, to protect yourself from risks? (Anything else?)

Does this vary by time of day? (How so?)
Do you take different precautions at night than during the day? (How so?)

Does it vary depending on who you're with? (How so?)
Do you take different precautions when you're alone or with other people? (How so?)

What about when you're on campus versus elsewhere in the community near campus, do you take different kinds of precautions? (Like what?)

Do you ever carry any form of protection to ensure your safety on or around campus? (For instance, a knife, mace)

IF YES: How often/when do you carry it?
Does it make you more comfortable?
How so?

23. Have you ever not done something on campus you wanted to do because you were concerned for your safety?

IF YES: How many times has this happened?
Can you tell me about the most recent time?

24. Do you think the risks for being a crime victim on or near campus are different for guys versus girls? (How so/why not?)

What about for students of different races? (How so/why not?)
What about for LGBT (e.g., lesbian, gay, transgender) students versus straight students? (How so/why not?)

25. In your experience, are some students at ███████████ore concerned for their safety than others are?

> What kinds of things do you think affect how much different students worry about their safety? (How so?)

Now I have a few questions about crime on and around th█████████**ampus.** *NOTE: If research participant has already disclosed their own or others' victimization, acknowledge this before asking for additional information; confirm they're willing to talk further about it, and ask only for additional information.*

26. Have any of your friends, classmates, or other students you know been the victim of a crime on or near campus?

> IF YES: Tell me about what happened. How did you learn about it?
> Where did it happen? (*as appropriate; probe for details*)
>
> Do you know if they reported it to the campus police? (If so, what happened; if not, do you know why they didn't?)

27. Have you ever witnessed a crime on or near campus?

> IF YES: Tell me about what happened.
>
> (*As appropriate, ask for details:* When it happened, who was involved and/or present, how they reacted, what happened next, did they or the victim report the crime to the police? Where did it happen? On/off campus?)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED YES TO QUESTION 24 AND/OR 25, ASK:

> Did that/those experiences (witnessing a crime, having someone you know victimized) affect you in any way? How so?
>
> Did it change what you think about ██████████University? How so/why not?

28. And what about you—have you ever been the victim of a crime on or near campus?

OR: I know you mentioned earlier that you were a victim of crime on/near campus. If it's ok with you, I'd like to ask you a few more questions about it. (*Ask follow-up questions mindful not to repeat questions you've already asked.*)

> IF YES: Do you mind telling me about what happened?

(*As appropriate, ask for details:* When it happened, who was involved and/or present, how they reacted, what happened next; Where did it happen? On/off campus)

What was that experience like for you?
Did it lead you to change your behaviors in any way? (How so?)
Did it change what you think ab█████████k? (About being a
   student here?)

Did you report the incident to█████ers police?

IF YES: How was that experience? What happened?
   How did the officer/s treat
      you?
   Was the case resolved to your satisfaction?

Why/why not? IF NO: What were the reasons you didn't

report it?

29. Do you feel as though you're generally informed about the risks for crime on campus?
(How so/why not?)

Where do you get most of your information about campus crime?

Do you ever learn about campus crime from your friends or fellow students?

(How so?) What about crimes committed█████ers students? Have you heard

much about that
happening?

IF YES: What have you heard? (Anything else?) Can you tell me about the
most recent incident?

30. What kind of advice have you gotten about crime here and how to avoid it? From whom?

31. What do you think about the Crime Alerts that are sent by th████████r University
Department of Public Safety?

Have you ever changed your behaviors in any way as a result? (How so?)
Do you think the Crime Alerts are an effective strategy for making the
campus community aware of crime incidents? (Why/why not?)

Do you think there are any problems with the Crime Alerts? (Like what?)

> Have the Crime Alerts changed what you think about the ███████campus? (How so/why not?)

32. How familiar are you with the public safety services offered by the ███████ Department of Public Safety and ███████ Police Department?

> What services are you aware of? Do you remember how you learned about them?

33. I want to run through some of the public safety services offered by Public Safety and the ███████ Police, to get a sense of which of these you're aware of and which you may or may not have used. (*You can skip services previously discussed in question 30 to avoid repetition.*)

> A. Have you noticed the emergency phone system call boxes around campus?
>
>> IF YES: Have you ever used them? If so, tell me about what happened.
>
> B. Have you ever attended any Public Safety instructional seminars or trainings?
>
>> IF YES: How many have you taken part in?
>> Can you tell me what it/they entailed?
>> Did you find it/them useful? (In what ways?/Why not?)
>
> C. Did you know that the ███████Department of Public Safety offers a Rape Aggression Defense (RAD) Training on campus?
>
>> IF YES: Have you ever taken the training?
>>> IF YES: How useful did you find it? Any problems or concerns? IF NO: What are the reasons you haven't?
>
> D. Did you know that the ███████ Department of Public Safety offers a registration service for valuable items?
>
>> IF YES: Have you ever registered your belongings?
>> Do you find this service useful?(In what ways?/Why not?)

4. How effective do you think the ███████Department of Public Safety is in making s programs and services known to students?

> Do you have any suggestions for how they might do a better job? (Anything else?)

My final questions are about your thoughts and experiences with the ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
University Police Department ▮▮▮▮ **PD).**

35. From your perspective, what kinds of things should the ▮▮▮▮▮▮ University Police
Department do?

> How would you compare the ▮▮▮ PD to other kinds of police departments?

36. How often do you see the ▮▮▮ PD around campus?

> When you see them, what kinds of activities are they engaged in?

> Are there particular times of day/night that you've seen them more often?

> Where do you usually see them? (*followup:* what mode of transport, i.e., vehicle,
> walking around, scooter, etc.)

37. When you've seen officers on campus, have any of them ever made a point of talking to
you?

> IF YES: What did they say/what did you talk about?
> How would you describe the way they interacted with you?
> Did they seem friendly/approachable or not? Were they respectful? How so/why
> not?

38. Have you ever felt like you were being watched or scrutinized by the ▮▮▮ PD?

> IF YES: How often has this happened?
> Can you tell me a bit about the most recent time it happened? (Why do you
> think they were paying attention to you?)
> How did it make you feel?

39. What about the security officers that work with the ▮▮▮ PD – have you had any
interactions with them?

> IF YES: What were those interactions like?

40. Have you ever sought assistance of any kind from the ▮▮▮ PD?

> IF YES: How many times?
> What kinds of things have you sought assistance for?

> Can you tell me about the most recent time you went to the ▮▮▮ PD for
> assistance? What was the reason you sought their assistance?
> How would you describe the way they interacted with you? (Friendly?

Respectful? Not?)

Were you satisfied with the assistance they provided? (Why/Why not?)

41. Have the ███████████University Police ever questioned you about an incident that occurred on campus?

IF YES: How many times?

Can you tell me about the most recent time this happened? (Were you a participant or witness to the incident?)
How would you describe the way they interacted with you?
Do you think they had reasonable grounds for questioning you? (Why/why not?)

42. Have you had any (other) experiences—good or bad—with the ███████ Police?

IF YES: Can you tell me a bit about those?

43. What about your friends at school, have they ever told you about any experiences they've had with ████ PD officers, good or bad?

IF YES: What experiences have they had?

44. If you were the victim of a crime on campus, how comfortable would you be reporting it to the campus police? (What makes you feel that way?)

Would your decision to report depend on what kind of crime it was? How so/why not?

45. From what you've seen and heard, do you think the ████PD treat everyone in the same ways? How so/why not?

46. From what you've seen and heard, do you feel like the ████PD do a good job in making the campus safe? How so/why not?

Are there things you think they could do to make the campus safer? (Like what?)

47. Finally, have you had any experiences, good or bad, with the ██████████Borough Police or any other local municipal police departments?

IF YES: Can you tell me about those experiences?

How have your interactions with ████police compared with your interactions with the ██PD? Why do you think that's the

case?

That's the end of my questions. Is there anything else I haven't asked about that you think is important for me to know? Do you have any questions for me?

THANK YOU!

<u>APPENDIX 3 –</u>

<u> Informed Consent Form Sample</u>

ATTACHMENT 1 – Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Differences Perceptions of Safety, Risk, and Policing among Students at Suburban and Urban Universities

Principal Investigator/Professor: Shannon Grugan

███████████

Why am I being asked to participate?

You are invited to participate in a research study about safety and risks for crime and policing on the ███ ████ University campus conducted through ████████████████████ and Rutgers University. The University requires that you give your signed agreement to participate in this project. The study is being conducted by Shannon Grugan, Professor at West Chester University and Ph.D. candidate at Rutgers University. I am interviewing 27 undergraduate students on the ████████campus.

I will explain to you in detail the purpose of this project, the procedures to be used, the expected duration of your participation, and the potential benefits and possible risks of participation. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to participate in the research. Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision of whether to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the ███████████████████████████████. If you decide to participate, please sign the last page of this form in my presence. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to examine undergraduate students' perceptions of safety and risk at ███ ████University, and the strategies you may use to protect yourself from risks for personal or property crimes on campus. I hope the results of the study will help improve programmatic efforts on campus to assist with addressing public safety on campus.

What procedures are involved?

If you agree to participate in this research, you can expect to sit down with the researcher for an open-ended interview. You will be asked questions about your perceptions of where and when you might feel more or less safe at ██████████████████, your perceptions and/or experiences with campus police, and what strategies you might use to protect yourself from risks on campus. I will also ask about other services or organizations you are involved with on campus, and your thoughts on their effectiveness, especially with regard to addressing campus crime. You will also be asked basic demographic questions.

If you give me permission, I would like to audiotape the interview. This will help me accurately record what you tell me in the interview. Although I ask that you sign your name on the consent form, I will not include your name on the tape recording or on your interview transcript, so there will be no information that can directly identify you. The interview will take approximately one to one and a half hours, and approximately 27 undergraduate students on campus will be interviewed for this research.

Initial ____

5

What are the potential risks and discomforts?

There are certain risks and discomforts that may be associated with this research.

- It is possible that you may find some of the questions asked uncomfortable or upsetting. You are not required to answer any question that you do not wish to answer and you may ask to end the interview at any time.

- I have a duty to report you if you disclose that you plan to harm yourself or others in the future. To minimize this risk, I will not ask questions that generate this kind of information, and I recommend that you avoid making any statements of this kind.

Are there benefits to taking part in the research?

I will also provide you with a list of contact information for campus services related to dealing with crime. In addition, the information from this project will be important for better understanding public safety on the █████ █████campus. I recognize that you are the expert on your experiences and my goal is to take your perspective seriously. If you would like to receive a copy of the final report, you can contact me and I will provide you with a copy.

What other options are there?

Participation in the research study is voluntary. You will not receive any negative consequences from the ██████████████ if you refuse to participate in the study.

What about privacy and confidentiality?

To protect your confidentiality, I have signed a Confidentiality Agreement. I agree not to share the data for this research with anyone, and to destroy all copies of the interview data once the research is completed. The consent form will be stored in a locked file box, and it will not be linked to the interview. I will not keep a record of the names of research participants, so that what you tell me cannot be attributed to you. The only exception would be if you make statements about your future intent to harm yourself or others, which I am required to report. When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity. I will not use your name in any of our reports, and will not include other specific identifying information.

In addition, during the interview you have the right to review and edit the audiotape. I will erase any sections of the tape in which you accidentally use your own or someone else's name or otherwise disclose something you wish to remove from the interview. Each audiotape will be stored on a password protected computer until it is transcribed, and will be destroyed once the transcription is completed.

Will I be paid for my participation in this research?

You will receive a $10 gift card for Starbucks to thank you for your participation. If you begin the interview and choose not to complete it, you will receive a $5 Starbucks gift card.

Initial ____

Can I withdraw or be removed from the study?

You can choose whether to be in this study. If you volunteer to be in the study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You also may refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in

the study. If you decide to end your participation in the study, I will send you a copy of the withdrawal letter.

Who should I contact if I have questions?

The principal investigator on this project is Shannon Grugan. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact me at ███████████████████████.edu.

What are my rights as a research subject?

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may ██████████████ty's Chair of the Human Subject Committee through the Office of Sponsored Research at ██████████. You may also contact the Sponsored Programs Administrator at Rutgers University at:

Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 848-932-0150
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

Remember: Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relations ██████████████████████████ If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

I have read the above statement, understand the procedures described, and have had all of my questions answered. I understand that if at any time I become uncomfortable with this project I am free to stop my participation. I have been given a copy of this form to keep for my records. I give my permission to participate in the research described above.

Signature dates must match.

_____
Participant's Signature   Date

_____
Participant's Printed Name

_____
Researcher's Signature   Date

Initial ____

7

AUDIOTAPE ADDENDUM TO CONSENT FORM

You have already agreed to participate in a research study entitled: "Perceptions of Safety, Risk, and Campus Policing among Students at Suburban and Urban Universities," conducted by me, Shannon Grugan (Principal Investigator). I am asking for your permission to allow me to audiotape your interview as part of that research study. You do not have to agree to be recorded in order to participate in the study.

The audio-recording will be used to ensure that we record what you have to say as accurately as possible. It will not include your name or other identifiers. Upon completion of your interview, the audio-recording will be transcribed into written form. It will be stored on a password protected computer while it is being transcribed. The written transcript will be checked for accuracy against the audio-recording, and then the audio file will be deleted. Our data for the project will include the written transcript of your audio-recording, but not the recording itself.

Your signature on this form grants me permission to audio-record you as described above during participation in the above-referenced study. I will not use the recording for any other reason than those stated in the consent form without your written permission.

Participant's Printed Name _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

Initial ____