The Institutional Role of Campus Policing for Black Undergraduate Students: A Critical
Race Phenomenological Study

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Kegan Michael Lee Walker

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Abstract

Since the 1900s, researchers have probed the sociological intersections between race and policing in the United States. Several 20th century social movements scrutinized an intractable tension related to racialized experiences with the police (Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003), and extensive research has explored Black and African Americans' experiences with policing within diverse environmental contexts (e.g. Brunson & Miller, 2006; Brunson, 2007; Bizer, 2008; Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Peck, 2015). The recent proliferation of raced policing incidents has reintroduced police relations into the public discourse. However, very few studies have empirically examined this phenomenon within the context of higher education.

This dissertation study explores the ways that Black undergraduate students experience, interpret, and make sense of campus policing at a large, predominately White, public, research university. In this study, I conceptualize campus police officers as "institutional agents" (e.g. Stanton-Salazar, 2011) to better contextualize the practical implications of campus policing in students' institutional experiences. Drawing upon critical and philosophical theories of race, this research centralizes the social constructs of race and antiblack racism, while interrogating intersections of marginalization. Semi-structured interviews generated the primary data, which yielded four overarching themes illustrating the racialized contexts that framed participants' experiences with and interpretations of campus policing. These themes include: 1) precollege experience and socialization, 2) the racialized frame of campus policing, 3) conceptions of safety and protection, and 4) the role of institutional climate.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Campus police agencies are distinctive service units within the context of postsecondary education. Their presence on college campuses embody a visible and familiar space. However, scholars have shown that campus police, and related issues, are under-researched within empirical literature (Allen, 2015; Patten, Alward, Thomas, & Wada, 2016). The limited research and attention on campus policing has been a consistent theme throughout the field's history. For example, Bordner and Peterson (1983) revealed that, prior to the 1980s, there were three known empirical studies published on campus policing. Although there are similarities between campus policing and municipal policing (i.e. wearing uniforms, responding to emergency calls for service, carrying firearms, arresting offenders), the social contexts of policing at postsecondary institutions demand clarity. Prior studies have exposed the challenges that campus police encounter in garnering social authenticity as law enforcement officers (e.g. Wada, Patten, & Candela, 2010), and research has continued to explore the complex nature of campus policing services (e.g. Wilson & Wilson, 2015). Due to the unique culture of postsecondary institutions, campus police officers assume diverse responsibilities as they take on the roles of protecting campuses and serving as representatives for their institutions (Foster, 1986; Wilson & Wilson, 2011). The longstanding discourse surrounding college and university safety calls for an exploratory spotlight on the sociocultural sphere of campus policing.

National incidents in the United States have drawn attention toward the turbulent social intersections between the police and people of color, specifically Black and

African American people. The intractability of this relationship is evidenced by a consistent thread of racialized policing incidents. Furthermore, colleges and universities have not been removed from this phenomenon. In 2019, for example, a Black college student sued campus police at Temple University for federal civil rights violations, claiming that he had been the target of racial profiling (Briggs, 2019). Similarly, campus police officers at Yale University detained a Black student after the student fell asleep in a widely used common space. It was later determined that a peer contacted campus police after mistaking the student for someone who was not "where they were supposed to be" (Griggs, 2018).

When considering these types of encounters, racialized encounters with campus police have not been limited to students. Media reports have also depicted racialized encounters involving professors and people not affiliated with postsecondary institutions. In 2014, campus police at Arizona State University detained a Black professor for allegedly jaywalking. After being questioned by campus police for the infraction, the professor was arrested following a physical confrontation with campus police officers. Video footage of the incident was leaked publicly, and the professor contended that her arrest was the result of racial profiling (Jaschik, 2014). Moreover, encounters with campus police officers have also turned lethal. At the University of Cincinnati, campus police shot and killed a Black city resident near the university campus. The victim was not affiliated with the university; however, university administrators were forced to reconsider their policing strategies and procedures as it tied to engagement with the public (Thomsen, 2015).

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The Unknowns of Campus Policing

Although the existence of racialized police encounters can be illustrated through an abundance of media reports, very few empirical studies have considered the role of race within campus policing (Wada et al., 2010; Allen & Jacques, 2018). The limited presence of this research is starkly evident within higher education scholarship. Prior studies have provided examples of campus policing encounters within research on racialized collegiate experiences. For instance, within Smith and colleagues' (2007) study on Black college men, they revealed that students experienced elevated surveillance by campus and municipal police officers. These behaviors contributed to feelings of hypervisibility and threatened sense of belonging. A similar study illustrated the experiences of Black students who felt marginalized by encounters with campus police officers at a selective research university. These encounters included campus police officers removing students from university recreational spaces (Smith, Mustaffa, Jones, Curry, & Allen, 2016). While studies of this nature provide important insight into the racialized experiences of Black college students, the studies' research aims were not centered on experiences with campus policing. More recently, Allen and Jacques (2018) explored Black college students' perceptions of their interactions with campus police compared to their interactions with municipal police. They concluded that Black students did not perceive "racial discrimination" from campus police officers, but participants cited racial discrimination as a factor in their interactions with municipal police. It should be considered, however, that Allen and Jacques' (2018) study was employed within the context of a predominately Black university situated within a majority Black

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metropolitan area. As predominately White institutions become increasingly diverse, the cultural intersections of campus policing actively require attention.

Patten and colleagues (2016) argued that the ambiguity surrounding the legitimacy of police on college campuses presents noticeable implications given the national spotlight on racialized police incidents. Scholars note that examining the influences of race on perceptions of the police are pivotal for effective practice. Police agencies must understand the ways in which the public experiences, perceives, or finds satisfaction with their services (Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003). Along these lines, scholarship in the social sciences is replete with research exploring how people of color, specifically Black people, perceive and experience municipal policing. Research on the intersections between race and policing is mostly situated outside of the postsecondary context (Wada et al., 2010; Peck, 2015). This research suggests that Black people report racialized experiences with and are distrustful of the police (e.g. Peck, 2015; Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Brunson & Miller, 2006; Brunson, 2007). For example, MacDonald and colleagues (2007) explored the connections between race and perceptions of police misconduct. They found that differences existed across racial lines regarding perceptions of the police and the police's propensity for misconduct. A person self-identifying as Black was a "significant predictor" of how the person would perceive the police (pg. 2581). In a synthesis of research that investigated perceptions of the police, Peck (2015) revealed that negative perceptions and distrust were central themes in studies that explored Black and African Americans' perceptions of the police.

While most studies on race and policing utilize quantitative research methods (Peck, 2015), Bizer's (2008) qualitative study on African Americans' perceptions of the police provides important implications. Bizer explored the characteristics that African Americans believed best described a productive police officer. Participants expressed that attributes pertaining to cultural awareness, an ability to show compassion, and interpersonal competence framed their conceptions of constructive engagement with a police officer. Bizer's work provides implications for research, which encourages the use of qualitative methods in future research on the police. However, when considering the breath of existing research on race and policing outside of postsecondary education, Allen (2015) explained, "It is largely unknown whether findings on municipal police are generalizable to campus police. After all, the two groups often operate in different contexts, police different kinds of populations, and have somewhat different responsibilities" (pg. 733). In concert with Allen's perspective, the intersections of race, higher education, and policing further exacerbate the inability to draw implications regarding campus policing from our understanding of municipal policing.

Prevalence of Campus Police

While campus police agencies execute various duties at postsecondary institutions, their primary responsibilities rest on establishing and maintaining secure environments for college and university communities. Statistics from federal sources reveal that campus police officers are highly visible and prevalent at postsecondary institutions in the United States. The most recent Bureau of Justice Statistics (2015) survey on campus policing found that 68% of 4-year postsecondary institutions employed

campus police agencies with full arrest powers. Public postsecondary institutions were significantly more likely to employ police agencies with full arrest powers. The survey reported that 92% of 4-year public institutions, with more than 2,500 students, utilized fully sworn campus police officers. However, less than half (38%) of private institutions employed their own police officers. Overall, nearly 75% of 4-year postsecondary institutions, with more than 2,500 students, utilized armed enforcement personnel (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015).

Statistics also suggest that students at large 4-year institutions are likely to encounter municipal police officers. The BJS (2015) reported that most of the campus police agencies serving large campus settings established mutual aid agreements (MAA) with local police agencies. Mutual aid agreements extend campus police jurisdiction beyond the campus context in order to assist local police agencies with response efforts. Likewise, local and municipal agencies are granted authority to assist campus police with enforcement and investigative efforts on campus grounds. The survey found that more than half of campus police agencies at 4-year institutions shared patrol duties with local police agencies.

The Intersections of Race and Policing

Although campus police officers operate within a unique social context at colleges and universities, their professional identities as police officers represent an extensive history of racialized social relations within the United States. In the thick of the Jim Crow era, Myrdal (1944) boldly offered that police officers epitomized the dominant positioning of White authority for Black people and served as their most significant

public interaction (as cited in Bolton & Feagin, 2004). Like other social institutions, the structure of law enforcement has historically been positioned as a means of control and denial of access for Black people within the United States. For example, the police played a major role in enforcing systemic subjugation against Black people during the years of slavery and Jim Crow. A high-profile incident, during the 1960s, included three civil rights workers who were murdered in Mississippi. The local police were found to be co-conspirators in the kidnapping and murder of the civil rights workers (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018). In this example, the local police occupied the role of enforcing social order by ensuring that efforts to transform the problematic social paradigm were defeated. Although the Jim Crow era represented extreme examples of police misconduct, Bolton and Feagin (2004) posited that as Black people have experienced marginalization in various social institutions, the development and professionalization of policing has intersected with these outcomes.

Law enforcement agencies can sometimes operate in tension with Black communities, with tropes and ideologies serving as the implicit driving force (Bolton & Feagin, 2004). Holmes and Smith (2008) argued that communities of color, particularly African Americans, have long been distrustful of the criminal justice system in the United States and much of these perceptions stem from experiences with police. The 20th century civil rights movement included urban civil unrest, which emerged out of concern from police mistreatment. These moments of civil unrest in American cities such as Los Angeles, Newark, and Detroit, were directly fueled by incidents of police brutality and misconduct against Black people. To address civil unrest in the 1960s, President Lyndon

B. Johnson created the *National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, also referred to as the *Kerner Commission*, which consisted of politicians charged with interrogating the root causes of civil unrest in urban Black communities. The commission concluded that dissatisfaction with the police and experiences with police brutality served as intractable concerns (Lewis, 2018). In one of the more high-profile moments of civil unrest directed toward police misconduct, the *1992 Los Angeles Riots* included backlash from Black residents after several Los Angeles police officers were acquitted following the brutal beating of a resident (Rahtz, 2016). More recently, the peculiar deaths of Black people at the hands of police in Texas, Missouri, Minnesota, New York, Maryland, Ohio, and other locations highlight the polarizing context of policing in the contemporary age. Nicholson-Crotty and colleagues (2017) explained that, "the steady stream of stories about Black deaths at the hands of the police has further eroded already strained relationships between police and Black people in many urban areas" (pg. 206). Research suggests that impoverished and urban communities experience the worst of police misconduct and brutality (Holmes & Smith, 2008).

In many ways, criminal justice policy also informs distrust of police and the criminal justice system in the United States. Mass incarceration represents a critical policy issue within the context of the criminal justice system. Since the 1970s, incarceration rates in the United States have increased dramatically and scholars cite harsh drug policies as the cause (e.g. Alexander, 2012). Furthermore, people of color are grossly overrepresented in the United States' prison and jail population (Travis, Western, & Redburn, 2014). Past statistics have revealed that people of color represented 67% of

inmates in prison (Sentencing Project, 2016). In 2014, for example, African Americans were 34% of the prison population while representing approximately 12% of the national population (NAACP, 2018). Alexander (2012) argued that contact with the police serves as the initial means of entry for many people who find themselves under correctional supervision.

It is reasonable to suggest that history, public policy, and racialized police encounters, ultimately frame the way in which people interpret the police. In addition, personal and vicarious experiences can provide insight into how expectations and perceptions of the police are formed. Due to the racialized legacy of the criminal justice system in the United States, it can be argued that many Black and African American students will matriculate at postsecondary institutions with distinctive perspectives related to the police. It is critical that we understand the ways in which race and other experiences of marginalization prime students' conceptions, experiences, and expectations of campus police agencies.

Purpose of the Study

This critical race phenomenological study explores Black undergraduate students' experiential interpretations of campus policing at a predominately White postsecondary institution (PWI). This research conceptualizes campus police officers as "institutional agents" (e.g. Stanton-Salazar, 2011), which serves as a lens for contextualizing how campus policing shapes university experiences for Black undergraduate students. I expand on the notion of "institutional agent" later in this chapter.

Research Questions

This study is guided by two research questions:

1. How do Black undergraduate students experience and make sense of campus policing at a PWI?

2. How does racialized experience emerge within encounters between campus police officers and Black undergraduate students?

This study investigates the ways that participants make sense of an experience and structure, specifically exploring how the interpretative process is framed by constructs of race, racism, and other intersections of marginalization. To accomplish these aims, this research is grounded by critical race theory and phenomenology. I expand further on these frameworks in chapters two and three. However, I reference the concepts because my lived experiences, positionality, and interest as a researcher inform their utilization. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will discuss my positionality, the significance of the research, and foregrounding definitions which prime the relevance of the research.

Focusing on Positionality and Experience

I reflected on my positionality as it related to the purpose of this study, and the notion of "experience" became a salient consideration. The crux of this research merges the paradigms of race, policing, and higher education, which have all shaped my experiences thus far. I became interested in exploring the empirical context of campus policing in somewhat ironic fashion. As I wrestled with potential research topics during the earlier portions of my doctoral program, studying campus policing did not surface as a consideration, even though my positionality directly intersected with this phenomenon (i.e. professional experience related to campus law enforcement, African American man, and student experiences at PWIs). However, as I conducted this research, I was forced to reflect on how my positionality emerged within this study's operation.

Growing up, I admired the police profession and would often verbalize aspirations of pursuing a career in law enforcement. This placed me at odds with some friends and family given the skepticism toward the police that existed for them. Through my experiences as an African American, I understood the distrust that they exhibited toward the police. I, too, experienced the frame of suspicion and hypervisibility that too often emerges within the experiences of Black people. I did not experience violence as it related to these phenomena. However, as a Black youth within a predominately White neighborhood context, I, at times, experienced the "dark cloud" that frames the raced visibility of Black people, particularly as it relates to the police. At the age of 10 years old, I can recall an encounter with my White friend, who shared his parents' disapproval

with my presence within their home, citing the possibility that I might "steal from them." Although I worked to display a respectful and non-deviant demeanor, racialized tropes regarding Black youth suggested to them that I could be a problem. They could not take the risk. In another instance, a family's bike was stolen from their home within my neighborhood. As one of the few Black youth with the neighborhood, my name and address was given to the police as a potential "suspect." I was briefly questioned by a police officer, but the officer soon realized that I had not taken the bike. The police officer claimed that he had been given the names of several kids in the neighborhood. This was to assure me that I was not being singled out. At the time, I did not connect this particular incident to my race, but as I grew older, experiential hindsight illuminated these moments. As a teenager and young adult, I can recount several encounters with police officers, which produced certain levels of anxiety and fear. Although these interactions ultimately surfaced as routine, inconsequential, and friendly, my own racialized positioning caused me to process the context of these encounters through a fear of the unknown.

Despite these experiences, I remained passionate, excited, and eager to learn about the law enforcement context. During college, I served within a "student officer" capacity as an undergraduate student at my university's office of public safety. My primary responsibilities within this role entailed parking enforcement, driving escort services for students, and customer service duties for the main departmental office. I found a supportive and enriching community within the department. I worked alongside peers who shared my interest in law enforcement. Many of the full-time officers served

as a professional resource as I navigated the campus; although, I did not racially identify

with them. As I reflect on this reality, I have come to understand that the context of my

relationship with officers was much different than that of my peers who identified as

students of color. In the eyes of the officers, I believe that I was viewed as an "insider"

and as someone who served as a role model for the other students.

Upon transitioning into the role of full-time officer, the social contexts of this role

became visible. I encountered students of color in the field, visualized other officers'

encounters with students, and conversed with fellow officers on the topic of race. At

times, students would privately share problematic perceptions of our department with me.

These perceptions included examples of instances where interactions with officers

negatively shaped students' experiences at the institution. These experiences,

interactions, and feelings provided motivation for me to learn more about the structure of

postsecondary education from a scholarly perspective.

As a graduate student in higher education, I developed an interest in interrogating

issues pertinent to critical social aspects of college campuses. I found that a large

segment of scholarship approached the study of higher education from a critical

perspective. However, I soon discovered that campus policing did not appear to be

included within the scholarly realm of higher education. Based on my past professional

experiences, this brought up questions, because I observed the power, influence, and

responsibility that public safety professionals assumed over the student experience. At

colleges and universities throughout the United States, campus police officers have

unique and tremendous authority. They have access to students inside and outside of the

academic setting. More importantly, campus police officers are situated as university employees who are authorized to use deadly force. As I reflect on my past experiences as an undergraduate student at a PWI, I am confident in expressing that campus officers helped me navigate the institution. My experiences with policing as an undergraduate student were relatively positive; however, my positionality as a college student was incredibility unique. This has cultivated critical questions, for me, regarding the role of policing and public safety within collegiate experiences.

Importance of the Research

Further research is necessary to understand the ways in which students experience campus policing as they navigate postsecondary institutions. Research, through a critical lens, can serve as the catalyst for analyzing this phenomenon, and critical studies exploring how racially minoritized students engage with campus policing would contribute greatly to the literature. It is perplexing that campus policing has not garnered attention within this sphere of research given the diverse and growing bodies of literature which have focused on the critical social aspects of postsecondary education. After reviewing several major scholarly journals, books, and resources within the postsecondary scholarly arena, I identified one published study on campus policing (e.g. Griffith, Hueston, Wilson, Moyers, & Hart, 2004). Based on my review, there were no published studies that explored campus policing through the critical lens of race on college campuses. This limited research is peculiar given the intractable discourse surrounding policing in the United States, particularly as it relates to Black people. This critical race phenomenological study contributes to this gap.

This research also places the role of campus policing within the research context of postsecondary education. The limited research suggests that campus police are absent from the lexicon of higher education which presents a wide gap in understanding the ways that campus policing shapes institutional experiences for students. Furthermore, the importance of this research extends into several elements of critical discourse on higher education. Additional research on campus policing, through the critical lens of race, provides contributions to the literature regarding the extent of racism at colleges and universities. With issues of race intersecting in salient ways with policing in the United States, the existence of fully sworn police officers at colleges and universities presents complex questions. In addition, the limited research presents a barrier to understanding a crucial segment of higher education from an organizational context. This study helps inform practice for campus police agencies as they seek to engage diverse aspects of the college student population. According to Griffith and colleagues (2004), exploring student satisfaction and experiences with campus policing is crucial to employing best practices.

Campus police as institutional agents. I foreground this study with the assertion that given the role, scope, and purpose of campus policing, campus police officers operate as institutional agents in postsecondary education. However, due to the limited research on campus policing within postsecondary literature, the ways in which campus police officers shape the student experience is largely unknown. Campus police officers should be explored, scrutinized, and included in similar ways to that of faculty and practitioners who engage with college students. Researchers suggest that postsecondary

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institutions contribute to students' experiences (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Hoffman et al., 2003), and college students frequently encounter "institutional agents" on campuses who represent postsecondary institutions. The "institutional agent" concept is derived from sociological literature. In Stanton-Salazar's (2011) study of adolescent schooling experiences, the author defined an institutional agent as:

> An individual who occupies one or more hierarchical positions of relatively high-status, either within a society or in an institution (or an organization). Thus, such an individual is accustomed to occupying positions of status and of authority, and managing and accessing highly valued resources, exercising key forms of power, and mobilizing his or her reputation in purposive action (see Lin, 2001, p. 37). Relative to others, the individual possesses a high degree of human, cultural, and social capital (pg. 1075).

In earlier research, Stanton-Salazar (1997) noted that, within institutions or organizations, institutional agents extend social capital to students. Stanton-Salazar defined social capital as access to important knowledge that is applicable to the institution, information necessary to successfully navigate the institution, and "problem solving knowledge" (pg. 12). Scholars have applied the institutional agent concept to postsecondary contexts. Overwhelmingly, much of the research on institutional agents in postsecondary education has focused heavily on the ways that faculty influence, enhance, or threaten the experiences of students. Numerous studies posit that positive interactions between students and faculty, including faculty showing an investment in the student's experience, can significantly shape students' experiences and persistence in college (e.g. Hoffman et al., 2003; Maestas, Vaquera, & Zehr, 2007; Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek, 2007; Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie, & Gonyea, 2008; Strayhorn, 2012). Further research can be useful in exploring institutional agents outside of the faculty role. Moreover, there

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are examples of studies that explore non-faculty roles and their connections to college students' sense of belonging. Musesus and Neville (2012) discussed institutional agents in referring to institutional community members who have critical interactions with students. The authors highlighted several themes which characterized supportive interactions. Students of color referenced that effective institutional agents were able to empathize with their experiences, offer comprehensive and intentional support, humanize their relationships, and display genuine care for their trajectories.

This current study argues that campus police officers engage with college students in ways that mirror the empirical notion of what defines an institutional agent. Campus police officers are called to support and respond to students during crises, represent institutions as they interact with students, occupy positions of power in relation to students, and ultimately seek to establish a secure environment for the purposes of academic development. Utilizing Stanton-Salazar's (1997) definition of an institutional agent, campus police are positioned to extend social capital within the postsecondary context. For example, based on the organizational priorities of campus policing, extending social capital can occur as campus police officers secure and establish campus environments. Establishing secure campus environments not only includes patrol and security efforts, but it also includes interpersonal engagement between campus police officers and students (i.e. educational initiatives, one-on-one discussions with students regarding safety, passive educational efforts, etc.). As students learn and make sense of what it means to be "safe" on college campuses, to some extent, they receive social

capital. This serves as a means toward helping students successfully navigate their institutions and avoid instances of victimization.

Conversely, campus police officers are situated to remove social capital from students. The power to arrest and remove students' freedom represents an obvious example of campus police officers removing social capital. However, Smith and colleagues' (2016) study which revealed racialized encounters between Black students and campus police officers provides an empirical example of an instance where social capital is removed by campus police officers. In this example, campus police served as a barrier for Black students as they sought to access institutional spaces for educational reasons. As the Black students were perceived to be out of place, campus police officers served as institutional agents who "policed" access to social capital by means of their roles.

Institutional climate. Institutional agents significantly inform and intersect with institutional climate at postsecondary institutions. Hurtado and colleagues (1998) offered that, "campuses are complex social systems defined by the relationships between the people, bureaucratic procedures, structural arrangements, institutional goals and values, traditions, and larger socio-historical environments" (pg. 296). Consistent with this perspective, Rankin and Reason (2005) utilized the terminology of institutional climate as referring to the social, structural, and interpersonal facets of an institution, which frame the ways that students from marginalized communities experience the institution. To grasp the true pulse of institutional climate at colleges and universities, institutions must self-examine environments which requires that they understand various organizational

components (Hurtado, Carter, & Kardia, 1998). As institutional climate is shaped by elements of the institutional context, we must understand the ways that institutional agents condition the experiences of students.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explained the purpose and goals of this research by illustrating the limited nature of research on campus policing, the central place of race within American law enforcement, and the meaning of this research for higher education. I have demonstrated that the limited nature of research related to campus policing presents unanswered questions regarding the social context of campus policing, particularly as it connects to race. In the next chapter, I discuss the relevant literature and theoretical arguments which ground the various elements of this research.

Chapter II: Literature Review & Theoretical Framework

This research is contextualized by several bodies of literature and theoretical perspectives. The second chapter commences with sociological and philosophical perspectives on race, racism, antiblackness, racialized embodiment, and these concepts' intersections with relevant social institutions. Given this study's emphasis on Black college students and campus policing, I contend that these sociological and philosophical perspectives are necessary to critically situate the intersections of the two paradigms. These perspectives also provide theoretical definitions, which are drawn upon and referenced throughout the study. This leads into the theoretical framework for this study, critical race theory (e.g. Bell, 1992; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Delgado & Stefanic, 2012) and Black critical theory (Dumas & ross, 2016).

After reviewing the theoretical contexts of this research, the first body of literature reviews the historical development, professionalization, and organizational nuances of campus policing. I focus on this body of literature to probe the connections between the historical development and the contemporary age of campus policing. Secondly, I review the nuances of crime, victimization, and public safety on college campuses. The primary purpose of campus policing is ultimately connected to protecting people at postsecondary institutions from crime, disorder, and victimization. As this study seeks to engage the ways that students experience and interpret campus policing, it is relevant to review the ways that crime and victimization emerge in the experiences of college students. This includes exploring the historical and political development of

campus crime as a social problem, which provides a context for understanding the need for the police at postsecondary institutions.

Theoretical Definitions: Race, Racism, and Racialized Experience

The concepts of race and racism emerge as central themes within this study. Throughout this study, I reference terms such as *race, racism, raced or Black bodies, and racialized experience.* However, what do these constructs mean? Furthermore, how are they manifested, produced, and experienced? This research is grounded by the notion that racism is embedded within the structural and institutional cloth of society within the United States (Bell, 1992; Feagin, 2006; Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). These structural and institutional manifestations of racism are ultimately experienced, lived, and embodied on an individual or micro-level by people of color (Yancy, 2008; Yancy, 2019; Ngo, 2017). Ngo (2017) highlights the experiential elements of race and racism which, I argue, are informed by the historical and institutionalized proliferation of racism (Feagin, 2006). As it relates to this study, these structural infusions of racism, and the subsequent racialized embodiment of living through a raced existence, emerge within postsecondary education and experiences with the police. I begin the following section by defining how this study conceptualizes racism by means of sociological perspectives, particularly showing how the institutional construction of racism adds meaning to what we know as "race" within the United States. I then explore theoretical notions of antiblackness and the construct's intersections with policing and higher education. Lastly, I present philosophical perspectives on race, namely racialized embodiment, to contextualize how racism is lived

and produced as a "bodily" experience (Yancy, 2008; Merleau-Ponty, 2012; Ngo, 2017; Yancy, 2019; Lee, 2019).

The Social and Institutional Meaning of Race

Within social science literature, it has become widely accepted that race is a socially constructed phenomenon. The meanings attached to race have varied throughout time, and theories of race have attempted to capture these varied meanings (Omi & Winant, 2015). However, debate exists regarding the ways in which race emerges as a social construction, its operation in contemporary society, and the analytical framing by which we should approach theorizing race. As this study investigates racism and racialized experience, I draw upon the theory of systemic racism (e.g. Feagin, 2006; Elias & Feagin, 2016) to contextualize the construction of race within the United States. Golash-Boza (2013) summarizes the primary arguments of systemic racism theories by noting that "only through a consideration of racial oppression can we grasp the true nature of racial meanings" (pg. 94). Because this study does not interrogate participants' own sense making of their racial formation or racialization, but rather how racism is experienced, conceptualizing racialized meaning from the perspective of marginalization and oppression is relevant. Consistent with these theoretical perspectives, I argue that historically and contemporary meanings of race must be understood through its institutional and systematic origins.

Informed by critical scholars of color, Feagin (2006) introduced a theoretical perspective on systemic racism as a critique of mainstream social science research, which deemphasized and decontextualized historical meanings of race. Approaching the

theorization of racism through a systemic lens appropriately contextualizes race by

arguing that the social construction of race is inextricably connected to institutionalized

power, dominance, subjection, and White supremacy targeted against people of color.

Elias & Feagin (2016) offered that:

> Systemic racism refers to the foundational, extensive, and inescapable
> hierarchical system of US racial oppression that has been devised by whites to
> subordinate people of color. Systemic racism is a concrete material and social
> reality, and thus is well embedded in all major social institutions of US society. It
> involves racial oppression that unjustly enriches, materially and socially, the
> oppressor racial group (whites) and thereby unjustly impoverishes, materially and
> socially, subordinated racial groups (people of color) (pg. 258).

As we consider Elias and Feagin's definition, it is cogent to ponder who are "Whites" and

who are "people of color?" As mentioned, notions of race have changed throughout

society, and who has been deemed "White" has been noticeably inconsistent throughout

history (Omi & Winant, 2015). Therefore, "Race is a way of making up people"

(Hacking, as cited in Omi & Winant, 2015, pg. 105). In other words, race has been a

method for categorizing people. Systematic racism theories provide a contextual rationale

for why racialized actors have historically employed these categorizations. Although the

definitions that constitute racial groups have changed over time, particularly who is

classified within a particular racial group, the systemic underpinnings of this construction

have been linked to the historical system of precipitating and reinforcing White and

nationalistic dominance.

Elias and Feagin (2016) suggest that theorizing race from a systemic and

institutional framework challenges the public narrative on race and racialized oppression.

Within public discourse and mainstream empirical research, racism is commonly

conceptualized from a micro level and individualized perspective where scholars emphasize racial attitudes, perceptions, aberrant practices, and individualized behaviors on the part of racist actors. Although these micro level manifestations are forms of racism, these instances ultimately are infused by and uphold the larger institutional paradigm of racism. As Elias and Feagin note, "Individuals, social groups and organizations, and societal institutions are materially and socially structured, and operate to uphold a systemically racist society that benefits whites as a group" (pg. 258). Historically, the ultimate purpose of categorizing people provided a platform for distributing and withholding various forms of social resources. As people of color experience racism as individuals, or encounter racialized experiences, these experiences connect back to a structural maintenance and apparatus of racism, which extends beyond the individual.

Antiblack Racism

Antiblack racism, particularly within the context of American policing, represents a unique form of racialized oppression. It can be argued that antiblackness is the construct that fuels racialized encounters between the police and Black communities. As discussed in the first chapter, Black and African Americans report distrust and negative experiences with police (Holmes & Smith, 2008). Black people are more likely to report unfavorable views of the police and much of these perceptions are a result of differential experiences (e.g. Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). I contend that exploring concepts of antiblackness can clarify how antiblack racism informs negative encounters (i.e. arrests, use of force, racial profiling, and subtle micro aggressive encounters, etc.) between the

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police and Black people. The construct can also operate as a useful framework for contextualizing the relationship between Black college students and campus police at PWIs. This section will further explore antiblack racism and how it undergirds relationships with the police.

   The social construction of antiblack racism. Although racism refers to a broader system of racialized outcomes and experiences for people of color (Feagin, 2006), antiblack racism is a distinctive form of racism which symbolizes the unique manifestations of racialized oppression against Blacks and people of African descent (Dumas, 2016). Antiblackness is more than an attitude. It operates as a social construction for the relational and experiential aspects of Blackness. As Dumas & ross (2016) note, "But, antiblackness is not simply racism against Black people. Rather, antiblackness refers to a broader antagonistic relationship between Blackness and (the possibility of) humanity" (pg. 429). As incidents fueled by antiblackness are readily observed through media and scholarship, Dumas (2016) notes that the concept of antiblackness is undertheorized, particularly within educational contexts. Within the United States, antiblack racism has been historically synonymous with and perpetuated through violence, both physical and symbolic, as antiblack ideologies result in conclusions that justify violence. In explaining antiblackness, Dumas (2016) further explains that, "antiblackness scholarship, so necessarily motivated by the question of Black suffering, interrogates the psychic and material assault on Black flesh, the constant surveillance and mutilation and murder of Black people" (pg. 12). Dumas goes on to highlight the ways that the positioning of Blackness informs contemporary views and

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outcomes related to Black people. Utilizing a variety of scholarly perspectives on Blackness, Dumas argues that antiblackness is connected to and informed by the institution of slavery, particularly as it relates to how Black people are positioned and prone to victimization through violence. Dumas is careful to explain that although Black people within the United States are no longer physically enslaved, the slavery illustration provides a symbolic framework for envisioning current Black existence. As enslaved Black people were once stripped of freedom, controlled through violent means, and discarded as sub-human, the historical remnants of the institution inform the contemporary "ontological position of Black people" (pg. 13). Dumas illustrates how the positioning of antiblackness emerges in social institutions, namely education. As Black people sought to access traditional education in the United States, Blacks were seen as presenting problematic circumstances for White schools and encountered violent backlash as a result. The thread of this history is observed in contemporary desegregation school policy where Black students are pushed into subpar schools. In Dumas' example, the author illustrates how the positioning of Blackness informs the ways in which social institutions engage with Blackness and Black people. Historically, Black people were denied access to certain spaces as a result of anti-Black ideologies. Contemporarily, antiblackness informs less explicit means of denying access, but the means present similar outcomes for Black people.

Policing and state sanctioned violence. Police incidents and other state sanctioned acts of violence against Black people have become the mainstream poster examples of antiblack racism within the United States. High profile incidents involving

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names such as Philando Castile, Sandra Bland, Tamir Rice, Botham Jean, and many others provide evidence of these encounters. State sanctioned violence can emerge through law enforcement officials who are authorized to use deadly force, or by civilian proxies who invoke legal claims of self-defense following violent encounters with Black bodies. Although concerns regarding the police and state sanctioned violence are unique, antiblack racism is not restricted to experiences with these phenomena. Scholars have argued that antiblack racism is foundational and core to the context of racism within the Unites States. For example, using Sexton's (2010) analysis of the uniqueness of racism against Blacks, Wun (2016) highlights that although racism against Blacks does not represent the extent of racialized oppression in the United States, antiblack racism must be foregrounded when analyzing racism because it represents a central feature of racialized oppression.

Sexton (2010) also argues, to some extent, that as non-Black people of color experience racialized oppression, particularly by means of state violence, these state sanctioned practices are linked to antiblack racism. Wun (2016) notes that Blacks are the "paradigmatic targets of racialized state repression" (pg. 740). Another aspect of antiblackness that finds connections with policing are the ways that punishment and control are used to facilitate antiblack racism. Wun (2016) also utilized Sexton's analysis to draw connections to the notion of "punishment." To some extent, state sanctioned notions of punishment are the primary vehicles used to perpetuate antiblackness, and Black existence positions one as prone to unjust punishment. The mere presence and positioning of Blackness contribute to this susceptibility for punishment. Antiblackness

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by means of punishment is not only observed in the criminal justice system, but the construct is also illustrated in elementary and secondary educational contexts. Research suggests that Black students are disproportionately punished in schools, through suspension, expulsion, and other disciplinary actions (Smith & Harper, 2015). Although education serves as a different context than that of the criminal justice system, this illustrates how notions of "punishment" through antiblackness are infused within various institutional contexts.

Other scholars have argued that antiblack racism is inextricably linked to historical and contemporary forms of violence with White supremacist ideologies serving as the rationale for such practices. Armour (1997) utilized the phrases "negrophobia" and "the reasonable racist" to refer to the ways that deeply embedded racist ideologies work to rationalize and normalize various forms violence against Black bodies. Armour referenced studies which suggest that Whites perceive Blacks to be more prone to violence. Although these views are informed by racist ideologies, Armour argues that when state sanctioned violence occurs, the violence is rationalized because the fear of Black people becomes reasonable based on these commonly held perceptions. Armour (1997) further explains this perspective by noting,

> Indeed, recent experience shows that defendants in self-defense cases often exploit the racial fears of jurors in asserting the reasonableness of their fears of supposed assailants who are Black. The meaning of race does not necessarily "speak for itself" in these cases; defense attorneys construe race in subtle and not-so-subtle ways with the goal of exonerating their clients (pg. electronic book source).

Armour shows how perceptions of Blacks as violent, while not explicitly named, can be commonly used to justify violence against Blacks in the name of self-defense. Consistent

with Sexton's (2010) argument, self-defense within this example becomes conceptualized as "punishment." For law enforcement, the historical remnants of the structure's relationship with Black communities can be viewed as one which aligns with this concept of punishment. As scholarship suggests that Black communities are over policed and experience the worst of police misconduct (e.g. Holmes & Smith, 2008; Alexander, 2012), police are uniquely positioned within Black communities by means of state sanctioned authority. Understanding the ways in which Blackness is conceptualized can illuminate the assumptions and strategies that are employed to police Black people. If Armour's perspectives hold true within the context of law enforcement, policing Black people draws connections to enforcement (by means of force and violence) rather than protection. To some extent, enforcement efforts serve as the means toward serving and protecting a community. However, over policing occurs when an imbalance exists between enforcement and protection. Antiblack ideologies, although subtle, can perniciously serve as the rationale for this imbalance.

Bolton and Feagin (2004) illustrated the historical role of policing in the lives of Black people through the concept of "White policing syndrome" (Hawkins & Thomas, 1991). This concept encompasses the view that police officers, which are roles predominately occupied by White people, internalize antiblack tropes. These negative tropes result in problematic treatment, over policing, and misconduct toward Black people. Bolton and Feagin further illustrate this concept by arguing that although police officers are employed within unique professional roles, they enter policing roles with socially constructed racial attitudes. Prior to entering the police profession, Whites who

take on police roles may have limited interaction with Black people. Citing several

study's ranging between the years of 1960-2000, Bolton and Feagin argued that White

police officers can hold negative views of Black people, which informs the ways in

which they police and engage with them. As a result, police agencies can engage

communities through more of an enforcement lens to the extent that community members

report experiences with brutality and misconduct. Research suggests that Black

communities not only report higher levels of distrust toward the police, but Black people

are more likely to report experiences with police misconduct (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

Studies of this nature indicate that policing within Black spaces presents a paradox for

police agencies.

Although violence, control, and punishment operate as central underpinnings of

antiblackness, the construct is not always experienced through physical means of

violence. The historical context of policing has been explored and illustrated through

empirical research on encounters with the police, which show various manifestations of

antiblackness. Brunson and Miller (2006) referenced studies which revealed that Black

and African Americans are disproportionately affected by racialized police misconduct.

However, the authors note that much of the research examining encounters between

police officers and the public centers the perspectives of the police. To fill this empirical

gap, Brunson and Miller interviewed African American youth within an urban context

and illustrated the ways that harassment, verbal abuse, profiling, racialized

criminalization, and other forms of racialized police behaviors emerged within their

experiences. Furthermore, much of the antiblack racism illustrated within empirical

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contexts connects to racial profiling. Although debate exists regarding the methodological contexts of examining the extent of racial profiling incidents, existing research suggests that Black and African Americans are more likely to be detained through traffic stops (e.g. Vito, Grossi, & Higgins, 2017; Novak & Chamlin, 2012).

Higher education. The historical and contemporary contexts of traditionally White higher education intersect with racialized paradigms of antiblackness. Within one empirical example, Smith and colleagues (2007) asserted that Black college students at PWIs were marked by antiblack tropes as "predators, cheaters, personal threats, violence prone, and monolithic and as having undifferentiated group identities as thieves, incompetents, violators, and/or subhumans" (pg. 573). Existing research and theoretical perspectives suggest that symbolic and tangible manifestations of antiblackness can be observed in the historical formation of American higher education (Patton, 2016; Wilder, 2013; Onskt, 1998; Squire, Williams, & Tuitt; 2019) and the social experiences of Black students at PWIs (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Harper, 2013; Smith, Mustaffa, Jones, Curry & Allen, 2016). Wilder (2013) explicated the connections between the early eras of higher education and the institution of slavery in the United States (as cited in Patton, 2016). Prior to the practical gains of the civil rights movement, traditionally White colleges and universities practiced explicit forms of discrimination against African Americans by denying access (Taylor, 1999). Black students were forced to challenge antiblack polices through historic U.S. Supreme Court cases. Governmental actions also restricted access to higher education as Black veterans in the American South, who were qualified for G.I. Bill benefits after World War II, were blocked from obtaining these

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benefits (Onskt, 1998). Following the civil rights movement, Black and African

American students slowly gained access to traditionally White postsecondary institutions.

However, as these institutions opened their doors, Black students encountered highly

racialized environments (Harper, 2013).

Contemporarily, Black students are present at PWIs and succeed despite these

historical paradigms. However, their presence within these institutions include complex

social nuances and considerations. When considering the racial culture of contemporary

higher education, research suggests that Black college students encounter racialized

campus environments, which threaten their persistence and connect to the racialized

legacy of higher education (Solórzano et al., 2000; Patton, 2016). Over the past several

decades, research has documented these racialized contexts of higher education. For

example, Gossett and colleagues (1996) compared perceptions of social experiences

between African American students and students from other racial identity groups. Their

study revealed that African American students reported less favorable perceptions

connecting to institutional factors such as, "administration, peers, advising, classroom,

faculty, and services" (pg. 39). The findings implied that the institutional context played a

significant role in shaping the perceptions and experiences of Black students. Solórzano

and colleagues (2000) illustrated the ways that Black students encountered racialized

environments evidenced by micro aggressive incidents during classroom instruction,

informal peer interactions, and within other institutional spaces. Within the context of

higher education, microaggressions have been defined as subtle actions, statements, or

behaviors directed toward students of color that place them on the margins of the

institution (Yosso et al., 2009; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). The effects of these microaggressions forced students to navigate the academic demands of college while traversing through problematic campus environments. Freiss-Britt and Turner (2002) compared the campus experiences of Black students at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) with Black experiences at PWIs. These findings suggested that students at HBCUs experienced feelings of support within the institutional context, established a sense of community, and invested energy in productive ways when compared to Black students at PWIs. Black students at PWIs experienced isolation, found themselves investing time in educating White peers, and encountered challenges with engaging in campus activities. Harper (2013) synthesized research on Black student experiences at PWIs and found that Black students encountered 1) isolation and loneliness, 2) racialized acts, and 3) a lack of Black faculty representation. When analyzing the depth of these racialized paradigms, Thelamour and colleagues (2019) draw attention to the fact that "first- and second-generation immigrants from African and Caribbean countries constitute an increasing percentage of the Black college student population" (pg. 266). It is important to consider that "Black students" represent a diverse lineage and are not monolithic.

Racialized Embodiment

The previous section provided an overview of systematic racism, mainly through sociological and educational perspectives, showing how the construct is produced through the proliferation of antiblackness. As antiblack racism systematically affects Black people, Ngo (2017) offered that there is a "lived and experiential dimension of

racism" (pg. x). Philosophical and phenomenological perspectives on race, specifically

racialized embodiment, help us capture, theorize, provide meaning, and explicitly explain

the lived experience of racism. Racialized embodiment illustrates racism as a bodily

experience, or a way of "being" connected to space, time, people, and environment (Ngo,

2017, Yancy, 2008; Yancy, 2019). When thinking about race and racism, we tend to

implicitly conceptualize these constructions as abstractions, perceptions, or thoughts in

the mind of people. This is partly a result of social science theories, which have deemed

these phenomena as social constructions, rather than biological realities. Despite the

accuracy of these conclusions, race and racism are tangibly lived, and notions of

racialized embodiment illustrate the bodily "realness" of these constructs (Yancy, 2008).

Phenomenological notions of race and racism take these constructs from the abstract to

the concrete, illustrating that people are "in their bodies" (e.g. Mearlu-Ponty, 2012)

during experiences with racism, rather than simply within their thoughts (Ngo, 2017;

Yancy, 2019).

      Merleau-Ponty's (2012) philosophical perspectives on the "body" inform

phenomenological perspectives on race, namely racial embodiment (Ngo, 2017).

Scholars, such as Ngo (2017), articulate that the phenomenological conception of body is

different than our normal conception of the human body. When we think about our

bodies, we typically conceptualize them as physical features or organs. The body is

thought of as compartmentally separate from our consciousness or the mental perception

of our personhood. However, the body, within the phenomenological school of thought,

refers to the ontological state of being, living, or the self (Ngo, 2017). Ngo (2017)

summarizes Merleau-Ponty's philosophical perspective of the body by highlighting that the body, or the human self, operates as the means by which we encounter the world around us. In addition, the "body" is the way in which the world is manifested to us. It is how we consciously and unconsciously make meaning of the world. In other words, the "lived body" symbolizes and operationalizes how we experience the world. Lee (2019) expands on this perspective by arguing that race can be the vehicle by which a person encounters the world. As people glean meaning from encounters or interactions, they gain knowledge which precipitates an interplay with their ontological positioning, or their "being." As it relates to racialized experience, perspectives and illustrations of racial embodiment show the ways that meanings from embodiment inform perceptions of one's encounters, along with the ways that those encounters condition their notion of "being" within the world that surrounds them (Lee, 2014). As this study explores experiences and sense making within a racialized paradigm, approaching this inquiry through the lens of racial embodiment vividly invigorates the lived experience of race while acknowledging that race exists beyond perceptions, opinions, abstractions, or one's thoughts. The meanings that stem from race and racism connect to the ways that "raced" bodies, that is, bodies which experience complex forms of marginalization within a context of Whiteness (Yancy, 2008), traverse and emerge within their environmental contexts. To experience race "bodily" does not necessarily mean that one has experienced racism through physical means (i.e. physical violence). While racialized violence certainly represents a form of bodily racism, the philosophical notion of "bodily" racism connects to the ways that racialized experiences inform a person's positioning, self, construction of meanings,

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and how they ultimately move within their world (Ngo, 2017; Lee, 2014). Although embodiment, or bodily experiences, theorizes the meanings that inform our being in the world, these bodily experiences of racism can also inform how we "physically" move through the world. For example, Yancy (2008) described the experience of riding on an elevator, as a Black man, alone with a White person. After the White person displayed several bodily gestures which communicated their trepidation and fear of riding on the elevator alone with a Black man, Yancy explains that these racist behaviors not only communicated and contextualized the ontological positioning of Blackness as it connects to Whiteness, (i.e. dangerous, prone to criminality, etc.), but also informed how Yancy calculated his physical movements within the elevator.

As it relates this current study, I briefly draw upon my own positionality and racialized experience to illustrate how racism can be experienced bodily, construct meanings, and inform "being in the world." In the first chapter, I shared a childhood story of encountering a White friend, who shared his parents' disapproval with my presence within their home. Racialized tropes regarding Black youth suggested to them that I might steal from or cause disorder within their residence. This exchange with my childhood friend contextualized for me how Blackness, and the fear of it, was imagined within a predominately White context. I embodied this experience of racism because it ultimately situated the social "realness" of race, it's positioning, and how I engaged within my environmental contexts. Yancy (2019) offered that "the Black body is reduced to racially manufactured instantiations of White imaginary…(pg. 144). In the imaginary of my friend's parents, I was marked and viewed as criminal, problematic, and deviant.

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As I grew older, I felt that it was necessary to purposely overcompensate within predominately White spaces to ensure that Whites would feel comfortable with me. This is racial embodiment because it affected, and still affects, how I show up in the world and explicates my positioning with Whiteness.

Racial Literacy and Socialization

Racial literacy and socialization have emerged as concepts within research on race and racialized environments. As people of color encounter race and racism, there is an inclination to share these experiences with children, family members, and youth as a preparatory mechanism. Like concepts of racial socialization, racial literacy, as presented by Stevenson (2014), focuses on the ways that Black parents prepare their children to encounter and respond to racialized environments. Stevenson (2014) draws upon the research of Twine (2003) to conceptualize the teaching of engagement skills through the lens of race for Black and African American children. As mentioned, Stevenson (2014) notes that racial literacy is informed by racial socialization. However, it focuses more on the ways that both explicit and implicit messages regarding race are communicated. It also emphasizes the relationship aspects of sharing racially relevant messaging between parents and children. As shown in later chapters, racial literacy emerges as a relevant concept and analytical lens for aspects of this study. When considering what racial literacy entails, or what it means to be racially literate, Stevenson (2014) draws from Twine (2003) to explain that racial literacy practices include: 1) centering and naming the contemporary relevance of racism, 2) contextualizing the ways that race intersects with other forms of marginalization, 3) discussing the relevance of Whiteness, 4) explicating

the notion that race is a social construction, 5) employing students with language to engage issues of race and racism, and 6) equipping students with the skills to make sense of racialized experiences.

Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory

Sociological, educational, and philosophical perspectives on racism have demonstrated the complexities of this construct. In addition, the previous sections and chapter have drawn attention to history, empirical research, and contemporary incidents demonstrating the intractability of race within American law enforcement. To explicate and appropriately account for the phenomenon of racism within this current study, I utilize critical race theory (CRT)) as a theoretical lens. Consistent with other theoretical perspectives on racism, CRT analytically concentrates on race and acknowledges that racism persists as a normalized structural phenomenon (Bell, 1992; Ladson – Billings & Tate, 1995; Harris, 2015). It also explicates the role of racism within social institutions and exposes its centrality in the experiences of people of color. This study explores Black undergraduate students' experiential intersections with campus policing, and critical race theory provides a critical and nuanced lens for centering racialized experiences. As discussed in the previous section, scholars have contextualized the prevalence of racism in the experiences of people of color in the United States (Bell, 1992; Feagin, 2006) and the pervasiveness of racism at colleges and universities (Gusa, 2010; Harper, 2013; Patton, 2016). When thinking about the importance of centering race as a focal point of analysis, Omi and Winant (2015) argued that race actively operates as a "master category" which "has played a unique role in the formation and historical development of

the United States" (pg. 106). CRT operates to illuminate notions of race and racism, while dismantling conventional wisdom on race within empirical research.

Overview and Origins of Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory finds its origin within critical legal studies (Harris, 2015). As a definition, CRT considers the complexities of race and the extent of racism within the societal context of the United States (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). This theoretical perspective emerged from critical legal scholars who were troubled regarding the structure of liberal civil rights law. These scholars problematized the relaxed progression of civil rights law, and the lack of focus on race within critical legal studies (Bergerson, 2003; Harris, 2015). After originating within legal analysis, CRT has been used as a lens to explore other social contexts, namely education (e.g. Ladson –Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson – Billings, 1998; Lynn & Parker, 2006; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009).

CRT's primary argument posits that racism is a normal and intractable element of society in the United States. It exposes complex structural forms of racism that extend beyond mainstream conceptions of explicit and overt manifestations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Bell (1992), who is credited as one of the key developers of CRT, described the social context that CRT interrogates. Bell argued that a race neutral paradigm resulted from historic civil rights law, which fell short of dismantling the permanent nature of racism. As explicit forms of racial discrimination were eliminated from American society (i.e. segregated schools, Jim Crow laws, etc.), mainstream arguments on race began to suggest that society had become race neutral. Furthermore, as

Roithmayr (1999) explained, the philosophical aims of the civil rights movement, which focused on colorblindness, merit, and race neutrality, began to backfire. During the decades following the passage of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*, political opponents began to frame race conscious programs as being incompatible with the original aims of the civil rights movement. As such, civil rights policy began to slowly assume a race neutral identity. For example, U.S. Supreme Court cases on affirmative action, such as *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978),* conceptualized race conscious college admissions policies through a race neutral and decontextualized understanding of "diversity" (Chang, Chang, & Ledesma, 2005). CRT served as a scholarly movement toward uncovering the systematic and intractable nature of racism for people of color by arguing that the historic implications of racialized exclusion presented a normalized culture of racism. CRT serves as a method for critically recontextualizing structural paradigms.

CRT actively illuminates marginalization of all forms, with race and racism operating as the focal points of analysis. It has extended into educational research to investigate the extent of racism in educational contexts; furthermore, the theory has been utilized as a means of critically reimagining the contemporary structure of education. CRT, as a theoretical framework in education, saw its beginnings in the late 20th century. However, the study of racism within education extends back to the early 1900s. Drawing on perspectives from Winant (2011), Musues and colleagues (2015) offered that scholars such as W.E.B Du Bois pioneered the study of race and students of color in educational settings. Ladson Billings and Tate (1995) are credited with introducing the concept of

CRT to education, particularly within primary and secondary contexts. Ladson-Billings and Tate drew upon CRT's original foundations to establish connections to educational institutions. Ladson-Billings (2000) highlighted a key theme, which centers the epistemological commitments, challenges, and assumptions that CRT incorporates within educational scholarship. The theory served as a contrast to traditional epistemological stances and challenged the ways in which scholars conceptualized empirical research. Namely, it transformed the ways that we conceptualize the formation of knowledge and altered dominant perspectives on traditional notions of research.

From an application standpoint, Ladson Billings (1999) provided a framework for theorizing race within educational contexts and suggested that CRT was of significant relevance to the field of education. Within her analysis, Ladson Billings developed themes which find intersections with the cultural context of higher education. For example, the idea of elementary and secondary school curriculum was conceptualized by Ladson-Billings (1999) as a means for maintaining dominant White narratives and silencing the perspectives of people of color. The ways in which historical perspectives, diversity ideals, student experiences, and mission statements are propagated, preserve a culture of White supremacy within schools and institutions. This perspective intersects with critical research on higher education, as Gusa (2010) argued that historical forms of White supremacy sustain negative environments for students of color at postsecondary institutions. Furthermore, perspectives and narratives asserted through a dominant lens become normalized elements of campus cultures.

Core tenants of CRT. CRT is conceptualized through several main tenants, particularly within educational research, which actively work to analyze and engage various forms of institutionalized racism. For the purposes of this current study, four tenants of CRT provide a useful lens for inquiry:

1) CRT acknowledges that racism is "permanent" and central to social institutions within the United States (Bell, 1992; Delgado & Stefanic, 2012; Ladson–Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano et al., 2000).

2) CRT provides a challenge to "master narratives," which convey colorblind rhetoric and perspectives that decontextualize racialized structural power within social institutions (Yosso et al., 2009; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

3) CRT is intrinsically interdisciplinary. The theory draws upon the intersections of social science-based theories and perspectives to better explicate the pernicious nature of racism (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Lynn & Parker, 2006; Patton & Catching, 2009).

4) CRT, through counternarratives, acknowledges the experiences of people of color, centers these narratives when analyzing experiences of racism, and places these experiences within social, historical, and political contexts. These experiences are communicated through storytelling and other methods. Moreover, counter narratives are crucial to fully comprehending the role of racism in the experiences of people of color (Delgado, 1989; Ladson–Billings, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

The counter narrative tenant of CRT presents a useful theoretical tool for the aims of this current study. Counter storytelling serves an important function within critical educational research (Ladson-Billings, 1998). The experiences of students of color are best told by students themselves, and "the "voice" component of critical race theory provides a way to communicate the experience and realities of the oppressed, a first step on the road to justice" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, pg. 58). When counter narratives are centered within research, knowledge about racism is cultivated and produced from the experiences of people of color.

As discussed, CRT stems from critical legal studies and the use of counter stories shares a deep history within this branch of theory. Delgado (1989) suggested that storytelling had been an intrinsic practice for various groups of color throughout history. The practice of storytelling served as a method of sharing experiences of oppression and was a means of communicating these experiences throughout generations. Experiential narratives, by means of storytelling, can provide healing for marginalized groups and challenges dominant perspectives on issues of oppression. Critical race theorists have provided illustrations for how counter narratives were used within civil rights law. Within civil rights cases, particularly those tied to legal action for marginalized racial groups, Parker and Lynn (2002) discussed how legal scholar Mari Mastuda (1987) centered the experiential narratives of Japanese Americans in World War II internment camps, as Mastuda suggested that narratives be used to bring forth and secure legally backed reparations for victims. Although critics of reparations for internment camp victims argued that experiential narratives were not adequate for proving that internment camps

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negatively impacted generations, critical race theorists believed that the victims'

narratives were central, within a legal context, to understanding the pernicious effects of

past government sponsored discrimination. In this example, narratives that are understood

as subjective, through traditional forms of scholarship and law, are centered through the

analytical lens of CRT.

Intersectionality. Critical race scholarship is grounded within other concepts,

which Delgado and Stefancic (2012) declared as "hallmark critical race theory themes"

(pg. 19). A concept that informs CRT, and theoretically contextualizes this current study,

is that of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1995; Collins & Bilge, 2016). CRT establishes a

strong commitment to exploring intersections of marginalization and explicates that

racialized oppression is inextricably linked to other forms of oppression. Critical race

perspectives highlight "the layers of subordination based on race, gender, class,

immigration status, surname, phenotype, accent, and sexuality" (Solórzano & Yosso,

2002, pg. 25). These perspectives illuminate the complexities of oppression and

subordination.

Crenshaw (1995) introduced the concept of intersectionality to examine the ways

that Black women experienced oppression based on race and gendered intersections of

marginalization. Prior research on race and gender-based oppression existed; however,

Crenshaw argued that mainstream discourse failed to consider the ways that intersections

of marginalization worked to construct oppression for Black women. Crenshaw's concept

of intersectionality is very compelling when considering the ways that Black

undergraduate students may experience policing, crime, and victimization at colleges and

universities. For example, Crenshaw (1995) presented the term "structural intersectionality" to describe the experiences of Black women who experienced domestic violence in urban communities. She contended that many victims had not only been victims of violence, but the context of their victimization included complex layers that further exacerbated their marginalization. Crenshaw revealed that many victims were impoverished, responsible for dependents, and faced unemployment. When considering interventions for victims, Crenshaw suggested that strategies focused on a compartmentalization of Black women's identities were not comprehensive enough to address the complex nature of their experiences.

      Interest convergence. Bell's (1992) concept of interest convergence serves as an additional underpinning of CRT. Interest convergence presents the idea that laws and social phenomena, designed to serve the interests of people of color, becomes furthered once the interests of people of color "converge" with the interests of White people. Bell illustrated this concept by examining the historic school desegregation decision of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954)*. Although desegregated public schools served as a substantial gain for African Americans, Bell argued that the decision ultimately served White interests in several ways. During the time of Brown v. Board, the United States was embroiled in the Cold War against the Soviet Union and sought to halt the spread of communism. Racial segregation served as a barrier to exalting the United States against its counterparts; therefore, school desegregation began the process of presenting a more unified America. The *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954)* decision also exerted economic implications. Bell noted that as American southern states transitioned

from an economy based on plantation labor, segregation ultimately presented challenges to advancing the economic context of the South. Consistent with Bell's arguments, Ladson – Billings (1999) expounded on the concept of interest convergence by asserting that Whites have reaped the benefits of race conscious policy legislation. Ladson – Billings' perspective is further evidenced by statistics on affirmative action policies that, although intended to benefit people of color, have ultimately resulted in benefits for Whites.

Black Critical Theory

Critical race theory has developed into sub-theories or branches, which include analysis focused on the distinctive experiences of people of color across racial lines (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). These arms of CRT include AsianCrit, LatCrit, TribalCrit, FemCrit, and others (Yosso, 2006). Black critical theory (BlackCrit), as presented by Dumas and ross (2016), has emerged as an extension of CRT focused on racialized Black existence. Dumas and ross (2016) argued that although CRT provides an analytical lens for explaining the phenomenon of race, it has constraints in explicating the unique experiences of Black people, specifically the paradigmatic context of antiblackness. As such, BlackCrit theorizes antiblackness by providing us with the language, historical context, and rigor to empirically engage the phenomenon of antiblackness.

Dumas and ross (2016) provide historical context to prime their argument on the necessity of a "BlackCrit." In the early 1990s, specific branches of CRT (i.e. AsianCrit, LatCrit, TribalCrit) materialized as expansions and critiques of CRT. The scholars, who would proceed to conceptualize these specific sects of CRT, problematized the

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conceptual origins of CRT by arguing that it was narrowly centered on the racialized experiences of Black and African Americans, while neglecting the experiences of other people of color. The key developers of CRT were critiqued for making "race" synonymous with "Black", and assuming a "Black/White binary" (Dumas & ross, 2016). As CRT scholars agreed on the necessity to expand on what was interpreted as a narrow notion of racialized experience within the formation of CRT, the original formation of CRT implicitly became conceptualized as a Black theory. While discussing this historical paradigm, Dumas and ross draw upon various scholarly perspectives to problematize the notion that CRT, as originally and currently constructed, engaged the uniqueness of Black existence. Although theoretical perspectives which focused on other groups (i.e. LatCrit, AsianCrit, and TribalCrit) rightfully expanded perspectives on race, Dumas and ross (2016) posit:

> However, their existence either presumes that CRT functions in the main as a BlackCrit, or suggests that "race" critique accomplishes all that Black people need; Black people become situated as (just) "race," whereas other groups, through these more specifically named crits, offer and benefit from more detailed, nuanced, historicized, and embodied theorizations of their lived racial conditions under specific formations of racial oppression (pg. 417).

Given the ways that antiblackness operates as a central aim of state sanctioned violence and White supremacy (Wun, 2016; Dumas, 2016), the racialized embodiment of Blackness deserves more rigorous consideration and analysis within the lexicon of CRT.

Foundations of BlackCrit. Dumas and ross (2016) are clear to dismantle notions of BlackCrit as a rigid or systematic theoretical framework, but rather a concept that is fluid, evolving, and open to expansion. Dumas and ross also distance BlackCrit away from "tenants," which are central to CRT and other critical race perspectives. However,

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BlackCrit does adhere to three foundational affirmations. First, as CRT centers race and exposes the normalization of racism, BlackCrit expands on this assertion by affirming that antiblackness is endemic to society. Secondly, BlackCrit argues that Blackness is conceptualized as an annoyance for multicultural and neoliberal ideals. Dumas and ross (2016) posit that multicultural and neoliberal discourses have deemphasized the role of racism in the outcomes of people of color. As the public narratives of merit, neutrally, and equal opportunity have emerged as ways for people of color to achieve mobility within the United States, discourses have suggested that the economic and social outcomes of Black people are the fault of their own, rather than manifestations of racism. Dumas and ross demonstrate how the economic successes of other groups of color are used as proof for the veracity of neoliberalism and multiculturalism. Black people are, therefore, pathologized for not buying into the multicultural and neoliberal frameworks. Finally, BlackCrit provides space for people to think creatively about the progression and liberation of Black existence while challenging ahistorical notions of racism and White supremacy.

In this study, BlackCrit is not conceptualized as a separate theoretical framework from CRT. I briefly reference BlackCrit, within CRT's overarching goals, as a "commitment" or "lens" to center particular racialized considerations that emerge within Black existence. This is particularly important when approaching the intersections of Black people and policing. As critical race perspectives place the experiences of people of color within historical contexts, approaching this study through a BlackCrit lens acknowledges that the historical relationship between the structure of policing and Black

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people has been situated within notions of antiblackness, namely the lack of humanity and sub-human conceptions which have been historically associated with Blackness. Although racialized encounters between Black people and the police may not explicitly assert the sub-humanity of Black people, it is important to reference that historical state sanctioned violence against Black people was justified through this lens.

Campus Policing: History, Development, and Organizational Contexts

Scholarship on the development of campus policing is limited. However, several scholarly contributions provide key insights into the historical development of the field. The modern-day structure of campus policing is a relatively recent development within postsecondary education. Prior to the 1960s, campus police agencies did not function within a professionalized context at colleges and universities (Sloan, 1992; Bromley, 1996). In the following section, I explore the historical origins of campus policing, the professionalization of the field, and literature examining the organizational contexts of modern-day campus police agencies.

Historical Development of Campus Policing

The origins of localized campus policing began with what scholars termed as the "watchman" era of campus policing (Sloan, 1992). During this era, beginning as early as the 1800s, postsecondary institutions viewed campus safety efforts through a community-based lens. Thus, campus oversight duties were conceptualized as a responsibility for administrators, faculty, and the broader institutional community. Postsecondary institutions relied on community-based rules to establish and maintain order at colleges and universities (Sloan, 1992; Bromley, 1996; Bromley, 2013). As postsecondary

institutions were perceived to be removed from serious criminal activity during the early

eras of higher education (Patten et al., 2016), security efforts were not intrinsically

connected to enforcement. As the period developed, campuses began to employ what

scholars referred to as "campus watchmen." The duties of campus watchmen were highly

focused on providing visual oversight of campus spaces and facilitating maintenance

responsibilities (Bordner & Peterson, 1983; Sloan, 1992). In some instances, watchmen

were institutional employees, such as custodians, who held multiple roles at their

institutions. This period included the development of the first police/security agency at

Yale University in 1894. The first "agency" consisted of two New Haven, Connecticut

municipal police officers who were hired to provide campus protection duties (Bromley,

2013). Although scholars (e.g. Bromley, 1996; Bromley, 2013) suggest that the first

officers at Yale University were hired because of violent encounters between students

and people from the local community, campus watchmen during this period were mainly

responsible for preserving property rather than law enforcement responsibilities.

According to Sloan (1992), the duties of "campus watchmen" included supporting

campuses through natural disasters, securing building doors, and watching for threats to

campus property. Furthermore, these perspectives suggest that campus watchmen had no

formalized police training.

The early campus police agency, or the watchman period of campus policing,

began to evolve in the early 20th century. Watchmen, who were recognized within a

security context, began to assume enforcement responsibilities within the university

setting (Sloan 1992). However, Bromley (2013) noted that the context of their

enforcement resembled responsibilities like those of the modern age dean of students or university conduct professional. Following World War II, many institutions began to experience unparalleled increases to their student enrollment. Many of the new incoming students included World War II veterans who were taking advantage of G.I. Bill benefits. Post-World War II college student enrollment reached 2.7 million nationally, and these enrollment increases were accompanied by robust infrastructure development at postsecondary institutions (Thelin, 2011). Additional students, buildings, and property required an intentional focus on safety and security efforts. Because of this growth, institutions began to employ a slightly more advanced and visible security presence. Sloan (1992) explained that, "universities effectively created "pseudo-police officers" out of watchmen in an attempt to monitor and control campus activity more closely" (pg. 86). Postsecondary institutions also began to develop security director positions who were tasked with leading campus safety and security efforts. Former municipal police officers and military veterans often occupied these positions. The previously utilized watchmen system eventually became ineffective in dealing with new security concerns from increased student enrollment at colleges and universities (Sloan, 1992; Bromley, 1996; Patten et al., 2016).

The move to the campus security director model brought with it a change in the way in which postsecondary institutions conceptualized campus security. According to Sloan (1992), security directors, who were typically former police officers, began to revamp the structure of their agencies into units that reflected the look of municipal police departments. This shift included more enforcement duties, an additional number of

officers to patrol campus property, and a slight move away from maintenance duties as their primary responsibilities. Despite the strategic shift, the newly developed security function continued to perform duties focused on protecting property and observing student behavior. For many institutions, campus security units were connected to campus physical plants (Sloan, 1992; Bromley, 1996). However, this period set the foundation for the professionalization of campus policing.

Professionalization of campus policing. Following the 1960s, campus policing experienced a swift and robust period of professionalization (Sloan, 1992). Professionalization, within policing, tended to be defined as the development of policing, as it pertained to becoming recognized as an authentic, respected, and desirable professional field. Within the lexicon of policing, the concept of professionalization has been historically understood as the bureaucratic development of the policing field and a shift in the operational context of the structure (Potts, 1982). Postsecondary institutions began to professionalize policing on campuses to the extent that institutions saw their security units transformed into para-military style sworn police agencies. For example, prior to the 1950s, colleges and universities did not invest substantial resources and training into their security operations. However, the transition toward professionalization required that officers meet minimum standards and professional training guidelines set forth by law enforcement organizations (Sloan, 1992; Bromley, 1996). The advent of student enrollment increases, social unrest, and other political nuances created a need to advance what would become campus policing in the contemporary age. Furthermore, postsecondary institutions prioritized training, arming, equipping, and structuring a more

professionalized campus police agency (Sloan 1992; Bromley 1996). In addition to these factors, perspectives suggest that issues with perception and legitimacy contributed to the need for a more professionalized police presence at postsecondary institutions. Sloan and colleagues (2000) noted that the professionalization of campus policing worked to change the perception of public safety efforts on college campuses from a security-based approach to an operational context that focused more on law enforcement.

The move toward a professionalized campus police structure included several organizational transitions. First, institutions employed full time, lawfully sworn, and armed police officers with arrest powers. Additionally, institutions possessed full control over the directives of their officers. According to Sloan (1992), this era saw executives of campus police agencies answering exclusively and directly to university administrators at postsecondary institutions. Prior to this transition, universities relied heavily on municipal police departments to handle enforcement duties alongside non-professionalized security watchmen. However, colleges and universities exerted essentially no control over municipal police practices. Campus police officers were now trained, recognized, and trusted to handle a myriad of campus emergencies and enforcement duties. Sloan (1992) also highlighted an additional facet of campus police professionalization, which included the para-military likeness that campus police departments assumed. Similar to municipal police departments, campus police agencies became symbolically hierarchical in their structure (mimicking the United States military and urban police departments) and were now authorized to use deadly force to eliminate lethal threats at postsecondary institutions.

The role of campus social unrest. Criminal justice scholars agree that the professionalization of campus policing was informed by campus social unrest, also known as student activism, during the 1960s and 70s. During these decades, the social and political context of postsecondary education significantly influenced the professionalization of campus police's modern-day image and the institutional call for police on college campuses (Sloan, 1992, Bromley, 1996; Peak, Barthe, & Garcia, 2008; Bromley, 2013). These two decades included historical moments of student activism surrounding Vietnam War protest, the civil rights movement, free speech activism, and several other student activists' efforts. According to Bayer and Dutton (1976), "the 1960s saw the campuses become a locus of political and social activism and, consequently, the target of intensive scrutiny by governmental agencies, social critics and commentators, and the general public" (pg. 159-160). As various social institutions and the public received these student activists' movements critically, this new cultural paradigm created an element of tension on college and university campuses. As tension led to violent encounters on campuses, postsecondary institutions viewed these movements as problematic and threatening. The advancement of a professionalized police agency served as a strategy for responding to incidents related to campus social unrest (Sloan, 1992; Bromley, 1996). Bromley (2013) offered, "social change, often created problems for college presidents who frequently found their existing campus security departments ill prepared to deal with these serious issues" (pg. 295-296). This was a major shift in the approach toward safety and security on college campuses. Prior to this era, campus security officials were primarily utilized to combat criminal activity from outside of

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campuses. This unique period of social unrest shifted the approach toward policing the

student body. Bromley notes that following the initial era of professionalization for

campus policing, the field experienced a progression during the 1980s and 90s. Policing

on college and university campuses had officially become a "profession." However, the

social demands of higher education required campus police agencies to further develop

and evolve in order to meet the nuanced needs of postsecondary education. Bromley cited

three factors that significantly influenced the modern-day campus police agency: 1) the

robust growth of the college student population, 2) the number of postsecondary

institutions, 3) serious incidents of violent crime at postsecondary institutions, and 4)

legal mandates in response to campus crime incidents.

The Organizational and Cultural Contexts of Campus Policing

As referenced, campus police agencies began to resemble the structural and

operational attributes of municipal police following the period of professionalization

(Sloan, 1992). Although campus police are visible on college campuses, research

suggests that community members at colleges and universities embrace underdeveloped

views of the role and scope of campus police officers (Wilson & Wilson, 2015). Campus

police agencies are incredibly similar to the organizational make up of urban, municipal,

or county police (Bromley & Reaves, 1998; Sloan, 1992). This is evidenced by empirical

studies which have explored comparisons between campus and municipal police

agencies. For example, past research indicates that campus police officers typically attend

similar police training academies and are held to similar law enforcement certification

standards when compared with municipal police (Sloan, 1992; Pauline & Sloan, 2003;

Wilson & Wilson, 2011). Sloan (1992) discussed that the structural make-up of modern-day campus policing was developed from the municipal policing paradigm. Campus police agencies are also internally hierarchical ranging from executive directors at the top of the agencies to entry-level officers at the foundational level. From a human resource perspective, scholars have explored the differences and similarities in the organizational aspects of campus police. Bromley and Reaves' (1998) study of 581 campus police agencies found several unique characteristics of campus police agencies. The key findings included: 1) campus polices agencies served populations ranging from 2,500 to 75,000 people, 2) campus police agencies were more diverse with higher percentages of women and people of color than their municipal counterparts, and 3) campus police agencies were more likely to require prospective officers to possess college degrees. Bromley and Reaves' findings indicate that campus police agencies resemble critical aspects of municipal police agencies. However, campus police agencies include specific characteristics given the unique contexts in which they serve.

The cultural and organizational aspects of postsecondary institutions also present distinctive challenges for campus police agencies. Although campus police agencies have similar operational features to municipal police agencies, the college and university context is incredibly distinct when compared with other policing environments. Sloan and colleagues (2000) described five contextual characteristics of colleges and universities that campus police agencies must navigate: 1) the complex design and structure of college campuses, 2) issues related to student diversity, 3) the distinct context of public safety on campus, 4) fear of victimization by students, and 5) social disturbances within

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the campus environment. For the purposes of this study, the unique challenges related to diversity are of importance. Sloan and colleagues drew attention to the rapidly changing social context of colleges and universities, with more women, students of color, non-traditional students, and other underrepresented populations attending postsecondary institutions. Campus police agencies were tasked with responding to the diverse needs of the college student population. Sloan and colleagues (2000) offered,

> If the campus police are to respond to the needs of the community they serve, they should expect these needs to change as the students become increasingly diverse. As a result, the goals of the organization and tactics used will likely change as well. The organization must adopt an administrative model that accords the agency the flexibility to adjust itself to the changing needs of the campus (pg. 4).

As campus police agencies are responsible for enforcing laws and protecting campuses, they also have the responsibility of working within the context of their institution's mission and culture (Foster, 1986; Patten et al., 2016; Wilson & Wilson, 2011). Scholars have argued that progressing the institutional mission, which is typically connected to an educational ideal, may conflict with the best practices of the law enforcement community when officers are confronted with issues of discretion. For example, Nichols (1985) noted that campus administrators understood campus policing through more of a service lens rather than an enforcement lens (as cited in Foster, 1986, pg. 224). In addition, Allen (2015) found that campus police officers arrested and cited offenders at lower rates than that of municipal police officers.

Campus police legitimacy. A growing body of literature provides further insight into current issues and considerations affecting campus police agencies at postsecondary institutions. Despite the development and professionalization of campus policing,

research suggests that modern day campus police agencies are on the peripheral of postsecondary institutions. The field of campus policing has also struggled to garner authenticity as compared to other policing structures (Patten et al., 2016; Wilson & Wilson, 2015). This is evidenced by the limited research within academic literature and the many unanswered questions regarding campus policing (Bordner & Peterson, 1983; Pauline & Sloan, 2003). From a higher education perspective, campus policing takes on a somewhat ambiguous role at colleges and universities. Scholars suggest that, to some extent, college students are unaware of the duties of campus policing, do not recognize campus police officers as authentic law enforcement officers, and question the legitimacy of campus policing (Patten et al., 2016; Jacobson, 2015; Wilson & Wilson, 2015). A less than recent study, by Hummer and colleagues (1998), examined the extent to which college students supported equipping campus police officers with firearms. Their findings uncovered that 38% of participants were not in support of arming campus police officers, while 26% were "undecided" (pg. 263).

Prior research reveals that perceptions of legitimacy for campus police officers have been a challenge for the field since its professionalized inception. In Bordner and Peterson's (1983) study of campus policing operations, campus police officers shared stories which detailed moments where their law enforcement powers were questioned by people during encounters with the public. In addition, campus police officers believed that students and faculty viewed the campus policing role as "high class security" or "counterfeit police" (pg. 135). In many instances, campus police officers did not internalize these perceptions by the campus community. Bordner and Peterson added that

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campus police officers sought to push back against erroneous and uninformed

perceptions of their roles by self-affirming the scope and power of their positions. More

recent studies, however, suggest that campus police officers may internalize the views of

the college and university communities within which they serve. Wilson and Wilson's

(2015) study exploring the ways that campus police officers perceived their own

legitimacy, offered that campus police officers struggled to see themselves as legitimate

given the lack of credence afforded to them by their campus communities.

Crime, Victimization, and Safety at Postsecondary Institutions

Discourses related to crime and victimization at postsecondary institutions have

received considerable attention through empirical research and public policy (Sloan &

Fisher, 2011). Numerous studies have explored the complexities and extent of campus

crime (e.g. Hummer, 2004; Flowers, 2009; Fisher & Sloan, 2013). These studies suggest

that college crime and victimization present distinctive social implications for students

and campus administrators. This section will explore relevant literature on the historical

and political context of campus crime, the extent of victimization at postsecondary

institutions, legal implications, and the nuanced ways that college students experience

victimization.

The Political Context of Campus Crime and Victimization

Since the 1980s, the discourses of violent crime and victimization on college

campuses have been central fixtures within higher education policy. Public opinion

would suggest that college campuses have been dangerous spaces for students (Fisher,

Sloan, Cullen, & Lu, 1998; Sloan, & Fisher, 2011). Noble and colleagues (2013) illustrate the prevalence of this perspective:

> Crime occurring on and around college campuses concerns many individuals, including students, faculty, parents, and administrators. In fact, parents, students, faculty, and staff may even take into consideration the crime rate of the campus and surrounding areas prior to accepting employment or when weighing matriculation at an institution of higher education (pg. 1132).

To better understand this phenomenon, scholars have explored the public's perceptions of crime at postsecondary institutions. Sloan and Fischer (2011) highlighted the social construction of concerns related to college crime and victimization. Although high profile violent crimes surfaced on college and university campuses, particularly in the 1980s and 90s, Sloan and Fischer explained that the proliferation of mass television media created the perception that incidents of this nature were new phenomena at postsecondary institutions. According to Sloan and Fisher, incidents of violent crime can be traced back to the origins of the higher education landscape. During the 1980s and 90s, however, more elevated concerns regarding student victimization began to receive considerable attention from policy makers. Therefore, several states responded to what many perceived as a new social problem.

A myriad of social factors and movements are credited with bringing the issue of campus crime to the forefront of policy discourse, which include: 1) empirical research on the pervasiveness of sexual violence, 2) lawsuits filed by campus crime victims and their families against postsecondary institutions, and 3) the work of grassroots organizations focused on illuminating the extent of campus crime (Fisher, Hartman, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Sloan, & Fisher, 2011). Arguably, the *Crime Awareness Act of*

1990 surfaced as the most well-known act of campus crime legislation passed by the United States Congress. The legislation was later renamed *The Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act in 1998*, also known as the *Clery Act* within higher education lexicon (Fisher et al., 2002). At the time of its passage, the *Clery Act* served as a progressive and rigorous movement toward addressing serious incidents of student victimization. Kiss (2013) presented that the implementation of the mandate sought to provide students and families with accessibility to information regarding crime on college and university campuses. Among other requirements, the legislation actively mandates that institutions, participating in federal financial aid programs, provide annual crime statistics along with timely warnings for incidents which may pose a threat to college and university communities. The federal mandate resulted from the murder of Jennine Clery, a college student at Lehigh University during the 1980s. Directly prior to Clery's death, Lehigh University experienced several incidents of violent crime near the campus. However, students were not notified of the emergence of these incidents. Clery's family subsequently filed suit against the university arguing that the institution assumed a responsibility to protect students when potential threats surfaced. The Clery case, along with other cases, problematized the role that postsecondary institutions occupied within the phenomenon of crime and victimization.

In Loco Parentis: Institutions as Protection

Consistent with the legal implications of the Jennine Clergy case, the role of the postsecondary institution in "protecting students" is of importance to this discourse. As referenced, the development of policies related to campus crime involved litigation

against postsecondary institutions, which examined institutional roles as it related to the protection of students. When considering the extent to which postsecondary institutions are responsible for protecting students from victimization, scholars note that several legal policies influenced the ways in which institutions interpreted this question (Lake, 1999; Lake, 2001). An important critical policy that situated the ways postsecondary institutions viewed this responsibility was the *in loco parentis* doctrine. *In loco parentis* was once linked to higher education practice in profound ways, and the doctrine intersects with the historical development of campus policing. Scholars posit that, during the early portion of the 20th century, the doctrine of *in loco parentis* informed the ways that postsecondary institutions utilized campus police agencies. *In loco parentis* was also influential in the modernization of campus policing (Bromley 1996; Bordner & Peterson, 1983). According to Sloan (1992), campus security officials employed different approaches for handling incidents based on the person's classification within the institution. Under *in loco parentis*, campus security officials referred incorrigible students to university conduct professionals rather than to the local police. They were also limited in addressing matters involving faculty and college administrators. The doctrine's removal changed the relationship between students and the institutions (Lee, 2011). Therefore, campus enforcement procedures were conceptualized through a different lens (Bromley, 1996).

Although there is considerable research on *in loco parentis* within postsecondary education, the explicit connections between the doctrine and the contemporary age of campus policing appears to be underexplored. Scholarship reveals that the doctrine was

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exercised within postsecondary education prior to the 1960s. The doctrine acted as a

guide for higher education practice and policy, particularly as it related to the institutional

relationship with college students. *In loco parentis*, meaning "in place of the parent"

allowed institutions to assert authority, like that of parents, over college students for the

purposes of developing and protecting them. While the doctrine has since been

eliminated through a series of legal actions, the doctrine and its historical remnants

intersect with the modern-day practices of postsecondary education. Since its removal,

scholars have argued that aspects of the doctrine have progressively reemerged within

higher education practice (Stamatakos, 1990; Lee, 2011). The implications of the

doctrine's reinvigoration are present in the ways in which laws, policies, and institutional

practices dictate the student – institution relationship.

     In loco parentis extended beyond the realm of higher education and existed in

educational institutions involving minors, namely elementary and secondary education

(Lee, 2011; Alexander & Alexander, 2017). Scholars contend that the doctrine was first

utilized within 18th century educational settings and originated in England (Harms, 1970;

Stamatakos, 1990; Alexander & Alexander, 2017). The doctrine allowed institutions to

exercise authority for the purposes of protecting the well-being of students. The earliest

case depicting the in loco parentis relationship between students and educational

institutions occurred within a North Carolina elementary school setting. In *State v.*

Pendergrass (1837), a young student was physically whipped by a teacher, which left

physical marks on student's body. The teacher faced criminal conviction for the assault;

however, the North Carolina Supreme Court reversed the conviction citing the role of the

educator as being an extension of the parental role. This philosophical paradigm guided

the schooling relationship with students. Schools had the autonomy to assume a parental

role over students, which meant relative control over their morals, values, and behaviors.

In loco parentis provided a twofold paradigm for institutions: 1) the ability to

autonomously discipline students for certain behavioral, moral, or institutional concerns;

and, 2) an element of legal responsibility for protecting the students from various forms

of personal harm (Lake, 1999).

In loco parentis in postsecondary education. As the doctrine guided

postsecondary institutional practice prior to the 1960s, the doctrine was polarizing and

not without controversy. College students attempted to challenge the ways that the

doctrine facilitated the relationship between students and institutions. In early attempts to

challenge in loco parentis within postsecondary education, scholars contend that courts

often ruled in favor of institutions. Court decisions affirmed institutions' ability to

regulate student behavior in the name of protecting students' well-being (Harms, 1970;

Lee, 2011). Lee (2011) referenced early court cases which illustrate the tendency of

courts in the early years. The earliest cases included *Pratt v. Wheaton College* (1866) and

North v. Trustees of University of Illinois (1891). In *Pratt v. Wheaton College* (1866)

student Edwin Pratt was expelled from Wheaton College for creating a student

organization in which the institution deemed to be a "secret society." Pratt challenged his

expulsion; however, the Illinois Supreme Court ruled in favor of the institution affirming

the institution's autonomous authority to regulate student behavior under the doctrine of

in loco parentis. Harm's (1970) analysis of the Pratt ruling draws attention to how the

courts viewed the role of colleges in the collegiate experiences of students. The court

clearly conceptualized the role of the college in similar ways to the parental role. In

keeping with this philosophy, the court established judicial limitations in their reach and

authority to interfere with the discipline process on college campuses. This case

established a precedent as Wheaton College exerted incredible authority to expel students

based on arbitrary rules and policies.

   North v. Trustees of University of Illinois (1891) followed a similar approach to

conceptualizing the relationship between students and institutions. In this case, the

University of Illinois expelled a student for refusing to attend university mandated chapel

services. From past legal precedent, the student argued that the university could not

infringe on his ability to exercise free will and personal decision-making afforded to the

common citizen. Indeed, the court affirmed that the constitution afforded individuals the

ability to exercise certain constitutional rights. Individuals, for example were free to

choose where they would worship and practice elements of spirituality. However, the

court ruled that students emptied certain rights upon voluntarily attending an institution

of higher education. The court's ruling, resembling earlier cases involving in loco

parentis, conceptualized the student as being subject to the discretionary policies of the

university, even if the policies infringed on certain rights (Harms, 1970). This ruling

presented strong implications for the relationship between colleges and students. Analysis

of these early court rulings suggest that, within the university context, students entered

into a subordinate relationship with colleges and universities. The university assumed a

strict and arbitrary parental role over students.

Following several high-profile cases in the early 1900s, in loco parentis traversed

through higher education for decades. However, the social context of higher education

began to substantially change in the latter half of the 20th century. The civil rights

movement, along with other social activists' initiatives, empowered students to reframe

the context of postsecondary education (Rhoads, 1998; Lee, 2011). Given the subordinate

paradigm that in loco parentis presented for college students, the doctrine's philosophical

assumptions began to conflict with the more progressive higher education setting. *Dixon*

v. Alabama (1961) provided the necessary legal precedent to discontinue the doctrine of

in loco parentis at postsecondary institutions (Lee, 2011; Alexander & Alexander, 2017).

Like past cases involving in loco parentis, *Dixon v. Alabama (1961)* interrogated issues of

student discipline and due process.

    Dixon v. Alabama (1961) was cultivated within a unique social context and time

period within the United States. Jim Crow laws, which violently restricted rights for

African Americans, contextually informed the nuances of the case. The details of case

involved six African American students at Alabama State College, who were among

several students protesting segregated public spaces. The students were ultimately

detained by police, and at the suggestion of the Governor of Alabama, were expelled

from the college. The students challenged the decisions on the grounds of not receiving

due process. Unlike past cases, Alabama State College's status as a public institution

presented new considerations for the court to examine. The court conceptualized

Alabama State College as a "governmental body" and subsequently concluded that public

institutions adhered to standards of due process when seeking to address matters of

student discipline (Alexander & Alexander, 2017). This ruling had significant implications on the *in loco parentis* doctrine. Lee (2011) noted regarding *Dixon v. Alabama (1961)*, "This was a radical break from previous cases that held that no process was due because the students consented to an in loco parentis relationship with a college by their very enrollment therein" (pg. 72). *Dixon v. Alabama (1961)* brought the end to in loco parentis and the philosophical assumptions that guided many postsecondary education practices.

Reemergence of in loco parentis. Since the removal of in loco parentis, scholars have argued that the doctrine has steadily reemerged as contemporary laws and policies resemble elements of the doctrine (White, 2007). The duty to protect, or issues related to tort liability, are connected to what scholars have considered to be reemergence of in loco parentis. The doctrine provided institutions with incredible discretion in matters of student discipline; however, this also included the responsibility to protect the welfare and well-being of students. Lake (2001) contended that, upon the removal of in loco parentis, universities were forced to consider the complex nuances of protecting students. This related to protecting students from outside threats and students' own incidents of misconduct. Following the 1980s, new cases began to surface where courts held universities responsible for student deaths and injuries. This served as a new paradigm for conceptualizing the relationship between students and postsecondary institutions because prior cases had absolved institutions from student injury/death liability (Henning, 2007; Lake, 2001). Scholars referred to the new era of in loco parentis as the "bystander era" (Bickel & Lake, 1999). Henning (2007) asserts that case law began to establish that

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postsecondary institutions assumed some responsibility for cultivating and fostering

secure environments for students. In loco parentis no longer conditioned this

responsibility; however, institutions were forced to grapple with the ways in which

institutional policies operated as a protection mechanism for students while working

within the critical bounds of legal requirements.

Sloan and Fisher (2011) offered that campus police agencies were positioned as

the major vehicle for postsecondary institutions' response to the legal responsibilities of

protecting students. Consistent with existing research on the historical development of

campus policing, federal mandates required that postsecondary institutions incorporate

more advanced and sophisticated security measures. For example, Sloan and Fisher

revealed that many innovative and well-known programs at postsecondary institutions are

actively facilitated through campus police agencies, including: 1) campus escort or ride-

a-long services, 2) campus emergency phone systems, and 3) dynamic lighting

throughout peculiar areas of campuses.

The Extent of Crime and Victimization on College Campuses

Whether postsecondary institutions are dangerous places for students is a topic of

debate amongst scholars and policy makers. Some scholars emphasize that college

students are relatively safe when compared to environments outside of college campuses

(Bromley, 2013; Patten et al., 2016). Other studies posit that crimes at postsecondary

institutions are primarily perpetuated against property rather than people (e.g. Hart &

Miethe, 2011). Regardless of the extent of crime at postsecondary institutions, research

and crime statistics indicate that college students encounter various forms of violent crime and victimization (Fisher & Sloan, 2013; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005).

Official statistics reveal that college students experience victimization at various levels based on social characteristics. In what appears to be the most recent, comprehensive, and diverse report on campus crime statistics, college students ranging from the ages of 18-24 experienced victimization at lower rates than that of their non-student peers (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005). These findings are consistent with much earlier studies, which suggest that college campuses have been safer than the environments that surround them (Sloan, 1994; Bromley, 1992). The Bureau of Justice Statistics (2005) found that 80 per 1,000 male students experienced violent crime victimization compared to 43 per 1,000 female students. The same report revealed that when the racial identity of students was considered, Black students were more likely to experience simple assault than their White student peers. However, White students were found to experience violent crimes at higher rates than other racial groups. The BJS study revealed that college women experienced incidents of sexual assault and violence at similar rates than that of non-student women. For all other categories, non-students experienced higher rates of violent crime.

Sexual violence. More recently, research and policy has concentrated on the prevalence of sexual violence on college and university campuses. Studies have revealed and described the disproportionate rates of sexual violence experienced by women at postsecondary institutions (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, 2010). A Bureau of Justice Statistics (2014) report indicated that college women, between the

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ages of 18-24, experienced the highest rates of sexual violence when juxtaposed with other age groups. From 1995-2013, women represented 83% of sexual assault survivors on college and university campuses. Although college women experienced sexual assault at lower rates than their non-student peers, college women were less likely to report their experiences to the police.

Fisher and colleagues' (2000) study of sexual assault demonstrated that the perpetrators of sexual assaults on college campuses were typically campus peers or friends of the survivors. Consistent with similar empirical studies, college women survivors were also less likely to inform the police of their assaults. Fisher and colleagues expound on this finding by describing the ways in which survivors conceptualized their experiences. Many of their conceptions included downplaying the seriousness of the assault, fear of backlash from the perpetrator, and ambiguity regarding the ways to report the incidents. An additional implication of the study involved the perceptions that college survivors internalized about the police. The students interpreted that the police would be apathetic toward the incidents.

In many instances, when incidents of sexual violence are reported at postsecondary institutions, campus police officers are the first to respond. Scholars have explored how campus police officers engage with topics of sexual violence; although, research on this topic appears to be limited. Smith and colleagues (2016) found that certain training methods influenced the extent to which campus police officers embraced "rape myths" or erroneous views regarding the role of survivors. Training programs appeared to decrease the extent to which campus police officers held myths of this nature.

Racialized intersections of crime and victimization. As this study explores

phenomena connected to Black undergraduate students, the racialized nuances of college

victimization are relevant. Official statistics provide some insight into the extent of

victimization based on students' racial identities. However, the dearth of research on the

racialized implications of this phenomenon suggests that these issues are underexplored.

Prior research and statistics reveal that students of color not only encounter incidents of

victimization (e.g. Bureau of Justice Statistic, 2005), but also navigate the racialized

implications of perceived criminality. Researchers have examined the critical nuances of

campus crime policies and their effect on social environments at postsecondary

institutions. For example, Pelfrey and colleagues' (2018) study of the *Clery Act* revealed

that aspects of the legislation's requirements present nuanced implications for students of

color. When violent crimes are reported on or near postsecondary campuses, the

legislation requires that campus police agencies publish "crime alerts" or "timely

warnings." Information such as the location of the crime, details of the events, and

information describing the physical characteristics of the potential perpetrator(s) are

included within the alerts. Pelfrey and colleagues highlight Hernandez's (2013) argument

which suggested that students of color viewed campus crime alerts as racialized while

perceiving that the alerts placed too much of an emphasis on the racial descriptors of the

alleged suspects. Pelfrey and colleagues found that Black students supported including

racial descriptors of suspects when the information was pertinent to enhancing the safety

of the campus. However, participants acknowledged that generic descriptions of the

alleged perpetrators' racial identities contributed to fear, alarm, and racialized

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perceptions. The implications of Pelfrey and colleagues study indicate that racialized fear surrounding campus crime alerts may intersect with the relationship between students of color and the police.

The intersections of gender and race also connect in salient ways to discourse on victimization. Patton and Ward (2016) discussed the ways in which missing Black women on college campuses were discussed by the public, depicted in media, and investigated by the police. In their review of missing Black college women, Patton and Ward argued that discourse related to missing Black college woman lacked a sense of urgency and attention when compared with their White student peers. In various examples, the stories of missing Black college women were nonexistent in major media outlets or presented an undertone which suggested that Black victims were partly responsible for their own victimization. Furthermore, Patton and Ward argued that the relationship between the police and Black women found intersections with what the authors described as differential investigative approaches employed by the police.

When considering sexual violence, scholars, such as Zounlome and colleagues (2019), have problematized the generalizability of data and discourses regarding sexual violence on postsecondary campuses. Zounlome and colleagues draw upon Crenshaw (1991) to show that, historically, Black women have been left out of analysis on sexual violence against women. Through their own scholarship exploring the intersections of campus sexual violence and Black college women, Zounlome and colleagues (2019) revealed that Black college women have different, nuanced, and intersectional considerations when navigating experiences with sexual violence. In many ways, these

considerations are not captured or thought about in campus discourses on sexual violence.

Bias motivated crimes also emerge as unique experiences of victimization at postsecondary institutions as well. Campus police officers play an important role in preventing and responding to bias motivated crimes. More recently, federal law has required that postsecondary institutions publish incidents of bias motivated crimes as mandated by the *Clery Act*. A bias motivated crime is defined as, "a criminal offense against a person or property motivated in whole or in part by an offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018). According to the United States Department of Education (2015), nearly 80% of the reported bias motivated crimes at postsecondary institutions were motivated by the victim's race, religion, or sexual orientation with nonviolent crimes serving as the leading crime category. Bias motivated crimes emanate at postsecondary institutions within three categories: 1) *reactive hate episodes* – an incident where the perpetrator directs a bias motivated criminal act toward someone in response to an event, 2) *impulsive hate episodes* – the perpetrator seeks thrill or excitement from victimizing someone of a different social identity, and 3) *premeditated hate episodes* – incidents that are motivated by an ingrained discriminatory ideological view of a social group (U.S. Department of Justice, 2003). Given the social context of PWIs, socially minoritized students are vigilantly aware of the emergence of bias motivated incidents (Boyson, Vogel, Cope, & Hubbard, 2009).

Conclusion

This chapter began my exploring theoretical definitions, which are referenced throughout this research. These definitions foregrounded the study's primary theoretical framework, critical race theory. As the study focuses on Black undergraduates and their experiences with an historically racialized phenomenon (i.e. policing and law enforcement), critical race theory magnifies the construct of race by centering the experiences and perspectives of participants. In addition, I discussed phenomenological perspectives on race, namely racial embodiment, to explore the experiential components of race. As racial embodiment may appear disconnected from the other bodies of literature within the second chapter, I utilize this concluding section to discuss how I draw upon the concept of racial embodiment throughout the study. Based on the data presented in chapter four, this research operates through the notion that experiences with and interpretations of campus policing can emerge as moments of racialized embodiment. As mentioned, racialized embodiment vividly illustrates the ways that race, or racialized experiences, operate as the means by which the world emerges for a person. Similarly, racial embodiment shows the ways in which race situates and operationalizes one's "being" (Ngo, 2017; Lee, 2014). The person's "being" is synonymous with positioning as it connects to campus policing. I employ racial embodiment as a lens to show the ways that participants' knowledge and perspectives on the police merge with participants' own sense of their positioning (or being) and bodily "habits" (e.g. Ngo, 2017). I reference racial embodiment to help place the data gleaned from the participants within appropriate social contexts. The details of this analytical process are discussed in the next chapter.

Unlike critical race theory, racial embodiment does not emerge as an overarching theoretical lens throughout the study. Rather, the concept contextualizes aspects of the data presented in chapter four and work within the aims of critical racy theory as a means toward centering racialized experience.

The historical development and emergent issues within campus policing revealed that the development of the field is relatively young in its origin. In addition, the professionalization of campus policing finds connections to the social contexts of higher education during the 1960s and 70s. This body of literature provides a backdrop for comprehending the presence of campus policing at postsecondary institutions, particularly examining the historical and developmental factors which have worked to define campus policing in the contemporary age. Secondly, literature on the historical and political context of campus crime, the extent of victimization at postsecondary institutions, legal implications, and the nuanced ways that college students experience victimization, provided an understanding of this phenomenon within higher education. I argue that this body of literature is necessary for this current study because the phenomenon of crime and victimization emerges as a primary context by which Black undergraduate students experience and think about interactions with campus police officers. This body of literature uncovered that discourse related to crime and victimization have informed the political and social landscape of higher education. However, like other social phenomena, the intersections of race and other social constructs complicate these discourses. More can be explored to understand the ways that race intersects with discourses on crime and victimization within higher education.

In closing, this current research utilizes these theoretical perspectives and bodies of literature to investigate questions of experience and sense making. As this study merges what are sometimes viewed as different empirical contexts, namely race, campus policing, and higher education, each of these bodies of literature attempt to explain the various topical aspects of this research. In the next chapter, I review the methodologies, methods, and research design which operationalize the research.

Chapter III: Methodologies, Methods, & Research Design

This research explores the critical experiences and reflections of Black undergraduate students as it relates to campus policing. Specifically, this research interrogates the following questions: 1) How do Black undergraduate students experience and make sense of campus policing at a PWI? 2) How does racialized experience emerge within encounters between campus police officers and Black undergraduate students? For the purposes of this study, "encounters or experiences with campus policing" are conceptualized as, but are not limited to:

1) *Receiving service from campus police* – Reporting a crime or suspicious behavior to campus police, interacting with campus police during a moment of victimization, receiving a walking or vehicle escort from a campus police officer, calling campus police for service-related needs.

2) *Interacting with campus police through their roles as institutional agents* – Asking a campus police officer for advice, seeking information from campus police about the institution or safety issues, attending a presentation given by campus police, connecting or seeking to connect with a campus police officer as a mentor.

3) *Encountering campus police as an alleged offender* – Being the subject of a vehicular traffic stop, being detained by campus police, being the subject of a call to campus police by a peer, professor, institutional administrator, or visitor.

I utilize qualitative research methods to capture the depth of participants' experiences through their interpretations. Critical race methodology and interpretative

phenomenological analysis operate as the methodological approaches. These approaches

serve as appropriate methodologies for research focused on sense making and experience,

specifically within a racialized paradigm. This chapter explores the methodological

approaches, and the philosophical underpinnings which inform them. This includes the

origins and nuances of critical race methodology. In addition, two philosophical branches

of phenomenology, descriptive and interpretive/hermeneutic, are discussed as the

development of these two branches inform interpretive phenomenological analysis. I

focus primarily on the ways that descriptive and interpretive phenomenology differ in

their philosophical approach to studying lived experience. The chapter concludes with an

overview of the design and methods of the study (i.e. research site, participants, and

procedures for collecting and analyzing data).

Methodological Approaches

Critical Race Methodology

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the concepts of race and racialized

experience are centralized within this research. I presented CRT as a theoretical

framework, detailing how BlackCrit (e.g. Dumas & ross, 2016) emerged as an extension

of CRT to interrogate antiBlackness. To continue this conceptual thread throughout the

study, I utilize Solórzano and Yosso's (2002) critical race methodological (CRM)

approach to practically infuse critical race perspectives into the design and methods of

this research. Hubain and colleagues (2016) encapsulated one of the aims of CRM by

offering that "Critical race methodology operationalizes CRT" (pg. 948). CRM serves as

a methodological platform to provide voice to students of color within empirical research.

Although CRM is not presented as a rigid methodological process, it provides researchers with a framework for centering racialized experiences with an emphasis on counter stories. CRM also validates students' experiences with structural forms of racism as legitimate elements of research data. As Solórzano and Yosso (2002) explained, "Critical race methodology in education focuses research on how students of color experience and respond to the U.S. educational system. From developing research questions to collecting, analyzing, and presenting data, critical race methodology centers on students of color" (pg. 36-37). Like the tenants of CRT, which theoretically ground critical race methodology, Solórzano and Yosso (2002) contended that CRM engages the research process with several foundational assumptions:

1) The constructs of race and racism are central to the research process.

2) CRM provides a counter perspective to traditional research on the experiences of students of color.

3) CRM delivers a profound method for addressing various forms of oppression.

4) CRM establishes a commitment to analyzing racism through an intersectional lens.

5) CRM is interdisciplinary and intersects with social science disciplines to understand the nuances of oppression.

Solórzano and Yosso's (2002) usage of the term "majoritarian stories" provides an explicit phrase to contextualize the rationale for centering the perspectives of students of color within critical race research. Majoritarian stories, or stories told from a White dominant lens, serve as the default narrative within institutional contexts. The messaging

derived from majoritarian stories are ultimately embedded within empirical research. Approaching the research process through the lens of critical race methodology calls for an acknowledgement that majoritarian stories are the default narrative within research. Counter stories, among other aims, operate to empirically confront majoritarian stories. As such, the authors provide a framework for effectively capturing and producing counter stories through the research process. Counter stories are comprised of 1) personal narratives (autobiographical narratives yielded from the researcher's experience), 2) other people's stories (a biographical or narrative account of people's experiences), and 3) composite stories (narratives that combine personal and other people's narratives to communicate racialized experiences within a specific context).

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) shared that an important element of CRM is its connection to the concepts of cultural intuition and theoretical sensitivity (e.g. Delgado Bernal, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These concepts engage the positionality of the researcher in the collection and analysis of data. They also incorporate research participants in the meaning making stages of the research process. With these concepts as a framework, Solórzano and Yosso (2002) posited that the development of counter stories draws upon various forms of data, which include: the data yielded from the research participants, the researcher's positionality, and existing research on the population or phenomenon under study. An empirical example of this methodological approach is found within Patton and Catching's (2009) research on African American faculty experiences. The authors, who themselves identified as African American professors, incorporated their positionality, existing research on African American professors, data

from the participants within their study, and employed an intentional process for analyzing data to present counter stories on the experiences of African Americans within the professoriate.

The use of counter stories within empirical research has been the subject of scholarly critique. Fernandez (2002) and Yosso (2006) noted that scholarly critiques of CRT assert that counter stories undermine and threaten objectivity. These critiques suggest that participants' counter stories may be politically charged, fabricated, or inexact. However, as Fernandez (2002) offered, the extent to which research is objective is highly ambiguous, and "all research is subjective and that the researcher's subjectivity enters any research endeavor" (pg. 49). Counter stories, to some extent, have challenged classical notions of what defines truth within empirical research.

Phenomenology

Given this study's emphasis on interpretations of lived experience, this research is also guided by phenomenology. Broadly, phenomenology is the study of lived experience or the ways in which experiences appear and manifest for a person (Vagle, 2014). Later in this chapter, I present the specific phenomenological methodology utilized to operationalize the research. However, as the philosophical underpinnings of phenomenology ground its use as a research methodology, the historical development of phenomenology is relevant to understand its contemporary application. Scholars note that phenomenology, as a methodology, cannot be understood or applied outside of its philosophical origins (Flood, 2010; Creswell, 2013).

My interest in phenomenology developed unexpectedly. In the second year of my doctoral studies, I enrolled in a course which introduced me to this unique research philosophy and methodology. To some extent, it can be argued that all qualitative research methodologies attempt to understand experience. However, as I came to understand, phenomenology provided a rigorous vehicle for philosophically conceptualizing experience. Phenomenology allows the researcher to engage the specificity of the experience, or the phenomenon, rather than relying exclusively on theories, secondary sources, or abstract ideas (Husserl, 1970; Vagle, 2014). Scholarship suggests that phenomenology is incredibly complex and diverse, both as a philosophy and methodology (Errasti-Ibarrondo, Jordan, Diez-Del-Corral, & Arantzamendi, 2018). In a broader sense, phenomenology seeks to deeply explore and interrogate the nuances of human experience. However, there exists no set of guidelines for utilizing phenomenological approaches within empirical research (Moran, 2000). Phenomenology can be understood as a "philosophical attitude" that informs one's worldview and epistemological approach to research (Flood, 2010). Vagle (2014) describes phenomenology as a "way of living." Moran (2000) describes phenomenology by noting, "phenomenology is best understood as a radical attempt to get to the truth of matters, to describe phenomena, in the broadest sense as whatever appears in the manner in which it appears, that is as it manifests itself to consciousness, to the experiencer" (pg. 4). Phenomenology is the philosophical practice of "seeing" (Moran, 2002), "doing" (Moran, 2000), and understood as a "craft" (Vagle, 2014). The following sections explore the

development of phenomenology as philosophy, particularly as it connects to the methodology used in this research.

Origins of phenomenology. Moran (2000) noted that phenomenology represented a radical movement toward understanding truth. In what sense was phenomenology radical? Moran notes that, during its inception, phenomenology was a school of thought which radically challenged the dominant methods of inquiry. The philosophical origins of phenomenological thought date back to the 19th century and began with Edmund Husserl, the scholarly founder of phenomenology. Husserl sought to reconceptualize traditional notions of scientific research which focused on positivistic ideals, or the idea that objective measures of research determined truth (Laverty, 2003). Although this early school of thought challenged research ideals of its time period, contemporary scholarship has since shifted the ways that phenomenologist employ approaches and methods. Later developments of phenomenology have problematized and enhanced Husserl's early arguments. As it relates to this study, and as later detailed, the assumptions and methodological approaches of this current study also diverge from some of Husserl's ideas. However, it is important to explore the early progression of phenomenological thought and the ways that these perspectives informed its later development.

Laverty (2003) synthesizes several scholars to explain that although phenomenology is understood as a philosophy and methodology, Husserl's conceptualization of what is now known as phenomenology was originally a critique within psychology. Husserl, a mathematician, sought to move away from the

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philosophical assumptions and inquiry strategies utilized in the natural sciences to methods that radically interrogated the depth of human experience. Husserl hoped to enhance philosophical perspectives which ultimately formed the foundation of Husserl's phenomenological thought. Husserl embodied what is contemporarily known as "descriptive phenomenology." Descriptive phenomenology focuses on "consciousness" within an experience and provides clear descriptions, rather than interpretations, of an experience as it is lived. Moran (2000) synthesizes Husserl's thoughts by explaining, "consciousness is the basis of all experience" (pg. 60). Laverty (2003) draws upon Valle and colleagues (1989) to note that Husserl's phenomenological thought, namely the notion of consciousness, was predicated on understanding the experiential connections between people and the world that surrounded them. Intentionality, a concept that further illustrates the notion of consciousness, posits that experience is related to something of substance (Sokolowski, 2000). In other words, thoughts and actions are always related to something or someone. This school of thought suggests that experiences do not materialize in isolation from other objects or people. Husserl (1970) sought to understand the structures or qualities of these connections and argued that it was necessary to confront the phenomenon of study rather than focusing on theories, assumptions, and traditional knowledge (van Manen, 2014).

To better facilitate his approach, Husserl argued for a commitment to avoiding and eradicating presuppositions related to human experience and adopting what is referred to as the "phenomenological reduction," otherwise known as "bracketing" (Smith et al., 2009; Vagle, 2014). As such, phenomenological reduction, "involves the

phenomenologist attempting to meet the phenomenon as free and as unprejudiced as possible in order that the phenomenon present itself as free and as unprejudiced way as possible so that it can be precisely described and understood" (Dowling, 2007, pg. 132). Bracketing refers to the researcher "blocking out" what is known or assumed about the experience, whether through theoretical or personal knowledge. Phenomenological reduction seeks to understand lived experience as it is occurring rather than focusing on reflections, common understanding, interpretations, or past knowledge of the experience. This philosophical approach purports to fully immerse the researcher in the consciousness of the phenomenon by exploring the intentional relationship between the experiencer and the object. Phenomenological reduction requires the researcher to suspend consideration of outside contexts while exploring the ways that the phenomenon is examined from within the knower (Giorgi, 1997; Smith et al., 2009; Vagle, 2014). As it relates to this study, this phenomenological approach contrasts with the assumptions of CRM and other critical theories.

From Husserl's perspective, the notion of *natural attitude* significantly informs the necessity to adopt the phenomenological reductionist approach. As explained by Christensen, Welch, and Barr (2017), Husserl believed that the natural attitude was the default approach as people lived and traversed through the world. As people embark on their everyday experiences and interactions, the concept of natural attitude argues that these everyday practices occur without reflection or thought. To Husserl, people accepted things as presented, formed beliefs based on accepted norms, and moved through the

world. Christensen, Welch, and Barr (2017) expound on Husseral's idea of natural attitude by expressing:

> From a Husserlian perspective the notion of the natural attitude is one comprised of a naiveté of experience or common-sense everyday reality with the added belief in the existence of an external material reality, one in which there is a straight forward acceptance of experience and knowledge (pg. 115).

The natural attitude connects to phenomenological reduction, or bracketing, to the extent that researchers adopting this philosophy are called to suspend or remove the natural attitude in place of the phenomenological attitude which emphasizes disconnecting prior knowledge, assumptions, or normative views regarding intentional relationships.

Martin Heideggar was another influential scholar within the development of phenomenology. Heideggar was known as a student of Husserl; however, Heideggar sought to expand and develop Husserl's ideas (Smith et al., 2009). Smith and colleagues (2009) note that Heideggar's goals were initially aimed at making Husserl's perspectives more phenomenological rather than moving away from phenomenology. As Husserl called for researchers to bracket or suspend the natural attitude, Heideggar argued that prior knowledge, theory, and experiences were appropriate to incorporate within the study of phenomena. Heideggar argued that it was unreasonable to bracket out the natural attitude. As an approach, Heideggar conceptualized the exploration of lived experience as a process of interpretation (Smith et al., 2009). This attitude directly informs what is known as hermeneutic or interpretive phenomenology. In summarizing Heideggar's (1962) perspectives, Laverty (2003) notes that Heideggar emphasized the conception that people's consciousness in the world was developed and informed by their lived experience. The lived experience connected to the ways that people understood and made

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meaning of their existence. Koch (1995), as summarized by Laverty (2003), explained that Heidegger underscored the notion of the "historicality of understanding" which refers to particular historical moments in the person's background which contribute to how the person is situated within the world. These moments, or their historicality, comprise of nuances which are present within the person's cultural formation or upbringing. These cultural nuances construct the person's interpretation and embodiment of their existence in the world. As it relates to hermeneutic or interpretative phenomenology, Laverty (2003) stated that, "Interpretation is seen as critical to this process of understanding. Claiming that to be human was to interpret, Heidegger (1927/1962) stressed that every encounter involves an interpretation influenced by an individual's background or historicality" (pg. 24). Although Heideggar's perspectives appear to not explicitly center social constructs, his phenomenological approach finds common ground with the underpinning of critical theories which acknowledge the contexts that situate and inform experiences. Given the emphasis on "hisoricality" in Heideggar's perspective on the study of experience, this concept provides room for phenomenological research to expand on a person's historicality by including the ways that people experience, make sense of, and encounter the world through experiences of marginalization. For this reason, Heideggar's perspectives align with the philosophical assumptions of this current study. As this research explores the experiential intersections between campus policing and Black college students, it requires attention to one's historcality, as it relates to racialized experiences and moments that situate interpretations of the phenomenon.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) is a research methodology which is grounded within the philosophical assumptions of several schools of phenomenology. First introduced by Smith and Osborn (2008) as a nuanced approach to phenomenological research, IPA explicates the variations of experience. However, IPA slightly differs from more classical methods of phenomenology as it emphasizes a "focus on personal meaning and sense making in a particular context, for people who share a particular experience" (Smith et al., 2009, pg. 45). Smith and colleagues highlight the centricity of phenomenology within IPA because it seeks to understand experience within its context. However, IPA centers the interpretations or the reflections that occur in relation to the experience (Smith & Osborn, 2008). IPA is referred to as a "double hermeneutic" methodology as the researcher is attempting to interpret the participants' interpretations of the phenomenon (Smith et al., 2009). Smith and colleagues illustrate that as individuals live through an experience, there is a reflective and interpretative process that occurs as a result of the experience. IPA can be operationalized to explore those reflections. The following section charts the philosophical perspectives that inform IPA, which include phenomenology, hermeneutics, and idiography (Smith et al., 2009).

Phenomenology. IPA is informed by classical notions of phenomenology to the extent that it focuses on experience. Smith and colleagues (2009) suggest that as phenomenology expanded from a descriptive to an interpretive approach, the development of IPA found alignment with the interpretive tradition of phenomenology. For example, Husserl's perspectives inform IPA in that it centers on experience.

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Husserl's ideas were also epistemological in nature as it focused on consciousness and knowledge within the structure of an experience. Later phenomenologists, such as Heigbeggar, moved the philosophy toward an interpretive approach. Although the purpose of IPA research rests on exploring the meaning that results from an experience, the phenomenological aspects of IPA employ a commitment to understanding that the experience ultimately cultivates the meaning. IPA does not utilize phenomenological reduction or bracketing within the exploration of phenomena. Like critical race methodology (e.g. Solorzano & Yosso, 2002), IPA encourages researchers to draw upon their positionality to help interpret the participants' narratives.

   Hermeneutics. As discussed, hermeneutics is informed by the perspectives of Martin Heideggar. Hermeneutics, or the discipline of interpretation, theoretically grounds IPA. IPA research, at its very core, consists of interpretation. Smith and colleagues (2009) note that exploring experience is directly linked to interpretation by illustrating:

> In one sense, the researcher is like the participant, is a human being drawing on everyday human resources in order to make sense of the world. On the other hand, the researcher is not the participant, she/he only has access to the participant's experience through what the participant reports about it, and is also seeing this through the researcher's own, experientially-informed lens (pg. 36).

The influence of hermeneutics on IPA can be seen within the analysis of data. Smith and colleagues describe, the hermeneutic circle, otherwise known as analyzing data through a whole-part-whole process. The whole-part-whole analysis process is a common approach within phenomenological research. Vagle (2014) describes this analytical practice as a concept that considers the moments within an experience and the ways in which those moments are related to the larger context that situate the moments. Another perspective

on the whole part whole analysis process suggests, "to understand any given part, you look to the whole; to understand the whole, you look to the parts" (Smith et al., 2009, pg. 28). For example, a study focusing on the racialized context for students of color in elementary schools (the whole) might uncover unique experiences with school discipline across racial lines (the part). In this instance, the whole and the part are connected to comprehensively understand the experience. Experiences with school discipline that vary across racial lines cannot be fully understand without consideration of the racialized context of the school setting. Conversely, the racialized context of the school cannot be fully comprehended without attention to moments such as variant discipline experiences across racial lines. The analysis of data within IPA is informed by this hermeneutical practice.

Idiography. IPA foregrounds the "particular," rather than extracting generalizable conclusions. Therefore, the findings within IPA studies are not conceptualized as generalizable to other contexts. IPA studies are predicated on providing interpretative descriptions of the ways that people are making sense of something within a particular context (Smith et. al, 2009). To accomplish this goal, IPA studies appear to utilize research designs which resemble case study methods (e.g. Yin, 2009) in order to understand the details of the phenomenon within a bounded sphere.

IPA's Connections to this Study

IPA was appropriate for this research because it provided a slightly nuanced methodological approach to phenomenological research. This study does not provide structured descriptions of an experience, construct a generalized experiential summary of

a phenomenon, or examine experiences as individuals engage the phenomenon "pre-reflectively" (e.g. van Manen, 1990). Rather, it captures, through interpretations and reflections, the ways that racialized experiences manifest within and frame a phenomenon. For example, this research poses the question, "How does racialized experience emerge within encounters between campus police officers and Black undergraduate students?" This question is interrogated through the interpretations and reflections of the research participants, rather than my observation or description of the encounter(s). As shown in later chapters, I anticipated that participants would come to this research with some experiential knowledge of campus policing. Therefore, the context of experience was relevant to this study. However, my primary focus rested on exploring interpretations of the experience through the lens of race and marginalization. Although racialized experiences were the central focus of the research, the ways that intersections of marginalization shaped the interpretation of experiences were unique across each participant.

Smith and colleagues (2009) highlighted the notion of an "hierarchy of experience" which describes the process of what makes something, "an "experience" as opposed to just experience" (pg. 2). I employ this concept to analyze elements of this study. As it relates what could make encountering a campus police officer an "experience," if I am a victim of a crime, accused of a crime, or consult with a police officer for assistance, these encounters can occur irrespective of my race. Depending on the circumstances, the meaning that I provide to these experiences could be inconsequential. However, these encounters will take on nuanced meaning, or be

embodied, depending on my past direct or vicarious experiences with the police. This research, among other aims, captures the reflections that result from what makes an encounter or experience something of meaning for participants. Given the limited research on the phenomenon of campus policing within postsecondary contexts, IPA provides an appropriate tool for exploring these types of reflections.

Critical Phenomenology: The Coupling of CRM and IPA

As discussed, phenomenology has developed and expanded throughout an extensive history of philosophical thought. Phenomenological methods exert the ability to examine the essence and interpretation of lived experience. However, some scholars have argued that traditional phenomenological approaches are limited in explicating the ways that various social nuances converge to contextualize experience (Salamon, 2018). As such, what scholars have referred to as "critical phenomenology" has emerged as a movement toward combining classical phenomenological approaches with the traditions of critical theory. Consistent with more traditional phenomenological approaches, critical phenomenology emphasizes lived experience. However, it also acknowledges that lived experience and the ways that people make sense of experience is partly shaped by the world (i.e. social, institutional, and historical) which situates the experience (Salamon, 2018; Guenther, 2013). Given the philosophical and psychological orientation of phenomenology, I argue that critical phenomenology offers a conceptual means for infusing a sociological or institutional lens into phenomenological research. Like other phenomenological approaches, there are no prescriptions or rigid methods for utilizing critical phenomenological approaches.

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In this research design, I couple IPA and critical race methodology to follow the critical phenomenological school of thought. This perspective asserts that experiences and a person's understanding of those experiences are framed within social, institutional, and historical contexts. For example, experiencing or making sense of campus policing are phenomena that emerge for all undergraduate students at postsecondary institutions. IPA can help understand students' interpretations of the police, regardless of social nuances, identity, and context. As Smith and colleagues (2009) shared, "IPA shares the view that humans are sense making creatures, and therefore the accounts which participants provide will reflect their attempts to make sense of their experience (pg. 3). Critical race theory, as a research tool, critically enhances this purpose by explicating how racialized experience contextualizes the interpretation of campus policing. As I approached this research, I expected that Black undergraduate students' experiences and interpretations would be shaped within their social, historical, and institutional contexts. Critical race perspectives are merged with the phenomenological approach to provide the language, lens, and platform to invigorate these contexts.

Research Design

The design and methods for this research are informed by critical race methodology and interpretative phenomenological analysis. The following section will outline the research design, which include the research site, participants, data collection methods, data analysis, limitations of the study, and efforts to increase trustworthiness.

Research Context

This research was conducted at Longwell University (LU), a pseudonym for an urban, public, research intensive university in the midwestern region of the United States.

During the year in which this research was conducted, the institution reported an undergraduate enrollment total of 31,455 students with 6% of undergraduate students self-identifying as "Black." Contextually, Black students at LU encountered a predominately White institutional setting as 66% of the undergraduate student population self-identified as "White." In addition, institutional statistics on the racial demographics of LU's faculty and staff revealed that 76% of the faculty, and 72% of the university staff, self-identified as "White."

The university employs a sworn police agency with over 50 police officers. LU's campus police department can be defined as a full-service law enforcement agency as it includes a patrol unit, 911 dispatch center, bicycle unit, motorcycle unit, canine unit, community engagement team, and a criminal investigations division. Campus police officers at LU function with full arrest powers, enforce state and local laws, carry firearms, and are licensed through the state's law enforcement certification body. After reviewing other postsecondary institutions within the state where LU is located, no other institutions fit the criteria for this study. I learned that LU operated as the only postsecondary institution with its own sworn police agency.

LU was chosen as the research site for several reasons. First, as discussed in the first chapter, federal statistics reveal that more than 90% of 4-year public institutions with more than 2,500 students employ sworn police agencies (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015). In addition, large public institutions tend to utilize relatively large police agencies where students are more likely to encounter police officers. These agencies are tasked with policing and serving a diverse population of students. Therefore, based on the aims

of this research, the large public institutional context of LU provided a rich setting for inquiry. Also, I chose one research site as an attempt to capture the phenomenon within a specific and common context. As discussed, IPA research approaches are idiographic and place an emphasis on the "particular" (Smith et al., 2009).

Research Participants, Sampling, and Recruitment

This study sought 10-12 participants who aligned with the following criteria: 1) self-identified as Black, African American, or had origins within the African diaspora, 2) had experience with the study's phenomenon (i.e. campus policing), and 3) were actively enrolled as an undergraduate student at LU. The phenomenological approach of this study informed the decision to recruit 10-12 participants. Smith and Osborn (2008) offered that:

> IPA studies are conducted on small sample sizes. The detailed case-by-case analysis of individual transcripts takes a long time, and the aim of the study is to say something in detail about the perceptions and understandings of this particular group rather than prematurely make more general claims (pg. 55).

Consistent with Smith and Osborn's recommendation, Polkinghorne (1989) noted that phenomenological studies range from 5 to 25 participants (as cited in Creswell, 2013). Laverty (2003) added that research participant numbers vary in phenomenological studies; however, Laverty referenced van Manen's (1997) recommendation which emphasized the importance of identifying participants who have experience with the phenomenon, can provide meaningful perspectives on the experience, and bring an element of experiential diversity. I expected that identifying a sample size ranging from 10-12 participants would provide a manageable group of participants as it related to the time and depth necessary for analyzing data. Although participants shared similar racial

identities, the participant criteria for this study opened space to interrogate intersections of marginalization (Crenshaw, 1995; Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Given the specific criteria and the predominately White context of the research site, purposeful sampling was employed to recruit and select participants. This sampling procedure allowed me to intentionally select a participant sample with rich experiences and interpretations connected to the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). Also, IPA studies require a purposeful sample group in order to cultivate a comprehensive glimpse of the phenomenon under study (Smith et al., 2009). Smith and colleagues (2009) described sampling in qualitative research through three categories: 1) referrals through gatekeepers, 2) identifying participants through the researcher's personal network, and 3) snowball sampling. In sequence with these sampling strategies, participants were recruited by invitation through institutional spaces at LU. These spaces included: residential communities, diversity/multicultural offices, student involvement centers, academic departments, and learning communities. Specifically, recruitment was targeted toward segments of the university that focused on outreach, enrichment, and community building for Black undergraduate students. In addition, snowball sampling was employed as a secondary sampling strategy. As initial participants were identified and began participation in the study, these participants connected me to other students who met the criteria for the study.

Introduction to the Research Participants

Through recruitment and sampling strategies, I identified 10 participants who responded to the call for participants, met the criteria for the study, and ultimately agreed

to participate. The following section will introduce the 10 participants. As these

participants were situated within the research site as students and learners, we began our

conversations by discussing their background, identity considerations, journeys, and

purpose for attending LU. The following section includes an excerpt of the students'

journey toward LU and particular identity nuances which were relevant to the

phenomenon. Pseudonyms were given to each participant, and I have omitted certain

markers of identity to help maintain promised efforts at anonymity.

      Angela. Angela was a 22-year-old senior at LU. She self-identified as a Black,

biracial, bisexual, able bodied, woman. Angela described how she reconciled choosing to

attend LU:

> I'd never been to LU prior to my junior year of high school. I was here for a band like, trip, we toured the city and noticed that there was like a college campus pretty much located in the heart of the city, which was interesting to me coming from a suburb of Chicago. I didn't want to go to a school that was in the heart of such a large city, but I didn't want to go to like, a lot of the local small Illinois colleges either. And LU, kind of seemed interesting. They also sent me an application in the mail. So it was pretty quick and easy application process and I ignored it for the first while. I was actually trying to get into some ivy league colleges so it wasn't on the top of my priorities list. But as I was going through my application process and kind of figuring that I wouldn't be getting into the Ivy Leagues, I was started to look into it more seriously because I heard that it had really good art and design program. And I did hear it that it was a pretty diverse college, which it is, but in a different sense than I was used to. And I eventually, after I got rejected from my top choice Ivy League school, LU was already my second choice at that point. Eventually, I landed here.

Angela talked extensively about the notion of "race" within her consideration of identity,

which Angela shared had been an ongoing thought during her time at LU. Angela stated

that, at times, she felt a need to "measure up" to a certain level of Blackness. As a self-

identified Black biracial woman, Angela discussed experiencing an exacerbated level of

marginalization at LU, as she encountered trepidation approaching spaces designed for

Black students, given the messages she received as a teenager on "not being Black

enough." Angela discussed this as an important consideration as she approached this

research and reflected on experiences with campus policing.

David. David was a 22-year-old senior at LU. David self-identified as a

Black/African American man. David discussed his engagement with the academic

diversity of LU:

> The reason why I came to LU was because I wanted a liberal education and what
> not. And I wasn't sure what I wanted to do. I knew LU had a wide variety of
> majors that you could choose from and a few of my anticipated majors at the time
> were offered. Also, my parents also went to LU, so that was another incentive for
> me to go.

David expressed an appreciation for the affinity groups offered at LU. As a Black

student, he engaged with several groups designed to build communities amongst Black

students and across cultures. David felt that affinity groups helped to medicate the overall

experience at LU, and credited LU as being more inclusive than other universities in the

surrounding region.

Fatima. Fatima was a 20-year-old senior at LU. She self-identified as a Black,

biracial, woman. Fatima shared that her engagement and connection to LU was more

about the academic environment versus the social aspects of the university:

> I chose LU because of the price. I'm from [this state], so I get in state tuition. It
> was diverse in the programs. Not necessarily the people here, but the programs,
> and I wasn't really sure what I wanted to do, and I knew that LU would have
> something. When I toured here, they were like, "here's all the cultural clubs."
> Like, it was kind of just grazed over, except for Greek Life. I feel like Greek Life
> was really emphasized, and that's not something I'm interested in, but that was a
> really big part of the pitch. Then they just kind of pushed everything else to the
> side.

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As captured in later chapters, Fatima discussed the role and importance of social climate in her experiences at LU. In addition, Fatima's experiences of marginalization at LU ultimately informed her academic interests and pursuits.

Lena. Lena was a 19-year-old sophomore at LU. Lena self-identified as an African American, Somali, Muslim, woman. Lena expressed passion for intramural sports and other involvement opportunities at LU:

> To start off with, I honestly love sports. They have a really good Frisbee and soccer team here, and that's what really brought me. But academically, going into business, I realized late in high school that I wanted to go into [the business school]. I did a lot of tours at different schools with their soccer and with their business majors, and then finally found out that LU just seemed great and it sounded important. Money was honestly a factor as well, just 'cause it's expensive to go to other places. But for sure, definitely the business and then the sports.

The notion of "community" was very important to Lena. Within the business school at LU, Lena discussed the importance of finding spaces to build community, as she would commonly be the "only" within classroom and involvement spaces. Community, for Lena, also extended beyond the university setting.

Michael. Michael was a 22-year-old senior at LU. He self-identified as an African American, middle class, man. Similar to other participants, Michael emphasized academics and finances as factors in his journey toward LU:

> So, for me first and foremost, the two biggest constraints were money. I was trying to keep it at a certain amount before scholarships, and then also location in a sense. And what I mean with location is just financially the way that worked out, is it worked out being from this state. I'm from [here], so in-state tuition and all of that. I was studying business. I knew I wanted to go to a big school, A lot of people, big sports, big crowds, a lot of different programs. And then when I got into the business school here, that was it for me. It didn't really make sense to keep applying to other schools, or to do anything else.

Michael discussed an extensive amount of involvement opportunities, which exposed him to "the good and the bad" of LU. As captured in the next chapter, much of Michael's involvement at LU provided him with unique access to campus police officers.

Regina. Regina was a 21-year-old senior. She self-identified as a Black, Nigerian American, cisgender, woman. Regina also disclosed that she was a first-generation college student. Due to financial considerations, Regina shared that her parents highly influenced her decision to attend LU:

> I applied to a lot of schools, but I wanted to go out of state. I really wanted to leave [this state], 'cause I'm from [here]. And I have an older brother who is a year older than me and he was attending another school at the time, but he wanted to transfer. The two schools that he applied to transfer to were in Wisconsin and California. Ultimately, he decided to go to California. And my parents agreed to pay for our college, and so that meant that I had to choose a school that was not expensive. My top two choices were here and Baylor, but my dad ultimately decided for me and he said that I was going to go to LU so it would be cheaper.

Regina had familiarity with LU through her experiences within a talented mathematics for youth. She did not tour LU as a prospective student; however, Regina had low-to-mid expectations for the social climate given her familiarity with the campus. Like Michael, Regina was highly involved in various academic and social activities at LU.

Tony. Tony was a 22-year-old sophomore at LU. He self-identified as an African American, Ethiopian, gay, man. Tony shared his interests in acting and music, which were areas of involvement during his time at LU. Tony expressed that diversity was an important consideration for him:

> I chose LU due to its strong diversity of the student body that is here. If we look at LU, we see that there is a great amount of international students that come here. We also see more people of color that are present at LU compared to other branch campuses that I really see. However, one thing that I think is greatly lacking at the same time is seeing more Black male students here at the university. But due to

the fact that the campus is one of the most prestigious public universities in the nation, I think in the top 50, that's a big reason that brought me here.

Tony recently transferred to LU after attending a community college within the same city as LU. As explored in the next chapter, Tony discussed Asperger's as an important element of his identity, and how Asperger's framed his experience at LU.

Tricia. Tricia was an 18-year-old first year student at LU. Tricia self-identified as a Black, queer, pansexual, low-income, woman. When describing her reason for attending LU, she shared:

> Mainly it was convenience. This was the only school I applied to just because the application process is pretty easy and I had done a lot of recruitment opportunities. So being on campus all the times I had been here just felt really fun. I had a summer job here, too. So I just really liked the climate, at least in the summer, which is when I was here all the time. I contemplated an HBCU, but I feel like ... my mom wasn't an advocate, and I feel like HBCU's have a bad rep, sadly. So I just ... I don't know. I just kind of chose LU.

Tricia expressed an interest in exploring issues of social justice. Since high school, Tricia had been proactive with identifying social problems within her environmental context and working to engage solutions. Issues related to policing reform were of particular interest to Tricia, and she discussed these thoughts throughout our conversations.

Vanessa. Vanessa was an 18-year-old first year student at LU. She self-identified as Black/African American woman. She noted that:

> Honestly, in high school I was put into a high school program and one of their requirements was to basically almost kind of apply to LU, not directly them saying that but you have to apply to a certain amount of colleges in the state and so this was just one of the colleges. I had come here to do a couple of campus visits before that and I liked the campus but when they would tell the requirements to get in it was kind of scary because it's a pretty prestigious college so I'm like, "Eh, I'm not going to get in," but I still applied. When I got in, I was just like, "This is it." I live pretty close to here, tuition looked good, financially it was good, so that's kind of how I decided to come here.

As a first-year student, Vanessa explained that she was progressively learning about aspects of LU's campus. Although she had engaged with several elements of the campus, she felt as though there was much more to learn.

Wayne. Wayne was a 19-year-old junior at LU. He self-identified as an African American, Somali, Muslim, man. Like other participants, the opportunity to be close to home, diversity, and academic prestige pushed him toward LU:

> I chose LU because this is a big institution that's within the same state that I was currently living in. I heard about all the prestigious teachers, the specific programs that they have to support students of multi-cultural backgrounds. I heard that it was a pretty big campus and I was looking for a big campus. I was looking to get very involved. I wanted to be a part of the city community in a way. I wanted to be somewhere that's not too far away from home. Somewhere that I can be on campus and still be able to come back home whenever I need to, but also have a change in environment. You know. Be able to go and explore other places that I haven't explored before, but also able to come back to my home in a small town.

Wayne's academic interests found some intersections with issues related to policing. Like other participants, several of his campus employment and involvement experiences provided Wayne with exposure to campus police officers.

Data Collection

Data collection for this research spanned for approximately six months during LU's spring and summer academic terms of 2019. Semi-structured interviews served as the method for collecting primary data. In addition, observations and document review served as secondary method. However, observations and document review were not employed to directly capture data from the research participants. Rather, reviewing documents and observing various segments of the research site helped to contextualize

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the institution. I used the information gleaned from observations and document review as a point of reference during the data analysis phase.

Semi-structured interviews. Interviews function as a common method for collecting data in phenomenological research (Smith et al., 2009; Creswell, 2013; Vagle, 2014). Smith and colleagues (2009) note that IPA studies are grounded in obtaining "rich data," which they defined as participants sharing their truth, reflecting, and the researcher providing space for participants to develop their perspectives thoroughly. Interviews provide a technique for gleaning what scholars understand as rich data within IPA. For this study, interviews also served as the primary mechanism for obtaining and constructing counter stories. As counter stories work to challenge conventional wisdom on particular discourses, serve as a teaching tool, and build community across individuals with shared experiences (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Delgado, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1998), the semi-structured interview method provided the vehicle and microphone for giving voice to the research participants.

Phenomenologist also provide room for unique and unconventional methods of collecting data (Vagle, 2014; Smith et al., 2009). Other qualitative methods, besides semi-structured interviews, can extract rich data. However, given the nature of this study's phenomenon, factors such as researcher access, the context of the research site, and ethical considerations presented barriers (i.e. to observing the phenomenon). For this study, I conducted one-to-one semi-structured interviews with each participant, with interviews ranging from 60-90 minutes in length. I also conducted follow up contact with each participant, which worked to clarify information from their interview and provided

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opportunities for them to share additional perspectives. I utilized an interview protocol

with predetermined questions as a guide for interviewing participants (Creswell, 2013;

Smith et al., 2009). Before the interview, I provided each participant with an informed

consent document, the interview protocol, and each participant was asked to complete a

brief background questionnaire to obtain general background information relevant to the

study. Given the semi-structured context of the interviews, the interview protocol was

used as "guide." As participants shared particular nuances of their experiences, I

intentionally followed these nuances to invigorate the depth of their experiences.

Observations and review of documents. Observations and the review of

documents were utilized to provide contextual references for data analysis. In some

sense, these methods gleaned a small portion of the "secondary data" used to develop and

contextualize the counter stories (e.g. Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Yosso, 2006). Although

these methods could not capture "primary data" as it related to the study's research

questions, certain points within the participants' narratives required that I explore

segments of the research site to contextualize students' experiences. As students told their

stories and shared reflections, in some instances, the context of their narratives required

an investigation of overarching moments or institutional spaces to better understand their

experiences. In the next chapter, I discuss these instances and moments in more detail.

In addition, before commencing interviews, I explored small segments of the

research site that I thought would be relevant to the study. For example, after reviewing

the LU police department's public website, I learned that the department employed a

"community engagement team." Officers assigned to this unit focused on building

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connections between the agency and the university community. These connections were established through events, campaigns, and other community-based connections. In addition, LU's police department had a published statement against racial profiling on their departmental website. Neither the racial profiling statement nor the community engagement team explicitly emerged within participants' narratives. However, both sources provided insight into the extent to which notions of race and racism were explicitly engaged by the agency.

Data Analysis

This research blends the perspectives of CRM, IPA, and hermeneutic phenomenological protocols as references for analyzing data. Referencing Solórzano and Yosso (2002), I developed counter stories by utilizing 1) primary data (i.e. the narratives derived from the research participants) and 2) secondary data (i.e. my positionality, the existing literature related to the phenomenon, and institutional data) to produce a thematic presentation of student participants' interpretations of and experiences with campus policing. Drawing from the secondary data, I anticipated that race and racialized experience would emerge as distinctive frames for participants. I approached the research process by considering threads from the existing literature, as it related to the racialized experiences of Black and African Americans, policing within the United States, the construct of antiblack racism, the organizational contexts of campus policing, and the racialized paradigms of higher education. The threads from the existing literature operated as a thematic reference, which informed the development of the research questions, the questions posed within the semi-structured interview protocol, and the

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process by which I analyzed participants' interview transcripts. During the analysis

process, these thematic references also served as lenses to help interpret students'

narratives, or the "double hermeneutic" (Smith et al., 2009).

The data from this research was analyzed, developed, and presented as thematic

interpretive counter stories. To develop thematic counter stories, I reviewed each

individual transcript, reading the primary data through a whole-part-whole process, or the

hermeneutic circle of analysis (Smith et. al., 2009; Vagle, 2014). The phenomenon of

interest (i.e. racialized experiences with and interpretations of campus policing)

represented the "whole" while specific examples, interpretations, or moments shared by

the participants represented the "parts." I centered the constructs of race, racism, and

other intersections of marginalization to code distinct examples that engaged the research

questions, while also highlighting experiences that were either supported by or absent

from the existing literature (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). As outlined by Smith and

colleagues (2009) the initial coding phase sought to explicate the "parts of the whole"

within each individual transcript by noting *descriptive comments*, which were terms,

phrases, or statements voiced by the participant which embodied something of

importance. When noting descriptive comments, I referenced CRM by capturing phrases

or statements which symbolized participants' raced interpretations or other phrases that

captured the study's phenomenon (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Secondly, I took note of

linguistic comments. These comments focused on the ways in which participants used

and structured language to convey their lived experiences. This involved capturing

linguistic features such as "pronoun use, pauses, laughter, functional aspects of language,

tone….." (Smith et al., 2009, pg. 88). I also included metaphors, analogies, and jargon within linguistic comments. Finally, I searched for *conceptual comments* which served as the initial phase of interpreting or conceptualizing how participants were making sense of the phenomenon. As noted by Smith and colleagues (2009), this was different from identifying overarching themes as I did not have a full grasp of the data at this point. However, conceptual note taking greatly assisted in identifying overarching themes. Smith and colleagues offered that conceptual note taking involves the researcher drawing upon their positionality to interpret the data. This recommendation is consistent with Solórzano and Yosso's (2002) perspective that researchers utilize their personal and professional experiences to develop counter stories (e.g. Delgado-Bernal, 1998). After highlighting important descriptive, linguistic, and conceptual notes, I generated recurring themes or codes (the parts) within each transcript. After completing this process with each individual transcript, I identified overarching themes which appeared to align across transcripts. I placed an emphasis on themes that engaged the study's research questions. Given the depth of the data, overarching themes were collapsed and presented as subthemes. I utilized the existing literature, theoretical perspectives, and my positionality (i.e. the secondary data) to place the thematic counter stories within social, institutional, philosophical, and historical contexts (e.g. Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

In this study, member checking was employed as an effort to increase trustworthiness and include participants within the meaning making phases of the study. In sequence with CRM and cultural intuition, I made an attempt to include research participants as active members of the research process as their narratives and perspectives

were the focal points of the study (Delgado-Bernal, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Member checking, which has emerged as a common practice within qualitative research,

provides research participants with the opportunity to ensure that the researcher captures

their narratives in ways that accurately represent them. Member checking also enhances

rigor and trustworthiness within the research process, as it relates to holding the

researcher accountable (Koelsch, 2013; Birt, Scott, Cavers, Campbell, & Walter, 2016).

Following the transcription of interviews, participants were given the opportunity to

review their interview transcripts in order to clarify comments, remove comments which

did not accurately convey their perspectives, or add additional information to their

responses. In addition, participants were given the opportunity to review and provide

feedback on the overarching findings once the interview transcripts were analyzed and

constructed into themes.

Limitations

The primary limitation of this research relates to notions of generalizability.

Given the relatively small sample size of this study and its single site research context,

questions of transferability and generalizability emerge. It should be noted, however, that

the intentions of this study are not to capture a generalized description of the

phenomenon. Although CRT helps to center racialized experience within this research,

the experiences of race and racism will vary for Black students. The findings generated

from this study can provide useful insight into the racialized intersections of campus

policing within a particular context. However, the findings are not intended to be

generalizable to other contexts or students. Secondly, this study seeks to center the

racialized experiences of Black undergraduate students while also considering the ways

that intersections of marginalization converge within those experiences. Given the

complex nature of identity and marginalization, it is likely that this research encountered

limitations in comprehensively engaging intersections of marginalization. To confront

this limitation, I provided open ended space for participants to expound on nuanced

aspects of their experiences and identities.

Chapter IV: Thematic Interpretive Counter Stories

This critical race phenomenological study explored the ways that Black undergraduate students experienced and made sense of campus policing at a PWI. Semi structured interviews provided insight into how Black undergraduate students navigated and interpreted the various aspects of this phenomenon within a specific institutional context. This chapter presents the findings and analysis, which illustrate how social constructs such as race, gender, religion, sexuality, disability/ability, and ethnicity, intersected to shape the ways that Black undergraduate students made sense of their experiences and the broader structure of campus policing. Four overarching themes represent the stories and capture the experiential sense making process. These themes include: 1) precollege experience and socialization, 2) the racialized frame of campus policing, 3) conceptions of safety and protection, and 4) the role of institutional climate.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the themes within this chapter are presented as interpretive counter stories. These counter stories communicate the racialized experiences of other people, and I contextualize these experiences in relation to social institutions, namely higher education and policing (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). As this chapter includes an analytical discussion of the findings, I incorporate existing literature and theoretical perspectives to interpret the participants' counter stories. In addition, while analyzing and presenting these themes, this research maintains a commitment to IPA's notion of idiography or the "particular" (Smith et al., 2009). Although the narratives of the participants display a powerful glimpse into the racialized intersections of policing and postsecondary education within the United States, each of the

participants' interpretations are unique and can change depending on the participants' experiential contexts.

"I kind of heard that you can't trust the police": Precollege Experience and Socialization

Within the United States, scholars have shown that race influences the ways that people perceive the police. As discussed in the previous chapters, research posits that Black and African American communities assert a particular experiential dissatisfaction with law enforcement and report higher levels of distrust toward the police when compared to other racial groups (e.g. Peck, 2015; Holmes & Smith, 2008; MacDonald et al., 2007; Bolton & Feagin, 2004). Holmes and Smith (2008) noted that "many minority citizens see the police as real danger in their day-to-day lives" (pg. 6). Many of the reflections and experiences captured within this overarching theme align with these empirical arguments.

The first theme of "precollege experience and socialization" represents the ways that students within this study expressed their conceptions of and experiences with the broader structure of policing, particularly demonstrating how these experiences took shape prior to encountering campus policing at LU. As I display later in this chapter, precollege socialization connects to this study's primary research question because the interpretations that participants formed about the police, prior to attending college, influenced or mirrored the ways that students went on to make sense of campus policing at LU. I utilize the term "socialization" to describe how various social, cultural, experiential, and environmental factors worked to inform students' interpretations of the

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police. Socialization, in relation to policing, was illustrated through students' precollege experiences with police, vicarious experiences with the police (e.g. Brunson, 2007; Feagin & Sikes, 1994), the process of becoming "racially literate" (e.g. Stevenson, 2014) by means of family members, and observing racialized police violence through the media.

Within this first overarching theme, socialization through various mechanisms emerges as an important consideration because it describes the processes by which students were conditioned to understand the police. It also illustrates the ways that students came to identify racialized police encounters or see their encounters with the police through a racialized lens. As discussed in the second chapter, Lee (2014) draws attention to how meaning is cultivated within racialized embodiment. Moreover, a person's racialized lived experience, or way of being, is informed by their subjective interactions within the world. This theme shows the ways that socialization mechanisms informed students' meaning of their own racialized existence as it connected to policing. In addition, Yancy (2008) described Black people as an "epistemological community" because Black people can make sense of their racialized embodiment through the knowledge that they generate from other people within their communities. For students within this study, parents, other family members, friends, and the experiences of Black people in media stories served as their "epistemological community" in helping them make sense of their own ontological positioning with the police.

David's first set of narratives provide a comprehensive illustration of this first overarching theme. In the following quotations, David's reflections convey the ways that

personal experiences with the police, engagement with family, and current events,

converged to inform his sense making of the police. While conversing about general

perceptions and experiences with the police, David shared:

> My perceptions of the police in general weren't the best. I haven't had good
> experiences, or just knowledge or perceptions of them from the get-go. When I
> would hear stuff on the news, like "this guy has been shot." It was obvious that it
> was a Black guy that was shot by the police. I would be really heartbroken, and
> my mom would say that "it could've been you." That could be any one of us. It's
> really sad to see that.

David's initial reflection makes clear that he processed generalized perceptions of the

police through a racialized frame. The news stories, which are intrinsically racialized,

served as a point of reference for David as he made meaning of "the police." Although

the specific details of the news stories are unknown, it is evident that the crux of the new

stories demonstrated examples of violence against a Black body. Through the recollection

of the news media reports, David conveyed how hearing stories of violent encounters

between Black people and the police served as a moment of meaning for him. The

depictions inform his racial embodiment as David considers the possibility of being the

subject of a violent police encounter himself. David references a thought that many Black

people in the United States encounter, including myself, which is the idea that learning of

violent encounters between other Black people and the police have personal implications

for our own existence. David also highlighted the intersection of personal experience:

> I just really haven't had the best interactions with the police. One interaction with
> the police was when someone stole a tablet from me. And that wasn't the campus
> police, it was through [my hometown's] police department. The guy [police
> officer] was helpful, but he never did follow up with me which was bad. I just
> haven't gotten the best vibes from police and I feel their sense of superiority over
> me and that they're better. I haven't really been a fan of the police. But when
> they're there to protect and do their job, I can get behind that and support that.

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David further expanded on the messages he received while growing up and detailed a

personal experience with the police, which occurred during high school:

> I kind of heard that you can't trust the police. Really just don't trust them. That
> was the predominant message I received. And I'm like okay, well they [David's
> family] have been in the world longer than I have. They obviously know what
> they're talking about and it's based off their shared experience, because they
> probably had an encounter with the police before. We had a rent-a-cop, or a police
> officer at my high school at the time and they were always there. I just wasn't
> really a fan of the way they talked to individuals. More importantly, I come from
> a really diverse high school. The way they [the police] talked to people of
> different backgrounds. At my school, we did have police on patrol. We had
> substitute police at times, but when we had the substitute, they were not really
> friendly with us. More importantly, if a White person was doing something, they
> would think it was okay. But if a Black person was doing something, they say
> yeah, you can't do that. Well, a White person did this yesterday? Why can't I do
> that? It's just the way they treated us at my high school, especially the substitute
> cops who was filling in. Since I was a leader in my school, I had gotten to know
> the main cops who were always there. My experience hasn't really been the best
> based on my interaction with them.

Again, the ways that David thinks about his high school experiences with the police

illustrates that race is actively framing his interpretative process. David connected the

racial context of his high school to ways that the police officers engaged with students.

Notions of race not only frame how David makes sense of his own interpersonal

experiences with the police, but also how the police were positioned within the larger

context of his high school. In this set of reflections, meaning is given to race based on

David's structural experiences and observations. As such, we cannot understand "race"

within David's reflections without taking note of his experiences with the police, nor can

we understand the nuances of the policing experiences without an awareness of the

centrality of race.

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The following sections explore three sub-themes which surfaced within the overarching theme of precollege experience and socialization. These subthemes include 1) the role of racialized police violence, 2) learning to engage with the police, and 3) socialization through encounters.

The Role of Racialized Police Violence

Vanessa, a first-year student at LU, talked about her conceptual engagement with the police during her precollege years:

> Seeing police brutality for Black men in general, for me, it's made me not like police even though I know all police aren't bad police. It's just I've kind of... That's kind of my mentality towards police. I don't like to really interact with them…..……

This brief excerpt from Vanessa exemplifies the narratives within this subtheme, which illustrate the role of racialized police violence, depicted through the media, in shaping the ways that participants formed conceptions of the police. As discussed in the previous chapter, I analyzed students' narratives with an awareness that their experiences existed within specific institutional, historical, and social contexts (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Within this study, these contexts operated as thematic references to help interpret and contextualize the stories shared by participants. While conversing with students, it became evident that discourses related to racialized incidents of police violence were highly influential in shaping how students formed conceptions prior to encountering campus police.

Internalization of police violence. Several of the participants within this study internalized discourses and depictions of racialized police violence, which informed how they interpreted the structure of policing. Tony shares his initial thoughts. Although

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Tony's interactions with the police were limited, the ways in which Tony internalized

knowledge and images of violent police incidents demonstrated the power of these

depictions in the sense making process. Tony explained:

> I don't like them [the police], I'll be completely honest…..specifically with the
> Philando Castile shooting that happened, I think that was one of the most
> catastrophic moments that happened…..when it comes to racial discrimination
> and racism and all that kind of stuff. The fact that a police officer shot Philando
> Castile, who I know a lot of people who knew him. From learning about him and
> what happened, I felt so bad because that man did not deserve to lose his life at
> all. So my perceptions of the police are, I don't trust them and because of cases
> where a lot of Black men have been shot and killed, including Jamar Clark, which
> had been a very big case…….I just feel it was really ridiculous and it's really,
> really sad. It really is. So my perception of the police is I ignore them, I don't talk
> to them, I don't look at them. I know they are the enemy.

Like other participants, Tony referenced two national incidents of police violence

involving Black men (i.e. Jamar Clark and Philando Castile). Tony grew up in the

metropolitan community where the two incidents occurred. Although these moments of

police violence were recalled in other participants' narratives, for Tony, these incidents

appeared to have a profound influence on informing his interpretations of the police.

Tony provided a vivid description illustrating how racialized police violence intersected

with his perceptions of the police. Tony had never encountered the police within an

enforcement interaction; however, he embodies a strong sense of distrust and skepticism

toward the structure of policing. Tony's narrative also displayed a sense of empathy for

the victims of police violence while conveying the emotional implications of what these

incidents meant for him.

Angela similarly shared how knowledge of police violence informed engagement

with the police:

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I became more aware when my own general awareness of police brutality was heightened. You know, there was the Philando Castile shooting, and my cousins actually were in circles that were associated with Sandra Bland. And that just kind of heightened my sensitivity around the police. And I'm definitely very like, on edge about it now after the Philando Castile shooting, because it was so close to us. I remember I had to give my 16 year old brother, the police talk, which is not something you should have to do. But I do remember doing that. So definitely I would say I'm more on edge around police. And you know, with Sandra Bland, like sometimes I think, Black men are more targeted because they're men. But, Sandra Bland was a woman. That doesn't stop me from being targeted either.

Although Angela's sense making is similarly informed by police incidents, Angela revealed that her knowledge and empathetic engagement with these incidents brought an intersectional awareness of police violence, specifically a raced and gendered intersection (e.g. Crenshaw, 1995; Colins & Blige, 2016). Other participants, like Fatima, conversed about the roles of media, educational interests, and the experiences of Black people:

My thoughts about the police are not great. I think that most Black people don't have a great experience with policing. In high school, we focused a lot on police brutality, and I think Trayvon Martin and Sandra Bland and just events like that really got me thinking a little bit more critically about policing as I was entering college, and I think that's what probably pushed me to the Afro American part of my studies, but overall, I'm not super in love with the police. Not super great friends with them, but I kind of understood why they were put in place. Growing up and learning melded my understanding of how to interact with police and what to do and what not to do and especially like Philando Castile was a really big influencer.

Like other participants, the role of current and recent events helped form Fatima's conceptions of the police and what it would mean to interact with them. As discussed later in this section, the idea of "learning to engage" or being socialized to encounter the police emerged in how many participants, such as Fatima, described the process of interpreting and critically analyzing the police. She interprets the experiences of "Sandra Bland" and "Philando Castile" as models for what it would mean to encounter the police

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as a Black woman. These epistemological influences intersect with her ontological

positioning (Lee, 2014; Yancy, 2008). Although Fatima understood and accepted the

necessity of police within society, she, like the other participants in this study, interpreted

her ontological positioning with the police through the lived experiences of race and

marginalization. Fatima asserted, "I think that most Black people don't have a great

experience with policing," which suggests that she had found solidarity from an

experiential and perceptional standpoint with others who empathized with her

perspectives. As shown later in this chapter, Fatima illustrated how the experiences of

family members helped to confirm her perspectives. Fatima acknowledged that as she

developed, grew older, and processed what it meant to engage with the police, coming to

grips with her own racialized embodiment established connections to the idea of learning

how to perform and engage with police.

     Encountering dominant narratives on police violence. As people of color

experience racism, whether directly or vicariously, having an outlet to tell their stories

and process their experiences can be liberating (Delgado, 1989; Ladson-Billings & Tate,

1995). Within the context of this subtheme, many students discussed how their social

environments (i.e. academic, family, friends) served as a mechanism of support as they

processed depictions of police violence against Black people. However, other participants

discussed how certain environments worked to diminish and dismiss the ways that they

made sense of racialized police violence. As students were learning the nuances of

racialized police interactions during their precollege years, some participants noted

examples of institutional agents, such as teachers, who communicated narratives that

silenced their experiences. In the previous chapter, I explored Solórzano & Yosso's

(2002) concept of "majoritarian stories," which they defined as arguments or narratives

conveyed from a White dominant perspective. As the authors noted, "A majoritarian

story distorts and silences the experiences of people of color" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002,

pg. 29). The following quotations by Wayne and Tricia illustrate how majoritarian stories

emerged within their predominantly White high school environments as they made sense

of racialized police violence. Wayne, a junior at LU, explained:

> I came into the university with the Jamar Clark case and the Philando Castile case
> still fresh in my head. Black Lives Matter protests going on everywhere. Being a
> part of a very, very, very White high school in the suburbs and having my own
> instructor, a conservative instructor and also a part-time police officer trying to
> justify Philando Castile and Jamar Clark being shot. I didn't really have a good
> image of police officers at that point.

Tricia, a first-year undergraduate student at LU, also recounted her experiences from high

school by sharing:

> My high school was predominantly White. I had a really hard high school
> experience, and it was an upper class White high school. So, a lot of the time,
> there at high school, I learned to advocate for myself because administration
> wasn't and most of my peers weren't either. So I did a lot of advocacy work in my
> own high school….. I'm 18, so I really grew up with the most recent wave of
> Black activism and anti-police efforts. I did debate all four years [of high school].
> So my last two years of debate, I really focused on arguments that talked about
> police brutality and the Black experience. Over the summer when I worked at the
> university, I also was a leader and a part of that was also leading a discussion with
> other high school debaters about demilitarization and completely getting rid of
> police. So, I'd say I'm pretty anti-police. Not a big fan of the institution and the
> history of it and the context and all the recent and historical police violence as
> well.

Wayne's experience, in particular, supports the notion that majoritarian stories told from

the perspective of an institutional agent can ultimately work to delegitimize lived

experiences. Wayne, who was attempting to make sense of the social climate surrounding

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police relations, found elements of his high school environment to be challenging for such processing. In this instance, as Wayne became aware of the social climate surrounding the cases of "Jamar Clark" and "Philando Castile," Wayne's high school instructor conveyed a White dominant perspective regarding Black bodies, which views Black bodies as suspect and prone to incivility (Yancy, 2008). Therefore, violence against those bodies becomes legitimatized and the benefit of the doubt extends to the police, or to state sanctioned proxies who eliminate those bodies. Tricia's story represented a similar embodiment of the majoritarian story concept, but from a broader institutional paradigm. Tricia's story demonstrated that she sought out spaces within her high school to share her stories, process experiences, and find solidarity. However, Tricia encountered resistance and lack of engagement from institutional agents and peers within the school. She ultimately created her own spaces by participating in advocacy work and formal debate as a method for engaging with and making sense of police violence. To some extent, Tricia's advocacy work and participation in debate operated as a way for her to express her counter story.

The notion of engaging with majoritarian stories while making sense of the police is relevant because of its implications for the students. As I will display in later sections of this chapter, students also faced majoritarian stories within the context of their university. For students like Wayne and Tricia, part of their socialization around the racialized context of policing includes navigating majoritarian stories about the police. As they recount their transitions from secondary education to higher education, this phenomenon emerges as a thread.

Learning to Engage and Interact With Police

Several students discussed their precollege experiences, particularly during their teenage years, of learning how to interact and engage with the police. For most of the students within this study, receiving instructions from parents on ways to engage with the police served as a socialization method for protecting them during potential encounters. Michael described his experiences as a teenager growing up within a predominately White community. Although Michael's direct experiences with the police were relatively positive during his teenage years, the ways in which his father socialized him to engage with police, and the broader criminal justice system, provided a reference for Michael to reflect on the intersections of his raced body and the police. Michael shared:

> I would say my experiences [with the police] were relatively positive. My best friend growing up, his father was the fire Marshall of the city we grew up in. And, because of that, I often was around other firefighters, and police officers every now and then. So I didn't really connect the dots at the time. Growing up my father had always told me to say, yes sir, no sir, hands on the wheel when you get pulled over, all of those things that you're just told growing up. I would always do those things as I was instructed to. But, when I was in my friend's spaces, which were often White spaces, and I would have to stand up and explain why I'm turning the music down when an officer is rolled up next to us. So before coming to college, my personal interactions with police officers hadn't been too bad except for the two times I was pulled over. I got tickets both times. I think race was definitely a part of those tickets. I had to appear in court. When I got there, the judge was like, okay, this is a bullshit ticket. But, I still had to pay court fees, do community service, talk to officers. My dad recommended at the time, don't go to court. He said, "Don't fight it. Just pay the ticket and move on." So I paid the ticket because my dad, being one of the only Black figures in my life, was the person that I trusted. I had to push back and talk to all my White friends at the time. I'd rather not go to court. I don't want to do this….

Michael's story illuminates two cogent points when considering socialization around policing and the larger criminal justice system. First, his exposure to public safety organizations (i.e. firefighters and police officers) provided a sense of comfort and

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familiarity, which may not have been achieved within an official capacity (i.e. calling

911, being stopped by a police officer, etc.). In Michael's experience, maintaining a

relationship with his friend's father (a firefighter) and police officers, provided a safe

space for him to connect with agents within the realm of public safety. Secondly, the

fluidity and environmental nuances of race are present within Michael's story. These

nuances worked to shift the ways that Michael made sense of the police as an older

teenager. Although Michael experienced public safety officials through a positive lens as

a child, he began to understand the implications of encountering the police within a Black

body through the advice given to him by his father. The experiences of being prepped for

police encounters and displaying protective behaviors (i.e. turning down music near a

police officer) were at odds with the experiences of Michael's predominately White

friend group. When prompted to share more about the experience of conversing with his

father about the police, Michael further expanded on his experience of being one of a

small minority of Black students within a predominately White community. He described

how his father helped him make sense of living as a Black body within this context:

> That kind of goes back to more of just my cultural identity. Being where I grew
> up, I had mentioned that of the five of us [Black students] that
> graduated…….most of us didn't really recognize that we were Black. We knew
> we were different. We knew that we were labeled as Black, but culturally we
> didn't know what that meant. A little bit of food…. because we all had our family
> cooking. But, we didn't know community center food or there just wasn't a
> cultural connection to being African American. I didn't have that. But my dad had
> always told me, "You are Black. The world sees you as Black. There's no way
> around this, period! You need to learn how to live and observe the world as a
> Black person because if you aren't observant, the world will take you out!" That
> was his approach to me. "Your existence is a threat to society, a menace to
> society." That whole thought process. He just was very good about reinforcing
> that thought process very well. He was preparing me for it. So, we often would
> have conversations about why double standards are a thing. And why you need to

be tolerant and have emotional intelligence. And, when to speak, where to speak, why to speak. When to just bite your tongue.

Michael's recount of his father's wisdom may be familiar for people of color, particularly people within Black communities. Michael's experience with his father can be conceptualized through the notion of racial literacy (e.g. Stevenson, 2014). Michael's perspective demonstrates the centricity of police discourse within his own process of becoming racially literate. As Michael made sense of what it meant to be "Black," the institution of policing emerged as a salient point of reference within this process. Michael learned that living in the world through a Black body meant considering an awareness of the police, and the ways in which others might perceive his positioning and behaviors. Michael's story suggests that his process of becoming racially literate had an inextricable connection to considering encounters with the police and the potential consequences of lacking awareness around those encounters.

Another important aspect of Michael's story are the complexities, fluidity, and environmental nuances of racial identity. For many students within this study, the context of their environments produced unique experiences within their "literacy" process. To some extent, growing up within a culturally White context appeared to increase the rigor and intensity of the messages Michael received. The police, and the potential consequences of racialized interactions with them, operated as a model for helping Michael understand the positioning of Blackness. For Michael, this process occurred organically (i.e. being raised by a Black parent), but also as a response to a cultural context which sent decontextualized messages about the positioning of his body. Michael acknowledged that while growing up within a predominately White context, he

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understood that others identified him as Black. However, he did not have a full understanding of its meaning. In response to Michael's paradigm, his father provided vivid illustrations and wisdom regarding the police, the racialized world, and Black existence.

Regina, a senior at LU, also noted that her socialization around policing was a complex process. Her narrative draws connections to racial literacy, albeit, in different and intersectional ways. Regina discussed the process of making sense of her identity as a Nigerian American and its intersections with policing. She shared:

> Something I think about a lot is the fact that I am Nigerian. My parents were not born here. And my parents don't have a lot of ties to Black culture in the US. So, I wasn't raised adjacent to Black culture. I was raised with Nigerian culture and then White American culture. But I think coming to the university and being around more Black people, it's something that I've learned more about. But knowing how my parents saw police when they first came to the US versus now, it's interesting because my parents learned that they were Black. In Nigeria, everybody was Black. So it's not like something that they had to navigate. Here, they believed there was a difference between Black people and African people. They had education, so they thought that would bring them up to a certain level to say "we're not like the Black Americans in this country." But then they realized that they were treated just the same. And so they had to learn the hard way and the weirdest way, that they were seen as Black people in this country.

Regina was raised within a Nigerian familial context, which was situated within a culturally White community. Like Michael, there were complexities which undergirded notions of racial literacy, specifically as it related to the racialized intersections of policing. Regina went on to share that as she and her family made sense of race within the United States, messages around the racialized context of policing became more of a priority:

> But, coming from a White suburb, my parents have always been very vocal about being followed or, being watched more closely by police or by White people in stores, things like that. So I think even coming from a White area, that's

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something I've always known. Or always believed to be true. And there were a few officers, of course, where I was like, "Oh yeah, they're not bad people." But I think overall, I was like, police, the system, it's failing Black people. And that's something I think I've known for a while. I was never really a fan of police before coming to the university.

Regina notes that while living within a predominately White community, her parents prioritized an awareness of the police, which helped to cultivate a progressive awareness of the relationship between the police and Black communities. As discussed later in this chapter, when the police were conceptualized as a paradigmatic model for helping participants understand the meaning of their racial identity, this had implications on the ways they made sense of police in other contexts.

Along similar lines, Wayne discussed receiving messages, which helped him understand and make sense of his positioning in relation to the police. However, this brief excerpt of Wayne's narrative displays how awareness and socialization can be framed through intersections beyond race. Wayne explained:

With my other two identity's being Somalian and being Muslim, I was told by my family that when it comes to police, do everything that they tell you to do so you can get out of the situation alive. It doesn't matter if you're gonna lose your dignity, it's better to lose your dignity than lose your life. So, just cooperate 100%.

The notion of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1995; Collins & Bilge, 2016), as discussed in the previous chapters, was a pronounced concept that emerged in several facets of participants' experiences. Although my conversations with participants centered on the constructs of race and racism, participants mentioned how other intersections of marginalization converged to inform their encounters with or interpretations of the police. In Wayne's quotation, he shared a similar experience of receiving wisdom and instruction from his family on the importance of considering an awareness of the police and the

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appropriate ways to respond during encounters. However, the construction of Wayne's

comment suggests that these conversations were framed through intersections, namely

religion, race, and ethnicity. For Wayne, self-identifying with intersectional experiences

compounds his consideration of those encounters.

Socialization Through Encounters

The previous subtheme described the ways that students were socialized, through

engagement with family, during their precollege years. Participants also discussed how

their personal interactions with the police during their precollege years, and the

experiences of their family, worked as mechanisms of socialization. The stories within

this subtheme indicate that students experienced distinctive encounters with the police

prior to attending LU, and many participants made sense of these experiences through the

lens of race. Like the previous subthemes, these encounters (whether direct or vicarious)

shaped participants' views of the police and were influential in forming the ways that

participants went on to interpret campus policing as college students.

This subtheme connects to Smith and colleagues' (2009) notion of "hierarchy of

experience." As noted in the previous chapter, "hierarchy of experience" describes the

process of a person coming to conceptualize something as "an "experience" as opposed

to just experience" (pg. 2). Participants' encounters with police, and the ways that they

internalized vicarious encounters (i.e. encounters through family and friends), made

engaging with the police an "experience," which informed future engagement with and

perceptions of campus police. When an encounter or moment becomes an "experience",

future engagement with similar contexts can take on more nuanced meaning for the

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person (Smith et al., 2009). In addition, social context, particularly contexts within a

racial paradigm, inform how people make sense of encounters. Yancy (2008) argued that

racialized experiences, which may seem benign, invigorate particular meaning for Black

people given the context of the encounter. When Black people encounter the police, and

perceive their encounters through a racialized lens, the surrounding contexts (i.e.

historical and social) support their propensity to make sense of the encounter through the

lens of race.

Fatima, recounting her experiences as a teenager, shared an encounter with a

police officer, which illustrates how direct experiences work to condition interpretations

of the police. She explained:

> I was pulled over one time when I was a junior or senior in high school. I was
> driving home from picking up my sister from dance practice, and they [the police]
> pulled me over, and they're like, "Yeah, your tabs are about to expire," and I was
> just like okay, I don't know what you want me to do about this. I was 17 at the
> time. I was like, "I don't know what you want me to do." And they're like, yeah, I
> think it was February, and they were gonna expire in March. I was like okay......
> Thanks for telling me I guess? And they're like, "Well, is this your car?" And I
> said no, and they were like, "Well is this a stolen car?" And I said, "No, this is my
> dad's car, but I'm driving it. I still live with my parents I'm in high school." And
> this was all before they took my ID and whatnot. When they figured out I was 17,
> then they let me off, but it felt really uncomfortable, and I've never heard of
> someone getting pulled over because something like their tabs were about to
> expire or whatever.

Lena shared a similar experience, which occurred in the neighborhood where she grew

up. Lena's story provides additional examples of peculiar interactions with the police,

and the ways that these interactions influenced her interpretations. Lena offered:

> My interactions with police officers have been weird. Just driving, getting pulled
> over more often than the normal person would get pulled over. Getting asked
> weird questions at like weird times. There was one time I was at a convenience
> store, I was coming from work, it was 1:00 a.m., and I was getting gas, and a

police officer comes to me and asks me how old I am. I was just like, "What does this have to do with anything?" I replied I was 18 at the time. And then he was just like, "Oh, I was just checking for curfew and things like." Which makes sense, but I feel like had I been like someone of a different color, then I probably wouldn't have the same interaction. But overall my perceptions of police in general have been to kind of step back, and like not interact with them. Even as a kid, you're playing outside and then police officers pull up and they're just kind of questioning what you're doing here and things like that. There was one time I was driving and a police officer just followed me until I got home. I just thought it was kind of weird, but I hadn't done anything, so it's pretty scary. Also, I get pulled over more times than I should, and I get questioned, "How old are you?" And I'm like, "Can you pull me over to ask me that question?" That happens often. I don't feel comfortable with the police.

Fatima's and Lena's narratives embody notions of "racial profiling," which is a common phenomenon referenced within the experiences of Black and African Americans. In racial profiling incidents, race serves as the lens by which people are questioned, stopped, placed under a cloud of suspicion, and ultimately deemed criminal (Moore, 2015). In both of their stories, although the officers did not explicitly name or refer to their racial identities, the students left the encounters questioning the intentions of the police officers. For Fatima, specifically, the officer's rationale for the encounter did not appear to be lawful. In both experiences, the questioning of Fatima and Lena by the officers communicated an element of suspicion toward them, and the feeling of being "uncomfortable" served as an embodiment of the emotional implications for both participants. Like Fatima, Lena expressed feelings of discomfort during her encounter with the police officer. Lena believed that had her racial identity been different, the interaction would not have occurred. What is more cogent are the conclusions that Lena draws from her interaction. Although the police are tasked with providing protection for Lena, the implications of her interactions cultivate an element of distrust in the police.

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Being uncomfortable, based on a peculiar experience with the police, affects how she

thinks about engaging with the police in the future. For Lena, the experience directly

informed her decision to "not interact with them [the police]."

Lena went on to share how the context of her neighborhood environment shaped

encounters with the police:

> Just growing up, I grew up on the west side of [my city]. It's gang territory, what people would call the "hood." It's just you're already experienced with that stuff, perceptions are already made there. And like just being and seeing stuff like that, I guess you already know what to do in certain situations. With a lot of the police shootings, as people get pulled over, you just do whatever they want and whatever repercussions happen you just got to deal with it. But just make sure, you're just trying to live.

The context of Lena's neighborhood environment presented frequent encounters and

sightings of the police. As captured in previous subthemes, participants were socialized

by social agents, namely family, on how to engage and interact with the police. Lena's

story demonstrates how other aspects of environment, namely neighborhood context, can

work as a socialization mechanism. In Lena's experience, there were unspoken rules

within her environment, which operated implicitly to communicate appropriate

engagement practices with the police. In addition, seeing other community members

engage with the police, through a racialized lens, provided an additional layer of

socialization. These messages became real and were practiced as Lena experienced the

police through her own encounters. Lena's perspective resembles, in some ways,

Anderson's (1999) ethnographic analysis of Black urban environments where Anderson

described a "code of the streets" which governed life and ways of engaging in inner city

communities. Although Anderson's arguments focused on a broader examination of the

ways that residents within urban communities interacted and lived amongst each other, Anderson (1999) offered that residents culturally adjust to ways of being as a result of mistrust in law enforcement. Although Anderson's analysis is applied to a different relationship context within urban communities (i.e. understanding ways of life and engagement among residents rather than the police), the police are positioned as the driving force behind the need for a "code of the streets." In Lena's narrative, the ways that the police engaged with people created somewhat of a "code." However, different from Anderson's concept, the "code" in Lena's environmental context governed how people interacted with the police.

When discussing the "police," this study analyzes the concept of policing within the context of the United States. However, narratives such as Wayne's story, displayed an international experience with the police. Based on Wayne's description, this international experience worked in similar ways to that of policing encounters within the United States. In addition, this encounter shaped general perceptions of the police and Wayne's own racial embodiment. Wayne described a precollege encounter with the police, which occurred while traveling abroad outside of the United States:

> I've only had negative run ins with police officers abroad in the UAE [United Arab Emirates]. It was a lot of intimidation and it was based on discrimination as well, but that's unrelated to police here [in the United States]. This was when I traveled from Kenya to Dubai. I was pulled aside by a police officer and they grabbed my backpack and said "What's in here. Is there Black magic? Is there crack cocaine? What are you doing?" Then pulled me further to the side for more questioning. Obviously, I was not doing anything. I just answered all their questions and they said take the bag and go. So I could go forward back to customs and get myself checked. It was like two years ago. With my experience abroad, and also with what I've been witnessing happening in the U.S., I did not have a good image [of the police]. I was just like it's whatever. They are there. I guess they have to do what they have to do, but also I'm going to remain skeptical

and also be weary of what they can do. I do look at myself and try to protect my friends when things happen, and try not to do the bad thing whenever they are there.

An element of Wayne's interpretation of his experience was somewhat paradoxical. He initially disconnects the implications of his experience in the UAE from the United States, stating that his experience in the UAE was, "unrelated to police here [in the United States]." This suggests that Wayne began to compartmentalize his experience as unique to the police in that particular context. However, Wayne goes on the merge his experiences in the UAE with notions of policing in the United States. Although Wayne acknowledged that the context of his encounter was situated outside of the United States, he empathized with incidents of police violence in the United States through the lens of his experience in the UAE. As Wayne thought about policing incidents involving other Black people in the United States, he thought of parallels between the experiences. Wayne's skepticism, based on his international experience, appeared to inform how he would approach the police in a future interaction as he stated, "I'm going to remain skeptical and also be weary of what they can do." What is compelling about Wayne's experience is that although the encounter represented a policing structure outside of the United States, the description of Wayne's encounter aligns with conceptual definitions of racial profiling and the experiences of other participants. According to Wayne's account, the police detained him without a legitimate reason. Secondly, Wayne felt that the police used discriminatory and intimidation tactics against him. Furthermore, Wayne's presence in the airport engendered associations, by the police, with criminality and illicit behavior (i.e. questions regarding the contents of his bag). In this instance, Wayne's encounter

with the police in UAE became "an experience" as theorized by Smith and colleagues (2009).

      Vicarious encounters. Within Smith and colleagues' (2009) hierarchy of experience concept, the moments that make something an experience are conceptualized through the lens of the person's own personal experience. Namely, as people encounter meaningful moments themselves, these moments take on more nuanced meaning (i.e. become an experience). As the previous examples displayed direct experiences with the police, students also shared stories regarding vicarious encounters with the police. These narratives mainly involved experiences through family, which formed their conceptions, thoughts, and expectations of the police (e.g. Brunson, 2007; Feagin & Sikes, 1994). For participants who shared narratives of vicarious encounters, each participant embodied a sense of empathy toward the incidents as they visualized or heard examples of their family member's encounters with the police. Although Smith and colleagues' "hierarchy of experience" concept appears to connect mostly to direct experiences, the following narratives show that visualizing and empathizing with the experiences of family proved to add meaning and inform embodiment for students.

      Angela shared a moment of visualizing and experiencing the police within her childhood neighborhood. Angela shows how visualizing a racialized police incident made encountering the police, an "experience":

> I never really had negative or positive feelings against the police until I was
> almost out of high school. We had a Black family across the street from us. They
> had a police incident that seemed kind of overkill, like severe overkill. The police
> broke down the door to their house across the street from us. And I was like
> sitting there watching it with my dad and his friend who is also Black. It was like
> so public and it was aggressive. It was very aggressive. And like there were kids

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in the household and they were, you know, running away trying to escape the scene and White neighbors were turning them away and things like that. And I was like that is not right. There were kids present and they were very scared. I don't know what crime or whatever happened that caused them to raid the house, but I know that, I've never seen rough handling of anyone White.

As Angela observed the incident, the behaviors by the police presented a new paradigm for her. As Angela stated, "It was very aggressive," there was something different about this interaction between the police and her neighbors. Angela was inclined to center the notion of race as she made sense of the incident, and as a Black woman herself, embodied this incident as it became a part of her experiential memory book. While discussing perceptions of the police, Fatima described an incident in which she was present during an encounter between her father and the police:

> Then, there's my father who's Black. A combination of my father's interactions. Because I've been in the car with my dad when he's been pulled over. And you can tell ... You know when you are with your family, like you know what's going on in their head. And I could tell my dad was super stressed and super anxious. And, I was younger.

As Fatima observed her father interacting with the police, she embodied the stress and anxiety that she perceived during this interaction. As a young person, she associated feelings of fear, stress, and anxiety with interpersonal contact with the police. For Fatima, given the bodily responses that she perceived from her father, visualizing this interaction as a young child worked to make an encounter with the police "an experience" (Smith et. al., 2009). Although the encounter between Fatima's father and the police could be perceived as routine and deracialized, Fatima attributes racialized meaning to the encounter because her social and experiential context substantiates the assertation that the

encounter is racialized (Yancy, 2008). The encounter becomes more than an isolated and

routine interaction because it aligns with other examples within Fatima's social context.

Similarly, Regina shared a childhood experience of visualizing an encounter

between her mother and a police officer. Regina describes how the encounter informed

her understanding of the police, particularly the relationship to Black people in the United

States:

> I remember a specific memory from my childhood. There was this officer named
> Officer Sweeney, who had a motorcycle. And every single time my mom would
> come to a slight rolling stop. Like it wasn't even bad, it wasn't an egregious crime.
> It was a slight rolling stop by the intersection by my neighborhood, he would pull
> her over. It was like a constant thing. And there was one day where my mom just
> went off on him and yelled at him, and she turned back to me in the car and she
> was like, "Don't ever do what I'm doing." But then he just never came back. And,
> when I got my license it was really funny because whenever I'd be with my
> brothers or my friends and I'd see a police officer I'd just like sit back and pretend
> to not make any noise. I'd turn down my music. So my perceptions of police were
> that they were just, they were just out to get Black people.

In this example, encountering the police through a family member communicated an

implicit and explicit message. For Regina, her mother used an experience as an

opportunity to explicitly advise Regina on ways to engage with the police. Based on the

response of Regina's mother, Regina understood the gravity of the encounter. Using

Yancy's (2008) concept as a lens, Regina's mother served as an element of her

"epistemological community" through her mother's explicit directions and Regina's

observation of how she responded to the police officer. Although Regina's mother

instructed Regina to avoid responding in the same way, Regina implicitly took something

from her mother's response to the police officer as well, namely the place of race within

the interactions. Regina shared feelings of empathizing with her mother to the extent that

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she remembered the moment as an older teenager and young adult. Regina went on to

take strategic measures to avoid the police as a driver.

Tricia stated that her observations of the police came through the lenses of fear

and skepticism, sharing:

> I grew up in [urban and suburban contexts]. I had divorced parents and so they lived in different cities most of my life, but with my dad we usually lived in the city. So, I feel like I was around a heavy police presence a lot, and just the discomfort that I felt in places like my school, which was majority Black growing up or in my own neighborhoods which were usually majority Black. I just felt like the police presence was always something like weighing on my soul. Then I often ......growing up I experienced police interactions between my dad and police a lot. So just like the general fear that any child would feel when the police were supposed to be the serious guys that are supposed to focus on the bad guys, I felt that fear a lot growing up. So, I always just related that feeling of fear to the police. I think growing up learning why I felt that way really encouraged me then to become anti-police. I'd only ever seen them in situations where they were arresting my family members or my dad specifically or with the dogs and searching our cars or pulling people over. So I'd only ever seen them do things to people that I was perceiving as negative or acts of aggression..........I've never seen them do the stereotypical stop a bad guy thing in my eyes. So I never really grew up believing that they were that kind of institution.....

Tricia starts by emphasizing the heavy police presence within her community. Tricia's

narrative aligns with perspectives which argue that Black communities within the United

States are overpoliced (e.g. Alexander, 2012). In addition, Tricia is explicit in describing

how she connected fear from her father's encounters with the police to the ways that she

interpreted the police as she grew older. As a child, Tricia internalized discourses which

suggested that the police "focus on the bad guys." However, she struggled with this

narrative because she observed encounters between her father and the police. If the

police, in fact, focus on "bad guys," consistent encounters between the police and Tricia's

father establish implications for her father's positioning. There is a process of

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criminalization that occurs with her father through these experiences, and Tricia

recognizes the racialized undertones of this phenomenon. As Tricia made sense of these

observations, she went on to embody an attitude of "becoming anti-police." Tricia viewed

the police through a set of experiences, which included the over presence of the police

within her community and the elements of her father's encounters with the police.

"They would always, always, always get in the face of the Black students": The

Racialized Frame of Campus Policing

The second overarching theme within this study illustrates participants'

experiences with and interpretations of campus policing at LU, particularly how

racialized experiences operated as a common thread. Among other aims, my

conversations with students were focused on understanding campus policing through the

lens of the student participants. Student participants came to understand, engage,

experience, and perceive campus policing in diverse ways. However, stories of

marginalization and distrust related to experiences with campus policing emerged across

each participants' narrative.

One common thread, like other themes within the study, were the ways that race

framed participants' interpretations of and experiences with campus police at LU.

Furthermore, as I interpreted students' experiences with campus police, it became evident

that notions of race, students' own experiences with the police before college, and the

historical remnants of racialized policing were the "glasses" that students used to observe

and interpret encounters with their campus police agency. However, these experiences

with and interpretations of campus policing are difficult to make sense of without

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acknowledging that the students' experiences existing within a unique social and institutional context at LU. Later in this chapter, I discuss an additional theme, which explores the ways that LU's racial climate situated and informed students' experiences with campus policing. Many of the students' encounters and experiences with their campus police department occurred within overarching moments at the institution. At times, students' experiences and interpretations were inextricably linked to a larger institutional paradigm.

The following sections explore four sub-themes, which surfaced within this overarching theme. These sub-themes include 1) realizing the presence of campus police, 2) stories of racialized experiences with campus police, 3) distrust and lack of confidence, and 4) intersections of marginalization.

Realizing the Presence of Campus Police

As participants described encountering or becoming aware of their campus police agency for the first time, one consideration that emerged were the ways that participants conceptually reconciled the agency's presence. For most of the participants, it became clear to me that as they realized the reality and presence of campus policing at LU, they interpreted the role by associating campus police officers with police departments from their (the participants') local communities. As a result, students' prior socialization around policing (as detailed in the previous theme), proved to instill an element of skepticism.

Tony shared his first experience with campus police, which occurred during his transfer student orientation session. Tony stated:

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I first encountered campus police through the orientation at LU. I know that all educational facilities have officers that are there to protect the public. But, I think personally that when I saw them advocating, saying "We're here for your safety" and things like that, I personally felt like it was kind of sketchy. Like maybe, are they just like the [city] police department? Or, are they more there for the diverse needs of different students and things like that? So for me personally, I had a mostly negative view, but I guess in a way I've tried to give it a chance in a way, to kind of see like, maybe they may be able to help you. But, at the same time, I don't trust them.

As common with most postsecondary institutions in the United States, LU requires that all students attend an orientation session prior to their first semester at the university. Most of the student participants stated that they encountered or first came into knowledge of the campus police department during their orientation sessions. I learned that most of the student participants interpreted the messaging they received on campus policing with a slightly nuanced and critical lens. As captured in Tony's quotation, Tony initially receives the information with skepticism and distrust. However, what is more evident are the references which condition Tony's hesitancy to accept the information. Tony refers to the "[city] police department" which suggests that Tony is inclined to make sense of the campus policing role through his perceptions of the "[city] police department." The perceptions of his city police department are rooted in distrust, but Tony tries to understand the ways that campus police officers might differ from the city police officers.

Regina discussed first encountering campus police officers at orientation along with how she processed the agency's brand and identity. She shared:

I think it was orientation over the summer before coming to college. They just introduced resources and things like that. And I didn't know, I was just was like, okay they're just another police department. I just figured it was just like the [city police departments]. It was just another department. And, I figured it would be just as big, because the campus is big. But my expectation was that they'd probably be less strict than those city departments, just because they're working

with a different population. Like, they were the friendly neighborhood police officers.

Below, Fatima echoes Regina's experience of encountering campus police officers through her freshmen orientation session and embodies a similar perspective of hearing messaging around the notion of "service and protection." However, Fatima subsequently observed practices from campus police officers which shaped different perceptions of their identity and priorities. Fatima explained:

> I think I learned about them through orientation…..They came in and did a really quick, "Oh, this is where we're located. All these blue boxes [emergency phones] around. This is how if you're in distress or in an emergency, you can access any of these. If you need to bring up an investigation, file a police report, we're right here." It was kind of more informational on how they could help us essentially. I lived in [a campus residence hall] my freshman year which was really close to the campus police department's office. So I saw them all the time, and I saw them always heckling people experiencing homelessness around the university. I think that's where I first got to figure out what they were doing. That's all I ever saw them doing was heckling homeless people. I'm from [another city] so there's homeless people in my hometown. I was used to seeing police officers interact with homeless people in that way, but it is just so much more prevalent here [on campus]. I mean, I was just kind of like, "Well, they [the police] are all the same." There's no difference between city police, sheriffs, or university police. I mean like they're all the same.

Fatima's except displays a gap between what she expected from campus police and what she ultimately encountered from them. As captured in the previous theme, Fatima entered college with a sensitivity and skepticism toward the police because of her past experiences and knowledge of the racialized context of American policing. However, Fatima's experiences with the "police" occurred outside of the university context prior to encountering campus police officers. As she encountered campus police officers at her orientation, she engaged with the "service" and "protection" focus of their presentation. Fatima implies that the tone and emphasis of the presentation marked the campus police

department as "different." Yet, after observing behaviors that associated campus police

officers with her prior notions of police behavior, Fatima described her perceptions by

voicing, "There's no difference between city police, sheriffs, or university police. I mean

like they're all the same." Although Fatima's statement extends an element of legitimacy

to the campus policing role (i.e. associating them with municipal police officers), for

Fatima, campus police "being the same" as "city police and sheriffs" symbolizes distrust

and skepticism.

      Making sense through ambiguity. As participants first encountered and learned

of campus police at LU, some participants made sense of their presence through

confusion, surprise, and lack of clarity. Unlike most of the participants in this study,

Wayne learned of campus police by happenstance. As Wayne learned of campus police,

questions emerged about their role, structure, and the extent of their presence at the

university. Wayne recounts his experience by sharing:

> I first applied to a campus job in August of my freshman year with the parking
> department. Their headquarters are the same headquarters as the [campus police
> department]. When I went into the lobby, I saw that [the campus police] office
> was right there. I was like huh, I guess this is where the campus police department
> is. Then seeing that this is their own police force. They don't use [the city police
> department] here. It's just [campus police]. After my first semester and seeing that
> it was only [campus police] officers that were on campus at all times, not [city
> police officers], then I figured this is who they are. I was confused! I was like
> okay, are they going to be all students? Are they going to be like police officers
> that graduated from the police academy, doing a contract thing where they can
> start off as campus police, then they move towards a different police department?
> I was wondering why was there a separate police department? Why wouldn't they
> just use [the city police department]? I thought that they were just going to act just
> like [the city police department], but with more sensitivity towards campus related
> issues or campus related things.

Wayne showed a particular interest in understanding LU's campus police department.

Like other participants, Wayne associated LU's campus police with the local city police

department while establishing a distinction due to the university context. To some extent,

Wayne embodies a perspective that some participants in the study voiced about the ways

that the social nuances of the university environment influenced what they expected from

campus police officers. For example, in Regina's previous quotation, she stated, "my

expectation was that they'd probably be less strict than those city departments, just

because they're working with a different population. Like, they were the friendly

neighborhood police officers." Although participants came to form expectations of

campus police officers based on their own racialized experiences, encountering campus

police officers as college students extended a "benefit of the doubt" to them, as the

participants lacked full clarity of their roles. Furthermore, as Wayne expected campus

police officers to practice with "more sensitivity towards campus related issues or

campus related things," for other participants, expecting campus police officers to be

more sensitive to the university environment symbolized a new paradigm for

understanding the police. Consider this excerpt from David:

> Since going into college, my perception was still the same; you can't trust the
> police. They're not there to support you. So knowing there was a [campus police
> department], I didn't know how I should feel about that. I'm like, "Okay. So
> they're affiliated with the university. They're trying to keep the students safe and
> protect the community around it." So I'm like, "Okay. Since I'm in college and I'm
> away from home, I should at least have a say in how I personally feel about it." I
> just received this information from my family and friends and whatnot.

Like Wayne, David was surprised to learn that a campus police department existed at LU.

David was inclined to draw from the messages that he received from his family regarding

distrust of the police. Yet, there is a "benefit of the doubt" extended to campus police officers given their association with the university.

Lena voiced a desire to know more about the services of LU's campus police department. She spoke of feeling uninformed and lacking clarity:

> I just felt like nothing as a freshman was told to me about campus police. I mean, it would be nice, if the general student body knew about it, like what they [campus police] did and how they could help, and where they could be at, like they could be at events and things like that. But I mean, for me just with those previous interactions with police officers, and then coming into a campus where it's predominantly White, I just feel like that wouldn't have mattered to me at all, I could care less. At the same time, I'd probably be afraid more.

At first, Lena's excerpt appears to be paradoxical, but it provides deeper insight into her sense making process. Lena expressed a desire to learn more about campus policing at LU. However, she acknowledged that learning more could have emotional implications (ex. I'd probably be afraid more). Because Lena felt uninformed about the practices of campus policing, Lena utilized her "natural attitude" (Yancy, 2008; Moran, 2000) of distrust and skepticism to make sense of what the campus police department represented. Lena's "natural attitude" regarding campus policing is informed by her social identities, past experiences with the police, and the ways that these social factors intersect.

Stories of Racialized Encounters With Campus Policing

Participants within this study provided unique and diverse insight into what it meant to experience campus policing as a Black college student. Although participants' direct personal encounters provided more of a pronounced glimpse into this phenomenon, participants also experienced campus policing through vicarious encounters, campus programming, student employment experiences, and campus communication outlets (i.e.

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emails, campus alerts, videos, etc.). As discussed, participants entered LU with distinctive perceptions of the police which were informed by their past racialized experiences and socialization. As the lens of race and experience served to operationalize how students reconciled the presence of a campus police department at LU, students came to interpret their own interpersonal and structural encounters with campus policing through a similar lens.

As previously mentioned, many of the students' encounters and experiences with campus policing occurred within overarching moments or involvement spaces at the institution. For example, several participants provided stories of encounters with campus police officers, which occurred within the same institutional space or moment (i.e. an event, employment experience, student group, or communication outlet). Although each participant's story is unique, together, these stories illustrate the interconnectedness of how Black undergraduate students experience the phenomenon of campus policing within a particular institutional context. In addition, I argue that participants' encounters with campus policing, or how participants interpret their encounters, must be contextualized by their past experiences with the police (prior to entering college). For many participants, their racialized encounters with campus policing were a continuation of racialized experiences with the broader structure of policing.

Hypervisibility. While discussing his experiences with campus police officers at LU, Michael asserted that, "They [campus police] would always, always, always get in the face of the Black students in my dorm whenever they were called for incidents. But, there were multiple times where they would let White students off the hook!"

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Hypervisibility can emerge in the experiences of Black students at PWIs through various

institutional spaces (e.g. Smith et al., 2016; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007). Consistent

with this argument, Michael's brief excerpt captures one brief interpretation of the ways

that hypervisibility emerged for Black students during encounters with campus police

officers at LU.

For several participants in this study, encounters with campus police at LU

occurred during unexpected moments. Tricia described an experience of passing a

campus police officer while walking on campus. Although the campus police officer did

not verbally engage with Tricia, the police officer's body language engendered feelings

of hypervisibility:

> I worked at the debate camp over the most recent summer [for middle school
> students]. I remember there was a big group of us. We were all leaving out of a
> building. So you know, I remember there was a campus police car that was
> driving through that part of campus. I was trailing behind the group, so I was
> making sure all the kids were ahead of me. And out of everyone that had literally
> walked past it [the campus police car], and it was a debate camp, debate camps
> are generally expensive, so there were a majority of White kids all walking past
> this police car, and it was driving a normal speed, and as soon as it was coming to
> pass me, it slowed down. And the police officer rolled down the window and just
> glared at me and drove by super slowly and didn't break eye contact the entire
> time. I just kind of looked around like, "Did anyone just see that happen?" I felt
> like nobody really did, but I was just like, "Okay. That wasn't a great experience
> to have."

As Tricia recounts her experience, it becomes apparent to me that the hypervisibility of

being Black within this instance implanted shock and fear of the unknown. Prior

research, as noted in the previous chapters, has documented the manifestations of

racialized microaggressions experienced by students of color at postsecondary

institutions (Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso et al., 2009). However, when microaggressions

are perpetuated by campus police officers, particularly behaviors of hyper surveillance,

Tricia's story shows how these interactions exacerbate the bodily implications of existing as a Black college student. Yancy (2008) discussed the "confiscation of the Black body," through the "White gaze" which manifests itself through experiences of hypervisibility as Black people are viewed a dangerous, suspicious, and worthy of hyper surveillance. Yancy argued that Whiteness frames the Black body through a set of presuppositions which perceives it as prone to incivility and danger. He further noted, "Whites see the Black body through the medium of historically structured forms of "knowledge" that regard it as an object of suspicion" (pg. 3). Tricia goes on to express how she interpreted the encounter with the campus police officer:

> I think it was pretty obvious what was going on since I was Black and it was kind of late. I think I was actually in this hoodie [the hoodie being worn during the interview]. Since I was also kind of trailing behind the group, I think the officer just assumed I wasn't with the group and even though the group was still close to me, it would be unreasonable for me to commit a crime or something in front of this huge group of 100 people. I feel like out of everyone there, the officer felt like because I was Black and because I was in a hoodie and trailing behind. If anyone in the group is gonna be the threat, it was gonna be me. So I definitely felt like, after it happened, I was like, "That definitely had to have been related to me being Black," because I was only walking. There was nothing else I could have possibly been doing.

Tricia interprets race as the construct that informs the police officer's "gaze" (Yancy, 2008) and micro-aggressive behavior. For Tricia, being Black within the predominately White camp group made her presence more visible. The police officer's "gaze" not only communicated a sense of suspicion toward Tricia, the "gaze" also implicated and positioned Tricia as an outsider at LU. As White students passed the police officer, they were viewed as normal to the community. Tricia's presence embodied a form of "difference" which appeared to disrupt the police officer's picture of the community. As a result, the police officer's gaze pushed Tricia to the margins of that particular

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institutional space. Tricia also placed emphasis on her "hoodie" as she interpreted the

encounter. The "hoodie" which has become a symbolic reference drawing attention

toward state sanctioned incidents of violence against Black bodies, served as an

additional reference point as Tricia made sense of the police officer's "gaze." Although

Tricia's identity as a Black woman was the paradigmatic reference that drew the police

officer's attention, the hoodie adds a layer which intersects to situate Tricia on the

margins of the community. As I will display later in this chapter, other factors such as

gender, religious identity, institutional positionality, and other intersections of

marginalization can work to influence how students within this study encountered

campus policing.

      Invisibility. While Tricia shared an experience of feeling hyper visible during an

encounter with a campus police officer, other participants shared stories of feeling

invisible while encountering police officers at LU. Through my interviews, I learned that

several participants were employed as student employees within various university

offices at LU, which required that they engage with campus police officers. Consider the

following stories from three participants. Each story provides a unique and

interconnected glimpse at the experience of invisibility. First, Angela talked about her

experiences as a student employee at LU. In several instances, Angela contacted campus

police to address incidents related to student behavior and health:

> I had to call them [campus police] a couple of times for either student related
> incidents or alcohol poisoning related incidents. And with the incidents, I always
> hated calling them because it just seemed like they were going to brush me off
> and I don't know if that had anything to do with me being Black. But they always
> just seemed pretty dismissive when you're working with them……They were just
> always……like we weren't present. It was like we weren't there. They didn't want

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to, address us. However, I remember there was one incident where I was with [another student colleague] who presents very strongly as a White man. And he, was very easily able to talk to the police. But, then I remember another incident where I was with [another Black woman] and getting the police officers' attention was very difficult. So that kind of reinforced the question of "are we here?" Can you look at us for two seconds so we can tell you what happened? They would ask us some questions, but it was like once they showed up, it was just kind of very much like, "all right, please leave." It just seemed like if you needed to ask a question, you were more easily able to get your foot into the door of getting a response from campus police if you were not a Black woman.

Similarly, Lena echoed an experience within the same student employment context:

For my job, if a student is passed out in the bathroom or not responding, I have to call campus police. When they show up, it's a very nice interaction between them and the student. I did not expect that at all, just 'cause like the students are not in their best state to be performing, and they obviously aren't feeling well at all. [Campus police] handled it really well, had good conversations with them. I don't know what their protocol is, but I feel like they followed protocol to the tee, and it was just a really well interaction with them. But then with me, there is minimal interaction with me. I mean, I'm not sure if it was because of my racial background or anything, but it was just like a couple of sentences from [campus police] and that was it. But I feel like more times when they're interacting with my peers, other student workers, I feel like there's maybe more interaction with them, like more conversation, background conversation. Or just making sure that everything goes well. But I feel like those encounters are different with me.

In addition, Fatima shared a similar experience to that of Angela and Lena:

In my student job as an RA, student medical transports are the most common interaction I have with campus police. And most of the time, it's very uncomfortable for me because I am usually assumed to be a friend of the person who's passed out………I'm never assumed to be in a official position even if I'm wearing a university polo, hoodie, my badge. They're like, "Oh, are you with her?" I'm like "No, I found her. I work here." And I think my position is frequently questioned. But this most recent time I was with a White man, and he was immediately credited being an RA and that kind of made me upset. Whereas when I'm working with someone who has a more privileged identity, it's usually a pretty cut and dry situation……..I had one at the beginning of this year with a White female [student colleague], and they [campus police] took her word for everything. I was just so mad. Why can't they listen to me like they listen to her?

Like hypervisibility, invisibility also places Black students on the margins of the

university. Together, the stories of Tricia, Angela, Lena, and Fatima illustrate that Black

college students can be caught between two elements of existence (i.e. hypervisibility and invisibility) through their experiences with campus policing. With the stories of Angela and Lena, neutral perspectives might analyze the police officer's behavior as normal. If the police are called to address an incident, it would be wise to focus on the incident rather than socially conversing with others. When considering an alternative perspective, because microaggressions are subtle, it can be common to question the motives behind the behavior. For example, Angela stated, "I don't know if that had anything to do with me being Black." However, Angela and Lena rightfully perceive these interactions through a lens of marginalization because they notice that the campus police officers engage with them differently than their White student peers. There is something about Angela and Lena's existence that renders them invisible or easy to dismiss during these moments. What is more evident is that Angela, Lena, and Fatima are rendered invisible as they position themselves as allies to the police (i.e. reporting an incident to campus police officers). Perhaps, their positioning as allies presents itself as "unnatural" to the paradigmatic positioning of Blackness, particularly as it relates to the campus police officers.

Invisibility also occurred during attempts to report crimes. Like other participants, Michael encountered campus police officers through his student employment at LU. Michael shared an experience of helping student peers report a bias motivated crime to campus police. Although Michael is supporting and advocating for other students, his experience echoes the thread of invisibility with campus police officers:

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So my spring semester sophomore year, we had a hate crime incident in my hall. And with that, we wanted to submit a police report because someone burned a swastika into a table. And [the perpetrator] knew that we had multiple members within that same community that self-identified as Jewish people. When the campus police officer showed up, it was myself, another man of color, and a White woman in the room. And we were telling the officer, this isn't right. We just want to report it. We're not asking you to arrest the student, but mark it down. This should be a statistic. This should be added to a representation of [LU] and the city. And the officer kept saying, "No, we can't do it. We refuse to do it. It's an unnecessary hassle because these things happen all over campus and all over the state. And if we were to write it down every single time it happened, there would be endless numbers and hours of paperwork to do and blah, blah, blah." I guess this is what the police are good for at this university. …… then we had a chief or a lieutenant [of the campus police department] come and tell us the officer was in the wrong and was doing things that he shouldn't have. So that was just like very discouraging because I don't know if…….it was an identity thing at the time. Or, if it was just the identities in the room.

Michael's interpretation suggests that his own identity played a role in the campus police

officer's refusal to officially document and investigate the incident. When asked to

expound on the comment of "the identities in the room," Michael further elaborated by

stating:

I think we probably would've been heard or at least talked to differently. I understand if that's a policy, that's a policy. But the officer still felt very blunt. His tone felt like, "It is what it is. There's nothing we can do." There was no concern. There was no empathy, but I wouldn't say empathy because I'm not going to ask an officer for empathy. But there was no concern or understanding that this was a hate crime. A hate crime done in our building. This officer didn't care at all. To him it was just paperwork. So maybe the message would've been heard a little differently had our identities been a little different. But it was disgusting to see someone just be like, "Yeah, okay. Thanks for telling us, but I'm really not going to do anything."

Michael's narrative displays the experience of a participant seeking assistance, namely

reporting a crime, from campus police. Although Michael was not the direct target of the

crime, Michael's identity was central to the police encounter because he served as a

conduit between the victims and the campus police officer. Michael attributes the campus

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police officer's apathy toward the incident to his [Michael's] racial identity and the other

identities of the people in the room. When interpreting the situation, Holmes and Smith

(2008) provide perspective by arguing that tension between people of color and the police

can be understood through the perception that police departments do not respond

promptly and effectively to crimes reported by people of color, particularly in urban

contexts. Although this perspective applies to police outside of the university context, it

does resemble what Michael experienced within his encounter. For Holmes and Smith,

their argument connects to the idea that police attempt to be strategic regarding which

crimes they respond to in order to ensure that proper resources are available for more

serious crimes. Using this perspective as a lens, a counter interpretation, to that of

Michael's interpretation, might conclude that time, resources, and capital may have

limited the police officer's ability to document and investigate the incident. However,

notions of invisibility emerge in several aspects of Michael's story, which contextualize

Michael's interpretation of the incident. The invisibly within Michael's story is layered.

On one end, the campus police officer silenced and dismissed the experiences of the

victims (students who self-identified as Jewish). Although it is possible that the identities

of the victims alone rendered the incident as dismissible, Michael interprets that his racial

identity exacerbates the apathy of the police officer. In this instance, deciding which

crimes deserve attention depends on the social capital of the reporter and/or the victim.

The campus police officer, who operates as an institutional agent for the students, and

therefore can extend social capital, ultimately removes social capital from Michael (e.g.

Stanton-Salazar, 2011). Therefore, by lacking social capital, Michael is unable to effectively support and serve as a conduit for his student peers.

Embodying observations. Like the student orientation experiences discussed in earlier sections of this theme, Fatima discussed encountering campus police officers during a student training presentation. As captured in Fatima's last quotation, Fatima worked as a student employee at LU, which provided her with unique access to campus police officers. Fatima described her experience by sharing:

> Our very first training that we had with campus police, they showed up full vest, completely strapped [with weapons], and they're just like standing in front of a classroom hands on their belts looking at everyone, and the students in the training were relatively diverse, and I just kind of like, "This is not how you should show up in these spaces." I was really upset, and I had a lot to say back to the advisory board. Like that wasn't acceptable. That made me uncomfortable, and I'm a Black woman. Like what about the Black men in the community who had to be a part of this? We don't know how it impacted them necessarily, but I felt uncomfortable, so I knew that other people had to have felt uncomfortable. I personally, once I saw them all strapped, acting all cute and professional, whatever they want to think they are, I was just upset with them. I didn't really care about the presentation. But they told us what to call them for and all that, and I was just like, yeah, whatever. I don't care. I really don't care.

Fatima is interpreting the training presentation through a particular lens. As previously noted, it is difficult to interpret how participants' encounter and interpret campus policing, without considering how students' own racialized experiences condition their sense making process. When an individual has an experience with something of significance, encountering remnants of that experience engenders a reflective process (e.g. Smith at el., 2009). Fatima's story captures an example of this reflective process and how experiential reflections influence future engagement. What appears, on the surface, to be an innocuous presentation space between campus police officers and students, takes on complex meaning for Fatima. For Fatima, the campus police officers' mere presence,

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and the ways in which the campus police officers present themselves, triggers feelings of discomfort. Fatima interprets the police officers' presence to be dismissive of the racially diverse context of the student group. In addition, Fatima's interpretation of the presentation space can be understood within historical and racialized contexts. For example, Fatima more clearly connects her vivid response to the presentation with her racial and gender identities as she stated, "That made me uncomfortable, and I'm a Black woman." What is less explicit, are the historical and past experiential contexts that situate Fatima's interpretation of the presentation. According to Fatima, the police officers' body language and dress caused feelings of discomfort rather than what they verbalized. Observing police officers "strapped" with "hands on their belts looking at everyone" made it difficult for Fatima to engage with the content of the presentation. To place Fatima's interpretation within historical context means to acknowledge the racialized intersections, namely that of historical police violence, which the police officers' mere presence symbolized for Fatima.

Regina also discussed experiences of watching and interacting with campus police officers. Regina's stories depict how she came to form an experiential interpretation of campus policing and the ways that experience influences how Regina envisions future encounters with campus policing:

> While working in my campus job, there was one incident with students who were just being noncompliant. So I had to call the campus police. And with that, I told the officer what happened. And he came up, and this guy, he was well known that year, just for being the cop who would come every single weekend. But he was there. And he's just known for being aggressive. And so he knocked on the door at first. Nobody answered. They were still partying, making noise. So he did this thing while he held the door with his arm and he kicked the door, like several times, to make it a lot louder. And then they finally opened the door. He walked

in, and then he just went off. Like screaming, swearing, yelling, like insulting these kids. And I was just standing in the hall.

Earlier, Regina shared an experience where she emphasized this notion of campus police officers being "aggressive" during interactions with students. As captured within an earlier quotation, Regina, like other participants, worked closely with LU's campus police through a student job. Although the incidents and behaviors that Regina observed were not directed toward her personally, the police officers' demeanor caused Regina to reflect on what it would mean to interact with them as a Black woman. Regina went on to share a more detailed story where she observed campus police officers interacting with a Black student peer:

> Also, I had an interaction a few nights ago, and this time it was with a Black woman who was in need of medical attention. I watched most of it happen. And they were very kind, they were gentle. There weren't any aggressive cops. And she was passed out, but then she ended up waking up. And as soon as they started strapping her up I had to walk away. 'Cause something about seeing a Black woman lying on the thing and ... I don't know if they thought…..And you know, of course I think it's for her safety so she doesn't fall out. But it also looked just like, just disgusting to watch her be tied up and ... I don't know. It just looked like something ... I didn't like the vision, so I walked away from that. And I was like, "I actually don't want to be further involved with this." And so I just stayed up on the floor, and everybody else went down with the police.

There is something particular about the interaction between the Black women and campus police officers that makes it difficult for Regina to observe the encounter. On the surface, the encounter appears raceless, genderless, neutral, and "normal" according to what we might expect during an interaction of this nature. Regina even credits the behaviors of the police officers by stating "there weren't any aggressive cops" and by describing campus police officers as "gentle" within this encounter. Conversely, Regina uses very vivid words such as "disgusting" to describe her interpretation of the encounter.

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Regina further elaborated on what influenced her racialized interpretation of the

encounter, which displays a deeper sense of what is beneath the surface. Regina

continued by offering:

> And I remember when they were strapping her up, they were asking her
> questions. And of course, she's very drunk, and she'd just woken up. And she
> wasn't answering them correctly. And so to get what they wanted of her, they just
> raised their voices. And they'd be like, "Can you ..." They'd repeat the question
> but it would be louder and more forceful. And she still wouldn't get it right, and
> then they were just like "okay whatever, she's a lost cause". But yeah, I had to
> step away from that. For some reason, it's like ... It's a lot easier for me to watch
> when a White person is getting taken away or being yelled at or interrogated by
> campus police. But if it's someone that I can identify with in one way, it's like I
> can't, I can't watch that. I can't imagine what their interactions would be with me
> if I was in that position. I, being a Black woman, would not want anyone to call
> campus police for anything for me.

What is relevant about Regina's sense making is that she identifies with the Black

woman. While identifying with the Black woman, Regina also appears to draw upon the

"aggressive" attributes that she associates with campus police officers. In a previous

quotation, Regina shared, "If you need to call the campus police, some of them are very

dangerous and aggressive." For Regina, perhaps, it is easier to observe campus police

officers interact with White people, rather than with Black women, because Regina has

not internalized depictions of violence between White people and the police. It is easier

because there is an assumed "safeness" or "benefit of the doubt" that undergirds

interactions between the police and White bodies. Because Regina has been socialized,

and experienced, within a world of racialized policing, she visualizes the encounter

between the Black woman and the campus police officers through the lens of that world.

Regina describing the encounter as "disgusting" is less about what is on the surface. It

symbolizes the potential implications or the "what if "of the encounter between the

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campus police officers and the Black woman. Regina begins to visualize herself as the person she is observing and concludes from her reflection that, "I, being a Black woman, would not want anyone to call campus police for anything for me." The notion of "what if" is powerful enough for Regina to lose faith in campus police officers as a potential resource. Furthermore, this quote by Regina illustrates a theme explored later in this chapter, which captures the ways that participants described the role of campus policing in facilitating safety for them, as Black students, within the university context.

Institutional moments. Several students also experienced campus policing through what I refer to as "institutional moments." These moments, which operated as experiences, took shape as students encountered campus policing beyond one-to-one or interpersonal encounters. One example of an institutional moment took shape as several participants referenced their experiences with a high-profile campus event, which involved multiple police agencies including LU's campus police department. The social context of the event, which celebrated the culture and history of Somalian students at the university, prompted several participants to emphasize the interplay between the police and notions of marginalization. Although the moment occurred within a particular institutional space, the ways that participants provided reflections indicated that community members felt the ramifications of the incident across the university. This was evidenced by the incident's portrayal in LU's campus newspaper, which made known the polarizing nature of the institutional moment. In addition, as I conversed with research gatekeepers and other institutional agents at LU regarding this research, this particular

"moment" appeared to emerge within people's purview of LU's campus police department.

Wayne was present at the event. Although more than one participant provided an account of this particular moment, Wayne provided the most detailed interpretation and reflection. He began by sharing:

> There was a small fight that broke out last year during a student group event. It was quickly disbanded. Police were called. All kinds of police were called. The students released a press release in the [campus] newspaper and it showed all the police departments that came. It was a complete over reaction to what had happened. There were transit police officers, city police officers, campus police officers, police officers from suburban cities, and police on horseback.

In this section of Wayne's quotation, the concept of "over policing" is salient in Wayne's interpretation of the moment, which aligns with scholarly arguments on the over policed context of raced spaces (Alexander, 2012). Wayne emphasizes the large police presence and suggests that the heavy presence of police officers, beyond that of campus police officers, exacerbates the problem. Lena, who shared this particular institutional moment as an example of an experience with campus policing, also emphasized the heavy presence of police officers at the event. She was also explicit in conveying the ways that race informed the response from campus police:

> There was the [Somali student event]. I wasn't there for the whole thing, as soon as I saw cops I think that was my cue to go. Just 'cause I had somewhere else to be later that night, and so I was like, "I need to make sure I'm setting my priorities right here." That interaction did not end well while at the event. I just know that there was something that happened and campus police had less of a presence in it. But there was like police departments from all over there. I feel like there was no reason for them to be there. Campus police caused more trouble than they did helping students. And I just felt like in that situation, had the roles been flipped and it was like predominantly White students at an event, it would have been a totally different situation. I do feel that it does play a huge role in what race you are and what background you come from.

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Wayne further elaborates on the ways that police engaged with students and other

attendees at the event. In addition, the excerpt reveals the ways that Wayne makes sense

of the heavy police presence:

> People were maced by the police just because they were trying to go in and get
> their stuff. A lot of people were prevented from going back in the building to get
> their stuff and were told to come back tomorrow. There were keys and wallets,
> belongings that were left inside so people were obviously stranded. Kids were
> traumatized. People were pushed and shoved and more people were maced. This
> was an overreaction to a small fight that happened. Thankfully me and my sister
> were not right there when it happened. We saw the commotion happen. We were
> watching. We could've easily been right there to not just witness, but experience
> what the police were doing right there. This was during another campus event as
> well. I knew that there were parties that were going on in other areas of campus. I
> know my friends have told me that people were definitely using narcotics, hard
> drugs, and underage drinking is very regular in other areas of campus. So
> obviously, the police officers could've easily taken care of those situations over
> there, but chose to come and over react to a small incident that happened where
> families and students and people from out of state are present. Even performers
> from other countries came to this event. It was like a family night and to react so
> viciously.

As mentioned in earlier sections, Wayne self-identifies as Somali, and his Somali identity

was a salient consideration in how Wayne's parents processed police encounters during

his teenage years. For Wayne, this incident is personal and real through his self-

identification with the social context of the event. Although Wayne did not experience

the physical implications of the police encounter (i.e. being maced and shoved), it is

plausible to interpret that Wayne experiences the emotional toll of the incident through

his familiarity and solidity with the participants. The manner in which Wayne describes

the event, particularly the focus on the "people" and the "kids" suggests that Wayne

understands what the event meant for those in attendance, and how the aggressive police

tactics worked to disrupt the event. As Wayne reflects on the encounter between police

officers and members of the community, his reflections reveal more about the racialized

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implications of the police involvement. Wayne provides additional perspective on his

interpretation of the heavy police presence by stating:

> Having a big presence like that is intimidation. It's a form of negative crowd
> control. I feel like that's just a way to bully people out of the situation and show
> that the police are in power of the situation, not you. It's out of line. I think it's out
> of line.

Wayne believes that the actions of the police were purposeful, rather than reactionary or

necessary. Wayne further details the specific racialized influences that undergird the

incident and the broader campus community:

> If this was a different demographic, there definitely would've been a different
> reaction [from the police]. Not to mention, obviously there are fights that happen
> all the time. On the other side of campus, happening in other areas and police
> officers that are cruising obviously seeing [alcohol] bottles in the hands of people.
> But they see a group of Somali Muslims, not even a group, but a whole
> community. Most of the state's Somali community is converging in one area for
> family night. This is not a coincidence. The way they [the police] reacted was
> definitely not a coincidence. This was the perfect timing for a perfect situation for
> them to flex their muscles.

One thread that is consistent in Wayne's story is the notion of "differential treatment."

Wayne references "other areas of campus" and suggests that campus police officers

devote less attention to these areas despite the presence of crime there. Wayne interprets

that the heavy police response to the campus event and the lack of response to "other

areas of the campus" is racialized and operates as an effort to marginalize certain

communities at the university. As mentioned, I learned that LU's student newspaper

featured this particular institutional moment as a news story. The newspaper article

revealed that there were multiple interpretations of the incident. Some of the

interpretations appeared to silence the lived experiences of students such as Wayne,

which provided evidence of the social climate which situated the students' experiences at

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the event. Another unique analytical aspect of this institutional moment were the ways

that participants rested the responsibility within the purview of campus police. For

example, Michael referenced the incident by sharing, "Then there's the Somali [event]

incident. There's not a lot they [campus police] can do to recover from that." However, as

referenced by Wayne and Lena, the event included other police departments, which

suggests that the students were not compartmentalizing police activity at LU. Although

the extent of the campus police department's involvement in the incident is unknown,

Wayne and Michael's perspectives show that responsibility was extended to campus

police when an incident involving "the police" took place on campus.

Student participants also experienced campus policing "institutionally" through

LU's campus crime alert system. In the second chapter, I explored the *The Jeanne Clery

Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act of 1998*, which is

colloquially known as the "*Clery Act*" within American higher education (Fisher et al.,

2002). To recap, the *Clery Act* provides students with openness regarding the extent of

crime at postsecondary institutions in the United States. Among other requirements, the

act requires that institutions, such as LU, provide timely warnings of reported crimes

which may pose a threat to campus communities. The alerts serve as a mechanism for

protecting campuses from threats of violence (Kiss, 2013). To accomplish these aims, the

alerts include information such as the location of the crime, details of the events, and

information describing the physical characteristics of the potential perpetrator(s).

Several participants interpreted the facilitation of the campus crime alerts at LU to

be racialized, particularly the "physical characteristic" aspect of the alerts. Participants

also voiced that the racialized nature of the crime alerts caused them to feel marginalized as students. As participants discussed campus crime alerts at LU, many focused on what they perceived as "bias" in the reporting of crime alerts and the hypervisibility that the alerts brought for Black people on campus. For example, Lena shared:

> I see those alerts quite often, and I've talked about it to people. There was one time I think in the spring semester, there was an incident that happened. I think there's times where it's very bias. Whenever those reports come out, the first thing you look for is a Black student, that's what everybody is thinking. And then there's times where it's like, Oh, a White male and then people are just shocked for some reason. I just don't understand it 'cause it's like it could be anybody, our campus is full of lots of people. I've talked with friends about like how often the description of the person is Black, but when it says White on there everybody is shocked. That to me is really interesting.

Participants, such as Lena, shared interpretations of timely warning alerts which aligned with existing literature. As discussed, existing research indicates that timely warnings, as mandated by the *Clery Act*, can have unintended consequences for students of color. The alerts can also be experienced differently by students of color, as descriptions of potential perpetrators' racial identities can cause students of color to feel hyper visible. Furthermore, alerts can contribute to fear, alarm, and racialized perceptions of people of color (e.g. Hernandez, 2013; Pelfrey et al., 2018). Lena's quotation captures these empirical assertions. For Lena, the crime alerts are racialized because there is an expectation from others around her that a Black person will be described as the "criminal." Lena's comment that "I've talked with friends about like how often the description of the person is Black, but when it says White on there everybody is shocked" is an example of Lena encountering a majoritarian story (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). In this instance, the majoritarian story establishes a normalcy about Black people as

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suspects within the crime alerts. Because Black people are so often depicted in the crime alerts, people only become "shocked" when a White person is described as the perpetrator of the crime. This assumes and attaches an innocence to the positioning of Whiteness and perpetuates a stereotypical narrative regarding the criminality of Black bodies.

Although participants acknowledged the racialized undertones of expecting certain racial attributes within the crime alerts, participants emphasized the frequency of crime alerts that depicted Blacks as suspects. As student participants reflected on the frequency of these raced descriptions, they were skeptical of the LU campus police department's reporting practices. As captured in Lena's last quotation that, "I think there's times where it's very bias," participants believed that racial bias against Black people informed the facilitation of the crime alerts. For example, consider this exchange with Fatima:

> Fatima: I wish campus police were impartial and not judging when they see a situation. I don't know if you get the campus updates, the random, um, I don't know what they're called, but the little emails you get?
>
> Kegan: The public safety alerts?
>
> Fatima: Yeah, the public safety alerts. It would be nice to know more about all the actual issues that are happening on campus. Not just the Black Somali men who are being reported because that's all we get. Those are the only public safety alerts we get are issues involving them. And I know that there's more happening on campus. It's not just that. But those are the only ones we hear about because they're viewed as a threat [to campus police].

In this exchange, Fatima asserts that campus police at LU are selective about which crimes are published through the alerts. Despite the crime alerts being presented as a resource, Fatima problematizes the alerts through the lens of her racialized experience.

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She does not accept that the extent to which "Black Somali men" are depicted in the crime alerts, accurately portrays the extent of serious incidents of crime at LU. Fatima believes that "there's more happening on campus" which demonstrates her interpretation that information regarding certain crimes are being withheld, particularly if the descriptions do not align with a particular suspect narrative (i.e. Black Somali men). Fatima's comment that "they're viewed as a threat" frames her interpretation of what it means to be within a raced body, particularly as it connects to the campus policing.

Michael's excerpt further demonstrates a thematic interpretation held by participants within this study, which revealed that LU's campus crime alerts were published in a racially bias manner. However, Michael's brief excerpt also showed the ways that campus crime alerts influenced campus climate dynamics at LU:

> So, they do the timely warnings. This is something else that they [campus police] need to report fairly and accurately because there was that situation last spring semester. There was that little leak that it hadn't been reported correctly. And that there was a very racial bias towards which incidences were being reported. The warnings are reported much more frequently if it was a person of color or specifically a Somali person doing the crime.

Similarly, Michael shared the perception that campus crime alerts were bias and unfairly published, specifically targeting incidents in which the alleged perpetrator was described as a "person of color" or "Somali." One interpretation could challenge the veracity of Michael's view that the crime alerts are "reported much more frequently if it was a person of color." However, further examination reveals that Michael's interpretation was informed by an actual moment of experiencing the crime alerts in a racialized way. Michael's comment that, "there was that little leak that it hadn't been reported correctly" referred to a reporting error by LU's campus police department. After looking into

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Michael's reference further, I learned that one year prior, LU's campus police department published a picture description of a Black man through the campus crime alert system, alleging that the person had been the perpetrator of a violent crime near the campus. Shortly after publishing the crime alert, LU's campus police department published a second message renouncing the picture of the alleged "Black male suspect" stating that the picture of the person had been published in error. An incident of this nature displays the disposability of Blackness. Despite the recanting of the picture, the juggling of the Black person's image sent an apathetic message to Michael. It causes Michael to question the creditability of the crime alerts, particularly crime alerts that include descriptions of Black people as the perpetrators.

Racialized Distrust and Lack of Confidence

Feelings of distrust, lack of faith, and disengagement emerged for participants as they encountered racialized experiences with campus policing at LU. Participants came to interpret the existence of a campus police department through a racialized lens, and for most participants, these racialized interpretations were reinforced through their own experiences. As discussed in the previous chapters, a growing sphere of literature has interrogated the perceptions that college students hold regarding campus police agencies (Patten et al., 2016; Jacobson, 2015; Wilson & Wilson, 2015). The stories displayed within the subtheme of "racialized distrust and lack of confidence" reveal the perceptions held about campus policing and draw attention to the racialized experiences that work to shape these perceptions. Wayne described his feelings on "trust" as it related to his perceptions of campus policing at LU:

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I can say that trust, at least within my communities at LU, is very low for campus police. There are other incidents that other people have gone through with campus police, so I would tell others not to trust them. I wouldn't put my 100% trust in them. I say only call them or interact with them if you need to. If you don't need to, then don't. It could be a situation where ... It's not the desired outcome that you wanted, or they are just being complacent. Or the wrong thing can happen and they would over react or they would do the wrong thing. Or, they could even intimidate you. That's definitely a possibility. I'd say treat them as you would a regular police department, with the exception that you're probably going to see them a lot more because they are on your campus.

Wayne reveals the influence of experience on notions of trust and confidence. Wayne

directly connects the experiences of others within his community to the ways that he

expresses trust in campus policing. Because of these experiences, and the subsequent loss

of faith which results, campus police at LU are seen as a last resort for Wayne. It could be

argued that most people, regardless of race, hope to avoid encounters with the police.

However, Wayne's avoidance of campus police, as he indicated, is directly shaped by

experiences of marginalization within his community. Wayne's comment also provides a

glimpse into his reflective process, which reveals a "weighing of the options" as Wayne

considers the potential outcomes of calling campus police for support. Wayne's comment

that, "the wrong thing can happen and they would over react or they would do the wrong

thing. Or, they could even intimidate you" suggests that the distrust of campus police

extends into his thoughts about receiving support and service. In each scenario, Wayne

envisions outcomes that either marginalize him, place him within a vulnerable position,

or fail to provide him with adequate support. Similarly, Tony highlights these thoughts as

he considers the potential outcomes of Black students encountering campus police at LU:

I think the biggest fear that I have, really, is African brothers and sisters, that are specifically international students. We know that in America, if you're Black, you're Black, but it could be a situation where an international student might have

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a difficult time with something on campus and they get very frustrated. My hope is that they [campus police] won't see them as threatening, or won't see their presence as a threat, like "oh this is Black person," because it's not that simple.

Tony expresses doubt regarding potential interactions between international students from Africa and campus police officers. In Tony's comment, he sheds light on the complexities and intersections of raced identity and the international student experience. For international students who present as "Black," but lack an understanding of the social dynamics of policing within the United States, Tony's interprets the possibilities of these encounters through an embodiment of fear. These excerpts also show the questions that students such as Wayne and Tony consider before calling the police or coaching someone within their communities to interact with campus police. Both quotations intersect with another theme, explored later in this chapter, which reveal the ways that racialized experiences with campus policing shaped participants' conceptions of safety and service.

Avoiding campus police. Fatima also demonstrated the influence of experience and racialized sense making on feelings of confidence. When thinking about her expectations of campus police at LU, Fatima shared:

I think I don't really expect a whole lot out of them [campus police] because they're obviously not doing that much help in the community, so I don't know why they would come and help us. I've thought about this for a while. Just don't…….If you can avoid them at all costs, just avoid them. Not necessarily that they're here to….. they're not really here to help you.

Similarly, Fatima continues this thought of distrust and asserts that campus police at LU should be avoided. As noted earlier within this chapter, during Fatima's recount of her first-time encountering campus police officers at her orientation session, she shared, "It was kind of more informational on how they could help us essentially." When

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considering the role of campus policing, Fatima further reveals that she receives and experiences the purpose of campus policing differently than the information she received during her first encounter with them. Like Wayne, Fatima displays a sense of distrust and skepticism that is rooted within embodied perceptions of the effectiveness of campus policing at LU (ex. they're obviously not doing that much help in the community).

Michael highlights his perspectives on avoidance, the roles of campus police officers, and the potential ways that Black students must navigate campus police at LU:

> I believe they [campus police] shouldn't really be seen unless there's emergencies or crime, in the first place. That's the whole thought. Campus police are there in case something bad happens. So ideally, nothing bad happens and they don't have to be around. Students shouldn't be worried or having to feel that they've got to avoid them [campus police] walking to and from class, which I know isn't the case for a lot of students at this university. But it is the case for some of us [Black students], right?

Michael's thoughts show a particular conceptual engagement with campus policing. Michael draws attention to the tension that exists between the multiple roles that campus police officers facilitate. Existing research suggests that campus police officers wear multiple hats at colleges and universities (Bordner & Peterson, 1983; Patten et al., 2016). However, Michael's quotation shows how different people, through experience, come to conceptualize what those roles should be. As it relates to this subtheme, Michael's perceptions are less about his knowledge of the multiple roles of campus police officers, but rather what informs his perspectives on the extent of those roles. Michael views the role of campus policing strictly as reactionary, as Michael commented "They shouldn't really be seen unless there's emergencies or crime, in the first place……..So ideally, nothing bad happens and they don't have to be around." This perspective connects to

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other participants who voiced the notion of viewing campus police as a "last resort" or

necessary only within dire circumstances. Furthermore, as it relates to this subtheme,

Michael sheds light on his rationale for conceptualizing campus policing through a

reactionary paradigm. For Michael, there are consequences for Black students as they

encounter campus police officers, and seeing more of them, particularly as "students [are]

walking to and from class" is a cause for concern. Michael highlights that there are

different considerations that Black students must reconcile at LU when thinking about

encountering or avoiding campus police officers.

Although participants displayed feelings of distrust and sought to avoid campus

police based on their experiences, Regina rejected calls to eliminate campus police at LU.

When thinking about the context of policing at LU, Regina acknowledged that while

campus police presented problematic implications for Black students, removing them

would potentially bring about a more racialized policing context:

> I think I am mostly anti campus police. But, I think that if the campus police
> department were to be removed from LU, I don't think that would be great
> because then I think the [city police department] would have to take over the
> campus area. So I do believe that there should be a campus police department. I
> don't like the system or the establishment of police departments in the first place.
> But I've heard a lot of talk about people saying, "We need to abolish the campus
> police, like get rid of it." That's never going to happen. If it were to happen, I
> don't think that would be an effective strategy to curbing the violence that
> happens to Black people ... Or the endangerment that Black students feel on this
> campus. 'Cause I think it would get worse with the [city] police department.

Regina problematizes the broader context of policing within the United States, which

includes campus policing. Yet, she credits LU's campus police agency as a better option

when considering alternative policing options. In this instance, although Regina shares a

critical interpretation of campus policing, she has an even more distrustful view of the

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city police department which surrounds LU's campus. Regina further elaborates on the experiences that inform her interpretation:

> I wouldn't say there's any positives, really, to the campus police department being here. In my personal life, jobs aside, they have served nothing of value. I've seen them target people. They do this thing where they have this partnership with the city police, especially in the student neighborhood areas. And the city police are like a whole 'nother animal, in regard to police. Like I have seen them ... apart from the campus police, I have had experiences with the city police. I don't support that department, don't like them. So when the campus police and city police get together …everything just becomes like absolutely haywire.

Regina's thought that the city police department would present more of a problem for Black students is shaped by her experiences, rather than conjecture. There is something about her experiences with the city police that positions campus police as a "lesser of two evils." The ways that Regina experiences this "policing partnership" on LU's campus are relevant. Regina's knowledge of the partnership between LU's campus police department and the local city police is supported by federal statistics on "mutual aid agreements" as noted in the second chapter. The BJS (2015) reported that more than half of campus police agencies serving large 4-year institutions in the United States have mutual aid agreements (MAA) with surrounding local police departments. Through MAAs, municipal police agencies assist campus police officers with enforcement and investigative efforts. Regina's narrative captures a glimpse into the ways that the practical implications of an MAA are interpreted. For Regina, she experiences and interprets the broader paradigm of policing through a racialized lens, but she can distinguish between the experiences of encountering campus police versus the city police. Although Regina experiences both agencies through experiences of marginalization, the practical implications of the MAA present a convergence of paradigms for Regina.

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Unlike other participants who experienced the police as "the police" or as a unified

institution, Regina recognizes an intersectional context of policing which

compartmentalizes the paradigms (ex. It would get worse with the [city] police

department), but she interprets a compounding effect of the two agencies working

together (ex. So when the campus police and city police get together …everything just

becomes like absolutely haywire).

        Policing with weapons. Distrust of campus police extended into how one

participant, Lena, viewed campus police officers' possession of weapons on university

grounds. As Lena reflected on campus policing during her time at LU, the potential for

violence caused Lena to think about the notion of weapons:

> I signed a referendum actually a couple weeks ago stating that police officers
> should not carry weapons while on campus. I think that should be the top thing to
> think about. Campus police are interacting with adults, but the age range on
> campus is different ... Cause we've got high school students taking classes here
> too, you got like 16 year olds to like 23, 24, mid 20s. Those young adults and
> teens, I just do not think they should be in the same area with weapons, and that's
> where I would see them a lot. It's very hard [for campus police] to not be bias.
> But I feel like you won't have as much trouble if you are a White person. If a
> White male was to call or contact the campus police, I feel like they wouldn't
> have as terrible of an experience if the roles were flipped. If it was like a man of
> color with a White police officer, those interactions would be totally different, and
> that's because of the racial roles that they present. I know you can't just get rid of
> all the White police officers, but more diversity might help, just cause you want to
> serve as many people as possible. And then definitely not carrying any weapons.

Lena's focus on campus police officers and their possession of weapons is inextricably

linked to a fear of violence. Initially, Lena does not explicitly racialize her thoughts on

campus policing and firearms, as she first cites "young adults and teens" as the main

consideration when thinking about de-arming campus police officers at LU. However,

she goes on to invigorate the idea of "bias" and the consequences of White police officers

encountering people of color. As racism and bias might emerge within these encounters,

Lena fears that firearms could exacerbate certain racialized outcomes. Although Lena

appears to believe in disarming campus police officers, regardless of their race, less

diversity on the campus police department at LU engenders a sense of urgency for this

belief. Lena's emphasis on weapons connects to existing research examining perceptions

on the arming of campus police officers. For example, as noted in the second chapter, one

study explored the extent to which the public supported arming campus police officers

(Hummer et al., 1998). Lena's perspectives provide a glimpse into the ways that lack of

support for arming campus police officers is informed by racialized sense making.

Intersections of Marginalization and Policing Structures

Existing literature and theories of race demonstrate that the complexities of

marginalization can be experienced through multiple social identities or institutional

elements (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Critical race theory draws attention to theories of

intersectionality, which help contextualize and frame the ways that racism intersects with

other forms of oppression (Crenshaw, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). This study draws

upon CRT as a theoretical tool to analytically center race while explicitly exploring

intersections of marginalization. In addition, the pernicious extent of racism cannot be

fully understood without a consideration of the ways that other forms of oppression

converge with racism to shape an experience. This final subtheme displays the ways that

student participants experienced and interpreted campus policing through a convergence

of marginalization and institutional structures. About half of the participants discussed

how intersections related to gender, religion, sexuality, ability/disability, and ethnicity informed their experiences and sense making process with campus policing at LU.

Fatima's narrative demonstrated the first glimpse into the ways in which intersections of marginalization shaped an experiential interpretation of campus policing. Fatima, who self-identifies as a multi-racial Black woman, thought about the ways that her gender and ability statuses intersected with the construct of race:

> I think mental illness issues are really important. I think that as someone who struggles with my mental health, if I was to a point where I was borderline suicidal, I feel like campus police wouldn't take me as seriously. Simply because of the angry Black female trope or the idea that Black women are strong. But, I think that my mental illness might not be taken as seriously as a White student's or an international student's. There was a mental health crisis two weeks ago in my residence hall, and it was a White student. It was dealt with very thoroughly, and I would be really interested to see what it would look like if it was a Black student with mental illness. Because I personally don't think they take Black mental illness as serious as they should.

In this excerpt, Fatima is reflecting on her racial and gender identities, and how these identities would come together to affect the extent of service she would receive during a mental health crisis. With "mental illness" operating as a marginalizing social identity for Fatima, the experience of being a "Black woman" instills doubt about the support she might receive for mental health related concerns. In this case, Fatima is not compartmentalizing her social identities as "Black" and "a women" and "a person with a mental illness." Rather, these identities are interconnected to shape how Fatima makes sense of structural support from campus police. During the exchange, Fatima further elaborated on the intersections of race and gender identity:

> Kegan: So to clarify, you think they [campus police] might question the seriousness of your mental illness? Can you talk a little bit more about that?

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Fatima: Yeah, for sure. Same with sexual assault. I feel like the Jezebel trope that Black women are just overly sexual and more sexual and erotic just from the get go. I think that would be interesting to see how sexual assault…I mean obviously I know from my experience, but for other people to see how sexual assault is handled from a White man's perspective assuming the campus police are White men.

Fatima recalls a classic majoritarian story about Black women in the United States (e.g. Patton & Ward, 2016). Interpreting Fatima's perspective on sexual assault is difficult to interpret without a consideration of the ways that racism and sexism work in concert to shape to her experience. As shown in previous chapters, the threat and prevalence of sexual assault on college campuses persists as a phenomenon that is disproportionately experienced by people with marginalized gender identities (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, 2010; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2014). However, the "Jezebel trope" adds an element to Fatima's reflections which help illustrate the unique experiences for Black women (e.g. Washington, 2001). For Fatima, receiving service from campus police officers for mental health and sexual assault crises means considering the ways that the convergence of her identities might engender different responses when compared to other women. In this instance, the identities of race, gender, and ability are inextricably connected, not compartmentalized, to inform Fatima's experiential interpretations of campus policing at LU.

For Angela, the intersections of gender and race presented ambiguous interpretive paradigms. Angela discussed the interplay between her race and gender as she reflected on a past encounter with campus police officers. Previously, Angela had detailed an experience of feeling dismissed, or invisible, when interacting with campus police

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officers at LU. The following quotation is a continuation of Angela's sense making of that experience:

> Being a woman probably impacted things. I don't think I've once actually interacted with a woman campus police officer. They were always men and so I think that definitely might've also had more of an impact than my race on that front just because I think that can sometimes be a stronger thing where my identity as a woman sometimes is almost even more, I don't know, targeted than my identity as like a Black individual. And I don't know in one specific situation, but since it was always like, men police officers and there was the instance with me another Black woman. We were both women, and I guess I couldn't really tell like what was the larger piece there, if it was us being Black or if it was us being women or if it was the combination of the two. Because you know, there was one other student worker who was a man but he was also a White man. So it's like I'm juxtaposing two sets of identities there.

Like microaggressions, where the targeted individual might question the interpersonal context of the encounter, Angela's narrative illustrates that intersections can give rise to similar feelings during experiences of marginalization with campus police. Angela struggled to pinpoint what influenced her invisibility with campus police officers, but she considers the interaction between her racial and gender identities (i.e. or if it was the combination of the two). Regina also discussed the intersection of gender and race, but she shared a slightly nuanced perspective through her reflection. Regina's quotation displays the ways that racialized social spaces influence the reflective process:

> I think being a woman, I don't think it really impacts much. It doesn't make much of a difference, to be honest. And that might just be me, but I don't have a fear of campus police because I'm a woman. I think I just have fear because I'm Black. And it's something that I have learned, or talked about in one of my classes. Where a lot of the people who are White women in my class will fear the police because they are women. And so I just wonder, why don't I have that connection with other women, the way that I do with being Black? And in my head, I justify it as like, "oh, these people just want a reason to be oppressed. They just want people to feel bad for them." Which is terrible to think, because you know, all women are subjects of terrible violence and abuse in this country. But for some reason I just can't connect on that level. But I can connect on being Black. 'Cause

I think that it's gotten to the point where Black people are just in danger. And the police perpetuate that. I think it makes it all the more difficult to be Black. Like if I was just a White woman, I'd be like, "Yeah, there might be issues, but I'm still White." But being Black ...

Like Fatima, Regina is reflecting on experiences and conceptions of campus policing through multiple marginalized social identities, namely gender and race. However, unlike other participants, Regina appears to consider an experiential distinction between race and gender as she reflects on her engagement with campus policing, offering that "I don't have a fear of campus police because I'm a woman. I think I just have fear because I'm Black." In this quotation, Regina is naming what is central to her fear of campus police, rather than a denunciation of the ways that gender might shape an encounter with the police. Although Regina centers race within her reflection, Regina's propensity to isolate the experiential nuances of gender away from race is influenced by how she is thinking about "women" within her reflection. In Regina's quotation, "women" appear to be conceptualized as "White women." Regina points to the ways that race truncates her ability to find solidarity with White women in her classroom space who also experience the threat of institutionalized violence. The complexities of race serve as a barrier to Regina engaging with White women who share a gendered experience. The ways that Regina is thinking about race and gender, as it relates to experiences with campus policing, draws connections to the origins of intersectionality as an analytical tool. Crenshaw (1991) presented the concept of "intersectionality" as a challenge to the ways that women of color were left out of mainstream feminist discourses and policies. As Regina considers both gender and racialized oppressive paradigms in relation to campus police, the complexities of her experiences are not fully engaged in predominately White

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spaces such as her classroom. She acknowledges, like Crenshaw (1991/1995), that violence is a universal phenomenon for people with marginalized gender identities. But, also like Crenshaw's analysis, Regina's reflection demonstrates not only a reflective process that includes a consideration of both gender and racial paradigms, but also how space and discourse can lack consideration for these intersectional experiences.

Lena discussed the role that religious identity played in her interpretations of policing at LU, specifically pointing to its salience. As noted earlier within this chapter, some participants were socialized to consider policing through their religious and ethnic identities. For example, Wayne shared, "with my other two identity's being Somalian and being Muslim, I was told by my family that when it comes to police, do anything that they tell you to do so you can get out of the situation alive." For the two participants who pointed to the influence of religious identity, Muslim identity emerged as the religious identity marker within moments or considerations of marginalization with campus policing. For example, Lena discussed how her Muslim identity converged with her gender and race, including the ways that she believed it informed encounters with the police:

> I tend to wear a lot of gear with my last name on it. My name is a common Muslim name, and that triggers concern a lot. And then just the way I look, I'm wearing a head scarf, I'm a Black Muslim woman, and that is also just kind of stressful for everybody. It depends on certain areas of on campus, that's when the interactions with police and people can become really trivial. You start to realize that like, oh, "I'm at a predominantly White institution, and I see that." There's students who get targeted by campus police, just 'cause of their race and religious background or stuff like that.

Lena's recount of her experience illustrates the hypervisibility that she feels as a "Black Muslim women" on LU's campus. Lena names that she is a "Black Muslim woman"

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rather than discussing the impact of these identities in isolation. Although each identity alone (i.e. Black, Muslim, or Woman) experiences structural marginalization, Lena experiences and makes sense of these identities as a "compound" as it relates to the social context of campus policing at LU. When considering hypervisibility, these feelings emerged for other participants with this study. However, Lena's identities trigger a compounding hypervisibility effect. As Lena stated, "I'm wearing a head scarf, I'm a Black Muslim woman," Lena interprets that campus police officers and others at her university are viewing her identities through a majoritarian natural attitude (Yancy, 2008). This "natural attitude" forms majoritarian stories about what Lena's identities symbolize. When interpreting Lena's reflective process through the lens of intersectionality, the structural nuances of islamophobia, sexism, and antiBlack racism condition each other to situate the ways that Lena makes sense of her experiences.

Structural intersectionality. Participants also discussed the ways that intersections of marginalization presented structural implications for their positioning and interactions with campus policing. Tricia made sense of her engagement, specifically receiving service, with campus police through her sexuality. To recap, Tricia previously shared an experience of being followed and surveilled by a campus police officer at LU:

> I feel like my other identities didn't necessarily play a role in the individual
> encounters with campus police just because visibly the only identity that he [the
> campus police officer] could see were Black and woman. But what does make me
> hesitant to engage with campus police or to reach out to them for anything would
> be things like if it had something to do with my sexuality, just because I know
> that this university can promote itself as being very accepting and very
> progressive and things like that, but I do know a lot of queer Black women who
> have also said that they don't feel safe on this campus and wouldn't call campus
> police. Their experiences as upperclassmen, too, and having more time on this
> campus discourages me from reaching out to campus police in an incident of a

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hate crime or something that would relate to my sexuality or my class status, for example. So I feel like it's more so since I belong to so many disenfranchised groups, it's just the more I think about how each of those identities could get me hurt by a campus police officer, the more I don't turn to them for support or want to turn to them for support or aid.

From an interpretive standpoint, Tricia believes that the salience of her race and gender positions her as hyper visible with campus police officers, rather than other social identities which she believes are not as salient to other people. Tricia does not reference her other identities, beyond that of race and gender, as factors which explicitly influence encounters with campus police. Yet, Tricia does interpret that her other identities place her on the margins as it relates to support from campus police.

In earlier sections of this chapter, one participant, Regina, voiced an experience which aligned with the concept of "structural intersectionality" (Crenshaw, 1995). Structural intersectionality symbolizes the ways that various structural forces converge or become inaccessible to form an experience of oppression for people. For Tricia, the convergence of her sexuality and race rendered support from campus police inaccessible because she interprets the structural context of campus policing as hostile to "queer Black women." Through the lens of structural intersectionality, we see that Tricia experiences marginalization from various angles of LU's campus police department. On one end, Tricia felt profiled and surveilled during an encounter with a campus police officer. In addition, Tricia does not feel safe contacting campus police as a "queer Black women" based on considerations of institutional climate.

Aspects of structural intersectionality were also present as Tony thought about his own identities within LU's university context. Tony described the ways that his

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developmental disability, sexuality, and race influenced his engagement with LU's

campus police and notions of safety:

> I actually have Asperger's Syndrome, which is a branch of high functioning autism. Now a lot of people say, "What? You have autism. No, you don't have autism." Or even people from the Black community saying, "what are you talking about?" Things like that. And I'm like, well it's interesting because a lot of people don't know that autism is a very big spectrum. That there are people that are on the higher end, such as myself, who able to function normally. Mine is a lot more minor. And because of the support that I have gotten I've been able to handle different episodes of Asperger's or whatever it may be. I know this is very personal to share, but I also identify as queer or gay and, I ask myself, how does this all affect me with campus police? Now being already a Black male and then on top of that having autism or high functioning autism and then on top of that, being gay, that personally can be a triple whammy effect....

There is a paradoxical invisibility and visibility that Tony experiences with other people.

People make assumptions about what it means to identify with autism, which silences

Tony's experience with Asperger's. As it relates to encounters with campus police, Tony

implies that police officers may perceive him in similar ways, questioning the veracity of

his disability. However, if police officers were to dismiss the reality of Tony's experience

with Asperger's, Tony is concerned about the consequences. Tony embodies an

intersectional experience because he considers the ways that his race and sexuality would

influence perceptions of his emergence during police encounters as a person with

Asperger's. Tony utilized the phrase, "a triple whammy effect" to convey the experiential

embodiment of living as Black gay man with Asperger's.

"If I was in any type of position of danger, I would never want them to call campus

police": Conceptions of Safety and Protection

The third overarching theme details conceptions of safety, protection, and support

for Black students. This overarching theme represents the interpretations that participants

shared illustrating their experiences with and conceptions of the role of campus policing in serving as a protective resource. These reflections also conveyed how students thought about what it meant to be "safe" as a Black student on LU's campus. As this study explored the racialized influence of sense making, this included understanding the ways that Black students within this study utilized or would utilize campus police from a service perspective. Scholarship reinforces the notion that the main purpose of campus policing rest on securing university environments. As such, exploring the relationship between campus policing and college students also includes analyzing the factors that inform students' decisions to utilize campus policing as a resource. The stories and reflections within this overarching theme provide a small and idiographic glimpse into the ways that Black college students interpret the police as a resource within moments of victimization and thoughts regarding protection on campus.

In the second chapter, I reviewed literature on college victimization in the United States, and the related historical and political discourses. It is unmistakable that the landscape of crime and victimization strikes concern into many people who are connected to postsecondary institutions. As existing research suggests that college students encounter victimization on college campuses (e.g. Fisher & Sloan, 2013; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005), a few of the stories captured within this overarching theme provide a idiograhic description into participants' experiences with victimization at LU, and how students reconciled campus police as a mechanism of support during these moments. Other students discussed how the racialized context of policing, and their own experiences with campus policing, would influence their decisions to seek support. Like

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the previous themes, students viewed campus policing through a lens of racialized distrust.

Tricia's reflections encapsulate this overarching theme, as it illustrates how one student conceptualizes safety through the lens of marginalization, and the process by which the student reconciles campus policing as a protective resource. Tricia discussed the messages she received about campus policing and safety during her first-year orientation session. As she began to experience LU's campus environment, she reveals her reflective process:

> I feel like they do a really good job of trying to paint a picture of the campus being really safe. So they really harped on the campus police department and the idea of being able to have a cop walk you home or having those stations where you can click the button and call a cop right away. The way that they always frame those discussions is funny to me because they really do frame them as like, "This is safe. This is gonna make sure that you are really safe on campus." I just feel like those aren't ways that I would personally feel safe on campus, but I definitely noticed it and talked to some other Black students about how they really focus on the police being protectors on campus. I didn't feel like I was ever gonna call and have a cop walk me home. I feel like I had already have 18 years of not wanting anything to do with the cops and campus police wouldn't really change that.

Here, Tricia is discussing the intentionality of messaging as it pertained to safety and policing at LU. In this excerpt, Tricia highlights how definitions and perspectives of safety are projected on to students. Instead of considering how certain students might reconcile and make sense of safety resources, students are told what it means to establish personal safety on LU's campus. While there are safety resources offered by LU's campus police department, Tricia struggles to engage with them as she reflects on the implications of utilizing these resources through the lenses of race and gender. Tricia

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elaborates on why she struggles with "the idea of being able to have a cop walk you

home":

> As I had said earlier with the way that they kind of framed campus police as being
> resources for students, once I came on campus and when I lived in a residence
> hall and had classes, walking alone was really nerve wracking at night. Again, I
> didn't' really have that many friends so I would usually walk alone, which people
> definitely advised against. But I did walk alone at night, and there were many
> times where I felt anxious. The first time it happened, I felt like using the campus
> police. I felt like my gut instinct was to say, "Oh, I should start walking with a
> campus police officer," or something like that. Then I really thought about it, and
> I was like ... I notice all the campus police officers were White and most of them
> were men. So I was like, "Do I really feel any safer having a White male police
> officer walk me home than walking alone?" The threat levels were pretty even to
> me, which kind of made me really disappointed. I was like ... I feel like I'm
> already disadvantaged here in terms of safety.

Tricia is reluctant to embrace the idea of campus police officers as safety resources;

however, Tricia does experience moments of vulnerability and fear victimization as a

college student. As such, Tricia experiences structural marginalization because she has a

need (i.e. protection while walking alone at night), but Tricia perceives the resources,

which are designed to engage the need, to be inaccessible. As Tricia weighs the options

of walking home with a campus police officer, race and gender positions Tricia's past

experiences with the police as a lens. With both options, whether walking alone or

walking with a campus police officer, there is a fear of the unknown which perceptually

exists with both options. If Tricia walks alone at night, she is vulnerable and subject to

environmental threats. If Tricia walks with a police officer, thoughts of racialized and

gendered police violence ignite possibilities which make Tricia disinclined to contact

campus police. Tony shared a similar perspective by noting:

> I personally believe as a Black male student here at the university, if I were to
> seek help from an officer for any purpose, it could be maybe something happens,

will I be shot and killed for different things? I mean, will I be brutalized? Will I be arrested? Not because I did anything wrong per say, nothing at all, but more so because of the current political climate that we are living in. I mean I fear for my life a great deal when I'm around police officers. I mean I'm a good person, I don't do anything wrong, I respect the law, I abide by the law, but you never know the officer's intentions. They'll find the smallest things as a way to just pull out their gun, shoot you and nothing will happen. That's really what it is. I haven't had any experiences when it comes to the police or being brutalized. However, I have known people that have been through this kind of traumatic experience, being brutalized for no good reason, being profiled for no good reason.

Tony certainly displayed an element of embodiment through his reflections because he envisioned and questioned the possibilities of being a victim of police violence, if he were to utilize campus police officers as a resource. For Tony, he references the experiences of others to help make sense of his positioning with law enforcement. To some extent, Tony internalized knowledge of violent policing incidents because he shared similar racial identities with the victims of "this kind of traumatic experience." This makes Tony's questions of "Will I be shot and killed for different things?" or "Will I be brutalized?" more real and the possibilities for violence more tangible for Tony. It informs his positioning and "way of being" (Ngo, 2017).

Moments of Victimization

Student participants also shared experiences of victimization which occurred while attending LU. However, after experiencing these moments, one participant intentionally avoided reporting the incident to LU's campus police department. Lena expressed an experience of being the target of a bias motivated incident. Lena began by explaining:

I was coming back from a get together. It was about 1:00 AM. I was walking through campus, walking back to my dorm last year. I was encountered by five White boys, and it was just very, it was weird. They were taking up the entire

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sidewalk and I was trying to get just by, and so I walk in between the middle of them, 'cause they're taking up both sides, I'm thinking, where do I walk? One of them stops and looks at me, another one tries to hit me with a stick, and I'm just like, "Whoa." He tried to hit me. Another one responds to me, and is just like, "Why you taking up the whole sidewalk?" Or like, "Why are you walking down the middle of the side? You got a side." And, I responded like any other person responded, I was like, "Well, you guys are in the middle. You're like taking up the whole sidewalk, it's not your sidewalk either. I can almost walk wherever I would like to." And then three of them walk away, and then two stay, and they just started calling me racial slurs. I had my hoodie that has my last name, which is [a common name associated with Islam], and they started to call me a terrorist, things like that.

Lena experienced an assault which was explicitly racialized, gendered, and rooted in Islamophobia. Given the identity-based root of the incident, Lena further elaborates on how she reconciled the potential involvement of campus police in the incident:

It was a crazy interaction, and I've told some of my friends about the situation, and many of these friends are White. But in their reply they were like, "Why didn't you just call campus police?" A lot of people asked me that question, and I was just like in that situation, I felt like I was better off not calling campus police or 911 at all. Just 'cause it was my word against theirs if anything were to happen. And two, I just feel like with everything, I'm an African American Muslim woman, I'm just not going to make it a bigger deal than it has to be. 'Cause then something could happen with campus police, them not believing me, and in that situation that's where I was like I would rather get beat up by these boys instead of getting hurt by campus police. I feel like in that essence, yeah, they're there to serve and protect but I feel like I would be more worried and more uncomfortable with them [campus police] in my presence.

Here, Lena presents a reflective process which shows the ways that her own gender, race, and religious identity function to shape her perceptions of campus policing. Despite Lena being the victim of an assault, she believes that reporting the incident to campus police officers would backfire and ultimately place her within a more vulnerable circumstance. Lena believes that she, herself, may be criminalized as a result of consulting with campus police officers. As Lena reflects, the police are noticeably positioned alongside the "boys" who perpetrated the incident. Lena does not see the police as a resource toward

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gaining support, protection, and justice as it relates to the incident. Rather, campus police

are conceptualized as a problematic alternative, which might yield similar consequences

to that of the "boys." Lena went to reflect on the racial demographics of LU's campus

police department, which she named as a factor in her decision making. When asked to

reflect on her decision to not involve campus police, Lena explained:

> I definitely feel that racial background, religious background or what not, very heavily impacted it. I've not seen an African American campus officer while on campus at all. Mostly White officers, I've seen a couple Mexican, but it's just I've never seen an African American. I think that speaks a lot, especially because when you're at those events like student government or other events. You kind of like want somebody who's of your background to be helping you out. 'Cause you can't tell if they're there to help or they're there to cause more problems. And in certain situations I feel like campus police have caused more trouble than they did helping students. I do feel that it does play a huge role in what race you are and what background you come from. If you're Black or a Muslim student……I would never like ... similar to the situation I had mentioned earlier. That's a situation that probably most people would have called campus police, but you just have to play it based off the situations and you just have to make sure that you know your surroundings and know who you are with. And whenever you see campus police, never interact with them directly unless it's really needed.

As Lena described this moment of victimization, she is not explicit about what initially

influenced her decision to not involve campus police. Rather, she made meaning of the

potential consequences and implications of involving them. This quotation illustrates the

centricity of marginalization in Lena's decision making, and the racial demographics of

the campus police department are unmistakably referenced as Lena interprets LU's

campus police department. In addition, Lena's marginalized identities, coupled with prior

experiences of marginalization, are informing the ways that she makes sense of campus

policing as a protective resource.

Similarly, Fatima also experienced a moment of victimization on LU's campus.

During our interview, Fatima self-identified as a survivor of sexual assault. Unlike Lena,

however, Fatima reported her experience to campus police. Fatima shared her reflections

and how she processed the reporting experience:

> I think my experiences have definitely deterred me from talking to them [campus police] in emergency situations. ... Last spring semester, I was dealing with a sexual assault, and I was like, "Okay, I'm gonna report this. I'm gonna do the right thing. I'm gonna report this because I have a teeny bit of faith someone will do something. It happened on the university campus, something will happen," right? Something can be done. So I filed a police report with campus police, and they're like, "we can't do anything that's not on campus," even though it's technically on campus because of the zip code, so it's a campus building technically. This all happened before I started working on campus, and I didn't have a ton of faith campus police as a result. And now looking back on it, I'm like, "Yeah, that was a dumb move." I knew they weren't gonna do anything about it. Even though I did go through the hoops, essentially. And I tried. Looking back on that, if that was to happen to me right now, I wouldn't call them... I don't know what I would do because I just don't think ... Nothing would happen.

Fatima experienced a phenomenon that is undeniably prevalent for students from

marginalized gender communities at postsecondary institutions in the United States

(Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, 2010; Bureau of Justice

Statistics, 2014). As federal statistics indicate that college women are less likely to report

incidents of sexual violence to the police (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2014), Fatima's

reflection illustrates the ways that receiving lack of support and apathic responses

condition future reporting experiences. Fatima is clear in connecting her past reporting

experience to her decision to not report to campus police, should a subsequent experience

of victimization occur. Fatima's reflections reveal that she felt dismissed when she

attempted to file a police report. Although Fatima does not explicitly connect her

identities to the reporting experience, Fatima is experiencing the implications of

structural marginalization as it relates to campus police. Fatima is situated on the margins

of the institution because she is left without a protective resource during and following

moments of victimization, as she explained, "I don't know what I would do."

Avoiding Racialized Encounters

Most participants expressed a reluctance to report incidents to campus police out

of a need to protect themselves and others from experiencing racialized episodes.

Michael discussed a situation that occurred through his student employment experience.

While being confronted with a situation, which he believed required the involvement of

campus police officers, Michael reflected on racialized police violence and the potential

of its emergence:

> There was a situation where I had a student, one recurring student who was
> always either high or drunk. He was asked to leave a few times, but he wouldn't.
> This one student then turned into like four or five, six, seven students. And they
> were Somali. Black Somali men. And I remember having to talk with them. I
> pulled them aside and I took my student worker hat off and I was like, you guys,
> you need to leave. I work for the university. The next thing that's going to happen
> is I'm going to call the cops because I had been asking them, pleading them to
> leave. I did not want to call the cops. And I was just stalling, and I told these guys.
> I was like, you need to leave. The cops are going to be here soon. Please just go.
> Because they were bickering at that point. They were arguing amongst
> themselves, but I was like, y'all just got to figure it out and leave. And then they
> finally got to their car and then officers pulled up. So one officer pulled up behind
> them. Another one out front. Then they got out of the car and these dudes started
> walking around in the street. And then the officers were following them. But the
> whole time I was inside looking through the window the whole time, I was
> terrified that one of these kids was going to get shot.

Michael wrestled with the decision of involving campus police to address a sensitive

behavioral issue while also considering the racialized context of the moment. Michael

wants to resolve the situation; but he fears that there may be consequences for involving

campus police. On the surface, one might question and struggle to understand Michael's

propensity to easily associate the emergence of violence with campus police officers. However, Michael shares the experiential factors that induce these thoughts:

> I wondered if it was media, or if it was my own personal fears, or whatever. But I was in a heightened state in that moment. And I also very distinctly remember seeing one of the two or three officers. So I was still on edge and nervous. And I know I had so many conversations with my supervisor after that situation because I felt responsible. When I'm saying I was on edge, being the reporting person, the thought in my head was if one of these guys gets shot, I'm responsible. How am I going to be forced by the university to report on these dudes that I'm really just trying to get them to leave? This is beyond policy. This is where I wanted to step aside and just be like, for your safety, please just go so nothing happens.

Like the previous overarching theme of pre-college socialization, the media and personal experiences are working as agents of socialization as Michael thinks about the implications of calling campus police. Michael is making sense of campus police involvement through the lens of these agents. Michael appears to understand the position of power that he assumes within the situation. He attempts to resolve the issue, while also serving as a protective mechanism for the individuals involved. In this instance, Michael's hesitancy to call campus police is linked to a desire to protect others from the consequences of a racialized police encounter.

Likewise, Angela expressed concerns about the fear of misinterpretation by campus police officers when considering them as a support and protective resource. She also conceptualized the implications for herself. Angela offered:

> I try to 100% of the time always call the campus police in emergencies. But if there was a situation with a Black student and a White student and you know, I always think of like is there a situation where something is going to look compromising and the officer is going to misinterpret it? Because I feel like that happens a lot, whether they misinterpret it accidentally or they deliberately misinterpret it. Because then a lot of the police shootings, it's like misinterpretation is what seems to be like, the underlying factor. Like, "Oh I thought he had a weapon. Oh I thought this. Oh I thought that." And so if it was a

situation where if I had the time to step back and be like, can this be misinterpreted, I might hesitate to call. And that could, you know, if it was a situation where it could be misinterpreted like that can come back to bite me in the butt.……But you know, I was raised on the instinct to call 911 if there's an emergency, but with the recent incidents that instinct has started to shift.

Likewise, Tony shared a similar sentiment as he reflected on campus police as a resource. He echoed the skepticism of other participants about university perspectives on safety and the ways that students were encouraged to utilize resources to enhance their safety at LU:

Through the orientation, I became aware that there are campus police officers that are able to walk students to the train station or be able to walk them to their car that's nearby for safety to ensure that they are safe. Now when I think about that personally, I think that that's a great resource, I think that's wonderful, but at the same time, are there going to be those issues where they're going to brutalize people of color, like myself?

As discussed in previous themes within this chapter, students such as Angela and Tony, have internalized knowledge of police violence. Their quotations show a hesitancy to utilize the resources of LU's campus police department. This is an implication of what they have internalized. Yancy (2008) shared that experience connects to the notion of consciousness, arguing that people are always conscious of something within an experience. In these examples, Tony and Karen are conscious of racialized history, their own experiences with the police, and the potential consequences of the racialized context of the factors. Their perspectives show that calling the police and utilizing resources is more than an inconsequential task. It is a lived experience with emotional and physical elements. Lived experiences, bring with it, moments of reflection and assessment as individuals make sense of their positioning from a structural context. Campus police resources at LU, such as emergency blue phones, 911 call centers, and police response

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practices, are all a part of a structural apparatus. Students, such as Angela and Tony, have positioning within these structures, which they make sense of as they make decisions on engagement with campus policing.

Regina's comments continue the thread of interpreting campus police as a resource. Although Regina had not disclosed an experience of victimization on LU's campus, her comments suggest that she had processed an incident of this nature. She shared:

> I was just thinking about this the other day. And my first thing ... I haven't had the opportunity to tell people this, 'cause I haven't been caught up in a situation. But I would never want someone, if I was in any type of position of danger, I would never want them to call the campus police. I would say figure it out a different way. Like if I'm in danger, there has to be another way. 'Cause even if it's like, just seeing how they treat the students that I've interacted with, I can't imagine what that would look like if I was on the other end. But, I just don't think it's safe. I think I'd be safer if I was in danger if there was a different way to take care of the situation than if I were to actually get the police involved.

Regina is another example of a student who disengages from the idea of using campus police as a protective and supportive resource, as she visualizes herself within a moment of vulnerability. In this quotation, Regina is thinking about a hypothetical experience. It is important to consider that past experiences, as captured in her previous quotes, are emerging as Regina thinks about the experience of being supported by campus police officers. As Regina stated, "just seeing how they treat the students that I've interacted with, I can't imagine what that would look like if I was on the other end," this can be interpreted as Regina using multiple experiential contexts to interpret what an encounter would encompass. Regina does not only draw upon her past experiences with campus policing to interpret, but vicariously draws upon the experience of seeing other students

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receive support. Similar to other participants who shared experiences with victimization, Regina equalizes the danger that she might experience through a moment of victimization to the danger that campus police would present during an encounter.

Unlike the other participants in this study, David conveyed that through his experiences with campus police officers at LU, he had become more comfortable with the possibilities of using them as a resource. However, David continues the theme of observing these encounters through a racialized lens to the extent that David envisions an experience of bias from LU's campus police department:

> I would say four years ago, I probably wouldn't trust them due to what has happened previously. But now, I know more about the campus police, since I work with them. I would say I would feel more comfortable than I was three or four years ago when I was a freshman.

David's comfort with campus police officers comes through his paraprofessional interactions with them. As I analyzed and interpreted David's reflections, I empathized with the experiential narrative that David conveyed in this excerpt. As discussed within my positionality statement in the first chapter, much of my own experiences with campus policing as a college student occurred with a paraprofessional context, which positioned me as an insider. As David conveyed, working and engaging with campus police officers as an insider precipitates an element of comfort because of the "benefit of the doubt" that an insider might be afforded. However, as David went on to convey in the following excerpt, establishing comfort and familiarity as an insider did not erase the experience and implications of living on the margins as a Black person. David further explained by stating:

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I feel like my race would play a factor in it though. Let's just say there's another individual who has something else stolen and let's say mine was more of value and his was not of value. Point blank, campus police probably would look at the White guy's case opposed to my case. Everyone has a preference. Everyone has a preference in teachers. Everyone has a preference in the people they date. Everyone has a preference for the food they eat. Cops are the same. They may have a preference on what cases they like to pursue and what cases they don't want to pursue. And some cops might think some African-Americans are illiterate and not the brightest and whatnot. I feel like campus cops have a negative connotation with African-Americans based off the media. Cops are like "oh yeah, we shoot African-Americans." Those situations might make them dislike African-Americans more. But, for us, when they shoot us, it makes us dislike them more. So, since this has been happening, I feel like due to race, they're going to take the White person's case more seriously, because hey, it's much easier, less problems.

Despite feeling comfortable with campus police officers, race, and the experiential implications of racism, are central to the possibilities that David envisions. David connects racialized police violence as an example illustrating the bias that could overshadow the investigative practices of LU's campus police department.

"I've had those encounters with White people, and I felt like I didn't belong here": The Role of Institutional Climate

The final overarching theme, the role of institutional climate, connects to the structural context that situated participants' experiences with campus policing at LU. In the previous chapters, we learned that institutional climate at colleges and universities, "can be conceptualized as a product of various elements that include the historical, structural, perceptual, and behavioral dimensions of the college environment" (Hurtado, 1994, pg. 22). Consistent with Hurtado's perspective, campus police departments are one "dimension" of a larger institutional paradigm at colleges and universities, and students within this study experienced and interpreted campus policing as such. The "role of institutional climate" displays the ways that LU's institutional climate situated, informed,

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and resembled students' experiences with and interpretations of campus policing. Yosso and colleagues' (2009) perspectives contextualize this overarching theme, as they argued that racism is infused throughout predominately White institutions, and not compartmentalized within one institutional space, organization, or historical moment. Although experiences with campus policing are unique, the participants' experiences across the institution suggested that racialized experiences with campus policing appeared to be a single part of an "institutional maintenance" (Yosso et. al., 2009) of structural marginalization at LU. The narratives within this subtheme show the other institutional dimensions, and how these various dimensions connect to and resemble participants' experiences with campus policing.

Furthermore, as I analyzed the students' narratives and reflections, it became evident that students experienced campus policing as an extension of LU's campus racial climate. As students shared racialized experiences and interpretations of LU's campus police department, some narratives displayed an institutional intersection of racialized experiences, which showed the structural interconnectedness of the university's social context. As students expressed experiences of marginalization within institutional spaces separate from campus police, I argue, that these experiences operate as a backdrop as they interpret and make sense of experiences with campus policing.

Experiencing and Perceiving Institutional Climate

Exploring the institutional climate of LU as a backdrop began with understanding the overarching experience at LU. All the participants within this study shared negative or critical perceptions of the climate at LU. Their experiences with aspects of LU's racial

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climate ranged from factors such as isolation, lack of institutional support, White

centered classroom discourse, micro aggressions, social segregation, and overtly bias

incidents. The narratives displayed within this sub theme align with and reinforce prior

research on the experiences of Black students at PWIs (e.g. Harper, 2013). However, this

study incorporates these narratives not as a means of confirming existing literature, but to

illustrate the structural interconnectedness that participants' interpretations of campus

policing existed within.

Most of the student participants highlighted feelings of racial isolation, which

gave way to feelings of hypervisibility and invisibility, given the predominately White

context of LU. As Fatima shared, "I think specifically for Black students, I don't see as

much of a community simply because there's so few of us here… because none of the

people in my floor or my residence hall were Black" comments of this sort were a distinct

frame for the processing by which students experienced LU. Vanessa shared her

experiences which supported Fatima's assertation regarding isolation:

> Being Black here on this campus, it's different. In high school, I was in a public
> high school so it's very, very diverse. You have the White people, you have the
> Black people, you have the Asian people, it's everybody. You kind of get well
> rounded with just being in a really diverse community. But when I came
> here………you really start to see a lot of times you're in a class and you're one of
> the only Black people in the classroom. It's just different and I feel like for me,
> you have to kind of tell yourself that you're supposed to be here because I feel like
> a lot of times, especially in the beginning I was like, dang, am I even supposed to
> be here!

Vanessa shares how feelings of isolation emerged during her initial campus experiences

in the classroom setting. These experiences led to thoughts and feelings of self-doubt

regarding her academic place at the university. Similarly, Tricia expressed concerns with

isolation, but included micro aggressive experiences that she encountered:

> It's a lot of micro aggressions that we deal with the most, which is like classical to most parts of this area. But I think the biggest thing is just like you walk around campus and you rarely ever see people that look like you. Every once in a while you do because obviously there's Black students here, but I think the numbers are just so clearly low and just simply walking to class and you don't really see any other Black people as you go to class. So I think it can feel kind of isolating sometimes. I know when I spend more of my day outside of my hall and just out on campus, it always feels really comforting to go back home and then see all the other Black girls that I live with. So I think it can just kind of be isolating for most of the time.

Wayne shared a nearly identical perspective on his experiences as a Black student at LU,

discussing the ways that Black students find solidarity and commonality with campus

experiences:

> For me, being Black at LU has it's negative connotations that are attached because this is a predominately White institution, so there isn't really a lot of students that look like me. So, when it comes to seeing a lot of other Black students, we tend to stick together. I understand that whatever struggle that I might have faced, other students may have faced, we'd be able to relate as to why it happened. I feel like there's definitely hostility or ignorance that is facing a lot of us here on campus. I have experienced this from students here on campus with the creation of a White student union, down to the campus refusing to change names for a lot of different campus buildings that are named after people who were very racist and held up structures that continuously perpetrated oppression and racism on this campus. Seeing that there's still structures of racism, structures of discrimination, within LU both socially and professionally, it just goes to show that there's a lot that's facing against us.

It is evident that the predominately White context of LU influences the experiences of

participants such as Vanessa, Wayne, Tricia. Wayne added a particular element in his

reflection, which aligned with definitions of institutional microaggressions. Institutional

microaggressions are slightly nuanced when compared with "interpersonal

microaggressions." Yosso and colleagues (2009) defined institutional microaggressions

as, "racially marginalizing actions and inertia of the university evidenced in structures, practices, and discourses that endorse a campus racial climate hostile to People of Color" (pg. 673). Wayne clearly interprets his experience as a Black student through a more sophisticated understanding of the structural implications of racism. As Wayne references practices, such as the upholding of campus building names, these practices are examples of the ways that institutional microaggressions persist. The notion of institutional microaggressions and isolation also emerged in Tony's thoughts about his experience on LU's campus:

> For Black students here at LU it's not where it should be. And when I say that, what do I mean? It really surprises me, because I don't see fellow, specifically fellow brothers [Black men] in our community that are present within the university. I've seen a few of them. However, the thing that concerns me greatly, is that whenever I walk on campus, like if I'm going from building to building but I don't really see people of our community, the African Americans, specifically traditional African American communities here in America. I feel that the climate is bad. It's not where it needs to be and I really feel that it needs to be a welcoming place. I know we have different people, but I don't see as many Black males as I would like to, you know, brothers of mine in office spaces because these different issues that are impacting Black males, school to prison pipeline, mass incarceration, et cetera.

Below, Michael provides a glimpse into the experiential implications of racial climate for Black students at LU. As Tricia shared that, "it's a lot of micro aggressions that we deal with the most," Michael provided an example of a classroom microaggression. Michael also shared similar perspectives, to that of Tricia and Vanessa, on the feeling of social isolation:

> Now, I would say I truly understand what it means to be at a PWI after coming to the school here. I grew up in a similar context, predominantly White community, I was one of five Black students who graduated out of my class of 500. So this wasn't new, but just being here on campus made it feel different, I've had a few issues with classes and professors. One was an English class I took where she [the

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professor] basically told me that all my opinions were invalid. I'm paraphrasing, but that's kind of how I felt about everything. We were talking about books where people had mixed race identities, which I do, and I was saying, well some of these race issues from the 1920s still happen today. It's still real. And this professor would say, "Oh no. That's wrong." I don't know why you're saying this. Blah, blah, blah." And I was like, "I'm sorry, 65 year old White lady from some southern state, I'm sorry. You really can't tell me that I'm wrong, or try to take away points for that."

Although Michael was accustomed to predominately White educational environments, the context of the college environment presented a new paradigm. Michael experiences a micro-aggressive assault within his classroom setting, as he was silenced and subsequently punished for sharing thoughts from his experiences as a Black student. In addition, Michael's behavior and ways of engaging were being policed by the professor. Michael is attempting to center the reality of race and racism as a contemporary construct. However, because Michael's perspective counters a dominant narrative regarding race, his classroom engagement is stifled and deemed invalid. Michael defined and expanded on his comment of "I truly understand what it means to be at a PWI after coming to the school here" by pointing to pervasion of marginalization throughout various moments of his experience. Regina also pointed to the classroom and other social spaces to illustrate the nature of climate at LU:

It's difficult, of course, not having Black professors. Or sometimes, even in liberal arts classes. And I'm experiencing this in a class right now. But recently, in all these liberal arts classes, there's conversations about race and stuff. And the professors and other students, who are younger, will just expect Black people to speak up and talk about it. And I don't always want to do that…You're just expected to share all the time. And just, we always have to, even if we don't want to.

Earlier in this chapter, we saw Tricia's narrative, which showed hypervisibility emerging during and encounter with a campus police officer. Similar to experiences of

hypervisibility with campus police, Regina shows how Black students are hyper visible within the classroom setting. Regina is drawing attention to a dominant racialized social norm, which suggests that people from communities of color share a monolithic experience, and therefore, should be positioned to serve as spokespersons for their race. Regina went on to describe the social effects of isolation at LU:

> I think, within the Black community, which is small already, there are groupings of people, which happens naturally. But it can be hard for people who are outside of that to infiltrate any of that. 'Cause people are very quick to decide, this is who I'm friends with, and then not allow people to join in that. Also, there's so many ideas of White activities and Black activities or things that Black people do. Something as simple as going to a football game. There aren't Black people at football games, except for the players on the field. Which is just the most alarming thing, but it's seen as a White thing to tailgate or to enjoy the day before a football and go to the football game with your friends. And so it makes it hard. Because if you're a Black student doing that thing you're either with White people, and Black people see you as a coon, or you're alone, and that sucks. Or you just don't get to do those things that you might enjoy, but you can't outwardly express, because it's not generally accepted. The trend has been that Black people don't do certain things.

Regina illustrates how the social context of LU establishes unspoken rules about notions of space for Black students. As Black students find community amongst each other as a mechanism of support, traditionally White spaces are perceived to be implicitly inaccessible or inappropriate for Black students (i.e. football games). Although Black students are not explicitly kept from attending events such as football games, Regina is highlighting the social tension that exists within these university spaces. Because tailgating and football games are not spaces that include a mass of Black students, she struggles to find community within these spaces. Likewise, she interprets pressure within Black student spaces to disassociate from traditionally White spaces as Regina perceived that, "Black people see you as a coon." In this example, Regina feels a sense of

marginalization because she is caught in between the social expectations of a racialized

campus environment. Later in this theme, Regina elaborates on how she interprets

campus policing as an emergent intersection with these racialized social expectations.

Consistent with Regina's experience of hypervisibility, Lena shared a similar

experience as she detailed experiences on LU's campus:

> My experiences have been kind of rough I would say. I've just had like really
> crazy encounters with either peers and students, or even like professors.
> Obviously, with campus police too. But I would say, with like in my role working
> on campus, that's where I have a lot of interaction with campus police. But when
> it comes to, Oh, I'm walking down the street at like midnight or 1:00 AM, that's
> when it just gets like rough ... I've had those encounters with White people, and I
> felt like I didn't belong here.

Although many of the experiences highlighted in the prior quotations are not explicitly

connected to campus police, they help provide a contextual backdrop as to the ways that

marginalization can be interconnected, rather than isolated moments, within the

experiences of students. I argue that these experiences situate and contextualize the ways

that student participants encounter and interpret LU's campus police. In the next

subtheme, I explore how several students made sense of their experiences with LU's

racial climate as an explicit intersection with the structure of campus policing.

Experiencing Climate Through Campus Policing

Although institutional climate includes an intersection of various dimensions of

an institution (Hurtado, 1994), some participants explicitly discussed how campus

policing explicitly shaped climate at LU. As Regina made clear, "I think campus police

affect a lot of things. Like the campus police, just knowing that they're there. There's a lot

of things that White students can do and get away with, that Black students just feel like

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would not be right," these perceptions illustrated how campus police intersected with

experiences and notions of social climate at LU. In previous themes, the narratives of

student participants demonstrated the ways that racialized encounters and interpretations

of campus police resulted in marginalization. While racialized experiences with campus

police provided a concrete glimpse into the salience of marginalization in students'

experiences, this subtheme shows how participants connected campus policing to their

general perceptions of climate, or conceptions of climate as an abstraction.

The presence of campus police. For three participants, the mere presence of

campus police officers at LU provided implications for the ways that they experienced

LU's racial climate. Tricia described her reflections by sharing:

> I feel like the way that they [LU] frame these discussions is as if every student is
> gonna have the same experience or is capable of having the same experience on
> campus without regards to race, sexuality, class………….. The way that the
> police presence ... not even the police as individuals, but simply the police
> presence impacts the ability of students of certain identities to feel like we can
> succeed and feel safe on campus. I think that's a major thing that just isn't ever
> addressed or talked about or really taken into account when [LU] talks about how
> they are so progressive, how they want to make changes…….

For Tricia, the college experience at LU is not constructed for students with marginalized

identities, and by default, posits neutral paradigmatic messaging irrespective of the ways

that social identities influence students' experiences. Here, Tricia expresses that campus

climate is affected and influenced by the presence of campus police. Moreover, Tricia

experiences a lack of engagement and awareness from LU of what "policing" means to

students from marginalized racial communities. Tricia went to talk more explicitly about

some of the practical implications of the police presence on experiences with LU's

climate. The following excerpt from Tricia connects back to an earlier theme, which

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explored conceptions of safety as it related to campus police. When asked to expound on

the ways that "the police presence impacts the ability of students of certain identities to

feel like we can succeed and feel safe on campus," Tricia explained:

> They kind of put a lot of Black students on the defense, like instances that happen where like the wrong Black student gets framed for something or just in the interactions, I've heard other Black students have with the campus police. I feel like they're not capable of making us feel safe on campus.

Fatima also discussed how the presence of campus police impacted students, such as

herself, navigating climate:

> We don't see them [campus police] all the time. Or at least I don't. But, I think they act in a negative way as they're always near the [public transit] area. It seems like they're always trying to start something, but I think that's a negative impact. Just coming to school and seeing a campus police officer is not super exciting, I guess. And it kind of deters you and makes you feel less wanting to go to class. Like if you know that you might have an interaction with a police officer…... They're not everywhere so that's not as big of an issue, but when you do see them, you're just kind of like taken aback and just kind of like okay, how do I navigate this situation? I think that sudden response of fear I think also negatively affects Black students.

Thinking about and navigating racialized spaces takes on an emotional toll. As Fatima

thinks about encountering campus policing at LU, her perceptions of campus police

officers provoke something of significance. This, in turn, causes Fatima to engage in a

mental processing as she traverses through the university setting. This processing

presents a dilemma, and the thought of encountering campus police "makes [her] feel less

wanting to go to class." When considering what Fatima is interpreting, there is an

assumption of hypervisibility within Fatima's interpretation. As a Black woman with

other intersections of marginalization, seeing or encountering the police triggers the

thought of being hyper visible to the police officers. Drawing back to Smith and

colleagues' (2009) notion of "hierarchy of experience," the thought of navigating campus

police officers while going to class is an experience of significance to Fatima, informed

by past engagement with the police. Michael also engaged the connection between

climate and the presence of campus police officers at LU:

> They [campus police] negatively contribute to the experience. Just knowing that police make people of color uncomfortable, period. Just because you're at a [politically] liberal college, doesn't change that, right? Just because [the university mascot] is the face behind your badge, or there's a [university symbol] in the center of your uniform or on your badge, it doesn't change the fact that you're still a police officer.

Although campus police at LU represent the mission, values, and brand of the university,

Michael emphasizes the historical and social complexities that are attached to campus

police officers at LU. For Michael, the university brand and symbolism mean one thing,

but campus police represent a paradoxical symbol. Michael could be interpreting and

experiencing what scholars present as a dilemma for the professional identities of campus

police officers. On one end, campus police are tasked with serving as representatives for

the brand of their institutions. Conversely, and sometimes at odds with the traditional

mission of colleges or universities, are the law enforcement strategies which campus

police agencies must facilitate to achieve their goals (Foster, 1986). Michael is

interpreting through the lens of the historical and experiential remnants of what those law

enforcement strategies have represented. For Michael, this positions campus policing at

odds with the social and political brand of the university.

     Policing the campus. A few participants discussed how they perceived the

influence of campus policing within aspects of the university's social context. For some

participants, there was a perception that campus police officers "policed" and were

implicitly positioned throughout the campus in such a way that altered social and racial

culture at the university. Lena discussed that:

> I never in any situation recommend campus police being at events, 'cause I just
> feel like regardless if it's a Black student or any other student of any background,
> it's just negatively affected. Just 'cause it has different connotations, yeah, they're
> there to protect you, but at the same time they could probably be doing more harm
> than they would protection. I feel like in those situations it would probably be
> negative for Black students more often. For me, I do not know how campus police
> would positively interact with students. Maybe different demographics would
> help, but I'm not sure as to like what situation?

For Lena, there is a perception that campus police officers influence space at campus

events for all students, but especially for Black students. Lena highlights the line between

protection and enforcement which can be problematized within critiques of law

enforcement, as she stated, "yeah, they're there to protect you, but at the same time they

could probably be doing more harm than they would protection." In this quotation, there

is an assumption that the presence of campus police officers, for Black students,

represents more of an enforcement role than that of protection. For Lena, this connects to

what is known as "institutional climate" because the presence of campus police officers,

and what their presence represents, negatively affects how she experiences those spaces.

Regina provided a more expansive reflection of the ways that campus police at

LU connect to institutional climate and social culture. She began by stating:

> I think about events [on campus]. I brought up football games and stuff like that.
> And there are campus police at those things. And, now that I think about it, like it
> makes sense that Black students don't go to football games or basketball games.
> That's an environment where there are lots of drunk students. There's lots of
> bumping and jumping and things like that. And any movement or action or
> something done by a Black person, a) could be seen as like violent or dangerous;
> b) if it's done to or in the vicinity of a White person who feels threatened and then
> they report that, they're going to report it in a way that makes them seen like a

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victim. And then the Black student's going to be at risk for harm from a campus police officer, because something was reported against them.

Regina expresses that she experiences campus events, such as sporting events, as racialized spaces for Black students at LU. The spaces are racialized to the extent that Regina experiences them as predominately White, and a code of behavior is implicitly facilitated across racial lines. Regina perceives that campus police officers are positioned as an implicit enforcement mechanism for these rules. Although campus police officers are responsible for keeping the entire sporting event safe, Regina interprets campus police as a protective mechanism for White students at the events. Therefore, Regina experiences this aspect of institutional climate negatively, as she perceives the space as socially inaccessible for Black students. Regina further elaborated on other aspects of the campus environment where these dynamics were at play:

> I think about making friends or going out or tailgating, things like that. Like man, these White kids, on Frat Row, for example, at 7:00 AM are drinking. Most of them underage, most of them are freshman. And police officers just whizz by in their cars, and nothing happens. But I can't imagine what it would be like if there was a Black frat house just in the middle of Frat Row with tons of Black kids drinking and jumping and listening to music, like loud rap music, just like all the other White frats are doing. I can't imagine what that would look like, if the police were just to drive by. But I would believe that the police would just stop, and they would come and interrogate and would question, search and ID everybody. Whereas all these kids down on Frat Row are just walking by, completely belligerent. There are people in their rooms, in their houses, things going on. There's people doing coke [cocaine] at frat houses now. And none of that really gets questioned.

Some research has suggested that campus police officers are more lenient with the college students they police, compared to police officers within other contexts (e.g. Allen, 2015). Regina makes clear that she interprets this leniency and less than zealous enforcement context in certain areas of LU's campus. However, Regina interprets this

leniency and lack of attention through the frame of race, rather than the college student

identity. Regina makes meaning and reflects through hypothetical possibilities as she

expresses, "I can't imagine what it would be like if there was a Black frat house just in the

middle of Frat Row with tons of Black kids drinking and jumping and listening to music,

like loud rap music." Regina is asserting a comparison between the ways that Black

students might be policed as compared to White students. While not based on an

experience of seeing differential treatment, it is based on an overarching interpretation of

racialized policing at the university.

Chapter V: Discussion & Implications

In summary, this research investigated the experiential intersections between Black undergraduate students and campus policing at a PWI. Critical race methodology (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) and interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith et al., 2009) methodologically guided this research. In addition, three bodies of literature provided a contextual backdrop. As this study aimed to center the racialized experiences of Black undergraduate students, I presented theoretical and philosophical perspectives on race, racial embodiment, anti-Black racism, systematic racism, and examined these social constructs' intersections with relevant social institutions. The historical development, organizational nuances, and social contexts of campus policing contextualized the contemporary structure of policing at colleges and universities. Finally, the historical, legal, political, and social discourses of crime at postsecondary institutions helped to understand the purpose of campus policing at postsecondary institutions and the extent to which college students experience moments of victimization.

While centering the experiences and perspectives of student participants, this study situates the sociological intersections of campus policing within the context of research and concepts within postsecondary education. This includes an attempt to incorporate campus policing within the empirical lexicon of postsecondary education while highlighting the ways that campus police officers intersect with critical segments of postsecondary education. The findings from this study contribute to a substantial gap in research, and the limited research suggests that issues related to campus policing have

largely been forgotten in postsecondary scholarship. As mentioned, this has presented a roadblock to understanding the ways in which campus police shape institutional experiences for various student populations. The findings from this study help problematize a long-neglected segment of postsecondary education.

The final chapter will further discuss the study's findings, while considering how the findings inform, are supported by, or counter existing literature. The chapter concludes with the implications of the findings for postsecondary education, specifically campus police agencies. Despite the limited research on campus policing, this current study reveals opportunities for future research within the sphere of postsecondary education.

Discussion of Findings

Among other aims, this study primarily interrogated the question of "How do Black undergraduate students experience and make sense of campus policing at a PWI?" The findings answered this research question by revealing that engagement with campus policing was "an experience" (Smith et. al., 2009) which provoked complex meanings for students. Student participants experienced and interpreted campus policing through; 1) precollege socialization and experiences with the police, 2) a race centered framing of campus policing, 3) nuanced notions of protection/safety, and 4) as an extension of the institutional climate at their university. The following sections discuss each of these overarching themes while drawing connections to existing research and theoretical perspectives. In parts of this section, I revisit and incorporate participants' narratives.

The Thread of Precollege Socialization

To better contextualize participants' interpretations of campus policing, I extracted the experiences and reflections, related to the police, that students brought with them to the university context. Drawing from the existing literature and my positionality (e.g. Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Delgado-Bernal, 1998), the historical intersections between race and policing informed the thought that student participants would express critical reflections resulting from precollege exposure to the police. While exploring this thematic reference further, the overarching finding of "precollege experience and socialization," revealed the ways that students were socialized, during precollege years, to consider and encounter the structure of policing. This finding illustrated that participants entered college with complex experiences and perspectives related to the police, and as later overarching themes indicated, these perspectives and experiences operated as points of reference as students made sense of campus policing. Socialization for students was multifaceted, specifically through three categories: 1) students' own precollege experiences with the police, 2) the messaging and experiences of their family members, and 3) the role of racialized police violence in the United States.

Although there is no existing research as it relates to Black undergraduate students' socialization to policing, the existing literature that I explore in the first and second chapters of this study help to understand the contexts which situated students' precollege socialization experiences. As it connects to socialization through family members, studies consistently posit that Black people within the United States report less favorable perceptions of and experiences with police agencies (Peck, 2015; Brunson &

Miller, 2006; Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011). These experiences have largely been framed throughout an extensive history (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Holmes & Smith, 2008; Alexander, 2012). The findings from this overarching theme revealed that students were socialized within familial environments that employed a particular awareness and sensitivity to the racialized nuances of policing. Existing research supports the notion that people, particularly those who self-identify as Black or African American, draw upon their experiences and the experiences of others to interpret the police (e.g. Brunson, 2007, Feagin & Sikes, 1994). As students reflected on their familial environments, the context of these environments, as it connected to thinking about the police, established consistencies with existing literature. However, this study adds to existing literature as it illustrates this phenomenon within a new empirical context, namely higher education. It also displays an explicit thread between precollege socialization experiences and the ways that students implicitly reference socialization when interpreting experiences with university police officers.

Furthermore, when analyzing socialization experiences related to family, I was cognizant not to conceptualize these socialization mechanisms through a deficit lens (i.e. an argument that Black students should be socialized to perceive the police differently). When thinking about how participants were socialized and experienced to policing during their precollege years, these socialization practices were responses to historical and contemporary manifestations of racism within law enforcement. As students learned to engage and encounter police officers, these preparatory socialization mechanisms were

conceptualized as a protective ideal, rather than a lack of respect or regard toward law enforcement.

The participants' socialization experiences also revealed the complexities of these processes. For several participants, socialization was more than a symbolic reference to policing. These processes of socialization were situated at the core of several participants' sense making of what it meant to navigate social institutions as a "raced" (Yancy, 2008; Yancy, 2019) person, and for some participants, with other intersections of marginalization. Scholarly perspectives on the social construction of race (Omi & Winant, 2015), systemic racism (Feagin, 2006), and perspectives on racial literacy (Stevenson, 2014) helped serve as a lens for contextualizing these processes. For people who identify with experiences of racial marginalization, the findings of this study are consistent with perspectives which posit that understanding experiences with marginalization, or becoming racially literate, can significantly provide meaning to the ways that people embody race (e.g. Yancy, 2008; Ngo, 2017). In this instance, encounters with the police served as a distinctive form of marginality, which students learned to respond to. However, what is relevant for postsecondary education, are the ways that the structure of policing served as a paradigmatic reference for how students experience the embodiment of race. This is one of the reasons that campus policing represents a distinctive phenomenon at colleges and universities.

The relevance of socialization. The precollege phenomenon of being socialized to encounter and respond to the police is paradoxically unique and common as it relates to postsecondary education. It can be argued that campus police agencies are not the only

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segment of postsecondary education which students have socialization experiences with prior to college. For example, I can recall my own experience of implicitly drawing upon secondary educational experiences to make sense of the structure of the university environment. For me, and many other students, the college classroom environment mirrored, to some extent, the structure of the secondary schooling context. Thus, I had interacted with secondary teachers and replicated these relationships with college instructors. In essence, the secondary schooling environment ultimately worked as a socialization mechanism for postsecondary education. When juxtaposing this example with policing socialization during precollege years, there are similarities, but significant nuances to these contexts. As it relates to campus policing, Black students were socialized to consider an awareness of policing during their precollege years. However, this type of socialization was protective, intentional, diverse, and inextricably connected to experiences of marginalization. In addition, as student participants arrived at their university, several students expressed that they initially encountered an ambiguous and unexpected context of policing. The findings of this study suggest that as students encountered campus police officers for the first time, some were surprised by the presence of a campus police agency, others struggled to make sense of the operations of campus policing, and several participants were inclined to associate the professional identities of campus police officers with municipal police agencies. Because students had been socialized to establish a critical awareness of the police, or had prior racialized experiences with municipal police officers, they made sense of their own positioning with campus police through this lens. Although this aspect of precollege socialization might

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resemble socialization for other educational relationships (i.e. teachers or other administrators), understanding and examining policing socialization is incredibly nuanced given the implications of ongoing racialized police experiences beyond postsecondary education.

Legitimizing campus policing. As discussed in the second chapter, empirical research has explored the ambiguous social nuances of campus policing and the extent to which campus police officers are viewed as "legitimate" by college students. More recent studies suggest that college students question the legitimacy of campus police officers (e.g. Wada, Patten, & Candela, 2010; Jacobson, 2015; Patten et al., 2016). Participants within this study, however, shared a nuanced perspective which is not captured in research on the legitimacy of campus police. Although students in this study recognized the distinctive context of policing at the university, unlike other studies, student participants did not question the power, authority, or legitimacy of campus police officers. The ways in which students brought elements of their precollege socialization to the university, extended an element of legitimacy to the role of campus policing. Legitimacy, however, meant something different for the student participants. Consider these excerpts from Fatima and Regina from the previous chapter, respectively: "I mean, I was just kind of like, well, they [the police] are all the same. There's no difference between city police, sheriffs, or university police. I mean like they're all the same." Regina shared, "I just figured it [campus police] was just like the [city police departments]. It was just another department." These quotes, along with others, showed that participants implicitly extended legitimacy to campus police through their prior

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knowledge and experiences with municipal police agencies. Thus, recognizing the authority and legitimacy of campus police officers symbolized something of nuanced meaning within their experiences. Because student participants associated campus police officers with their past experiences with municipal police officers, there was a heighted awareness and sense of skepticism toward the role of campus policing. While past studies have suggested that garnering more legitimacy from college students presents positive implications for campus policing (e.g. Aiello & Lawton, 2018), the lens of race, and the meaning attached to that lens, shifts the paradigm as it relates to notions of legitimacy. Extending legitimacy to campus police officers, or conceptualizing them as "real police officers," meant establishing an awareness and sensitivity to the racialized implications of campus policing. Even though student participants understood and made sense of the professional differences between municipal and campus police officers, they understood that campus police officers embodied structural power in similar ways. It was clear that racialized experiences and sense making informed perceptions of legitimacy, and this appears to be missing from existing research on the legitimacy of campus police officers. As participants in this study lacked knowledge of the operations of campus policing, and subsequently drew connections to municipal police agencies (or conceptualized campus police as more legitimate), this had implications on the extent to which they viewed their campus police agency as a trustworthy university resource.

The role of racialized police violence and media. Another powerful aspect of this overarching theme were the ways that racialized police violence, mainly depicted through media outlets, socialized students precollege and ongoing interpretations of the

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police. Patten and colleagues' (2016) recent research on campus policing drew attention

to the notion that racialized police incidents might exacerbate relationships between

students of color and campus police departments, as students of color struggled to grapple

with the roles of campus police officers. In addition, Peck (2015) shared:

> In light of current events surrounding the 2014 shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, death of Eric Garner in New York City, and shooting of Rafael Ramos and Wenjian Lui in New York City, one could posit that the media impacts general perceptions and attitudes of law enforcement practices (pg. 198).

Within this study, participants clearly voiced knowledge and thoughts regarding

racialized police violence. However, what is relevant to this research, are the ways that

student participants lived, engaged, and empathized with these incidents. Although media

outlets were the means by which students learned of racialized police incidents, this

study's findings place more of an emphasis on the ways that engagement and lived

experiences informed perceptions of the police, rather than the role of media in swaying

attitudes. When students referenced national police incidents, there was an empathic

engagement which informed how they viewed themselves as positioned within the

structure of policing. As students engaged with and vicariously experienced moments of

racialized violence throughout the United States, the implications of racialized police

violence emerged as a socialization mechanism because students received something

"epistemologically" from those incidents. This epistemology, as theorized by Yancy

(2008), was a way of learning to engage and live in a Black body in relation to structural

Whiteness, namely policing. As Yancy (2008) expressed, Black bodies are "raced

bodies" meaning that racialized experiences are connected to a broader paradigm of

White supremacy. As students observed depictions of police violence against Black

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people, their epistemological perspectives were informed about what it meant to encounter a police officer, in a "raced body" (Yancy, 2008). Thus, as scholars think about the ways that media influences perceptions of the police, this study's findings suggest that engaging empathically with police incidents through the media was more of a vicariously lived racialized experience, rather than perceptual engagement with media discourse. For student participants within this study, there was a difference between intellectually connecting with national incidents of police violence, and experientially engaging with those incidents.

Finally, elements of this overarching theme inform theoretical perspectives on the phenomenological notions of experience. Although participants within this study shared interpersonal precollege experiences with the police, which operated as a mechanism of socialization or literacy, several participants talked extensively about experiencing the police, vicariously, or through other people. As discussed previously, "other people" included family members, but also included racialized police incidents occurring throughout the United States. Hierarchy of experience, as conceptualized by Smith and colleagues (2009), was used as analytical tool to conceptualize how encountering the police operated as "an experience" for participants. Smith and colleagues posited that the process which makes encounters or circumstances "an experience" yields reflections and sense making which connect to complex meanings. IPA research captures those reflections to empirically understand the process that makes the encounters an "experience." For this study's context, the findings suggest that vicarious experiences, empathic engagement with racialized experiences, or experiences beyond one's own

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personal experiences can work in similar ways to operationalize what makes something "an "experience" as opposed to just experience" (Smith et. al, 2009, pg. 2). In addition, the centricity of marginalization within an experience creates a more nuanced and complex sense making process. What makes something "an experience" for those from marginalized communities, connects to the contexts which situate those experiences. As discussed in the third chapter, critical phenomenological perspectives (e.g. Salamon, 2018) can be helpful in contextualizing the ways that political, historical, and social contexts shape what makes something "an experience" for a person. As displayed, students drew upon more than their own perspectives as they reflected on what made encountering campus policing a moment with racialized meaning.

Interpreting and Naming Racialized Experiences

This study's secondary objective examined the question of, "How does racialized experience emerge in encounters between campus police officers and Black undergraduate students?" Out of the four overarching themes yielded from this study, the theme of "the racialized frame of campus policing" most directly addressed this question. This theme captured how race and racialized experience framed the ways that student participants encountered, interpreted, expressed perceptions, and reconciled campus policing at their university. Although the construct of race, and racialized experience, served as the focal points of analysis, the theoretical lens of CRT helped to explore how intersections of marginalization worked to frame students' experiences with and interpretations of campus policing.

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Due to the limited research on campus policing, particularly the intersections with students of color, the findings yielded from this overarching theme contribute to the literature in robust ways. As mentioned, this study is one of the few studies, perhaps the only study, to critically focus on Black students' racialized experiences with and interpretations of campus policing at a PWI. In 2010, Wada and colleagues (2010) discovered that no studies existed exploring the intersections of race and campus policing. In addition, very few studies, regardless of the policing context, have utilized qualitative research approaches to explore perceptions of the police (Peck, 2015). A plethora of studies have explored college students' perceptions of campus police by means of quantitative or survey research methods; but, no studies have focused on the lived experiences of Black students through a critical lens. Allen and Jacques (2018) appear to have provided the only study, to date, which broaches the perceptions that Black college students embrace as it relates to campus policing. However, their research was designed as a comparative study examining students' perceptions of campus police encounters as compared to encounters with municipal police. In addition, Allen and Jacques' study was conducted at a university campus where 63% of the student body self-identified as Black. As I discuss in later sections of this chapter, this current study can serve as a platform for future research to critically explore this topic within different university contexts, with more depth, and in nuanced ways.

Race as a lived phenomenon. As this study exists as one of the few to explore Black students' racialized experiences with and interpretations of campus policing within a predominately White context, this study also informs literature as it moves into an

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exploration of race as a lived phenomenon in research on campus policing. Perspectives

on racial embodiment, as discussed in the second chapter, critically conceptualize the

ways that race operates as a lived phenomenon (Yancy, 2008; Ngo, 2017; Lee, 2019).

Race, and other social constructs, are more than phenotypical identification markers.

Race and marginalization are lived phenomena with connections to historical and

structural experiences (Feagin, 2006). To summarize, the history of racism and White

supremacy informs the paradigmatic relationships that Black bodies have within

predominate White society (Yancy, 2008). When considering the experiences of Black

people, particularly as it relates to social institutions within the United States, it is

important that we consider this historical positioning and the ways in which the construct

of race is shaped by these historical phenomena, namely racism, White supremacy, and

antiblackness (e.g. Dumas, 2016; Dumas & ross, 2016). Black students' interpretations of

campus policing are neither formed within a vacuum, nor are their interpretations devoid

of context. As I conversed with students, I considered the ways that racialized meanings

were formed within historical, sociocultural, and institutional contexts. Studies that

neglect to consider these contexts, can unintentionally assume a colorblind approach to

analysis. To express this idea more explicitly, naming one's race, without exploring the

sociological realness of race (Yancy, 2008; Ngo, 2017), or the ways that race is lived,

takes on a neutral analytical approach (Harper, 2012). As Black students' in this study

thought about their experiences with campus policing, these were not simply perceptions

or intellectual opinions, but real lived experiences with physical, emotional, and

institutional implications. When thinking about exploring the realness of race, this not

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only includes the ways that we conceptualize the narratives of research participants, but also the ways in which we analyze and present historical literature on the relationship between Black communities and the police. Studies can unintentionally posit an ahistorical presentation of this relationship by not examining the ways that power, dominance, and racism framed the historical relationship between communities of color and the police. As Omi and Winant (2015) presented, "Race and racism in the United States have been shaped by a centuries long conflict between White domination and resistance by people of color" (pg. 3). This current research, while not to be epitomized, can provide a foundation for future research on campus policing to utilize critical theoretical lenses, even beyond that of racial theories, to explore the marginalized experiential intersections of campus policing.

Experiencing campus police on a spectrum. This study also informs existing research in that it provided space to comprehensively examine the scope of Black undergraduate students' experiences with campus police. It can be plausibly argued that as we imagine an encounter with the police, these encounters are imagined within an enforcement context (i.e. being stopped for a traffic violation, being questioned for suspicion of a crime, being arrested, etc.). In addition, the public and empirical narratives seem to insinuate, perhaps unintentionally, that Black people mainly encounter the police within enforcement contexts. As I commenced this study and conversed with various people about the purpose of the research, some people were intrigued by the topic and wondered if narratives of brutality, physical confrontations, and tense stories of arrests emerged in the study. At one point, I, too, found myself wondering if these types of

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narratives would be shared by participants. I mention these thoughts not to disparage or

patronize those who are focused on understanding the extreme manifestations of

racialized police experiences. It is undeniable that Black people experience racism and

racialized experiences with the police during arrests, while being stopped for traffic

violations, and other related interactions. In many instances, these encounters turn violent

and lethal. The pervasiveness of racism criminalizes Blackness, and positions it as

suspicious (Yancy, 2008), which makes Black bodies susceptible to racial profiling and

over policing (Alexander, 2012). Over policing and racial profiling are facilitated within

enforcement contexts, as captured with several students' narratives within the previous

chapter. Furthermore, racialized experiences within enforcement contexts, or extreme

forms of racialized police encounters, connect to how people experience or interpret the

police in other interactions. However, the findings from this study indicated that

racialized experiences with the police, namely campus police, are comprehensive and

complex in their scope. We must rigorously interrogate all experiential contexts,

particularly understanding how experiences affect relationships.

This study displayed the diversity of Black undergraduate students' experiences

with campus police officers. For example, participants within this study experienced

victimization (i.e. sexual violence, bias motivated incidents, theft, etc.) at their university,

which led them to utilize, or think about utilizing, campus police as an investigative and

protective resource. As they sought support from campus police, or thought about seeking

support, they interpreted these reporting experiences through the lens of marginalization.

Student participants also worked in employment capacities which positioned them as

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allies with their campus police agency, experienced campus policing in programmatic

spaces (i.e. training, presentations, classrooms), and experienced campus policing

through institutional moments. Students expressed feeling invisible as they sought to ally

themselves alongside campus police officers or report crimes to campus police at their

university. Although extreme forms of racialized experiences with the police are

necessary to explicate, the findings of this study suggest that racialized experiences with

campus police occur on a spectrum. While some participants feared the possibility of

violence, none of the participants' experiences reached the point of physical violence, or

brutality. Nonetheless, their experiences were lived as moments of racism and

marginalization.

When considering the spectrum that racialized experiences occur on, Angela

engaged the idea that students' identities as "college students" informed the ways that

experiences with campus police officers emerged:

> Like, if you are on the streets [outside of the university], if you're not in this bubble that is provided by being a college student, I think the risk with the police probably goes up. Personally, on the university campus, like I haven't seen anything that has been overboard with campus police, you know, maybe microaggressions which are unfortunate in and of themselves, and I warn against that. Also, like me feeling uncomfortable talking to the police, and the incidences [of being ignored] as a student worker. But, I would say, you know, we have to be aware of microaggressions. But nothing over in the safety bubble with the campus police. But then, the campus only goes so far, and university police handle things just on the outskirts of campus and things happen just on the outskirts of campus. So I would say take that with a grain of salt. And you know, you never know when you stop being perceived as a student and you start being perceived as an adult or a threat in some instances.

As shared in the first chapter of this study, prior media stories have confirmed that

encounters between campus police officers and Black people do sometimes occur within

the context of the "safety bubble" that Angela referenced [referring to incidents which threaten the physical safety of the person]. However, Angela is implicitly presenting the notion that the intersections between race and the college student identity place Black students within a particular space on the spectrum of experiences with campus police. Angela interprets that the confines of the university campus add a level of protection to Black students from extreme instances of racialized encounters with campus police. However, the lines between "student" and "adult," as referenced by Angela, are ambiguous for Black students because the hypervisibility and criminalization of Blackness have the potential to overshadow the innocence associated with being a "college student." Whether or not this interpretation holds true, namely the idea that the university campus affords a level of protection to Black students, there are particular experiences with campus policing that are more salient for students like Angela (i.e. experiencing microaggressions from campus police officers). Although the experiences do not reach the level of violence or extreme forms of brutality, the effects of those experiences still operate in racially marginalizing ways. In fact, critical race theoretical perspectives posit that racism emerges as a normalized structural phenomenon, which affects people of color in complex ways (Ladson -Billings, 1999). If a structural phenomenon is normalized, the ways that people experience the phenomenon will be incredibly complex and diverse. In much of the research on racism, experiences with racism are illustrated on a spectrum, ranging from subtle forms of racism to more explicit experiences with acts of racial marginalization. Using CRT as a frame of reference, and as captured within this study, experiences with campus police take on a similar

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experiential profile. When we fail to consider the diverse ways that students experience campus policing, we neglect missing pieces in comprehensively understanding what it means to live through a racialized experience with the police.

      Consistencies with existing research. Despite the limited research on Black students' experiences with campus policing, elements of this overarching theme were supported by existing research. Namely, the notion that race has a significant influence on how people experience and draw interpretations about the police (e.g. Holmes & Smith, 2008; Peck, 2015). Although this existing research is overwhelming tied to municipal policing, the findings of this current study show the racialized similarities of various policing contexts. Campus police officers operate within different contexts than that of municipal police. However, race, and the lived experiences of race, can work in similar ways to frame peoples' experiences with the police. Another finding that was consistent with existing research were the ways that participants experienced *Clery Act* mandated timely warning alerts at their university. As discussed in the previous chapter, prior research reveals that timely warning alerts can be experienced differently for students of color, as raced descriptions are included within the reports (Hernandez, 2013; Pelfrey et al., 2018). Student participants within this study, expressed that they experienced these campus crime alerts as a racialized experience with campus policing, and some participants believed that their campus police department facilitated the alerts in a racially bias manner. Although the crime alerts were intended to make students feel safe at their university, the racialized context of the crime alerts had an opposite effect for several participants. For some students, the racialized context of the alerts were fueled by

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notions of criminality which were rooted in anti-Black racism, as Michael noted, "And I think the timely warnings are a reflection of just the national image of being Black. The timely warnings may be a more local reminder. But I don't think that changes the image that's already there for most people."

Intersections of marginalization. Besides informing literature with a more comprehensive examination of marginalization as it is tied to policing experiences, exploring intersections of marginalization helps counter the public narrative regarding racialized experiences with the police. For example, scholarly perspectives have drawn attention to the ways that police and state sanctioned violence affect women of color (e.g. Ritchie, 2017), which counters the commonly presented assumption that racialized acts of police violence are mainly restricted to Black or African American men. As Angela expressed in a portion of a quotation from the previous chapter, "With Sandra Bland, like sometimes I think, Black men are more targeted because they're men. But, Sandra Bland was a woman. That doesn't stop me from being targeted either," Angela had internalized the public narrative about the scope of racialized police experiences, until she was confronted with the death of a Black woman. Other than racial identity and student status, there were no social identity restrictions placed on the participant criteria for this study. However, when I commenced the operation of the study, I anticipated that students who self-identified as Black or African American men would serve as the predominant group of participants. Given that much of the mainstream discourse surrounding police violence has been centered on the experiences of cis-gender Black men, I surmised that this would inform who responded to this study. To my surprise, most of the students who responded

self-identified as Black women with other intersections of marginalization. Their experiences provided an unpredictable glimpse into the nuanced ways that students, with several intersections of marginalization, experienced and thought about campus policing. For the Black men who participated in the study, other intersections of marginalization emerged within their experiences in ways that are rarely captured in media discourse. For example, when thinking about potential police interactions, a portion of Tony's excerpt from the previous chapter included:

> I also identify as queer or gay and, I ask myself, how does this all affect me with campus police? Now being already a Black male and then on top of that having autism or high functioning autism and then on top of that, being gay, that personally can be a triple whammy effect.

When we hear about the racialized experiences of Black men, as it relates to the police, rarely does the public narrative examine or consider intersections of marginalization which might have framed those experiences. Centering intersectional experiences allows us to understand and interrogate the "triple whammy effect" that Tony referenced as he discussed his positioning with campus policing. This is not to suggest that research should not have a focal point of analysis, whether it be race, gender, sexual identity, religious identity, immigration status, or other critical constructs. As I discuss in later sections of this chapter, future studies are needed, related to experiences with campus policing, which center social constructs beyond race. Providing space, from a methodological standpoint, to explore intersections of marginalization can reveal the depth of how people experience marginalization, or make sense of experiences, with campus police.

University Safety and Protection

As this study sought to explore the ways that experiences with campus policing took shape, this included examining how students experienced and interpreted campus police officers as mechanisms of support and protection. The key finding from this overarching theme suggested that students embodied nuanced conceptions of what it meant to facilitate safety and utilize campus police officers as resources. Like the ways that precollege socialization worked to shape students' conceptions of campus policing, students' personal experiences with campus policing, and their own sense making of racialized policing, informed how they made sense of and ultimately utilized campus police officers for support.

Although this study's focal point was not centered on capturing students' experiences with victimization, a few participants discussed experiences with victimization, and how they interpreted campus police within those experiences. The mere existence of students' victimization experiences is supported by existing research and statistics on victimization at postsecondary institutions (e.g. Fisher & Sloan, 2013; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005). However, other existing literature, and the perspectives of participants in the study, revealed that the racialized nuances of victimization are rarely considered within discourse on the victimization of college students. As Patton and Wada (2016) argued, the faces and public narratives of campus victimization are usually filled by the experiences of those with dominant identities, and those with both marginalized gender and racial experiences are forgotten within this discourse. Several participants, mainly those who experienced intersections of

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marginalization, voiced that when they experienced moments of victimization at their university, there was a particular reflective process that emerged as they considered involving campus police. As several participants did not contact or said that they would not contact campus police for support following moments of victimization, participants expressed reflecting on the hypervisibility, stereotypes, and tropes which were associated with being Black, and how those tropes might affect the service they would receive from campus police officers. When analyzing this through hierarchy of experience (Smith et. al., 2009), racialized and gendered tropes, coupled with experiences of marginalization with the police, made utilizing campus police during a moment of victimization "an experience," which participants sought to avoid.

Within the context of victimization, a small element of this study's findings provided a particular glimpse into the ways that sexual violence intersected with experiencing and making sense of campus policing. Existing research, as explored in the second chapter, reveals the disproportionate rates of sexual violence in the experiences of college women, and how college women are less likely to report incidents of sexual violence to the police (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, 2010; BJS, 2014). Within this current study, a few participants displayed that the experience of reporting, or thinking about reporting, sexual violence to campus police took on an intersectional sense making process. This included the fear of being dismissed as a result of negative stereotypes regarding Black women. As Patton and Wada (2016) noted, these tropes, regarding Black women, are racialized and gendered. The intersections of race, gender, and sexual violence have been explored in prior research (e.g. Crenshaw, 1991;

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Washington, 2001; Zounlome et al., 2019), and a small element of this study is supported by research which shows the ways that racialized trauma exacerbates an already complex phenomenon for survivors of sexual violence who experience the intersections of race and gender marginalization (e.g. Gómez & Gobin, 2019). This complex phenomenon was displayed as one participant reflected on the experience of reporting an incident of sexual violence to campus police.

      Nuanced notions of safety. What does it mean to be safe on a university campus, and what responsibility do colleges and universities assume in facilitating protection for college students? These questions have been central to public policy in higher education over the last several decades (Lake, 2001; Henning, 2007). Crime and public safety emerge as an important discussion as it is not uncommon for perspective college students to consider the extent to which university campuses are "safe" (Noble et al., 2013). However, participants within this current research revealed that safety and protection can be defined in ways that are rarely captured in empirical research. As students experienced and interpreted campus policing through nuanced conceptions of safety, this was illustrated as students reflected on the messages they received on ways to utilize campus police officers for support, protection, and as a distinctive university resource. Students interpreted these messages, or their positioning with the messages, through the frame of race and other intersections of marginalization. The ways that concepts of "safety" were constructed by university police served to be incompatible with students' experiences. As prior research has documented the discourses related to campus crime and victimization, we saw the influence of the in loco parentis doctrine, particularly how the

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legal doctrine transformed the relationship between students and institutions (Lee, 2011;

Alexander & Alexander, 2017). As a result, colleges and universities have been granted

some responsibility for the safety and protection of college students. Thus, campus police

agencies have served as the operating arm of protection as postsecondary institutions seek

to fulfill these responsibilities (Sloan & Fisher, 2011). On college and university

campuses throughout the United States, is it common to see emergency phone polls,

walk-with-a-cop services, safety campaigns, and other initiatives. This was no different at

LU, as several students discussed encountering and learning about particular initiatives

which were constructed to keep them "safe." However, because students embodied a

nuanced and complex framing of "safety," particularly a framing that connected to living

through a "raced" (Yancy, 2008) and marginalized existence, their engagement with this

institutional paradigm challenged conventional wisdom on safety. In the previous

chapter, this thought was captured clearly by Tricia:

> So, they really harped on the campus police department and the idea of being able
> to have a cop walk you home or having those stations where you can click the
> button and call a cop like right away. The way that they always frame those is
> funny to me because they really do frame them as like, "This is safe. This is
> gonna make sure that your kid or you are really safe on campus." I just feel like
> those aren't ways that I would personally feel safe on campus.

For Tricia, the framing of "safety" by the university was decontextualized and neutral. To

reinvigorate context, feeling "safe" is not simply an abstraction, but something that is

embodied, connected to space and environment (e.g. Ngo, 2017). Given the ways that

race and marginalization informed students' conceptions, students appeared to have a

developed understanding of what safety entailed for them. As students' reflections and

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interpretations indicated, campus police officers were positioned as potential threats to safety for many students within this study. For example, Regina noted:

> Like, the lack of the feeling safe is the main problem because that is such a basic human right. It's definitely a right that students should have on their own campus, just being given the right of ... or being able to have the right of feeling safe. So I think ways of positively affecting Black students would be like removing their guns or having more Black people [on the campus police department] or even just showing Black students that they're trying by showing us that racial training is happening, showing us something concrete instead of just telling us that we should trust them without giving us any reason to.

In this example, Regina interpreted that her, and other Black students' ability to feel safe was truncated by the current structure of policing at the institution. In this instance, the institutional protectors are interpreted as the threat, and it is quite clear that this unique sense making process is framed through various intersections of marginalization. This interpretative phenomenon challenges the ways that we generally think about "safety" and how students consider protection at postsecondary institutions. As this study explored students' precollege socialization in earlier sections, the symbolic references related to national police violence certainly informed these interpretive conclusions about safety, as one participant noted:

> If I walk on campus late at night because I have to stay late to do work or whatever. You know, it's been cold recently so I put my hood up and I'm like, should I be doing this? No, probably not. That can be seen it seen as shady, like and those are things but I didn't think about in high school but now I think about them.

For many college students, the experience of walking alone at night presents a range of emotions and fears. However, what students fear, whom students fear, and their frame of reference in those moments of fear, are shaped by their embodied identities. In the previous chapter, Tricia, displayed this thought by reflecting on the dilemma of walking

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alone at night as opposed to walking with a campus police officer for protection. Tricia expressed concern about walking alone at night on her campus. However, she equated the fear of walking alone at night with the fear of walking with a campus police officer. Tricia interpreted the implications of both scenarios as problematic, which epitomized an intractable tension that existed for some students within this study, specifically those who experienced the intersections of race and gender marginalization.

Finally, the advent and threat of bias motivated victimization informed how some participants experienced and interpreted safety nuances, as it related to campus policing. In earlier sections, we explored the intersectional complexities of experiencing campus policing, specifically through moments of victimization. These narratives certainly presented a nuanced experience of thinking about safety and protection. In addition, one participant, Lena, shared an experience of victimization through a bias motivated incident. Although Lena, and other students, did not view campus police as a protective resource during these moments, this example revealed that students, in fact, encountered victimization perpetuated by their peers. In some cases, these victimization experiences were connected to their identities. Along these lines, Tony expressed thoughts about safety as he processed his own intersections of marginalization:

> With how the university is so diverse in political opinions, even though it may seem like we're really liberal. But there are students that are very conservative and I think one of the biggest fears I have as a Black queer or gay male, is the fear that I may be attacked. The fear I may be bashed in some kind of way, which ties into being physically attacked. And that's something that greatly concerns me. But at the same time, with the political climate we're living in now at the federal level, with the Trump administration, White supremacists, homophobes, or just really LBTGQ phobic people, xenophobes and sexist people are really empowered at this time.

Although students shared nuanced perspectives as it connected to the institutional framing of safety, students were not exempt from experiencing and thinking about victimization. Theoretical perspectives on racial embodiment and living through a racialized existence informed us that systematic White supremacy places Black bodies, particularly those with intersections of marginalization, under constant threat (Yancy, 2008). Given this paradigm, students' narratives revealed that opportunities exist for campus police officers to play a positive role and serve as critical mechanisms of support for students.

The Institutional Lens

The final overarching theme demonstrated how students' experiences with campus policing influenced and were influenced by the institution's overarching racial climate. Because this study was framed by the argument that racism is structurally normalized within social institutions (Bell, 1992; Feagin, 2006; Elias & Feagin, 2016), students' experiences with and interpretations of campus policing were analyzed through an institutional lens. In addition, I argue that campus police agencies exist as an element of the larger institutional structure at postsecondary institutions (e.g. Hurtado, 1994), and students' experiences confirmed that campus police were positioned as a contributing, but unique, element of this paradigm. These institutional intersections were experienced and illustrated in three ways: 1) the conclusion that experiences with campus policing placed students on the margins of the institution, 2) students' racialized experiences with campus policing were a part of an overarching racialized experience at the institution, and 3) some students interpreted that campus police "policed" racialized social norms within the

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university context. This theme emerged as students implicitly and explicitly connected experiences with campus police to the social climate at their university. These encounters with campus police officers were not conceptualized or embodied by students as individualized encounters devoid of institutional context. It became apparent that as students encountered racialized experiences with campus police, these experiences shaped how they experienced, navigated, and perceived the overarching social climate at their institution. As mentioned, students discussed their overall experiences with and perceptions of climate, which revealed that students had an overarching racialized experience at their institution. This finding is supported by a wealth of research on the experiences of Black students at postsecondary institutions (e.g. Harper, 2013). However, this current study informs literature in that it distinctly illustrates the ways that experiences with campus policing shape climate and exacerbate experiences of marginalization at a PWI.

The institutional experience of campus policing. For much of this study, students' interactions with campus police were presented as interpersonal or individualized encounters, which had structural implications within their institutional context. However, as captured in the previous chapter, several students experienced campus policing through "institutional moments," rather than interpersonal encounters. I used the term "institutional moments" as an analytical phrase to illustrate how students experienced campus policing through larger scale incidents or institutional messaging that had far reaching impact beyond students' own interpersonal contact with campus police officers.

The ways that Black students experienced campus police "institutionally" or "through the institution" can be illustrated through a gasoline and fire illustration. As commonly known, when gasoline is applied to an open fire, it causes the fire to spread. The ways that participants described institutional moments connects to the spreading of a fire, because, although these moments occurred within a particular place and time within the institution (i.e. small open fire), the racialized context of these moments caused the remnants of the incidents to spread (i.e. the gasoline). As the remnants of the moments spread, students then experienced and interpreted campus police through these moments, even if they were not present during the actual experience (i.e. the ignition of the fire). This type of an "experience" reveals a nuanced and institutional example of "experiencing campus police" beyond the interpersonal or individualized illustration. This study contends that experiencing campus police through the institution are like the ways that Black people, particularly students within this study, experience and make sense of police through their interpretations of racialized police incidents. As participants in this study referenced high profile incidents, hearing about and observing these incidents through various outlets caused the experiential remnants of the incidents to spread by means of an empathic or vicarious engagement. Institutional moments worked in similar ways with participants in this study.

Historical connections. The intersections with institutional climate engender critical questions when placed within historical contexts. If one analyzes the history of higher education through critical perspectives which suggest that, "the present context of racism/White supremacy in higher education requires acknowledging its violent,

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imperialistic, and oppressive past" (Patton, 2016, pg. 317), it is plausible to problematize campus policing as an element of this past. As campus police shape and emerge within students' experiences with institutional climate, critically examining the historical origins of modern-day campus policing can help place policing at colleges and universities within its proper context. In the second chapter, I referenced historical reviews to show that social unrest at postsecondary institutions, in the 1960s and 70s, influenced the professionalization of campus policing. During the professionalization era, campus police agencies began to resemble the operational make up of municipal police departments (Sloan, 1992). As movements of resistance and student activism fueled much of the social unrest on college campuses during the 1960s and 70s, critical scholarship must consider, to whom, were postsecondary institutions responding to as they facilitated the professionalization of campus policing? Furthermore, how do the historical implications of professionalization, namely the intersections between social unrest and professionalization, inform the contemporary relationship between students and campus police? As postsecondary institutions responded to social unrest in the 1960s and 70s, institutions were not simply responding to a decontextualized sphere of "college students." To date, the historical reviews of campus policing do not interrogate the critical social nuances of postsecondary education, namely during periods of unrest in the 1960s and 70s. As it relates to this current study, the racialized paradigms of postsecondary education during this time period are incredibly cogent. Prior research on student led movements of resistance provide some insight into the racialized contexts of these movements. For example, Hughes-Watkins (2017) examined the influence of the

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Black student movement on Vietnam War activism at Kent State University. Kent State University was notoriously known for the deaths of student activists at the hands of National Guard soldiers during anti-war protests. Hughes-Watkins argued that while White activists were typically depicted as the face of anti-war activism during 1960s and 70s, Black student movements were highly influential within these movements during this period of postsecondary education. In this example, the influence of the Black student movement added a racialized paradigm to what we understand as social unrest during the Vietnam War era. Although Hughes-Watkins' perspectives present only one illustration of this historical context, when considering such nuances, it is reasonable to ponder whether specific elements of campus unrest proliferated the development of campus policing as postsecondary institutions sought to control these efforts. A critical review and explication of history can properly contextualize this discourse, and the professionalization of campus policing should be analyzed with this historical paradigm in view.

This discussion connects to the contemporary structure of campus policing as it intersects with perspectives on institutional climate. As reviewed in the second chapter, prior to the 1960s, the *in loco parentis* doctrine restricted the ways that campus security authorities engaged with students. Sloan (1992) noted that campus security structures, prior to the 1960s, were designed to protect universities from outside threats, while incidents of misconduct involving students were transferred to university administrators. As student led movements of resistance served as the precipitator of campus police development, Sloan (1992) shared that:

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The mid- to late 1960s also saw the birth of the anti-war movement and student unrest. The anti-war movement, in particular, created an atmosphere of confrontation between students and administrators. Because no formal campus mechanism of social control existed to deal with these confrontations, administrators relied upon police agencies or the National Guard to restore order on campus. Campus administrators soon realized that they had to create a university mechanism to deal with their problems. The answer was to create a university police agency to regain control over campus activity (pg. 88).

When thinking about the tension between protecting students as opposed to enforcing laws, or policing students, the historical review of campus policing would implicate that the development of campus policing was more informed by efforts to "police" students. However, some would argue that "policing" and "protecting" are synonymous by positing that police agencies cannot protect, without policing, or employing enforcement efforts. Fatima briefly illustrated the potential interpretive tensions between "policing" and "protecting" by stating, "They [campus police] are not really here to help you. They're here to crack down on crime." Consistent with other perspectives in this study, and scholarly arguments, quotes such as this suggest that people can compartmentally experience more of the "enforcement" element of policing, rather than the "service and protection" elements, even though there are intersections. As we think about the present-day context of campus policing, placing the historical development of campus policing in view requires us to acknowledge that historical paradigms inform contemporary structures, relationships, and experiences. Although this current study cannot fully explicate the historical context of campus policing, a critical approach can problematize the significant intersections between campus unrest and the professionalization of campus policing while exploring how the remnants of these intersections inform contemporary experiences.

Implications

This research can begin the empirical discussion of incorporating campus policing, and related roles, into the lexicon of critical higher education scholarship. The findings from this research present distinct implications for theory, postsecondary education, and the organizational philosophies of campus policing. This section includes recommendations for future research to address the wide gap of critical research on campus policing.

Implications for Theory

This research utilized critical race theory as a lens to position race and other intersections of marginalization as primary constructs with the analytical process. Per the overarching goals of CRT, I also reviewed phenomenological perspectives on race, specifically the notion of race as an embodied experience. I explored four of CRT's central tenants in the second chapter, namely, the normalization of racism, confronting dominant narratives, interdisciplinary perspectives, and experiential knowledge. The findings from this research directly clarified and were supported by these theoretical perspectives.

The normalization of race. As CRT asserts and illuminates the intractability of racism (e.g. Bell, 1992; Delgado & Stefanic, 2012), the constructs of race and racism were not only the means by which the world of campus policing emerged to student participants (e.g. Ngo, 2017; Lee, 2014), but students' experiences with campus policing were situated within an overarching context of institutional racism at their university. Race, racism, and intersections of marginalization were experientially and structurally

infused as the "essence" of the phenomenon of campus policing for students within this research. The thread of race, although within a different policing context, demonstrates how race traverses through the sphere of law enforcement, particularly as it relates to the experiential interpretations of raced bodies.

Experiential perspectives. As it relates to "experiential knowledge," students' counter stories confronted an absent discourse on the racialized intersections of campus policing. CRT utilizes counter stories to empirically confront dominant discourses (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). In this instance, I argue that the dominant discourse operates as silence, as the research is nearly absent showing the qualitative perspectives of students of color related to campus policing. This research supports the notion that counter narratives provide voice to people of color, while sharing nuanced perspectives that are neglected within empirical arenas (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). As Museus and colleagues (2015) accurately mention that empirical discussions of race are dismissively considered to be "outside the domain of valid knowledge" (pg. 12), centering race through counter stories contributes to an empirical pendulum shift. This is especially evident for this current study's phenomenon of campus policing.

Counter stories also provide a unique method for analyzing and presenting data within studies on policing. Although the "voice" of the participants is central to the presentation of data, drawing upon my own positionality, the existing research, and other contextual data to situate counter stores allowed me to uncover "context," as racialized phenomena are always connected to context, whether social, historical, or institutional (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Muesus, Ledesma, & Parker, 2015). In some research

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traditions, there is low regard for context, the researcher's positionality, and "the natural attitude" (e.g. Husserl, 1970). Particularly, in descriptive phenomenological perspectives, researchers are encouraged to "bracket" what is known, whether through personal or empirical knowledge (Smith et al., 2009; Vagle, 2014). There appears to be an implicit, and sometimes explicit, fear that the researcher's natural attitude will corrupt or misrepresent the essence of the phenomenon. However, this research shows how the meaning making stages of the research process operate as a shared responsibility between the researcher and the participants, with an emphasis on the voice of the participants. I posit that as more researchers seek to capture experience, through the lens of marginalization and identity, drawing upon CRM's commitment to centering multiple forms of unorthodox data sources can help appropriately contextualize research findings (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Interdisciplinary commitment. Although not explicitly stated, this study also embodied CRT's interdisciplinary tenant. The very core of this research was interdisciplinary, merging the empirical paradigms of law enforcement, higher education, and race. I also utilized both sociological and philosophical perspectives on race. CRT asserts the position that to comprehensively understand the operation of racism, there must be an interdisciplinary commitment to exploring the construct. This research demonstrates the empirical process of merging two distinct, but interconnected, fields together. From a methodological perspective, this research used a mixed methodology of critical race methodology and interpretative phenomenological analysis, as each methodology provided a complimentary addition to the goals of this research. In the third

chapter, I discussed the rationale and purpose behind the coupling of the two methodologies. However, I argue that merging methodologies provide implications and examples for future research. This study illuminates the significance of interrogating the scope of methodologies and searching for ways to enhance the operation of the research process when methodological deficiencies are identified. As discussed, the critical phenomenological school of thought (e.g. Salamon, 2018) provided a platform for envisioning this approach.

      Intersectionality. Critical race theoretical perspectives center intersections of marginalization within social experiences (Crenshaw, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Theories of intersectionality present that a convergence of marginalized social identities, brings a convergence of oppressive paradigms (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Although all participants self-identified as Black or African American, several participants experienced or interpreted campus policing through intersections with gender, sexuality, ethnicity, religion, and ability/disability. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this study operates as one of the few, if not the only, to actively interrogate intersections of marginalization as it pertained to student experiences with campus policing. To date, no published studies appear to exist which explore experiences with or perceptions of campus policing through an intersectional lens. I assert that this is primarily a result of the heavy survey and quantitative research focus of studies on the police (Brunson, 2007). Thus, it is difficult to fully explore intersections of marginalization, without providing space for people to express the breadth and depth of their experiences. Peck (2015) drew attention to the lack of qualitative studies on experiences with and

perceptions of the police, calling for more qualitative studies. If more researchers respond to Peck's call, this will provide a platform for exploring intersections of marginalization.

Interest convergence. I discussed the concept of "interest convergence" as one of the "hallmark critical race theory themes" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, pg. 19). Although this concept emerges as an important consideration within CRT analysis, the concept did not emerge as an analytical lens within students' counter stories. As I sought to interpret the interpretations of the student participants (Smith et al., 2009), students did not implicitly or explicitly mention a convergence of interests as it related to campus policing. However, as research continues to explore the historical and policy context of campus policing, interest convergence may surface as a salient analytical concept.

Implications for Campus Police Agencies

Many police agencies within the United States are wrestling with the nuances of engaging and building relationships with racially marginalized communities. This is especially true for campus police agencies, as they encounter relatively diverse policing contexts at colleges and universities (Sloan et al., 2000). However, the findings from this study implicate the need for more critical and innovative practices to remove barriers and build trust. The idiographic findings from this study suggest that much of the distrust and experiential nuances that exist within the municipal policing context were seen within a campus policing context. As campus police agencies process community engagement strategies, considering an awareness of the complexities and significance of racialized experience can inform the philosophies which undergird these efforts. The experiences of Black people are diverse, and Black people within the United States are not a monolith.

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However, the wealth of research on the racialized framing of law enforcement, as discussed in chapter one, provides extensive findings to conclude that some Black students will enter colleges and universities with critical perceptions and knowledge of the police. An awareness of the ways that race, and the historical meaning of race, frame these perceptions and experiences are crucial to setting the foundation for more nuanced engagement practices. Campus police agencies would benefit from outreach efforts, which center and engage the lived experiences of Black students. Although campus police agencies are tasked with serving diverse institutions, which include people from other marginalized communities, there are unique intersections between the constructs of race and law enforcement. Outreach efforts which proactively engage communities and open space for critical conversations are necessary. As one student noted, "there's a lot of Black fraternities and sororities, and for them to get involved in that, that would be cool to see." It is very possible that many campus police agencies, throughout the United States, are employing these types of efforts. Community engagement efforts also include the ways that campus police agencies support and interact with victims of crime. As this current research indicated, students can experience and interpret moments of victimization, and draw upon racialized points of reference to reconcile campus police as a means of support. When coupled with notions of racial embodiment, or the ways that marginalization is lived, this directly informs how students use campus police as a reporting source. Campus police agencies should consider and reexamine the ways that minoritized experiences complicate the experience of reporting a crime by implementing means of support which engage these nuances.

Secondly, campus police agencies should continuously examine the structure, operations, and training platforms of their departments. As it relates to training, Wayne discussed the importance of training campus police officers:

> You can always have a good police officer and train them properly. Give them the information that they need to know to act accordingly. It's another thing to hire another officer that might not have enough training or someone that you can see turn sour within the department and nothing is done about that to a really bad officer. Hopefully the officer will just finish his contract and then he'll get out of there, which will still cause damage within the community.

The findings from this study revealed that although students encountered racialized experiences with campus policing, many of these encounters took the form of subtle or microaggressive forms of racism, not actions that would violate civil rights laws or be classically defined as brutality. As campus police agencies deliver diversity training programs to their officers, expanding these training platforms to critically engage the complex ways that racism persists can be useful. Particularly, as campus police officers navigate postsecondary institutions as institutional agents (e.g. Stanton-Salazar, 2011), officers should have an awareness of how the most subtle encounter with a student affects the way in which that student experiences the institution. Training programs must include accurately contextualized discussions of race and racism, while engaging campus police officers on the uniqueness of policing within the context of a postsecondary institution. Campus police agencies can benefit from continuing to partner with non-law enforcement institutional partners to assist in the delivery of training to campus police officers. Specifically, these institutional partners can help contextualize the critical nuances of the college student experience related to experiences of racialized marginalization.

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Finally, several students within this study placed an emphasis on the recruitment and selection of campus police officers, specifically drawing attention to racial diversity. As it related to racial diversity, students shared comments such as:

> Yeah, I feel like it be would be more positive if there were police officers who were Black, especially either Black women or Black men playing a positive role.

> I've not seen an African American campus police officer while on campus at all. Mostly White, I've seen a couple Mexican, but it's just I've never seen an African American.

> Having more Black people on the campus police or even just showing Black students that they're trying, showing us racial training happening.

These types of quotes suggested that racial diversity was a factor as some students made sense of campus policing. For example, Regina discussed how the lack of racial diversity on her university's police department marked how she interpreted them as an institutional resource:

> I would see the campus police walking groups of people home from the library or walking people home from parties and things like that, I'd only ever seen White police officers with White female students or White groups of students, too. So even then, it felt like a resource that wasn't made for me either way. I felt like it didn't make sense for me to use those resources because they didn't seem like they were meant for me.

At the very least, employing a racially diverse agency operates as a symbolic step toward building relationships with racially minoritized students. As students see police officers who resemble them, or might share their experiences, this can operate as the "first step" toward breaking down walls of distrust. However, recruiting and hiring more Black police officers must accompany an examination of the structure of policing. It goes without saying that simply employing Black police officers, without examining structural

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practices and culture, will translate into those Black officers reinforcing problematic and racialized behaviors which uphold White supremacy.

Implications for Future Research

The design of this study represented one institutional context with unique participants. The findings from this research provide contributions to understanding the social and organizational components of postsecondary education in the United States. However, there are limits to the extent to which the findings can be generalized to Black undergraduate students. As this research was employed as a single site study, future qualitative studies can replicate and expand aspects of this research. Future studies can explore and compare multiple institutional contexts (i.e. comparative case studies), which would contribute greatly to the literature. In addition, future qualitative research should examine Black students' experiences within other institutional contexts (i.e. community colleges, private institutions, historically Black colleges and universities, etc.). As it relates to Black students, this study illuminated themes surrounding the intersectional nuances of experiencing and making sense of campus policing. It is crucial that future studies center, or position as a focal point of analysis, the intersectional experiences of gender, sexual identity, religion, ethnicity, immigration status and other social constructs when exploring experiences with campus policing. When considering the notion of racialized experience, the experiences of students of color, beyond that of Black students, are necessary to explore within future research. Finally, as campus police serve all aspects of postsecondary institutions, the experiences of graduate students, faculty, administrators, and practitioners of color can extend research on this phenomenon.

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Campus police officers. Future research within this area will require us to examine campus police officers to comprehensively capture this phenomenon. I present four categories of inquiry for exploring campus police officers: 1) critical research exploring the ways that campus police officers interpret notions of race and other social constructs at postsecondary institutions, 2) studying what motivates campus police officers to work within postsecondary settings, rather than other policing contexts, and 3) critically investigating the culture, patterns, and norms of campus police agencies as it relates to engagement with social constructs at postsecondary institutions.

In addition, as shared in the first chapter, federal statistics reveal that 68% of 4-year postsecondary institutions utilized sworn campus police officers (BJS, 2015). Although these reports do not explicitly address the security and safety contexts of the remaining 32% of institutions, it is likely that most, if not all, of these institutions utilize non-sworn security personnel. While these roles do not exercise lawful arrest powers or operate in the same ways as sworn police officers, future research can help us understand how students experience and interpret these roles.

Conclusion: The Broader Context of Higher Education

It is clear that campus police officers emerge within the experiences of students. The implications of their interactions within institutional environments can present a range of emotional, interpersonal, and physical consequences. Campus police officers are authorized to use deadly force, conduct arrests as agents of their jurisdictions, and represent their institutions to the public. Therefore, campus policing embodies a complex discourse in relation to college students, specifically those who self-identify with

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experiences of racial marginalization. In this study, I sought to capture the voice of experiences with campus policing by engaging the lived experiences and interpretations of Black undergraduate students at a PWI. Although the topic of analysis (i.e. campus policing) is quite different than what we generally study within higher education scholarship, the experiences of racism and marginalization continue to surface as a significant theme. I hope that this work motives those interested in campus policing to critically analyze practices, spaces, and extend further research.

The crux of this study's implications for practice connect to campus police agencies. However, this study presents a philosophical implication for leaders, practitioners, and scholars within higher education. As this study has referenced the limited research on and awareness of campus policing within the sphere of higher education, those interested in issues of inclusion and diversity must begin to explicitly conceptualize campus police officers as a critical part of the student experience. The failure to consider campus policing within the sphere of higher education is largely a product of a heavy focus on faculty and practitioner roles, which are saliently pedagogical and developmental within postsecondary education. Too often, it becomes natural to imagine that students will only engage with campus police officers during emergencies or moments of crisis. Therefore, there is an implicit disregard for their presence and emergence within the everyday experiences of students at postsecondary institutions. However, this study revealed that students encounter and think about campus policing in very diverse ways. When moments of marginalization emerge during experiences with campus police, higher education practitioners and faculty must be

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prepared to support and partner with students through those experiences. In addition, as many of the police encounters displayed within this study mirrored overarching racialized experiences within predominately White institutional environments, the implications of encountering racialized experiences with campus police officers also emerge differently. The historical remnants of antiblackness (e.g. Dumas, 2016) provide a lens for contextualizing the perceptual implications of these encounters. Providing support to students must include proactive efforts, which requires that we begin interrogating the context of campus policing, learning the operational nuances of campus policing, and understanding the ways that campus policing intersects with the student experience. These proactive conversations and critical efforts are difficult to commence given the current ambiguity, organizational separation, and lack of awareness surrounding campus policing at postsecondary institutions.

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Appendix A: Semi-structured Interview Protocol

1) Can you describe what brought you to the university? Why did you choose to attend the university?

2) From your experience, how would you describe the overall experience for Black students here at your university?

3) Prior to attending the university, what were your perceptions of the police in general (can be within any context)? What informed these perceptions for you?

4) Did you have any experiences with the police prior to attending the university? If so, please describe the experience(s).

5) How did you first come to learn of the campus police department here at LU?

6) When you decided to attend LU, but prior to beginning your first semester, what knowledge or information did you have about the campus police department?
   a. How was this knowledge or information obtained?

7) What did you expect, if anything, from the campus police department?

8) Describe a time (or times) when you interacted with or encountered campus police while attending LU (can be an interpersonal encounter, group interaction, or public event)?
   a. How, if at all, did your racial identity affect your encounter(s) or how you received the encounter(s)?
   b. How, if at all, did your other social identities (i.e. gender, sexuality, ability, religion, class, or other identities) affect your encounter(s) or how you received the encounter(s)?

9) In what ways has the campus police department influenced your experience at the university?

10) As a Black college student with other intersecting social identities, please describe what you envision as the purpose and role of campus police in your college experience?

11) In what ways has the campus police department served as a resource for you as a college student?

12) You described your perception of the climate for Black students at LU. How, if at all, does the campus police department positively or negatively affect climate for Black students?

13) If you had to describe the campus police department to an incoming student who shared your racial identity, what information would you include in that description?

14) Would you like to share any additional information?

Appendix B: Pre-interview Background Questionnaire

1) Please list your preferred name and gender pronouns?

2) Please list your major.

3) What year are you in school (i.e. freshmen, sophomore, etc.)?

4) Please list your age.

5) When do you plan to graduate?

6) How do you racially and/or ethnically identify?

7) Please list your gender identity.

8) Please list any other social identities that you would like to share.

Greetings,

My name is Kegan Walker, and I am a doctoral student in the College of Education and Human Development at the University of Minnesota. I am conducting a dissertation study titled, *The Institutional Role of Campus Policing for Black Undergraduate Students: A Critical Race Phenomenological Study*.

The purpose of this study is to explore the ways in which Black and African American undergraduate students experience and make sense of campus policing at a predominately White higher education institution. Participation in this study will help inform research on the experiences of Black undergraduate students on college and university campuses, while interrogating intersections between policing and race at postsecondary institutions in the United States.

In order to participate, you must meet the following criteria:

1) Self-identify as Black, African American, or having origins within the African diaspora.
2) Be currently enrolled as an undergraduate student at your university.
3) Interacted with or reflected on campus policing at your university (interaction can be within any capacity or context).
4) Be at least 18 years of age.

Please know that participation in this study is voluntary and there is minimal risk involved. You can choose to opt out of participating at any time, up until I complete and publish my dissertation. Participation will involve one face-to-face interview, lasting about 60 minutes. In addition, participation may include a follow up interview lasting no more than 30 minutes. Please know that you will be provided with all of the interview questions before commencing the interview. You are free to review the questions before agreeing to participate. You are free to decline to answer some of the questions or stop the interview at any time. Additionally, the interviews will take place at a time and location that is most convenient for you. If you agree to participant, you will be provided with a $25 gift card. You will be provided with the gift card at the beginning of your first interview. Once you begin the interview, you can decide not to participate by stopping the interview at any time and keep the gift card.

In addition, I will do my best to ensure that your participation in the study is kept confidential. With your permission, I will create a digital audio recording of your interview. Only I will have access to the recording, and I will keep it in a locked file on my computer. Once I transcribe the audio recording, I will delete it. I will use a fake name (pseudonym) on the transcribed version of your interview. Your name and other

identifying information will not be shared within my dissertation manuscript. Additionally, pseudonyms will be used when describing your institution.

I am obligated to report incidents of sexual harassment, sexual assault, stalking, and relationship violence to your university's Title IX Office, if incidents of this nature are disclosed to me during your interview.

After completing your interview(s), you will have the opportunity to review your interview transcript to clarify statements, remove any information that you do not feel comfortable including the study, or add information if necessary.

If you have any questions regarding this study, please feel free to contact me at walk0736@umn.edu or my faculty advisor, Karen Miksch, at miksc001@umn.edu. This research has been reviewed and approved by an IRB within the Human Research Protections Program (HRPP) at the University of Minnesota. To share feedback privately with the HRPP about your research experience, call the Research Participants' Advocate Line at 612-625-1650 or go to https://research.umn.edu/units/hrpp/research-participants/questions-concerns.

Consent Statement

I agree to participate in this study. My participation is voluntary, and I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time, up until the completion and publication of this study. I have read and understand the information contained in this form. I also meet the criteria for this study.

Participant's name _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Investigator's name _____

Investigator's signature _____ Date _____