The Thin Black Line: How Black Housing Staff Make Meaning of Their Encounters with Campus Police

By

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Abstract

This study explored how black housing staff at predominantly white colleges in the Midwest that have their own campus police departments, engage, and interact with police and make sense of their beliefs about police in their work and personal lives. The existing literature on-campus police, student housing staff roles, the role of housing staff with campus safety, and the historical context of the relationship between black Americans and the police inform this study. This qualitative study used interviews with 13 black housing professionals worked at colleges and universities in the Upper Midwest Region- Association of College and University Housing Officers (UMR-AUCHO and the Great Lakes Association of College and University Housing Officers (GLACUHO). The major findings of this study are that participants wanted to be involved in the study because it gave them a place to share thoughts about working with police and their encounters with police. Participants felt that the purpose of campus police was to protect and ensure the safety of the university community from outside threats and identified this as complicated when thinking of campus police in the same way as municipal police. Further, participants shared narratives of the difficulty of building partnerships with the campus police and the challenges of working with them. This study also found that participants identified that a core aspect of their interactions with police is in advocacy and protecting black students.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my sister Sandte who is my best friend and is the embodiment of

our grandmother Willa Mae Manson's strength, generosity, humor, and loving nature. I could not

ask for a better sister or a better friend.

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Chapter One

Introduction

This is a study of how black housing staff at predominantly white colleges and universities in the Upper Midwest Region - Association of College and University Housing Officers (UMR-AUCHO and the Great Lakes Association of College and University Housing Officers (GLACUHO), that have their own campus police department, engage and interact with police and how they make sense of their beliefs about police in their work and personal life.

In the 1998 rap song Fuck Tha Police by N.W.A (Niggaz Wit Attitudes) Ice Cube raps "Fuck the police comin' straight from the underground, A young nigga got it bad 'cause I'm brown and not the other color so police think they have the authority to kill a minority" as cited in Jackson & Patterson, 1988. These lyrics are over two decades old, but they still resonate through the black community. Feelings of anger, disillusionment, and uprising against the police have been reflected through songs, movies, Oscar nominations, and pop culture references by black artist and influencers. The relationship between the black community and police is nuanced by a cumulative history of both negative direct and indirect encounters (Mentel, 2012; U.S. Department of Justice, 2010; Hinton & Cook, 2020).

Over the years there have been flashpoints of police brutality that have captured the attention of the nation and created a collective cultural imprint. The beating of Rodney King and, the killing of Freddy Gray, and the murder of Michael Brown, for example, seemed to touch not just black and brown individuals but also white people (Lacoe & Stein, 2018). In May 2020, Georg Floyd was murdered by Minneapolis Police. His murder was followed by weeks of protests and public statements denouncing racism and anti-blackness. Although this murder was

not the first and will not be the last, it landed differently and has gone beyond the story that black people will talk about amongst themselves.

Encounters with law enforcement create a narrative in the black community that is passed down from family member to family member, from friend to friend (Mentel, 2012). These shared stories have resulted in an inter-generational cloud of fear and mistrust that is pervasive in the black community. This mistrust expands each time a police officer stops a black man or woman, uses deadly force against a black person or arrests a black person (Mentel, 2012). Research has shown that black people are disproportionately stopped, arrested, and have deadly force utilized against them more so than their white counterparts. For example, national studies found that blacks were stopped 23 percent more often than whites while driving (Mentel, 2012; Thompson, 2017).

Police are omnipresent in society; even when police are not physically present, they are felt through the rules and regulations that govern society (Brunson, 2007). When they are physically present, police enforce laws against black people, especially black men, at a disproportionately higher rate than against white citizens (Brunson, 2007, Mentel, 2012). From the black perspectives these rules are steeped in the white regulation of black people (Brunson, 2007). Normative behaviors are often centered in whiteness and the white perspective is used to determine and define societal norms (Morris, 2016; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995; Thompson, 2017). Whiteness serves as the cultural, economic, political, and physical norm of American societal behavior. White members of society act in societal ways that are disconnected from race but make judgements on non-white members of society who do not assimilate or act in accordance with societal norms (Morris, 2016; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995; Thompson, 2017).

The historical context of police and their connection to black people is tied to the long standing official and unofficial police patrols that monitored and restricted the movements of black people during times of slavery and Jim Crowe (Brockett, 2000; Hawkins & Thomas, 2013). This history connects black people to a narrative of law enforcement as a constant form of punishment and restriction to emancipation that is currently associated with mass incarceration and the criminal justice system (Brockett, 2000).

Most black people have a story about engagement with police (Brunson, 2007, Mentel, 2012). The central events in these stories may not have happened to them directly, however, the feelings of fear, rage and sadness may make them feel like a direct encounter. For instance, they may see news reports of negative encounters between black people and the police on TV, hear them on the radio, or read about them in the news. Former President Barack Obama, the first black president, articulated such an experience on July 19, 2013 when he said "You know, when Trayvon Martin was first shot, I said that this could have been my son. Another way of saying that is Trayvon Martin could have been me 35 years ago" (The White House, 2013). These negative personal and vicarious experiences serve as cautionary tales and keep feelings of trauma alive and thriving in black culture (Brunson, 2007, Mentel, 2012).

How a black person comes to an awareness of and develops a personal narrative about police is informed by the people, events, and encounters in their lives. People, events, and the encounters throughout life also play an integral role in racial identity development. Racial identity formation is an ongoing process. Omi and Winant (1998) define racial identity formation as the "sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created inhabited and transformed and destroyed" (p.25). Racial identity is impacted by activities that occur by a person of color living everyday day life and is informed by the individual sense of self and how

others view us (Omi & Winant, 1998). Due to living where they work housing staff's personal and professional lives have intersections that are not seen in other student affairs work. Housing staff are student affairs full time, graduate and student staff who are responsible for the management and oversight of student housing facilities, programs, and operations for on campus student housing (ACUHO-I, 2019). These intersections of identity include black university housing staff members who encounter both municipal police and campus police.

Campus police are part of everyday campus life for student housing staff. Campus police partner with housing staff through responding to student behavior, and life, health and safety emergencies. Campus police provide training for staff at all levels. Police are partners in addressing concerns of mental health and sexual assault (Seager, 2018). In a case of emergency and uncertainty a housing professional in higher education is trained to do two things: call up to the person on duty above them and to call the police (Seager, 2018). Although this might seem like a normal, natural, and good thing to do for a white housing staff member, it may be more of a challenge for a black staff member to trust wholeheartedly that the police will be helpful, and provide support and safety during an uncertain and potentially dangerous situation, especially when the person in trouble is another person of color. The relationship between a black housing staff member and police requires a level of trust that is historically not afforded to non-campus police (Mentel, 2012; Thompson, 2017).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to understand how black housing staff at colleges and universities engage and interact with campus police both on and off campus and to learn how these interactions shaped their perceptions of law enforcement. This study explored possible changes in black staff opinions and perceptions of off campus police as a result of

engagement with on campus police through working in student housing. Further, the study sought to discover how working with police through interactions that include addressing student behavior, hall programming, and performing job position responsibilities affect the personal and professional lives of black housing staff members.

Police are involved at every level of housing training and community engagement (Seager, 2018). Working with police is unavoidable for individuals in student housing regardless of their seniority or experience. Housing staff begin their engagement with police as student paraprofessional staff members (e.g. Resident Assistants or, desk attendants) who call on police while on duty and are trained by police to identify drugs and concerning student behavior (Seager, 2018). Both staff and residents also have casual encounters when campus police officers walk the corridors of a residence halls or if there are specific programs where hall staff partner with campus police. These engagements are planned by housing staff and police and bring both staff, residents, and police together outside of instances of crisis or emergency. Contact also occurs through programming provided by campus police, such as walking through the community and playing videos games with beer googles with residents to share information about drunk driving (Seager, 2018). These engagements are part of what makes campus police uniquely personable to staff and residents and may contribute to how black staff members and black residents may see campus police as non-threating.

Entry-level university housing staff who are graduate students or full-time staff members engage with police in similar ways, even though they are in different roles. Graduate and full-time housing staff collaborate through planning programs, staff trainings, and developing community engagement opportunities to connect residents with campus police. Mid-level university housing administrators and leaders, such as assistant and associate directors, have the

most complex level of engagement with campus police (Seager, 2018). Mid-level housing administrators work with the police to create policies and procedures that facilitate the other levels of engagement. Working with campus police at any level can be challenging.

The same history of mistrust and violence between black people and municipal police may lead housing professionals to question who campus police serve and protect (Dottolo & Stewart, 2008) all while having to work closely with them to ensure safety in their housing communities. Daily, black university student housing staff have no choice about their level of engagement with campus police. They must put any potential mistrust they have with police in general aside to assure the safety and security of their residents and to fulfill the expectations of their job. It is important to understand whether and how a black staff member must make a choice to put aside their elements of self-preservation that tells them not to trust the police to meet work expectations. This is a choice they may make every time they are tasked with creating relationships and partnerships that put police in contact with black students who potentially have the same concerns.

Framework of the Study

The framework for this study is informed by several key ideas that provide an integrated way of looking at the topic of housing staff and their engagement with campus police. These key ideas include the historical relationship between black people and the police, the background of the interview subjects and their identity development, the different ways that housing staff engage with police, both campus and community/city police, and the elevated public consciousness of violent incidents between black people and police. Each of these topics is explored in more depth in chapter 2.

Research Questions

The following questions guided this study:

1. How do black housing professionals think about campus police and non-campus police?

2. How do their beliefs about police and their prior work experiences with campus police affect their work with campus police?

3. How do black housing staff members engage and interact with campus police?

    a. How does their identity as a black housing professional affect their work with campus police?

4. How does their work with campus police affect their personal and professional lives?

Housing Staff Roles, Safety and Working with Campus Police

Providing support, enforcing of policies, and educating students on their behaviors while trying to maintain a positive relationship with students and campus partners, are fundamental aspects to the role of a housing staff member (Wilson & Hirschy, 2003). Focus on this begins from the time an undergraduate seeks to become a resident assistant. The ability to be approachable yet authoritative is a trait that is screened for in selection and later trained into the consciousness of a resident assistant who lives within the community of the residents (Wilson & Hirschy, 2003). Although this combination feels strange to some undergraduate students, those who show aptitude and success may continue in their leadership journey and become graduate students in roles such as an assistant complex director or a full-time housing staff in roles like complex directors or halls directors (Wilson & Hirschy, 2003).

Full-time staff housing staff have roles that require them to establish and refine leadership skills that include interpersonal communication, effective decision making, crisis management, conflict mediation, and interpreting and implementing policies and procedures

(Collins & Hirt, 2006). Entry level housing staff must use these skills, improve with annual

trainings and on the job education to practice independent judgment and decision making that

can give the staff member a feeling of constantly being on the job because of the proximity of

their work and living space in relation to undergraduate students (Asimou & Adams, 2016).

These positions often do not follow typical nine to five office hours and require commitments

after typical working hours (Asimou & Adams, 2016). Student affairs staff in general often

describe themselves as being "on the front line" when dealing with students more closely than

other faculty and staff.

For both entry level housing staff and campus police officers, work hours and

engagement with students often overlap. Campus police offices, like residence halls, are not

centrally located on the campus. Housing staff and campus police also overlap in their

expectation and need to assist and oversee the health, safety, and emergency response for the

campus community. Housing staff members are more likely to be known and work directly with

campus law enforcement than they are with academic faculty and larger campus administrators

in areas outside of student affairs (Collins & Hirt, 2006).

The Clery Act, established in 1990, as a federal law for reporting campus crimes policy

and statistics, was integral in shaping how housing and campus police address, educate and

engage crime on campus (Gregory & Janosik, 2006). Adherence to the Clery Act helped to

solidify and maintain the relationship between housing staff and campus police by creating a

need to share information to have accurate crime reporting to avoid federal violations or the

appearance of an unsafe campus to parents and students (Gregory & Janosik, 2006). The Act

required housing staff to work with campus police to take more responsibility for the safety of

students and take a lead role in providing students and parents with awareness and resources for

campus safety and security (Gregory & Janosik, 2006). Campus police and housing staff must engage student behavior for many of the same reasons and in many of the same ways.

The Association of University Housing Officers International states that 26% of housing staff identity as being a minority (ACUHO-I, 2019). When broken down into roles, 10% of chief housing officers identify as black, 84% identify as white, 4% as Hispanic and 1% as Asian. Chief housing officers are charged with overseeing the entirety of student housing on their campus. 22% of entry level staff who oversee the operations within an individual residence hall identify as black and 66% identify as white (ACUHO-I, 2019). When thinking of who creates policy and who implements policy on police engagement, these numbers show that nationally a lower percentage of black people are in roles that lead departments and create policies that black housing professionals would be implementing.

Housing professionals and staff who live-in often see students more than other administrators and faculty with whom students have classes or engage in other leadership experiences (Luedke, 2017). Being on the front lines can create opportunities for housing staff of color and students of color to connect and build supportive relationships.

Staff of color often end up in mentoring relationships with students of color who live in their buildings or work on their staff. This includes giving the student psychological and emotional support, helping the student navigate university systems and supporting their academic and career goals (Luedke, 2017). These relationships are built on the staff member of color being authentic in sharing their own story and genuine investment in the students' success that engage the share identities and experiences of the staff member and the student, allowing the student to gain or grow their social capital (Luedke, 2017).

These relationships require the staff member of color to engage in sharing their own values and experiences, while walking a fine line of professionalism. White staff members do not engage in these types of relationships with students of color at the same depth or rate as staff of color (Luedke, 2017). Thus, when a current event of police violence against a black person occurs in society, a housing staff member of color may have to engage in a discussion about the event in their personal life with their family or friends, at work with colleagues, while also supporting a black student who lives in their hall.

A housing staff member must make room in their professional life for engagement with police from the moment they begin their job. They must develop a partnership and give deference to this partner or risk being labeled insubordinate, difficult to work with or lacking the skill to build and sustain a working relationship with a campus partner. A black housing staff member may do this while possibly hearing the voice of a friend, family or church member telling them they are not safe or seeing in their minds eye the most recent police shooting of a black person.

Experiential Knowledge

I am a black, Native American, cisgender female, who was born in Wichita, Kansas to a single mother. I am a first-generation college student. I have worked in residence life since 2000 and, I have held the role of resident assistant, graduate assistant, hall director, assistant director, and currently serve as an associate director. I have worked at 5 different campuses located in Kansas, Arizona, Illinois, Utah, and Ohio. During my career in residence life, I have engaged with police in positive and negative ways. These experiences shaped why I want to research the experiences of black staff members and their contact with campus police. I reached a point in my career to be able to outline and implement policies and procedures; I have spent time reflecting

on how my experiences inform my decisions. To shape policy and create expectations, one must have an informed understanding of who is impacted by one's decisions and how.

During the process of selecting my dissertation topic, I reflected on the times when I was a graduate and entry-level staff member who engaged with the police. I specifically reflected on one experience during my time at Western Illinois University (WIU). At WIU, I was a complex director who supervised graduate students. The culture with police at WIU was to see them not only as campus partners but as colleagues.

Due to the WIU's size of approximately 9,400 students and rural setting, it was possible to encounter police multiple times a day while walking on campus or to your building. Each building was assigned a police officer who would walk the building with the student staff, come in, host programs, and attend staff meetings. Many students who attend WIU show interest in becoming police officers, during my time at WIU, I had many staff members graduate and join the police force. As I reflected on my experiences with both sworn police and students wanting to be police, I was struck by how much of my experiences during my time at WIU involved the police.

I also had very specific encounters with municipal police while I lived in Macomb, Illinois (home to WIU) that were not as positive or relational like when I was on campus. When I lived in Macomb, I would often travel to Springfield or Peoria to spend time in a larger town to get my hair done and shop. There are no salons in Macomb for a black woman to get her hair done. These trips often took me through smaller isolated country towns. I quickly became accustomed to being stopped by the police when I took my trips. None of these stops resulted in citations or tickets. Instead, they always seemed to stop to share warnings such as about speed or about having my headlights turned on too bright.

These stops always made me feel I was in the wrong even when I did not do anything wrong. Macomb, the campus, and the police represented a level of safety that I was not able to find when I was not on campus. My experience in Macomb was before Trayvon Martin, Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Sandra Bland, Freddie Gray, Alton Sterling, and Philando Castile became tragic national headlines. This was before Samuel DuBose an unarmed black man was fatally shot by a white University of Cincinnati police officer. Before these incidents, I had created an imaginary line between campus police and local police. As I have taken on roles with more administrative decision making, I have had to grapple with having a role in creating policy that I no longer directly enforce.

When a student is arrested by campus police and a decision is made to remove the student from housing it is my name on the letter that conveys the outcome. Although the students bear the bigger responsibility for their actions, I must reconcile that I helped to create the environment that allowed police engagement with the student in a way that led to their arrest and subsequent removal from housing. This was especially troubling to me when I had a meeting with a black mother and her son who attended a housing contract cancellation meeting. The son was arrested for having marijuana in his residence hall room. The student was also charged with distribution because he possessed what was deemed to be an amount larger than for personal consumption. In this case, as often in my role, I am continually called on to remove students from housing in enforcement of policies.

As a black housing professional, I sat and listened to this black male share with me what it meant to be in college for both him and his mother and how he had learned from his mistake. He also shared that if he could not live on campus, he might not be able to continue to attend the university. So, I sat and listened and took in what this young black man was saying, and when I

asked him why he had the drugs in his room, he divulged that he got caught up with his friend, who was also arrested. His mother then said that he would learn not to do that again. Being the person who decided to remove this student and possibly stand in the way of another young black man graduating from college and obtaining social mobility that could change his life was hard. It is emotionally draining and not something my white colleagues have to make room to think about nor is it a weight they must carry.

Better understanding the intersection of black housing staff and the emotions and feelings that are evoked when engaging with campus police is an important part of my continued professional growth and is what led me to ask the question in this study. Do other black housing professionals share similar feelings about police officers?

Methodology

I used individual interpretative interviews for this study. Interpretive interviews pull from first person experiences by asking questions that will allow the researcher to make meaning of how the subject interprets, constructs and makes meaning of their experiences (Merriam, 2002). The interpretive interview methodology sees each interviewee as a unique individual who is shaped by their background and circumstances, which provide a base for further interpretations and understanding (Van Esch, & Van Esch, 2013).

Importance of Study

This study allowed me to see how other black housing professionals view their interactions and engagements with police and how that shaped their perceptions of police, and their engagement with them. I was able to shed light on what informs these views and what boundaries and imaginary lines are formed to create context and acceptance. This study allowed me to explore the differences between working with police for a job and engaging with police as

a citizen. I feel strongly that there is much to learn about how campus police operate and their impact on staff and students of color on college campuses. This topic has both societal and personal compelling interest.

In a post 9/11 and mass shooting high alert society, campus police have become a safety net for some campus administrators, faculty, and students (Grimm, 2008). College campuses have started to mirror the larger societal patterns of police being called to rein in the presence of black people who are perceived to not be following white structured societal norms (Brunson, 2007; Dottolo & Stewart, 2008; Mentel, 2012;).

For example, at the University of San Antonio, a white female faculty member called the police on a black student who refused to remove her feet from the back of the seat in front of her, a pet peeve of the faculty member (Chokshi, 2018). At Yale a black student was sleeping in the lounge of their residence hall when a fellow resident called the police on the student who required the student to show identification and verify her right to sleep in her lobby (Wootson, 2018).

In situations like this, housing staff must compartmentalize the people in these types of incidents. They must engage and possibly provide support to the student who called the police, they must provide support to the student who was the alleged problem, and they must allow the police to engage with the minority student. As in society when police are engaged more, it is marginalized members of society that are impacted the most. It is often the white members of the society who feel the most secure calling police for support and feel the most protected. On the other hand, the black staff member in housing, may have no choice but to put trust in campus police. They must believe that they will protect you, even if society and their own personal experience tells them otherwise.

There is a need for higher education administrators, who work with black staff members in housing positions, to understand the role and possible toll that engagement with police has on these staff members. A goal of this research was to understand if housing training, policies, and procedures play a role in shaping black men and women's opinions of the police. Knowing more about how working with police may effect black staff members could support a less stressful work culture, provide training that allows for better support that could enhance the length of time staff stay in live in roles, and improve overall retention of black university housing staff, which could increase the number of black staff who move into higher level positions.

Even if campus police are a toned-down version of municipal police, they are still police. Campus police carry guns and tasers and are not exempt from the same biases and practices that put black bodies at risk. Housing staff are front and center as members of the campus community that engage with most frequently. Their ability to be supported in their beliefs and feelings about police and providing context for their work with campus police both supports their personal and professional development and their work with students.

Conclusion

In today's campus climate it is important to understand how student affairs practitioners can create partnerships with the police that are supportive of the work that needs to be accomplished, and also acknowledges the historical disparities and concerns that are present between police and black staff.

The next chapter will provide a review of literature on campus police, black identity, housing staff and campus safety. Chapter three, four and five will outline the methodology of the study, provide results and a discussion of results.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Like many relationships between campus partners, there is a narrative behind why that partnership exists. When thinking about the connection between campus police and student housing, one must understand each partner as they exist on their own and the connection points between the two. This study includes the connection of identity and context of police engagement with black Americans.

This chapter provides grounding in the literature on-campus police, student housing staff roles, the role of housing staff with campus safety, and the historical context of the relationship between black Americans and the police.

Black People and Police Engagement

No one story shapes the background, history, and feelings that have been established in the black culture as it relates to police. Most black people do not see police as their heroes who are committed to serving and protecting the black body. Rather, more often they see them as villains who indiscriminately and disproportionately stop, arrest, and utilize deadly force against the black body (Lumsden, 2017; Thompson, 2017). These anti-hero feelings are not without historical context; policing and the institution of slavery are intertwined in American history (Thompson, 2017).

The idea of law enforcement being established as a mechanism to police the freedom of black members of society is an idea that predates the Civil War (Lumsden, 2017; Thompson, 2017). Slave patrols were established and organized as a tactic to protect white slave owners from the slave population (Thompson, 2017). These patrols were tasked with capturing runaway

slaves, punishing slaves who committed criminal acts, and tamping down slave uprisings (Thompson, 2017).

Slave patrols were legitimized by Southern lawmakers when laws were established to allow for more control and authority over the slave population (Thompson, 2017). These laws ranged from any white person having the authority to apprehend and punish a runaway slave without fear of criminal repercussion to Southern judges giving appointments to leaders within the slave patrols establishing a hierarchy of authority and linking the criminal justice system, police, and slavery (Lumsden, 2017; Thompson, 2017).

Slave patrols were required to visit the plantations in their jurisdiction each month to check for runaway slaves, weapons, and stolen property. They were allowed to whip and punish any slave found outside of their plantation boundaries without a pass from their master (Thompson, 2017). These patterns of patrol and asking for justification for being in a certain location, showing identification or a pass connect back to today's modern police practices. Slave patrols became the bridge between formal law enforcement and an informal citizen or neighborhood watch policing (Thompson, 2017). Slave patrols like police were charged with bringing any slave found in violation to their master or the local judge (Thompson, 2017). The overall goal of the slave patrols was twofold. First, they are used to control the perceived uncontrollable slave. Second, they were used to maintain and protect the property of the slave owner, i.e., the slave (Thompson, 2017; Lumsden,2017).

There are similarities between modern police and slave patrols. One area of similarity is with the language used by both groups. The term "walking the beat" used by today's police to describe their patrol area originated with the slave patrol who used the same term to describe their planation patrols (Thompson, 2017). The term "stakeout" was also thought to originate

with slave patrol who used the term to describe their methods of surveillance of woods and properties for runaway slaves (Thompson, 2017). The abolition of slavery may have brought about the end of the slave patrol but not the monitoring and formal and informal policing of black people. South Carolina was the first state in the south to officially transition their slave patrol into its local police department (Chin, 2013).

The Charleston Guard and Watch were authorized in 1793 to use force and had an established leadership and hierarchy that included a captain and patrolman or officers (Chin, 2013). The slave patrols morphed into white citizens who utilized groups like the Klan, who established themselves within the police and used the cover of law enforcement to continue the work of the slave patrols. Klan members and those who support white supremacy became integrated into the early formation of police departments (Chin, 2013). This connection allowed them to spread the philosophy of protecting the white race, and the positions in law enforcement allowed for a white supremacist to have the agency to act against people of color through formalized training and legalized authority (Chin, 2013).

The Klan and those with white supremacy ideology utilized the transition between the abolishment of slavery and the movement into Jim Crow to establish themselves in positions of power in law enforcement agencies starting in the South (Chin, 2013; Thompson, 2017). In the post slavery south, the Klan, who infiltrated police unites, led white vigilante groups who beat and terrorized black people without fear of accountably (Chin, 2013). This further distanced black people from the connection to the police as a source of protection.

During Jim Crow police continued to be the face of control over black people and enforcement of laws that were established to maintain control over black people (Thompson, 2017). During this time, laws required black Americans to provide evidence of employment.

Police could arrest black Americans for engaging in disorderly conduct, which could include making insulting gestures or language, engaging in mischief, or preaching the gospel without a license (Thompson, 2017). The punishment for these violations included fines, serving on a chain gang, or being sentenced to involuntary servitude on the remaining Southern plantations (Thompson, 2017).

The role of police Jim Crow was to enforce formal laws and informal policies that ensured the segregation of black and white citizens (Thompson, 2017). The unsaid expectation of police by white society was to use their power and structure to punish black people suspected of criminal activity and to not respond to violence or crimes against black citizens (Thompson, 2017). These early engagements between police and black people started the legacy and narrative of violence and injustice that continue to be felt between police and black people today.

As the nation shifted and changed during the civil rights movement, police had to start navigating changing feelings in society about race and human rights (Thompson, 2017). As black Americans fought for their rights by utilizing marches and peaceful protests, police were charged with responding while the nation watched. The world watched on televisions as police used police dogs and fire hoses to respond to civil rights protestors (Thompson, 2017). Through the 1960s, Americans watched as police responded to race riots like the Watts riots that gained national attention and destroyed many black neighborhoods (Thompson, 2017).

In 1965, then President Johnson created the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, known as the Kerner Commission, to review the Watts riots (Thompson, 2017). The Kerner Commission found that riots like Watts occurred because black citizens were not served and protected by law enforcement. It was also found that the law enforcement system allowed for

racial discrimination against black Americans to persist, thus creating a belief that the presence of police does not ensure protection and justice for black citizens (Thompson, 2017).

The presence of police continues to be associated with times of social and societal conflict for black Americans (Thompson, 2017). Post the civil rights movement, police and black Americans were entangled together during the 1980's war on drugs. Many police practices established during this phase of American policing remain in practice today. This was again a time where American citizens of all races and backgrounds could watch on TV what policing looked like in black communities. Police raids on drug houses using battering rams to break open doors and the words crack cocaine were used and linked to these images that often-included black Americans being dragged from houses with smashed doors and walls (Thompson, 2017).

Black Americans saw greater punishments from these arrests (Thompson, 2017). Blacks who were arrested with crack cocaine versus whites who were arrested with powder cocaine had a sentencing disparity of 100-1. During the war on drugs, black men were incarcerated at a higher rate than white men. At the start of the 20th century, more than 500,000 thousand black men and women were incarcerated in state and federal prisons. Black Americans males were 7.7 times more likely to be imprisoned than white males (Thompson, 2017).

The war on drugs expanded the feeling of the black community existing in a police state of over surveillance and racial profiling (Thompson, 2017). Racial profiling occurs when police conduct stops for minor or non-offenses under the pretext that the individual being stopped is likely involved in more serious crime. The phrase "driving while black" is often used to describe these minor stops, which often occur when police stop a black motorist while driving. When stopped by police, a black motorist is twice as likely than a white motorist not to be told a reason for being stopped (Thompson, 2017).

Rodney King became the salient example of "driving while black" and police brutality

and one of the first instances where this brutality was captured on camera. In 1991, King led Los

Angeles Police on a high-speed chase. The chase ended with King being beaten by multiple

police officers that resulted in him having a broken leg and 11 broken bones in his skull

(Thompson, 2017). Four officers were charged and put on trial for excessive force. The trail that

resulted in national attention saw the officers acquitted, which resulted in widespread riots in LA

that lasted five days (Thompson, 2017). The aftermath of the King verdict and riots further

cemented the relationship between police and black America but included the new element of

real-time visuals of police brutality and police officers not being held accountable for violence

against the black community.

From Los Angeles to Ferguson, the actions of the police have not changed, nor has the

level of accountability. The death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, reminded the nation

what the black community was already aware that engagements with police can lead to a beating

or can cause death. The murder of Michael Brown did not occur in isolation. The Department of

Justice found that the Ferguson police engaged in practices that unconstitutionally and racially

profiled black citizens. Black Ferguson citizens were more likely to be stopped by police and

have force used against them (Thompson, 2017).

In 2006, the FBI issued a report warning of the increased engagement and success of

white supremacists in infiltrating police forces across the United States (Chin, 2013). The FBI

report warned of individuals engaging in a concept called "ghost skin" This term refers to white

supremacists avoiding engaging in overt racist actions to better assimilate into the social

structure while covertly promoting white supremist causes (Chin, 2013). Those that "ghost skin"

become obstructionist to any advancements that police might take in bringing the troubled

relationship between police and the black community to an end. Although the history of black people and the police do not include the campus police, black housing professionals are aware of this history. What has occurred in society between black people and police continues to write new chapters with every new incident of police brutality that continues today.

Black Identity

Understanding black identity provides insight into how black identity shows up in personal and workplace settings. Black identity includes how black people feel about themselves as a black person, how they view other black people and how they view other racial and ethnic groups (Worrell, Mendoza-Denton, Telesford, Simmons, & Martin, 2011). Black identity provides insights for the intersections between black identity and the different ways that a black housing professional may navigate their identity in their personal and professional lives.

Black identity and how black people navigate their identity has connections to the understanding of one's self as a whole and emotional and psychological health (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002). When a black person has reached a level of acceptance of their blackness, then it is assumed the person is psychologically healthy and has high self-esteem as it relates to their racial identity (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002). In contrast, when a black person is struggling to accept their racial identity and places a high standard on white societal values, they may suffer from self-hatred and struggle with psychological health and have lower self-esteem (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002).

Although many different racial identity models include black identity, the leading model for black identity development is the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). Cross's original theory developed in 1971 included four stages of black racial identity development and is called

nigrescence, or the evolution of a black person developing a psychological connection to their blackness (Plummer, 1996). The first stage in Cross's model is the pre-encounter. The pre-encounter stage which includes a person working from a color-blind mindset. The person has limited understanding or awareness of the societal implications of what it means to be a black person in America as cited in Plummer (1996). For example, a black housing staff member might not have knowledge or background about black people and their treatment by police. The lack of understanding could come from a lack of historical context or lack of engagement in current events involving police violence and black people.

The second state of CRIS is the encounter stage where the person explores their understanding of blackness that is often initiated by a critical incident regarding race (Cross 1971 as cited in Plummer, 1996). A critical incident could include having a racist incident occur in a space that the person previously thought was safe or having microaggressions or a racist action associated with a white person that was thought to be nonracist (Plummer, 1996). For example, a black housing staff member could be charged with addressing and providing support bias incidents involving black students in their hall. A black housing staff member could overhear a campus police officer talk in generalizations and stereotypes about black students. Both examples could trigger the encounter stage where the person makes a conscious decision to develop their black identity (Plummer, 1996).

The third stage of CRIS is the immersion-emersion stage where the person is integrating their blackness into everyday personality, thoughts, and actions (Cross 1971 as cited in Plummer, 1996). There could be changes in clothing style and hairstyle. The person in this stage makes a conscious effort to surround themselves and view the world through what they believe is the black experience and other black people (Plummer, 1996). For a black housing staff member,

this could include seeking out black staff members though social networks and offices outside of student housing, especially if there are few or no other black housing staff members. This stage could result in the housing staff member choosing to job search because they are unable to engage in immersion or emersion because of campus or department climate or lack of resources or connections in the community.

The fourth stage of CRIS is internalization and during this stage; the person has a heightened understanding of black culture and begins to acknowledge and gain context for black identity and its intersection between other identities, races, and ethnicities (Cross 1971 as cited in Plummer, 1996). Further, the individual has comfort and stability in their blackness. A black housing professional in this stage may feel comfortable challenging and addressing what they feel are racist or socially unjust practices within their department or with their colleagues.

One of the limitations of the original model is that it did not include the influence of the individual's life stage and the general human development and changes that occur during these different stages (Plummer, 1996). Some strides can be made in incorporating the intersectionality of gender and sexual orientation in black identity into the CRIS model.

Some black people experience policing within the dynamic intersections of their black identity and other minority identities they hold. As explained earlier, black people have a long history of being abused by police, thus resulting in a lack of trust in police. They have less trust in police legitimacy and their actions than other minority groups (Cochran & Warren, 2012). These feelings of mistrust are tied to perceptions of racial profiling, the criminal justice system, and over-policing in black neighborhoods (Cochran & Warren, 2012).

A black person does not have to experience police directly to have perceptions of police or feel that there is an injustice (Cochran & Warren, 2012). Social position and circumstances

also play a role in perceptions of police by black people. These dynamic perceptions occur at work as well as in a person's personal life (Cochran & Warren, 2012). These indirect occurrences and dynamic perceptions can occur for black housing staff when they are engaging in their everyday work with police or supporting black students in navigating their own perceptions.

The role of black identity and the stages that are outlined by Cross connect back to the different ways that black housing professionals compartmentalize their relationship with campus police. Black housing professional are able to move through their own identity development and support black students through their development states while both acknowledging their own blackness and the connection between black identity to police. While doing this they create space in their own understanding of the relationship between black people and police to do their work as a housing professional.

Campus Police

A key to understanding black housing professionals' relationship with campus police is to understand the role of campus police as distinct from city or community police. As there have been changes and shifts over time with understanding black identity, there have also been changes and shifts for what it means for a campus to have a police presence. Although there has been much written about municipal police and their background, history, and relationship to black identity, there is less research about campus police even though their founding dates back to 1894 at Yale University (Patten, Alward, Thomas, & Wada, 2016).

Understanding why colleges have their police forces is an essential aspect of background knowledge for this study. The role of campus police has evolved to look more like their municipal counterparts (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000; Wilson & Wilson, 2011). The existence of

campus police began in 1894 at Yale University (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016; Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000). Police were monitoring unites on campus that did not engage with students until the early 1960s, which saw a rise in campus protests and upheaval (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016; Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000).

Campus police responding to campus protests carry forward a theme of police being central to addressing negative student behavior (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000). This calls to question if the police on campus have ever been set up to have a positive impact on students and staff. This is especially salient in the residence halls if police are only seen arresting students or executing warrants instead of participating in positive student interactions.

From experience, one of the most challenging campus partners to get into the residence halls for programs beyond faculty are campus police. There are various reasons why this is the case, including campus police work hours, are not always compatible with event schedules. The more critical reason could be that most campus police departments do not prioritize student or staff engagement as a core of their function, very much like municipal police who often are not active in the communities they police (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000).

From the 1960s through the 1980s, campus police increased in size and became more professional in their appearance and procedures (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000). The 1990s through today have seen campus police continue to take on commonalities with their community/city counterparts, which includes the types of weapons they use, education levels of staff, creating specific tactical teams and hiring police that focus on specific crimes (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000; Wilson & Wilson, 2011). A limitation of the literature about the increase in size and weaponry of campus police is that it is attributed to an increase in campus size and populations. There is limited information about student or staff attitudes regarding the increase

and what the impacts were on campus climate. Notably, more information is needed about the impact on black staff members who, during this time of growth in campus police, were likely smaller in demographics and more insolated in their positions and roles on campus. This is where the present study fits-to help fill this void.

As campus demographics have changed, so have the priorities and complexities of the role of campus police (Wilson & Wilson, 2011). Campus police are being charged with addressing issues like sexual assault, student protests, and campus crime in more multifaceted ways. This involves front facing contact with campus administration, students, and reporting campus crime in accidence with Cleary law (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000; Wilson & Wilson, 2011). Today's campus police are asked to be more proactive instead of reactive to student behavior, identities, and support (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000; Wilson & Wilson, 2011). Much of the literature on this topic centers on the perceived strides made by campus police on addressing sexual assault on college campuses. The literature did not include information or context for direct police actions or programs created to combat sexual assault.

Most of the strides that were taken by various campus police departments included hiring staff with specific skill sets to address sexual assault or providing more training (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000). There is limited literature on how campus police address issues that exist between minorities and police. There is an understanding that college police are not exempt from issues of bias and racism. Any instances of bias or racism are often downplayed because campus police live at the intersection of policing and education (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000). This intersection of policing and education becomes a factor in how police engage their student constituents.

There is a line that campus police must walk as it relates to their law enforcement expectations and policing student behavior, which is often time attributed to the development and

growth of a college-age person (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016). There are, of course, bright lines or expectations for life and safety. Universities are expected to keep students safe but not infringe on their ability to have fun, within reason.

However, the campus police are held to the expectation they will use discretion by issuing citations instead of arrests for minor infractions on a college campus where some misbehavior and minor criminal activity, like underage drinking, often occur (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016). Campus police do their police work in a setting that requires them to take into context that criminalization of the students on campus could harm the enrollment and financial wellbeing of the institution (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016).

One of the aspects that campus police struggle with is not being perceived as real police (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016). The lack of legitimacy occurs even though police are armed and given the same training as their municipal counterparts (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016). There is danger in campus police being perceived as less legitimate than their municipal counterparts in a college setting, especially when the context of racial identity is factored in as an element of campus climate (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016).

Campus police are not exempt from the historical context of the relationship between black people and police (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000; Wilson & Wilson, 2011). This includes the perception that police use brutality and force against black citizens more so than other minority groups (Wilson & Wilson, 2011) and that black people are less likely than other minorities and white people to trust the police (Wilson & Wilson, 2011). Given all this the present study shows that campus continue to complex and complicated in how they work with housing professionals.

Roles and Responsibilities of Live-In Housing Staff

Living on campus is often considered a rite of passage of the traditional college experience. Similarly, a student leader or paid staff member in housing is often a starting point for people who go on to have careers in student affairs. Graduate staff who participate in higher education master's programs often have assistantships in student housing. The individuals who graduate from these programs often choose to continue working in housing. They continue their work in housing by becoming full-time staff that live on campus and oversees the management of a single residence hall or multiple buildings. They are often referred to as hall directors or complex directors (Asimou & Adams, 2016). Student housing often employs the largest number of entry levels professionals within student affairs (Asimou & Adams, 2016; Collins & Hirt, 2006). Student housing staff who live in the halls hold positions which supervise undergraduate staff and smaller halls or oversee multiple buildings or supervise graduate level students (Asimou & Adams, 2016; Collins & Hirt, 2006).

Full-time housing staff who live-in residence halls and on-campus apartments have essential aspects of their job that separate them from other housing staff members. This includes living in a staff apartment, that is considered a part of their compensation. These apartments are often in the same building where they have an office. Live-in staff have on-call responsibilities to address safety and crisis incidents in their halls or serve in a on call duty rotation. Live-in staff have a campus dining meal plan included in their compensation as well (Asimou & Adams, 2016). Salaries for entry-level live-in hall staff can range from $25,000 to $47, 476 per year.

The higher end of the salary was set as the standard maximum by the 2016 updates Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) that required housing programs to define the scope of the work of entry-level professionals or pay them overtime (Asimou & Adams, 2016). This change in pay

was an important part of the change in the work of live in-residence halls staff. Entry-level staff often have aspects of their job that require them to be flexible in the defined hours of work. Those hours often involve either waiting for information to act or being on call, which can also involve active waiting (Asimou & Adams, 2016).

The work that live-in staff do is as ambiguous as it is clearly defined and is often wrapped around responding to, educating, and following up on student misbehavior that occurs at all hours of the day and night (Asimou & Adams, 2016). Working in student housing, especially for entry level staff, can be isolating as the tasks of the job fluctuate in hours and levels of responsibility and can include high levels of blame when things do not go well (Collins & Hirt, 2006). There is often a lack of appreciation or understanding of the job responsibilities and a need to constantly balance institutional, professional and personal values and responsibilities that lead to the position being stressful and prone to burnout and high turnover (Collins & Hirt, 2006). Most residence halls are centrally located to the campus but are often removed in proximity from academic buildings which lead to live in hall staff being isolated and often disconnected from consistent contact with other faculty and staff outside of their department (Collins & Hirt, 2006).

During times of crisis response, that often happens outside the hours of nine to five, live in housing staff can find themselves waiting with campus police who are often on scene participating in emergency response efforts. This study found that the role and responsibilities of housing professionals has not changed. There continues to be ambiguity with roles and responsibilities. Staff do not stay in the role long and there is a high level of turnover and a high level of stress associated with the work.

Campus Housing Staff Role in Campus Safety and Working with Campus Police

The evolution of the Clery Act has played an integral role in the relationship between university housing and university police. Jeanne Clery was a student who was raped and murdered in her residence hall room in 1986 at Lehigh University (Gregory & Janosik, 2006). Her parents lobbied Congress to establish Title II or the Crime Awareness and Campus Security Act of 1990, which became known as the Clery Act. This act required enhancements in campus law enforcement and the annual reporting of on campus crime. This act highlighted a lack of transparency in crime reporting that occurs on colleges campuses and called for specific information focused on crimes in on campus residences and the establishment of educational programs that support the reduction of crime (Gregory & Janosik, 2006; Grimm, 2008).

As the Clery Act evolved, campus police worked with housing staff to increase and better utilize technology in the residence halls (Grimm, 2008). This has included the installation of cameras in high traffic areas, card readers machines at entry points, door alarms, CCTV monitoring, panic buttons at front desk, building alert systems, building emergency response protocols and police and security liaison programs (Grimm, 2008). The maintenance of these systems and protocols require communication between the staff that live in the buildings and campus police. To also meet Clery expectations campus police often collaborate with live in staff to gain access to students by providing safety and security programming to educate the campus population especially first year students (Grimm, 2008).

The first engagements between housing staff and campus police often start with summer orientation and staff training from undergraduate to full-time staff training. Campus officers are often paired with housing staff to sit on orientation panels and participate in information fairs (Grimm, 2008). Campus police are often changed with training housing staff on how to identify

drugs and illegal substances, how to address underage drinking and disposal of alcohol (Seager, 2018). Police are also charged with giving housing staff language and resources to explain campus policy on search and seizure, weather emergencies, active shooter response, and terrorism (Seager, 2018). Police also partner with campus housing to provide safety and security for move in activities, including monitoring traffic, tabling to answer questions, or encouraging students to register their bikes, electronic devices, and other valuable property with police to combat theft (Seager, 2018).

These engagements continue based on the institution and scope of the role of the entry level staff member. Some hall staff are charged with collaborating with campus police to provide programming for events like a university safety awareness week and working with campus security staff or officers assigned to their residence hall (Grimm, 2008; Seager, 2018). In a select few institutions' campus police have been allowed to live in on campus housing as part of their work with housing staff (Seager, 2018). Campus police programming in residence halls can range from self-defense classes, stalking, and dating violence resources, sitting in a dunk booth at a halls carnival program to teaching residents how to use jumper cables and party responsibility during Spring Break (Seager, 2018).

Establishing a safe on-campus living experience is a vital part of the experience of the staff that lives and works in the residence halls (Long, 2012). This includes educating residents on how to take ownership of their safety and educating students on policies, procedures, and laws that could result in engagements with campus police (Long, 2012; Letarte, 2013). Housing staff work in tandem with campus police, as a campus partner, to provide support services to students as it relates to campus security and addressing student behavior (Williams, LePere-Schloop, Silk, & Hebdon, 2016).

Campus administration works directly with the police to problem-solve student concerns or be a facilitator to possible arrests and citations (Williams, et al., 2016). Residence hall staff are charged with educating the whole student (Long, 2012). This includes "helping students discover their values and core experiences that will guide them in their adult lives beyond college" (Long, 2012, p.30). This development does not happen with only the student; staff find that they also develop core experiences. This is especially relevant when staff is put in the role of explaining policies, procedures, and actions that they uphold but feel are personally unjust or unfair (Long, 2012).

Housing staff are aware that they must present a united partnership with campus police as they are charged with getting students to report crimes to police. They must affirm that police can be trusted, or this could lead to students in their halls or communities not reporting crimes. Mistrust in the police can lead to underreporting of crimes and to those in trouble, not contacting the police when needing assistance (Seager, 2018).

As members of the broader university community and workforce, there is an in-group association that can be created between campus police and housing staff. One way that bias is decreased, and group relations are improved is through cross-categorization (Eller, Abrams, Viki, & Imara, 2007). For example, it is conceivable that a black housing staff member would view police in general as a threat. This threat could be lessened when the police are put in the context of being a fellow university employee, thus creating a shared in group category.

This threat lessens, even more, when the categories are broadening and cross over into shared identities like race, ethnicity, or gender (Eller, Abrams, Viki, & Imara, 2007). For the in-group association to have lasting positive effects, there must be a willingness to engage; these engagements must go beyond surface-level encounters. As a key holder of power and authority

within the group, police play a more significant role in lowering the anxiety that exists for black staff members and addressing the negative historical associations (Eller, Abrams, Viki, & Imara, 2007).

Housing staff and campus police are both charged with the safety and well-being of students. These overlapping charges can be complicated in how they are implemented. The relationships are further complicated when one considers the identities of the individuals, how these identities impact how work is done, and how relationships are built between the two campus partners.

There is limited research on the intersection between black housing professionals and their work with campus police. The literature outlined in this chapter gives background on the research that exists, and shows the connections between campus police, housing staff and black identity. When considering the unique experiences of black housing professionals and their work with campus police, it is important to acknowledge the intersection of black identity and the role and responsibilities of student housing staff members, and provide support and resources for the black housing staff members who are tasked with engaging with police.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This study explored how black housing staff at predominantly white colleges and engage and interact with police and how they make sense of their beliefs about police in their work and personal life. To bound the study, I employed two criteria: 1) I selected black housing professionals from four year universities that belong to the Upper Midwest Region - Association of College and University Housing Officers (UMR-AUCHO and the Great Lakes Association of College and University Housing Officers (GLACUHO) and 2) housing professionals in these two areas that have their own campus police department. This chapter outlines the research methods and the criteria used for selection and participation in the study. This chapter also outlines the data collection and data analysis used as well as researcher trustworthiness and research limitations. Specifically, this study sought to answer the following research questions:

Research Questions

The following questions will guide this study:

1. How do black housing professionals think about campus police and non-campus police?

2. How do their beliefs about police and their prior work experiences with campus police affect their work with campus police?

3. How do black housing staff members engage and interact with campus police?

    a. How does their identity as a black housing professional affect their work with campus police?

4. How does their work with campus police affect their personal and professional lives?

The methodology used for this study was individual interpretative interviews with 13 black housing professionals. Interpretive interviews pull from first person experiences by asking questions that will allow the researcher to make meaning of how the subject interprets, constructs and makes meaning of their experiences (Merriam, 2002). The interpretive interview methodology sees each interviewee as a unique individual who is shaped by their background and circumstances that provide a base for further interpretations and understanding (Van Esch, & Van Esch, 2013). Individual interviews are an ideal methodology for discovering behaviors that cannot be directly observed or discovered via surveys or other quantitative methods (Museus, 2007). This research method is particularly powerful in its ability to make meaning of cultural artifacts, beliefs and values and how they shape individual actions (Museus, 2007).

Through interpretative interviews I explored the interviewees perceptions, opinions and experiences in relation to the research topic and questions (Van Esch, & Van Esch, 2013). The use of interpretive interviews for this study allowed for details to be shared that otherwise could not be collected through surveys or other quantitative methods. This was done by creating an opportunity for the interviewee to share their perceptions about the role of police and their work as black housing professional both inside and outside of their current job setting. Interpretive interviewing has shown to be a research tool for collecting narratives from people from a variety of cultural, racial and ethnic backgrounds, which can often be multifaceted and complex narratives (Mattingly & Lawlor, 2000).

This methodology allowed the interviewee to share their interpretations and feelings in their own words. Storytelling is often used to share personal and cultural experiences and document a person's lived experiences (Mattingly & Lawlor, 2000). Interviews allow the interviewee to relive the experiences of the past by reflecting on their hopes, anxieties and

perceptions and possibly make different meaning by sharing them during the interview process (Mattingly & Lawlor, 2000). Qualitative interviews bring into focus the richness and deeply personal lived experiences that connect a personal and social history (Mattingly & Lawlor, 2000). Qualitative interviews have also shown to be helpful in allowing professionals to explore the reasoning behind their practices, policies and procedures (Mattingly & Lawlor, 2000).

Qualitative interviews have been used to gain understanding of vulnerable populations and sensitive populations (Wolgemuth, Erdil-Moody, Opsal, Cross, Kaanta, Dickmann & Colomer, 2014). Studies on qualitative interviews methods have shown that participants characterize this type of research interview as cathartic and empowering and at times therapeutic as it gives the individual an opportunity to tell their story (Wolgemuth, et al., 2014). The benefits of the qualitative interpretive interviews can include an increase in self-awareness and giving voice to the voiceless or disenfranchised (Wolgemuth, et al., 2014). In their role, a black housing staff member could be characterized as someone who might feel voiceless or feel disenfranchised, especially when thinking about their proximity to campus police via their work.

Qualitative interviews allowed for participants to be actively engaged in sharing their thoughts about a subject, their work with police that they often do not get to think about in a nuanced way that will be documented and shared. This type of interview allowed for interviewees to give voice to and connect dots that that may have gone unconnected because there was no one to hear them. Even without defined next steps there is value in sharing your thoughts with another person. Sharing experiences has and will continue to be cathartic and a form of support for black professionals.

Interview Protocol

I used semi-structured interviews as they allowed me to use pre-established interview questions but have enough flexibility to go where the narrative took the interview (Jones, Torres & Arminio, 2014). I used the questions to gather information about the participants views about the police. I asked questions specific to the individual experiences within their role in housing. The length of each interview ranged from forty-five minutes to an hour and a half. A total of 13 black housing staff members were interviewed between February and March of 2020. Zoom was used to conduct the interview process. During the interviews, the video function was intentionally left off by both the participant and the interviewer to maintain a feeling of conversation and not a job interview. Semi-structured interviews include pre-established questions that are prepared with the ability for participants to clarify answers or expand on their stories (Jones, Torres & Arminio, 2014).

Semi-structured interviews allow interviewees the most control over the interview process and the questions thus making it a beneficial and collaborative interview experience (Wolgemuth, et al., 2014). Semi-structured interviews provide balance in giving the interviewee the opportunity to share their story to allow for unexpected themes to emerge but also ensures that necessary information is acquired (Museus, 2007). The researcher creates a collaborative mean making experience by centering the interviewee in the interview, ensuring that the participant feels that the experience was beneficial, and a valued use of their time is essential (Wolgemuth, et al., 2014).

I asked questions in three topical areas: questions about background, especially early interactions with police, questions about perceptions and beliefs about police, and questions

about their housing role and work with campus police. See appendix D for a copy of the interview questions.

Sampling/Participants

Purposeful sampling was used for this study. Participants for the study were intentionally selected and invited to participate. When engaging in purposeful sampling the researcher looks for participants who have the desired knowledge, information or expertise about the study topic (Jones, Torres & Arminio, 2014). When deciding to use purposeful sampling is important to connect the criteria for participation to the research question.

The criteria established for participation in this study was identifying as black and currently employed as a housing staff member. Participants were also selected based on the scope of their current position within their housing department. Participants were employed in positions that ACUHO-I (2019) defines as student housing residence life officer who is responsible for the supervision and direction of residence life, staff and student housing or as a student residence hall manager who supervises and administers activities of a residence hall. As titles and role responsibility are not consistent across the country, I added that participants must also be employed as full-time staff members at their institution and fall between a hall director, someone who supervises undergraduate or graduate students and an assistant director/associate director or director who supervises live in staff. Participants could identify as any gender.

Additionally, participants had to work at a predominantly white public institution with its own campus police department located in the Upper Midwest Region - Association of College and University Housing Officers (UMR-AUCHO or the Great Lakes Association of College and University Housing Officers (GLACUHO). UMR-ACUHO and GLACUHO are both regional housing professional organizations. The UMR-ACUHO region covers Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota,

Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Manitoba, Canada. To avoid

researcher bias housing staff members from the University of Kansas were not invited to

participate in this study. The GLACUHO region covers Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio. The

participants for this study were contacted via an email asking for volunteers to participate in a

study about housing staff and police (Appendix A). This communication along with an

information flier was sent out via colleagues in the GLACUHO and UMR-ACUHO region as

well as social media outlets (Appendix B).

Many of the participants joined the study through colleagues sharing my personal

Facebook posting about the study and through postings on several student affairs Facebook

groups. Many black women who participated in the study shared that they do so to support the

educational pursuits of another black women. In total there were twenty-three participants who

signed up to participate in the study. While setting up interviews, ten individuals said that they

were no longer able to participate or did not respond to repeated outreach to set up an interview.

Prior to conducting interviews, the Human Research Protection Program (HRPP) was

sought and gained. Participants were volunteers who participated based on informed consent

(Appendix C). I informed participants of the source of funding. Upon successful completion of

the interview each participant received a $15 gift card provided by the UMR-AUCHO AIM

Research Grant. The privacy of participants was protected by using pseudonyms for the first

name, not using last names, and not naming the school that the individual worked. Participants

had the right to withdraw from the study at any point.

Pilot Study

Interviews were conducted with two black housing professionals as part of a small-scale

pilot study to prepare for the overall study. The goal of conducting a pilot study is to ensure that

the methods outlined will work in implementation and to provide the researcher with the

opportunity to adjust and revise the study (Kim, 2011). The pilot interview proved to be useful

in understanding the pacing of the interview questions and their wording. Post the pilot interview

the interview questions were rearranged to provide for better flow of conversation. The

questions were also reworded to be less directive and more open ended.

Data Analysis

The technique used for data analysis was open coding. Open coding occurs when data is

broken into manageable pieces and common themes are formed (Jones, Torres & Arminio,

2014). Each interview was recorded and transcribed. I spent over 20 hours in interviews with 13

participants. During each session I took notes that I later used to help track themes. The first step

taken in analyzing the data was to read the transcripts and look for common words and phrases

that could lead to potential themes.

This step produced 62 common words or phrases. In the initial review I listed to the

recordings of the sessions while reading the transcripts. During the review of the transcripts, it

was be important to be open to having many different words and phrases. "The essential process

at this level of coding is to remain open, putting aside preconceived notions about what is

expected to be found (Jones, Torres & Arminio, 2014, 165). I was then able to use these phrases

and words and group them into larger themes.

Role of Researcher

As a black housing staff member who conducted this research, it was important for me to

not assume insider status based on sharing some of the same identities as my research

participants. Chavez (2008) defines insider positionality as "the aspects of a researcher's self or

identity which is aligned or shared with participants. This includes total insiders, where

researchers share multiple identities or profound experiences" (p.475). There were interactions that made having a shared identity a dynamic component between myself and the participants, interactions that likely could only occur because of shared identities, professions and experiences (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003).

This shared identity did not create barriers or bias because, although shared, there will be a difference of age, class, sexual orientation, gender that will create moments of both intimacy and dissonance between the researcher and the participant (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003). Many of the interviewees were in different places in their career and worked at institutions that I do not have internal working knowledge. This provided a shared common language and connection points. These interactions provided for deeper understanding and shared dialogue and engagement.

Although I did not work at the same institution as my participants, I do hold a position and title of that could be viewed in the frame of hierarchy. None of the participants expressed directly or indirectly that this hierarchy made them feel they could not participate in the study. It also did not create tension during the interviews. As a researcher I acknowledged the possible tension and did not use my title or position within housing during communication with participants.

No one black persons experience is the same. There are experiences that are rooted in the overall cultural experiences of being a black person in American, but the feelings and emotions that occur within these experiences are individual (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003). Being black in America comes with cultural expressions, artifacts and cues that will influence the connection between the researcher and the participant (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003).

As a researcher I was mindful to bring a level of cultural competence that is reflective and respectful of the values, experiences and stories shared by the participant as they engaged in a process to gain knowledge and undercover truths (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003). This was accomplished by me showing a level of venerability with the participants, by being self-reflective and being honest about the personal motivation for conducting my research with a specific population and the accountability owed to sharing their personal and cultural narrative (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003).

Trustworthiness

Qualitative researchers believe that reality is multi-dimensional, ever evolving based on interpretation of someone else's interpretation of their lived reality (Merriam, 1995). To establish researcher trustworthiness, I used a process called member-checking. Member-checking is engaging in review of transcripts and follow up interviews with the participant during the research process (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003). The process empowers the interviewee by giving them a voice and integrating them into the research experience and creates validation of the interviewees' knowledge and role as a resource (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003). Interview transcripts were returned to participants for review along with any direct quotes used for each participant. Interviewees asked to ensure that the quotes and information attributed to each participant was representative of what was shared during the interview process.

Limitations

There are limitations to this research process. Bias can occur when the researcher has a high investment in the research topic (Van Esch, & Van Esch, 2013). Interpretive interviews can be labor intensive because of the length of interviews and the analysis and transcription that

needs to occur after each interview. The role of qualitative data is to provide complete and detailed descriptions of phenomena (Atieno, 2009).

Lastly, results of interpretive interviews are often not able to be generalized as they use a smaller non-random sampling population (Museus, 2007; Van Esch, & Van Esch, 2013). Although the inability to generalize is a research limitation it can also be a positive when telling the stories of marginalized populations. Generalization has often robbed the black experience of nuance and has created misrepresentation and distortion (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003).

Chapter Four

Results

This chapter contains the results of the qualitative study that explores how black housing staff at predominantly white colleges and universities in the Upper Midwest Region - Association of College and University Housing Officers (UMR-AUCHO and the Great Lakes Association of College and University Housing Officers (GLACUHO), that have their own campus police department, engage and interact with police and how they make sense of their beliefs about police in their work and personal life.

This chapter includes analysis of the interviewee's responses to the interview questions and how the responses relate back to the overall research questions. The following research questions guided this study:

1. How do black housing professionals think about campus police and non-campus police?

2. How do their beliefs about police and their prior work experiences with campus police affect their work with campus police?

3. How do black housing staff members engage and interact with campus police?

   a. How does their identity as a black housing professional affect their work with campus police?

4. How does their work with campus police affect their personal and professional lives?

Before presenting the themes, I thought it would be helpful to introduce each of the participants in the study by providing a bit of a narrative about each. After that I will present each theme along with quotes that exemplify the theme.

The following themes were found thought data analysis: A Topic that Needed Discussing: where participants discussed why they decided to participate in the study and interactions with

police off campus. What is the Purpose of Campus Police? where participants shared their thoughts on why police are on campus. Campus Police: We Call Them for Everything; A Forced and Unpredictable Partnership, where participants shared narratives of the difficulty of building partnerships with the campus police and the challenges to working with them. Supporting Black Students: Black Housing Staff Unknown Advocacy Work, where participants identified that a core aspect of their interactions with police are in of advocacy and protecting black students. Dismissive, Disrespectful Campus Police: where participants talked about being mistaken for student staff and their experiences of dismissive behavior and interactions with campus police.

Participant Profiles

Thirteen residence life professionals were interviewed for this study out of twenty-one individuals who signed up for the study. Study participants were located through social media posts in Facebook groups, posts and emails forwarded by colleagues. Participants were also found through individual emails to UMR and GLACUHO schools listed on the website of the respective organizations. Some volunteers who expressed interest in the study were not interviewed when they did not respond to an email to schedule an interview time. There were eleven participants who identified themselves as women and two that identified themselves as men. All participants identified themselves as being black full-time professionals currently working in a position in on campus student housing.

Twelve of the participants worked at public institutions and one at a private institution, and all of these institutions fell within the UMR-ACUHO or GLACUHO region. Ten of the participants had five or less years of full-time residence life experience and three had more than five years. Within the housing profession individuals with less than five years full time work experience are typically entry level professionals. Those with more than five years of experience

are often in mid-manger or higher roles like an area coordinator or assistant director. All participants are currently working in or had held a position of a live-in full-time staff member in a residence life department.

Angie (She, Her, Hers)

Angie is a resident director who works at a mid-size institution in the mid-west. Angie recently stepped into her role a few months before the interview took place. She would be considered a mid-year hire. Angie says she started her career in housing in 2013, if you include her undergraduate experience. She called herself a new professional. She described herself as "fairly new to learning some things and I'm getting use to this campus and the area" Although Angie grew up in the same state in which she currently works she grew up in a more urban or part of the state. She said that she is from a not so great neighborhood but felt she had a good upbringing. Angie grew up with her mother and her stepfather who was a police officer. Angie describes her feelings about police:

> You don't know who is behind the badge. So, you need to make sure you move step by step so that you can be safe. Police is not a great word to use. I know that I get uncomfortable. I don't like it when they are behind me, even if their behind me while waiting at a light. I don't know what could happen if they pull me over. Seeing police in the media and know that they might have another agenda. The only police officer I trust is my father.

Beverly (She, Her, Hers)

Beverly has been working in residence life for the past 13 years. She is the director of residence life at a mid-size mid-west institution. Beverly is proud of where she grew up and made sure that it was noted that she grew up in the "real city area" and not the suburbs. She

equated it to the same way people say they are from Chicago "so people will be like, oh I'm from Chicago and I'm like are you from the real Chicago?" She questions people the same way when they say they are from her hometown. Beverly believes to be from someplace you have to "claim it when something bad happens and when something good happens" Beverly's parents still live in the house that she grew up in with her two brothers. She grew up in a mostly black neighborhood but when she goes back home now, she notices that the neighborhood has started to gentrify with more white families nearby. Beverly describes her feelings about police:

> The image of a police officer that pops into my mind first is white officer and my brother who is a black man. That's probably part of it. I grew up with him. I know him. I know him to [be] moral and good. When I think holistically about police, they are the unknown. My brother was going to be a father, so someone suggested that he consider going into the police academy. He didn't grow up wanting to be a police officer. He was looking for a job that pays a decent salary that would allow him to take care of his family.

When talking about her brother being a black police officer she said

> I think you have to compartmentalize in order to be able to function. I think that's part of what happens as a person of color.

Candace (She, Her, Hers)

Candace is in her first year as a full-time resident director at a private religiously affiliated mid-west institution located at in the heart of a large metropolitan city. Candace oversees a community that is set apart from the main campus. She is the only person with her role in the area. Candace has found comfort in working at religiously affiliated institutions "I really like the faith based, mission-based vibe of the institution. I think that it always tied me back to something larger than myself" When Candace thinks of police she thinks of:

Mostly guns and yelling. Like any kind of image that you can conjure up that is scary.

Police love Harley Davidsons. They love to ride Harley Davidsons on their police force,

so they are everywhere. When I see one, I just freeze up a little bit. I don't make eye

contact. It freaks me out. I don't know how to engage with a police officer which is really

interesting because my cousin who is a black man is a police chief. He has been on the

police force for twenty or thirty years. But I think that's not something that makes me

more comfortable around police officers. To be honest that doesn't give me any kind of

sense of peace because they don't care that my cousin is a cop. They just see me as a

black woman walking down the street.

Drea (she, her, hers)

Drea is in their third year working full time as a hall director. Drea works at a large

research one institution in the mid-west. She has been at her current institution for a year. Drea

oversees a building of 1200 first-year students. She grew up in a large Midwest city with her

twelve brothers and sisters and her mom and dad. Her family all grew up in the same house.

When Drea thinks about police she says:

Because we were one of the biggest families people gravitated towards our house. I

remember my brother bought a basketball and would play at a neighborhood park. I

would see the police stop and question them, young men, literally for no reason. I've

always seen police not come when they're called. I don't have positive examples of

police officers or anyone in that kind of authority. When I think of police I think of red

and blue lights. The dark uniform, the badges and the hat. The first thing I think of when

I hear police is a white man. When police were in my neighborhood it was very rarely

ever a black cop.

Ellis (he, him, his)

Ellis is a hall director who works at a large research one institution in the mid-west. Ellis has been at his current institution for the past two years. His current institution is his second full time job. He says, "I've been doing housing for not a super long time, for five years but it feels like forever." In his current role Ellis oversees a community of 1400 students with over forty staff members. Ellis took his current position because it gave him more responsibility and he believes that this role will prepare him for his next role in housing. Ellis grew up in the northwest but was raised in the south with his mom, dad and two sisters. "I grew up in [a] mostly black neighborhood. I think there were only one or two white families on the block. There are a lot of folks of color that live in the community specifically Haitians, Jamaicans and Puerto Ricans." When Ellis thinks of police:

> I see a gun. I think about the phrase the boys in blue. Hesitation is a word that I think about when I hear the word police. I say hesitation because I sometimes have to hesitate or I think about having to hesitate whether or not I call, like when I have to call the police. Because they are supposed to be there to serve and protect but like the hesitation of when they show up. What is that going to look like for me and how are they going to interact with me? The hesitation of what like what they're feeling walking into a situation once they arrive and they see who's called the police. I think there's a perception out there that all police officers are not the best individuals, but I think that that's not particularly true. I think you have some good officers out there that believe that their role is to serve and protect all citizens.

Michael (he, him, his)

Michael is a hall director who works at a large public institution in the Midwest. Michael is in his first year at his current institution, but this is his second full time job in housing. He previously worked for three years at a mid-size institution in the Southwest. Michael is from an island in the Caribbean and came to the US to attend a historically black college where he began his residence life career as a resident assistant.

When talking about his home country "She's a very tiny island. It's 27 miles long and 40 miles wide, very tiny." Michael is an only child that was born to a single mother. He describes his upbringing as being privileged. He went to good schools and traveled to Europe in the summer. This was something that he did not realize was a privilege until he came to America.

I didn't know many people that haven't been able to go to college or people who know the struggle to pay bills and eat. My brain is from the Caribbean, but it's also influenced by British life and I think this affected how I saw the world coming to America, how I interacted with people around me.

When Michael thinks of police, he feels:

Nothing negative to be honest. I think looking at the profession of police in England. I don't see them as being like you know someone a group of people should be afraid of or have to be concerned about. But at the same time I look at the context of America, I can definitely see why people are afraid of them, look at society as well as the students of color who I serve. I can see that being a problem or major concern to them. I'm wary of them because of my students.

Jasmine (she, her, hers)

Jasmine is in her fourth year of her second full time job as a hall director at a large public institution in the Midwest. Jasmine came to her current institution because she wanted to work at a larger school with a more residential campus. Jasmine grew up with a view of the Colorado Rocky Mountains. She describes herself as the annoying little sister to her older brother.

Jasmine was raised by a single mother and describes growing up as not hard but acknowledges there were struggles. She shared that she had to become independent at a young age quickly. When she recently traveled home, she noticed how much the neighborhood where she grew up had gentrified. She believes that some of her mothers' neighbors will be priced out of their homes. When Jasmine thinks of police she:

> Doesn't get any good feelings. Not warm and fuzzy. The first thing that comes to mind is a necessary evil. Along my social justice journey which has influenced my view of police I wonder if they are necessary. I would say growing up I was like yeah you call the police when you're in trouble or when something bad happens or when you need help. Throughout college I was like you don't get the police involved because someone is going to get into trouble. I think about my job, but I try to limit my interaction with police as much as possible. Part of that is because of social media and what has happened to people like Sandra Bland among other deaths due to police brutality.

Victoria (she, her, hers)

Victoria is in her second year as a hall director in a regional institution in the Midwest. This is Victoria's first full time job in housing. Victoria was raised in a large city in the South with her mother, father, sister, and twin brothers. She stayed in the South through her undergraduate career where she majored in fashion merchandising and worked in a hotel before

she found herself working in housing in the Midwest. When Victoria thinks about police, she says:

> I don't think of them. I haven't really had like a lot of bad experiences with police. I know that I come from a different perspective. I see what happens in the world. I hear about police brutality and historically things that have been done to people of color. When I think about police I that you have people who are trying to serve justice in the world. I don't have any like negative to say about police officers.

Tracy (She, her hers)

Tracy is in the first year of her first full time hall director role at a regional Midwest institution. Tracy reported that she is the only black person in her residence life department. Tracy did not travel far from home to begin her housing career. She is the daughter of a single mother and sister to four siblings. She describes growing up with her mother who supported her in being a first-generation college student. Her mother made the choice to move her family out of a what she believed to a high crime area to safer area that ended up being close to the now famous Ferguson. The location that Michael Brown was murdered by police and later erupted in protests and riots and gave birth to the Black Lives Matter movement. When Tracy thinks of police she says:

> In this day and age I have an extremely negative perspective. Anytime you hear police you think of brutality, which it shouldn't be but honestly in today's world that's what it is. It is always a negative connotation.

Joyce (she, her, hers)

Joyce is in her first year as a hall director at a large public research institution in the Midwest. Joyce oversees a community of 1100 students. Joyce grew up in a midsize midwestern

city that is close to her current intuition which allows her to stay connected to her family. When

Joyce thinks of police:

> I think about things like Ferguson, that was very impactful for me. Especially when
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> thinking about having kids in the future. Thinking about will they be safe from the people
>
> who are supposed to protect them. I think about my friends and I driving around and
>
> joking talking about our whites to minority ratio and what would happen if were pulled
>
> over. We are laughing but it's also serious. When my parents talked about police growing
>
> up, I would image a white police officer as the person who is enforcing and is racist. I
>
> think about the movie Black and Blue and I think about my job. The interactions can go
>
> either way. Sometimes it matters what color the officer is and sometimes it doesn't the
>
> interactions are negative either way.

Sonya (she, her, hers)

Sonya works at a large public institution in the South. She is in her fourth year of

managing a hall of 700 residents. Over the course of her time as a hall director Sonya has had the

opportunity to supervise graduate students. Sonya grew up in the South with her mother and

father who work for a popular supermarket chain. Her father who drives trucks for the chain was

promoted right before she started high school, so they moved to another state where they had a

nicer house and community. Sonya shared that during the time her family lived in this

community to the time she left for college they experienced white flight. When her family

moved into the community it was majority white. Over the course of four years the community

became majority black. Sonya describes seeing the shift in the community amenities and the shift

in neighborhood amenities. When Sonya thinks of the police:

I think about individuals with authority, power and privilege, I am forced to think about the origins of the police as slave catchers during a time when black Americans were enslaved. I think about the mixed messages based on socioeconomic status and I've definitely seen a difference in presence of surveillance tends to be heightened and highly visible in lower economic neighborhood in comparison to affluent ones. I think about systemic racism and the different ways in which we have been conditioned to identify who's the threat, who's the problem and who's not.

Naomi (she, her hers)

Naomi is a hall director at a large public research institution in the Midwest. This is Naomi's second year in their first full time position. She works with a community of 500 residents and supervise over a dozen staff members. Naomi grew up in suburbs of a large urban city in the Midwest with her three sisters and her mother and father. Naomi is the baby of the family. Naomi feels she grew up middleclass in that they did not struggle to pay bills or put food on the table but that both of her parents struggled with addiction. When Naomi thinks of police, she says:

It makes me feel unsafe and uneasy when I think about police. I think about people who are out to get people. They go in with their blinders and already have an assumption as to what's going on and who's to blame. Who's the perpetrator and the victim. When I think about police I think about them having all of these preconceived judgments and notions about situations before actually listening to people and understanding what's going on. I never feel when a police officers is interacting with me, they are listening to me. They already have an idea of what is going on.

Michelle (she, her, hers)

Michelle is an associate director at a regional Midwest public institution. She has been in her position for three years but has worked in various positions within housing departments for the past twenty-three years. Michelle grew up in the Midwest in a large family with a lot of brothers. She is very close to her family and enjoys spending time with her nieces and nephews. She feels their family connection is strong and that is what has kept her working-class family close. When Michelle thinks about police, she says:

Having been the victim of violence in the past where the police have had to respond I appreciate the diligence they paid. As I look at it now, I see so much negativity that disturbs and bothers me. In my heart of hearts, I want to say police are good, but when I see what they do I get really discouraged. I get really frustrated. Why are they so scared of us? Why do we always have to be the bad ones? I realize that part of that is that they police us more. If they policed in white neighborhoods, they would find the same stuff, but they don't, and I don't believe they believe that so my feelings go back and forth. What I see on social media and news is just disheartening. They shoot us first. I read about a family in Portland where a family was outside Walmart having a squabble, two white families squabbling. One of the family members pulled a gun. One police officer was shot but police never pulled their guns. They wrestled the gun away. I thought to myself had that been a person of color they would be dead.

The narratives of the 13 participants have given a collective voice to the experiences of black housing professionals and their work with campus police. These voices have connected to create themes that give bring a commonality to the complex relationship between student housing and campus police.

A Topic that Needed Discussing: My Job in Housing and My First Encounters with Police

It is often hard to find individuals who are willing to give up an hour of their time to participate in a study. A salient theme that emerged from the interviews was the reason behind why the person participated in the study and the experiences some had with police off campus. Many expressed wanting to support a fellow black professional in their pursuit of a doctorate. Others shared that they had never thought of police and their engagements as it relates to their work in student housing.

Angie stated:

> Seeing this study, I never thought of it this way before. How I perceive it differently in my own personal life versus my professional life because I do have totally different experiences on campus and off and the subject kind of made me think about the differences.

Others wanted to share how their views of campus police had changed through various personal and professional encounters.

Candace stated:

> There was an officer who came to my buildings when I was a freshman. His name was Officer Houser. Officer Houser was kind of like a chunky guy with the same light low buzzcut that all security officers have. Officer Houser really took student engagement and relationships seriously. Houser, probably to this day, is one of the coolest campus security guards I have ever met. My relationship with him as a first-year student in a summer bridge program, it kind of changed the way I look at campus security as a whole, because of my relationship with this one person. So throughout undergrad for the most part, I kind of compared and at least gave most officers the benefit of the doubt-they are

probably like Houser. I can probably trust this person. I know that's not true and that's

why I wanted to talk to you.

Candace's fond memories of Officer Houser echoes the experience of other participants

who described the image of campus police as being positive one. Campus police often engage

with students differently than city police. It is their version of community policing and often

involving speaking to incoming students about campus safety or engaging with summer

programs like a summer bridge program. It is not hard to imagine a young black summer bridge

participant engaging with campus police while they lived in a summer residence hall. The

different types of relationships that the participant have with the police was also a point of

interest in participation in the study. Ellis stated:

Sometimes I struggle with like our interactions with police because I don't feel I am

sometimes treated as a professional when I like have to respond when things happen. I

feel like I have to, like overwork myself to like to stand my ground of terms of like, I am

not only an employee, but I am an educated employee. Like we are partners, or we are

supposed to be partners and sometimes it doesn't really feel like that. And so, when I saw

the topic, I was like Whoa, I think it was pretty important and something for people to

maybe think about and talk about.

Although Ellis shared that he struggled with his interactions with campus police and the

parameters of the partnership it was not voiced as a complaint. He wanted to express that this is a

partnership that should be talked about and not ignored. Another participant, Sonya shared an

experience where the boundaries between staff member and campus police was tested. Sonya

stated:

When I read about your topic I immediately thought about my partner and how our first time on campus my vehicle was mistaken for another vehicle that was involved in an accident. PD not knowing who I was at that the time, had an interesting way of engaging us until they recognized I was a new university employee. So, when I was reviewing the study just about, you know, engagement with PD that resonated with me initially like that moment in time.

Sonya describes an encounter with campus police that could be juxtaposed with any non-campus police interaction seen on the news and spread across social media. Many of these encounters have ended with tragic instances of death by police. Sonya continued:

They were for lack of better words hostile towards him even though he had our one year old daughter on his hip and was trying to explain that he was new to the town and that his wife was currently in training. When I arrived on scene and essentially validated that my partner was speaking the truth their entire energy and demeanor shifted. They were more accommodating, and their tone was more respectful. It caused me to feel some type of way because I noticed the identities my partner as-a black male who definitely has the build of a defensive tackle. He was treated very differently than I was even with our child on his lap.

During this situation Sonya stated that questions were asked of the campus police about why their car was stopped and learned that even the vehicle that her family drove could be stereotyped by police-even campus police.

I actually addressed one of the officers and they justified by saying well this car fits the description. When I continued to ask questions about what car they were looking for my frustration continued to grow when they typecast my two-door vehicle for a four-door

sedan. When I processed more with my family, my mom just flat out told me that you

have a car that tends to be stereotyped. She was like that car looks like a trap car for lack

of better words, so she was like that why you always get treated that way.

Sonya went on to report that her partner was a registered gun owner with a gun in the car.

The partner showed his license to carry to the campus police. Sonya did eventually learn that the

incident that caused the police to stop their car was a burglary. After having what seemed to be a

highly stressful event, being in a new community, having her partner and child have a violent

encounter with police. Sonya returned to her staff training session. It is unknown if Sonya

shared her experience with her department right away and if there could have been steps to

provide support in the moment, but eventually the experience was shared. Sonya went on to

describe the response of her supervisor when she shared what occurred with her partner and

child:

> She was very empathetic and did a wonderful job listening to just my initial frustrations.
>
> She also her best to try to reassure me that our campus police officers were very friendly
>
> and approachable. She jokingly ended the conversation along the lines of like please
>
> don't leave us like, we hope that you know this isn't a reason that you would want to
>
> leave. Everyone assured me that once everyone is aware of who's who on campus you
>
> tend not to have any issues or concerns.

There are too many ways to count for how violence by police against black people is

justified by those who feel they need to explain the actions of police. In this situation, while

supportive, the supervisor put the pressure of guilt of leaving their job on Sonya by dangling the

carrot of the hope of protection. The hope that black people are often asked to feel after a police

encounter. The hope that this will not happen again. The hope that this police officer will be

different. The hope that you have done enough, know enough or are educated enough that this it will make a difference. This is often a false narrative that was repeated by participants when they shared their encounters with non-campus police.

College campuses often feel like a utopian place where the bad things of the world often do not intrude. Students can learn, grow, and make mistakes. When bad things occur, it is often caused by the outsider, the student who does not fit in or the person from the community. It is rarely the person from within that causes the problem. Staff members are not immune from feeling that being on campus offers a level of safety that does not exist off campus. Not even having family and friends that are police provides the shield of safety that participants described when talking about being on campus and a staff member when encountering campus police. Angie shared:

> My mom and I were pulled over not too far from our house. It's a route that we take all
> the time. My mom explained to the officer that her fiancé (at the time) is a police officer
> and gave his badge number and his card. The police officer didn't care. He was very
> disrespectful and rude with his tone and words. He gave her the ticket. It didn't mean
> anything to him that her fiancé worked with the police. He made us feel very
> uncomfortable and we had to go to court for the ticket. My mom's fiancé was upset and
> kept asking if she told the officer about him and did she do this. She would explain it
> didn't matter. My stepdad's badge was not equal, and it doesn't make it me feel safe. I
> don't feel that paper or a badge can do anything for me. I doesn't make you feel more
> secure.

Participants reported there being a "bright line" when thinking about police when they are family members. Beverly describes having a brother who is a police officer:

My brother is a police officer and I never think about my brother when I think about police conversations. I almost never think about him. I think about the ability to get in trouble for things that other people aren't getting in trouble for. I definitely think about abuse of power. I'm grateful right, that we have police officers and that people are willing to put their lives on the line to keep us safe, but I don't think I will always be safe with police or that my son will always be safe. I don't think my brother thinks that. You know he doesn't carry his gun when he is off duty because he doesn't want to be someplace and bend over to tie his son's shoe and some person sees him with a weapon and overreact. So, he doesn't carry it even though he knows a white police officer that always carries his weapon because he doesn't have that concern.

Police are often seen by white members of society as helpers and gatekeepers to safety and security. They are called when you need help or can be helpful in a situation. Candace describes the opposite of this way of thinking:

I always think of my first interaction with police when I was a kid. Me and my little brother who has severe asthma, forgot his inhaler at home so my dad was kind of like driving a little faster to get us home. We're around the corner and he didn't make a complete stop at the stop sign. So, the police pulled us over like one block from our house. I'm lighter skinned, but my dad is like dark skinned and pretty tall, kind of a heavier guy. Like four police cars ended up being there at the end of it. It started out with one calling for back up and my dad is like not doing anything. I just remember his hands were on the wheel. He gets like nervous around police and so I was pretty freaked out because there's all these police here. They were like coming up and looking into the car. It was bright like 11am on like a Sunday. And my little brother is sitting there like about

to pass out. He can't breathe and I'm just terrified. So, my dad is like begging and pleading to the police, like let me just run down the block to go home and get his inhaler. It took maybe four asks for them to say yes. And I just remember, like oh my god, I can't get out of this car. Like I can't leave my dad alone. I'm like terrified but eventually of course I did [get out of the car], because my little brother was like loosing his like breath. The experience is always what I associate with police like being hard to work with and just not caring.

The wording that Candace shared is a phrase that is now often associated with police and the black community: "I can't breathe." "I can't breathe" were the last words uttered by Eric Garner who was killed by police when he was put in a chokehold. At the age of eight years old Candace understood the impact of police interference and lack of concern in her brother's ability to grasp his next breath. The police on the scene forced a decision on Candace. Stay and protect your father or run up the block and get your little brother his inhaler, you can't do both. You must choose which family member you are going to protect or save. Candace went on to share:

> Here I am an eight-year-old. My brother is like four at the time, his whole face red, cannot breathe and they are not helping, they're hesitating to allow me to save his life. I know what its like to feel fear in their presence or like be afraid of what they might do or not let you do.

Even when one has not been directly involved in a negative encounter with police the impacts and images of police brutality against black people is always present and always on the mind of black people. There is always the thought that what you are seeing could be you or you could be next. Even if you have someone with you, it will not matter. You are still scared,

worried and mindful of how you move and act. Jasmine describes being stopped by police on the highway back from her rehearsal dinner with her partner, his parents, and her mother.

> I try to limit my interactions with police [non-campus police] as much as possible. Part of that is because of social media and what has happened in the news. I think of Sandra Bland and I mean among other deaths due to police brutality. That one sticks out in my mind because I'm like, oh that could be me and even recently I got pulled over a couple of months ago. I was just like you know like okay stay calm, stay cool, I mean I have my family in the car. So, I think they looked at that as well. I'm in the middle of [a rural part of a state], what will happen to me. I have people in the car [my partner, my mom and his parents], but its dark so who knows what will happen. My partner is white and his parents are white and they are senior citizens so I think that helped me out, like what's the worst that could really happen with other people in the vehicle, but then I think about what if they weren't there. I love my partner, but I think about how his whiteness may shield me from some things like situations when he's there and that's really unfortunate. I hate that I even said that out loud but its true. That's my reality and it is reality. I don't want it to be true.

What is the Purpose of Campus Police?

Overall participants gave similar answers about why there are police on campus and the role they have in supporting the campus community. Multiple times participants reiterated that campus police are there to protect the campus community from the outside, from those not a part of the campus population. Victoria said the following

> They are like there to keep the peace. In a lot of situations, we are just in the residence halls, but they are outside of the halls and on campus. Giving tickets or if there is an

accident. There are fights that happen on campus-they usually take charge of that. They are there for safety, which I mean is comforting knowing that you can call somebody in the case that you need something.

Tracy agreed:

They are there to protect campus from the outside community as well as inside the community with policies and regulations. They are there to make sure everyone is safe including faculty, staff, and students. This usually means that these are police who want to help and want good things to happen to everyone around campus so that the campus stays staff. Because everyone knows that the outside world of a college campus is completely different than being on a college campus. The college campus environment is completely different.

Sonya shared that she thought that campus police were helping to rewrite the narrative of police.

I genuinely feel the purpose of campus police is to make sure that our campus is safe and secure. I think their job is to be a part of the community and to educate individuals who may struggle with having an understanding of the purpose of college. Students may naturally feel like, oh we're in trouble when they see police which is why I appreciate campus police trying to rewrite the narrative to say I'm a person of authority, but I'm also a person who wants to see you succeed. In order to do my job, I need to have a relationship with them. They love to say if you see something please say something, here are the ways to report to ensure that you as well as all community members on campus are safe.

Naomi continued the narrative of campus police helping students but shared that there can be conflict in centering helpful police.

> They are there to serve students and keep them safe and protect them. I've interacted with police where we deal with a drunk student or we have to break up parties and they want to talk to the student about their part in the issue-their behavior. Campus police shouldn't have a preconceived notion of what a college student is just because they have interacted with so many. It doesn't' mean that they all act the same way. I am conflicted about campus police because I know that there are officers who truly do care about success and understand that college students are just different, but there are some that will make snarky comments or say things that I deem to be inappropriate. That's where I'm like okay you're an advocate or you're not. You're someone I can lean on or not. At a certain point I think police officers can go above and beyond their job or they can just do their job and go home.

Michelle shares her perspective on campus police and their role in maintaining the institutions image:

> Campus police are different because they are dealing with students. I think that they have a line they don't want to cross. They are always going to be a little more forgiving on campus because one thing the institution does not want is negative publicity. I think this plays a part in how they react. They do not want the negative publicity and they have made that quite clear in many different ways. They go through some training on student development theory which a city police would not go through. They are on a college campus, so they are different even if the age groups overlap. It is about the publicity they would draw. I think they're a little bit softer. It plays are role because our goal is to have

students be successful and if we have students constantly getting in trouble or being sent

to the county jail eventually someone is going to say okay wait a minute what is going on

here. The image is what pulls students here and there is a lot to lose and I don't think the

University wants to lose that.

Campus Police: We Call Them for Everything; A Forced and Unpredictable Partnership

Residence halls and on campus communities are often treated like small towns. They are

guided by the housing handbook and contract that residents agree to when they decide to live on

campus. These policies are binding like a rental agreement but are enforced through educational

methods verses leaning on evictions. As with all towns occasionally the locals will engage in

activities that are detrimental to their fellow towns people or they do something that could be

considered illegal or against the law.

Housing departments across the country train their staff to contact police for help,

guidance and most importantly to address criminal behavior. In these instances, the engagement

of police is no different than what one might find in any community. Where the role differs is in

how these relationships are formed, who guides them, maintains them and the many different

layers of policies, procedures and expectations that impact the work that is being done on both

sides of the partnership. As a residence life professional the first time that you engage with

police is either when they respond to a call or through a meet and greet that occurs during staff

training. Ellis describes the meet and greet that he participated in during his hall director

training:

> During training we have a meet and greet with officers. We do it around 11pm at night
>
> because those are the officers we are typically going to interact with. We talk about our
>
> backgrounds and why we got into the field. The officers share information about

themselves. We try to create this partnership and community so that when we do interact

with each other we're interacting as professionals and colleagues and not showing up to

an incident and meeting each other for the first time.

For someone outside of residence life having a meet and greet in the middle of the night

with police might sound strange. Jasmine describes another way police and housing staff

connect:

We had an ice cream social with the police. I think I was supposed to introduce the new

staff because we had so many that year. These are the people that will be responding to

incidents with us, especially when the expectation is that you mostly call police for

anything and everything for marijuana, even if it's just a smell, we call them for that.

Police also show up anytime the paramedics are called.

For residence life staff that are on the front lines of engagement along with campus police

this time of the night is their best opportunity to create connections and build a positive

relationship. Ellis shared how things went when his department tried a more formal training

session:

This past year we didn't do a meet and greet. The officers were there but it was only five

of them and it was officers we don't really interact with (the day shift). They came in to

do a presentation on policies and procedures and interacting with their department. For

me as someone who has to respond and interact with police it wasn't really helpful

because I bet the police in that space couldn't tell you who I was when they left and vice

versa. They don't know me as an individual. I am not going to be interacting with them

regularly. I won't see them regularly. To build the relationship you have to have

interactions outside of responding incidents with busy police. It looks different and makes a difference to me when I walk up and introduce myself, try to shake their hand.

Sonya also shares her experience with training and participation in the Adopt a Cop collaborative program between her housing department and campus police:

We have to make sure that we invite our adopted cop to come and have small talk and that we ask them for their support and resources to help plan and attend building programs. We as coordinators reach out whenever our resident assistants want to do programs, they may not be experts at like doing programs on how to make smart choice about alcohol or drug safety or security. I will reach out sometimes to ask them to do extra rounds if I have noticed that vandalism has become high or people are not respecting the building. Sometimes they'll come and have small talk with residents to encourage them to be respectful. I work to have a sustained relationship with campus police throughout the semester as opposed to just transactional like hey, you have these resources that we don't have, come do this program. When we aren't intentional, I believe they become reactive when something goes wrong. When I call about vandalism being an issue it to send the message to students who are paying attention that they should not be doing what they are doing.

A consistent response by participants was the sentiment or acknowledgment that campus police is a department with which student housing works closely. Many participants stated that they are required to call in campus police from simple issues to complex issues. Many also stated that here is little grey on their side of when they call but a lot of grey on how campus police will show up and engage. Victoria share the following:

We learned that you call DPS and they take charge of the incident and make contact with the student. My experience has been that you call DPS and they get there, and they are looking at you like you need to start and take care of whatever needs to happen. I'm like I just learned this in training, you were supposed to lead the situation, but they just look at me, so I just go ahead and take charge.

Tracy reiterates the many ways that hall staff are expected to call campus police when addressing student behavior or incidents that can be seen as criminal.

We basically call police for just about everything. For an alcohol incident campus police would take the alcohol out of the room. They will come if we have suspicion of drug activity or anything that a room would need to be searched. We have a protocol that even when you're not sure if you need to call campus police you still should call just so they can help with the situation. We are supposed to work as a team but that doesn't' happen when they have different rules and regulations on how they will respond versus how we will respond. I think everyone needs to be on the same page as far as responding to incidents. We call them for mental health and suicide ideation. When I am working on a mental health situation, I allow campus police to be the ones to ask extra questions and connect the student to the on-call counselor:

This can sometimes be frustrating as Naomi shared:

We have a thing called the A to Z guide to policies and procedures while on duty that we go over at the beginning of the school year. We have a police liaison that we use to have dinner with but this year we did some role playing activities, They stressed during the training that they are there to support staff and that we should call them when we need them, but I'm always hesitant to call dispatch to have an officer come out because it

causes self-doubt and a lot of questing if I am doing my job correctly. I know when to call police and when police should be involved but I also don't at times because there have been instances where I'm like well if they don't give you their ID should you call police? Then people have told me oh no don't do that. So, I'll be like okay well crap, I don't know when to call the police.

Some participants mentioned not understanding why they are asked to create sustained partnerships especially if it is not reciprocated. Some questioned what is expected between the two campus partners and many shared that they feel housing staff put in the more effort to build and maintain the partnership. Victoria went on to share the experience that she has had with her assigned hall police liaison:

I don't know if it has an official name but each residence hall has an officer or two who is partnered with it and that officer does rounds sometimes in that building or at least they are supposed to do rounds and mingle with residents. Some officers do not want to do this. They are told they have to do it. You have a partnership with them but that doesn't necessarily mean that they are going to do what they are supposed to do. I like the partner for one of my buildings. I have no problem texting him and saying hey do you want to come to a staff meeting or that kind of thing, but I don't know whose supposed to be the partner for the other building. I asked my police partner about it and he said he didn't know but offered to take over for both buildings. The rapport I have with him is good, he's cool. He's one of my favorite officers and he is thinking about leaving. He makes it easy to talk to him when there is something going on. One of my most memorable incidents was with him. We had a marijuana incident and this resident was smoking in his

room and there was a guitar in the room. The officer had him play his guitar while we

filled out the paperwork-it was very intreating and fun.

Angie noted:

Campus police-we work closely with them. You will have to interact with them at some

point. Whether it's for something good like a program or whether it's for something that

might not feel good like a sexual assault or alcohol. You have to let them come into your

office and give them the information they ask for. I had to call police to update them on a

situation and the officer came to my office. Being new to the institution I don't know

them, so I found myself stumbling on my words trying to get out the information. I think

it's because the relationship is new to me and I wasn't like orientated or introduced to the

officers. I didn't go through the training where this occurred.

Candace added the following about the expectation for calling campus police:

They are the big dogs, do not pass go, do not college $200 you call campus police and

you have to partner with them. They are supposed to be walking your buildings, they are

supposed to do programs in your buildings. They are your go to for anything about

campus safety. But it makes me feel uncomfortable because my officer did not want to do

any of those things. They did not want to be involved at all, but your forced to reach out

to them. Your forced to have this relationship that can be really tense at times because

they don't want to do it.

As a senior housing officer, Beverly has seen many layers of the relationship with

campus police and has reached a point in her career where she is able to be at the table with

police and impact the partnership between police and campus housing. She shares her

engagement when working with campus police on a student of concern follow up team in the following:

> There's an officer that will engage there, my engagement with other officers is fine but I have to dig real deep in my Christian heart to assume good things about him, he is a struggle. My team knows he is a struggle and my supervisor know he is a struggle. My staff will tell me that this officer has done something wrong and I tell them I'm not talking to him because he won't' do anything about it. It's just like police are never wrong, they never do anything incorrect. It's just like they are flawless. They are perfect as officers and they never make poor decisions and I have had to accept that this is the way it is. It is very challenging to not be able to expect what an officer is going to do. A staff member will say to me that an officer told them not to document marijuana. Then I read an incident report that documents an officer knocking on a resident door and confiscating a pipe. We call them for marijuana and two hours goes by before they arrive and by the time, they get there they can't smell anything. Of course, you can't smell anything-no kidding! I don't know what to do with that. We had an officer tell an RA to watch a student who is drunk which is a big no no-we don't do that. I tell my staff that if something goes bad, I cannot protect you if you don't follow our procedures and protocols. That is why we have them. If an RA takes on the responsibility for that intoxicated student and that student dies, we are 100% at fault. That is why I tell them do not do that-I don't care what the police say or ask. You refuse because the campus police do not have your back. I have called the chief of police and shared these concerns and he leans on that he is comfortable with whatever occurred and what the officer did and then goes to give me feedback about my staff assuming we did something wrong. Why can't

there be follow up without making excuses for why whatever perspective they had was correct.

Beverly described how she helps her staff work with campus police:

> I tell my staff that you cannot get tied up in deciding who is going to win. You always document because we have community standards. A student may not get cited but there will still be consequences. I try to manage my expectations and encourage my staff to do the same. I encourage them to manage their expectations in a way that they are not disappointed or feeling disrespected by police in their interactions without saying that you really shouldn't have any expectations of them for the most part at all. They are unpredictable in that sometimes things matter and sometimes they don't as a black female I have to assume that everything matters.

> The need to engage police is often not a choice as Candace notes: "This is a department where I have no choice but to work with them. There is no other option. Like, I can't even bypass them to call 911." Candace shares what the engagement looks like when the relationship between the hall director and the police is rocky:

> My predecessor in the building shared that not working with campus police was not an option. She was a white woman and she wanted campus police to change some of their polices and how they approached students. There was a lot of back and forth between her and the campus police. She got defensive and it damaged her relationship with campus police. There were tension points but there was some change that occurred. If they have a question or if they are looking for student or they're having a problem in your building they are calling you as the full-time person not the grad. They can't go to the hall across the street because there isn't one. So, if you have a bad relationship with them you have

to fix it because you are going to have to work with them. I had a situation where this one officer was really pushing this student to talk, and she just wasn't ready. I wanted to give her time to decompress by leaving her alone in my office and the officer was like no we are not doing that. I don't care. So, like in that moment I could have pushed back but ultimately, I will have to work with that officer again. I am going to have to see him again. This is what comes with being a professional. Sometimes you have to do things that you really don't want to do and work with people who might not align with what you want to see happen. For me to feel safe in working with police I need to know you and you need to know a little something about me. This has worked for me and has helped me navigate the relationship. I can't scream at them or cry in a meeting like my predecessor did, because what's going to happen? I'm going to get a call from my director asking what the hell is going on. I think about what an incredible privilege that was afforded to my predecessor. I think about the politics of my identity, becoming emotional or defensive in any kind of way can be perceived in a whole host of different ways for me then it was for her. I have to have the ability to navigate space through emotion. I think about that was able to be successful in getting some things changed or whatever down here and I don't think I could have in the same way.

Some participants talked about the need to manage their emotions as a black person when engaging with campus police. Only two participants talked about having a clear path forward for sharing feedback about police that did not seem political or would require them to take a professional risk. Both worked at institutions that have a person within their department tasked with being the liaison between other units and the police. Drea describes this role:

We have a prevention and community engagement who is a police officer who is charged with being the department liaison for Student Affairs. His job is to bridge the gap between public safety and students as well. I have talked to him about how students file complaints about campus security. I trust how he handles things based of my experience with going to him. If I ever have any questions about anything related to public safety, about procedures or policies I contact him. I of course let my supervisor know but I am comfortable going directly to him. He is a white man and in particular moments going to him about the behavior of another white man is helpful.

Supporting Black Students: Black Housing Staff Unknown Advocacy Work

Several participants identified the struggle that exists with calling police on students in general but especially calling police on students of color. Residence staff are trained in a layered way on when to call police and there is very little grey on when staff have to engage police. Victoria describes this dilemma:

Sometimes I just would rather not call DPS because when you call DPS [Department of Public Safety] it just becomes a whole thing. I would just rather not because these are students. They're still learning. You know they're still developing. I just sometimes feel like the situation doesn't have to go to the extreme at the time. When I do have incidents with black residents, and I know that I have to call DPS I like to do a check on them because I know that it can be a lot. I give them advice and try to make sure they understand the process. I try to get any kind of truth out of them like where you actually smoking or not because it could make a difference. I encourage them to go early to their meetings with the Office of Student Conduct.

Victoria goes on to describe how she feels campus police are sometimes more aggressive towards her black students:

Um sometimes they're more aggressive in like how they're talking to my black residents than like white residents. They are 100% more aggressive when talking to black males then they are when talking to white males or females. We only have one black campus police officer. It's different because we are the only two black people on each of our staffs. We converse differently its friendly.

Tracy also mentioned the difference that working with a black officer has had in supporting students and in making her feel better about working with campus police.

I've built a relationship with one officer because he is also the only African-American Public Safety Officer within his department. When I have incidents in my building, we talk like 'how was your day' and go on to another incident. We relate on a lot of different things and we talk about seeing the weight of it all.

Sonya talks about the need to encourage students to report instances of bias they have experienced though encounters with campus police:

I have empowered students to report an officer because I assumed that this person may have had legitimate implicit bias towards students of color. He was very aggressive and problematic towards a student trying to explain to him that he was indeed a student and deserved to be out and about in the community like other individuals. This student was asked questions even though he was not the student that the police were called about. So when I observe the officer talking to the student who has the same identity, I remember when my family first go to campus and thought maybe we need to start reporting these concerns and in turn multiple students ended up calling in on the same officer.

Sonya too mentioned the impact of having a black police officer with whom she could build a relationship and the impact of sharing an identity with students.

My adopted building cop is actually a black male that I have a lot of commonality. I have enjoyed having what I call real talk with him about trying to navigate identity and the times and how we stay in turned with what is going on the in world. But I do have to come to work and put on a mask. Right you know to try to show strength and presence, but I definitely find community in my colleagues that share my identity and some of my shared living experiences. This important when it comes to needing a sounding board and being able to express what I often times only confide in my partner about. It's a challenge especially with things we face and what happens in the media. You hear conversations brewing among students and I try to check myself and be honest but selectively transparent with the students I serve when we are collectively in a struggle or a shared experience that tends to impact black and brown bodies more than other identities. I do my due diligence to try to be present when officers have to report to an incident, especially when I am the coordinator on call because depending on the identities and lived experience of our students I know that it can be unsettling and that seeing and recognizing someone who looks like you (the student) could alleviate that they could experience when you have to have police involved.

Naomi also referenced feeling the need to do more follow up with students of color after police interactions:

I am doing this work obviously because I care about students. That's why I'm in the role that I'm in. I've figured out how to navigate the system and the spaces as much as I can and at the end of the day I'm going to be okay, but for some students it's their first time

engaging with police so I'm more concerned about their wellbeing and their safety. I

have actually done more follow up with students of color to be like how was your

interaction with the police? I know it can be scary. I know it can be concerning and that

you can have a lot of feelings about it. Even in the moment I say I know that this may be

scary but I'm gonna have to call the police. I am concerned about protecting black and

brown bodies because history and the historical context and society teaches them they are

not protected, so if I can use my job to protect them I will. Yeah it makes me feel shitty

when I have to call police on a person of color. I really don't want to but I have to but I

try to make sure that everyone's safe. I feel torn when I have to do it, but I can be there to

make it less serious and to ensure that the experience doesn't go bad. I can help navigate

the situation the best way I can and act as barrier between the police officer and the

resident. There was an incident where we suspected there was a gun in the room. I asked

the student, as police were looking through his stuff if he was okay and told him that I

know this can be invasive and asked him if he needed a moment or a break. There was no

compassion shown by the police to the student. There are situations where my safety has

come into play, where I also needed to be protected but I really want what is best for the

student. I don't realize that I will put myself second to make sure they're okay.

Michelle echoed the experience of others in their drive to support students of color and

the intersection of their job in accomplishing this support

I see the different way they treat students of color verses the majority of students. A

drunk white student gets sent home to sleep it off, but we go to jail. Before marijuana

became legal here that was an even bigger thing where students of color would get cited

and we would as black faculty and staff pull together and let students know that what

might have occurred in their home can't happen up here, this is white America, you're in the middle of a cornfield. I have asked campus police to share their statistics on how many students of color they encounter or stop and have been told they don't keep those statistics and that our campus doesn't need those statics and that it's not an issue. I beg to differ. Campus is a small microcosm of the greater society and the bigger picture.

There is risk that is associated with advocating for students that occurs for any professional but especially for housing professional who live on campus. Candace noted:

> For me it's a fine point because your employment is tied to your ability to live. Your shelter is tied to your job. When I am tired and burnt out, I can't just storm out and leave if a police officer is challenging me. I can't throw up my arms and quit because me quitting this job means that I also have to find a place to live. Like I could go live with my family for a little bit, but I think when you're moving across the country for these types of jobs that's not an option all the time. When you get a degree in this field it's really hard to quit. You feel like quitter. I've never stopped job searching because I know that this job is unsustainable, and I know that this job is a fairly intense job. I think that our relationship with campus police is a driving factor of the intensity. They are a piece of the puzzle, being asked to sustain and build a relationship with them. I think that it's a glaring eyesore in this field and on college campuses is the way in which campus culture and police culture intersect. You have no choice but to work with them. The world is a broken system and there's not anything I can do to fix it, you're such a small part of the puzzle piece. You're such a small wheel in the much bigger machine. I'm not sure if there is a campus that does it well. I know what it feels like on my campus when things go well but I know what it's like when things feel bad.

Jasmine also shared some of the same risk taking that exists for her:

> I have interactions with black students who are 2% of the of student population at a
> predominantly white institution. I'm like one of a handful of black staff or faculty. I need
> to make sure that as a black professional I can support students. You want to speak up or
> speak out on behalf of others. Oppression goes hand in hand with activism and wanting to
> maintain the status quo in keeping people quiet. There is real fear in speaking up. Fear of
> losing your job or fear of going to jail. This is the same fear that is felt by students about
> speaking up. I can't protest, there are so many things I can't do because I am an entity of
> the University. I try to manage my personal feelings while remaining human within the
> situation while also being like well this is my employer.

Dismissive and Disrespectful Campus Police: A Barrier to My Work

Many participants mentioned that they perceive themselves to be better protected in their relationship with campus police than when encountering police off campus. Some stated that there is a different level of accountability with campus police as they are considered a campus department and a partner in educating students and keeping the campus safe. The perception of accountability and partnership is often eroded when campus police appear to be dismissive or lack understanding of the hall staff role. Victoria put it bluntly "I feel like they see the hall director as kids. I'm an adult. I'm grown, I'm almost thirty years old." Angie shared the following perspective:

> I feel they are very dismissive and maybe that's why I don't feel comfortable and
> confident in working with them. There should be a collegial aspect to our partnership. I
> don't always feel this way. They often come in and take over. I have instances where I
> felt that an officer was trying to trick me into taking on the care of a resident. I told him

no and that I wasn't going to do it. When we are not working together its impact to my work.

There is also the perception that campus police often do not understand the students with whom they are working with and that housing professional's knowledge of student development is dismissed. Drea shared the following observations:

How can you protect and serve students when you don't understand them or remember what it means to be a college student? Many of the officers I know don't have bachelor's degrees and don't understand what it's like to be a college student or not enough to support students. They also have no willingness to understand the developmental stages and things that college students experience and during an incident is not the place that I can insert my knowledge. For example, students have the right to not answer their doors for the police and a lot of students don't know this and they think that they have to. I remind students that they do have rights and yes it makes my job harder but its part of their development. Some of our police don't have trauma response training or mental health training that is needed to support students.

Ellis noted some of the same feelings:

Sometimes I struggle with our interactions with campus police because I don't feel like we are treated as professionals when we respond to things. I feel like I overwork myself to stand my ground in terms of like not only my work as an employee but also my worth as an educated employee. When I respond to a situation and I reach out to shake the officers' hand and they keep their hands on their belts which is kind of like daunting. When they arrive on the scene, they act quickly to address what is happening and they take ownership. They don't ask what we should do. They direct and tell us what to do.

It's a high stress situation and I know their priorities are different right? I come on the scene and my priority is to get the student information so that I can share that with my supervisor or help my assistant community directors. It's annoying because it slows down my response and they don't have any idea of who I am. I typically find the one that looks like they're not doing anything. That's the one I approach to get answers. We are partners or we are supposed to be but sometimes it doesn't feel like that. I think they don't communicate because they don't have to but some of the uneasiness with students might be solved if they would say hi, good afternoon or good morning, hope everything is going well. I think they pick and choose when they engage and when they don't. It doesn't' feel great to see that happen. I don't get to walk through my hallways and my buildings and not speak or say hi but that goes back to why I am here and its to interact with students and help them be successful. One of the strengths of residence life is cultivating relationships and providing support outside of the classroom. At my previous institution the campus police valued the work that we do they didn't refer to us as RAs, which has happened a lot here, I have to say nope I'm a community director. I think it's a lack of respect and ignorance and them not caring to understand. The role of community director is not new. These communities and live in staff have been here a while. So, for me it's do you care about who you are interacting with? For me, the care and the respect go hand in hand because if you care about who you are interacting with that means you are showing respect. I think there is a lack of care there in terms of wanting to understand. Sometimes they don't even know that are doing it and it makes interactions difficult and uncomfortable.

Michael speaks to the following experience of being dismissed by campus police and the disconnect with understanding students:

It's interesting seeing them be rude and dismissive. Them not wanting to talk to me because they don't believe I coordinate the whole building. They always keep a distance and they only come when they are called and you don't see them until you call them again. Police are not the most forthcoming in terms of getting information. You have to go up the ladder to the Dean of Students or the VP for Student Affairs. I've heard it's a web of what people have to go through to get information. The police because they have the law on their side, they see what they do as taking precedence. You have your housing policies but at the end of the day we have to do what the rule of law tells us and that takes precedent over housing policy. A classic example is with welfare checks. There is no guarantee that a student is going to be safe and not self-harm and sometimes you feel it would be better to discharge the student verse them being institutionalized against their will but if the police feel they need to take them they will go regardless. We have very different lenses based on how we see students. I think it would be nice to find out clearly where exactly they land and how we can meet in the middle on supporting students.

Jasmine shared the impact of working with a campus partner who she considers difficult:

Police are very reactive. It's the nature of their job. We move with more internationality in our work. The partnership I have with campus police is not the same as I have with The Women's Resource Center, so my expectations are different. I am reaching out to them to partners with them. Working with police is not fun. No one is like wow I'm so glad the police were here after an incident, but someone might say I'm so glad someone from the Women's Resource Center came I learned so much. I don't' think there needs to

be more interactions with the students but there needs to be more interactions with the RD staff so that more rapport can be built. I don't believe this will change how we get police involved or our policies or procedures or that we are never going to call the police again but it can help me be a better advocate for students when I say okay the police are coming.

Tracy said the following:

Regarding my job I feel most of the public safety officers bypass me as a professional staff member. I had one incident where the public safety officer didn't acknowledge me being in the room at all. They completely ignored me, and I thought maybe they didn't know I was the hall director. I think they probably thought I was just another student but considering the fact that they didn't acknowledge me that's obviously bad too. Public Safety and Residence Life are supposed to work as a team. Yes, we have different rules and regulations and how we respond to incidents is different I think that everyone needs to be on the same page when responding to incidents. I don't think our voices in residence life are being heard. I have learned that when DPS arrives I have to make sure they don't see me as a student. I am an individual and they will respect me as far as when responding to an incident. If you have questions don't go to the RA you come to me.

Naomi had similar experiences with campus police:

We will respond to the situation and we will talk to each other, but we aren't going to be buddy buddy. We have a police liaison but how do I know that you care if you're not going to get to know more or the building. That shows me that you don't care enough to get to know me or my job. Housing professionals always have to explain what we do to officers. We are not RAs, we are hall coordinators. We are always the ones having to

prove our worth to officers and they just have to show a badge and take control of the situation. I've had to run down or just chase down an officer to ask what's your name, what's your badge number? I have to have this information for follow and I need to understand what's going to happen next. I have questions that is why I am chasing you down. I have been told you're supposed to do that your are the RA. I'm actually not I'm the coordinator and I'm doing my job and its frustrating"

Naomi went on to share:

I don't think police have any interest in getting to know my job and getting to know what I do. If I were to ask them, I truly believe they wouldn't want to spend a day in my shoes. If asked they would not want to take me up on the offer. They don't have the time. They don't think its important. They don't see it as something that will add value to their life. I don't think that officers in general just believe they're better than everyone else. I had a student who had suicide ideation and I got more information from my peers then I did the officer who responded. When I went up to him and told him I was pro staff and that I had been notified of the issue can you give me information They're like no you can talk to the student yourself. I could say they didn't know that they could shar things with me but that's giving them the benefit of the doubt when I know it's a misunderstanding of my role. This creates tension and a disconnect between the two departments that creates more distrust and more misunderstanding. If I could do anything, I would get them to understand student development theory and the student perspective when approaching students.

Through their interview's participants shared many different encounters they have had with campus police and the feelings that these encounters generate. They talked about the work

they do with police and the advocacy they do for students. They shared feeling dismissed and

feeling like campus police are a barrier to their job but also shared that police a partners in

keeping the campus safe.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of this study and a summary of conclusions as a result of my research. This chapter will include an overview of the study, a discussion of the major findings as they relate to the research, and a discussion on implications of the research for campus police, senior housing officers and supervisor of black housing professionals.

The Study

This study set out to explore how black housing staff at predominantly white colleges in the Midwest that have their own campus police departments, engage and interact with police and make sense of their beliefs about police in their work and personal life. Participants worked at colleges and universities in the Upper Midwest Region- Association of College and University Housing Officers (UMR-AUCHO and the Great Lakes Association of College and University Housing Officers (GLACUHO). I conducted semi-structured interviews with thirteen black housing professionals. The study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. How do black housing professionals think about campus police and non-campus police?
2. How do their beliefs about police and their prior work experiences with campus police affect their work with campus police?
3. How do black housing staff members engage and interact with campus police?
4. How does their identity as a black housing professional affect their work with campus police?
5. How does their work with campus police affect their personal and professional lives?

Discussion of Major Findings

The following section includes a discussion of the themes found through data analysis: A Topic that Needed Discussing: Participants discussed why they decided to participate in the study and interactions with police off-campus. What is the Purpose of Campus Police? where participants shared their thoughts on why police are on campus. Campus Police: We Call Them for Everything; A Forced and Unpredictable Partnership, where participants shared narratives of the difficulty of building partnerships with the campus police and the challenges of working with them. Supporting Black Students: Black Housing Staff Unknown Advocacy Work, where participants identified that a core aspect of their interactions with police is in advocacy and protecting black students. Dismissive, Disrespectful Campus Police: where participants talked about being mistaken for student staff and their experiences of dismissive behavior and interactions with campus police.

Something We Need to Talk About

In this theme, the participants shared that as black housing professionals, they do not often talk about police as it relates to their work. Participants shared that this research topic allowed them to reflect and think about their black identity and police in a way that they had not been able to previously. A benefit of qualitative interpretive interviews is that some found it cathartic to be able to discuss this through sharing thoughts that are not regularly expressed. They can include an increase in self-awareness and give voice to the voiceless or disenfranchised (Wolgemuth, et al., 2014). Early in the discussion, participants shared that they often felt that campus police did not treat housing staff as professionals because they tend to be younger and early in their careers and that this impacts the partnership. The majority of the situations that housing staff would encounter police are during high-stress emergencies. As Seager (2018)

shared in a case of emergency and uncertainty, a housing professional in higher education is trained to do two things: call up to the person on duty above them and to call the police. The being trained to call campus police when one is uncertain may contribute to housings staff feeling like they are not equal partners and wanting to explore this feeling though this study.

Professionals who work in student housing are often transitory early in their careers. Literature states that there is often a lack of appreciation or understanding of the job responsibilities and a need to continually balance institutional, professional, and personal values and responsibilities that lead to the position being stressful and prone to burnout and high turnover (Collins & Hirt, 2006). Seeing working with police as stressful was consistent with the experiences of many participants who had been at their institution no longer than four years. Of the thirteen participants interviewed, two had titles above hall director, which connects to the survey information provided by ACUHO-I (2019) that 10% of chief housing officers identify as black, 84% identify as white. This sample is reflective of the ACUHO-I population-there are few minorities in leadership positions. This supports that housing departments are led by majority-white senior housing officers who often set the culture and tone of the department.

Several participants shared the complexity of feeling and emotions that come with having family and friends be police offers. Cochran & Warren (2012) referenced some black people experience police within the dynamic intersections of their black identity and other identities they hold, which for some participants include the identity of sister or daughter. It was not that participants had not thought about their black identity in the context of multiple intersections. The new layer that this study offered that intrigued and inspired people to participate was discussing these intersections in the context of their work as black housing professionals. The desire to explore this topic and the many layers was a driving reason people participated in the

study. Several participants voiced they had not had or did not have the appropriate person or channel to discuss how working with the police as a black professional made them feel.

Participants shared stories of traumatic police encounters that occurred to them from being stopped by police for perceived traffic violations to having a family member being held at gunpoint by police. Literature about police confirms that most black people have a story about engagement with police (Brunson, 2007, Mentel, 2012). These encounters and hearing about them continue to push black people to be leery of police and engaging with them. These negative personal and vicarious experiences serve as cautionary tales and keep feelings of trauma alive and thriving in black culture (Brunson, 2007, Mentel, 2012). This same leeriness and avoidance of police were referenced by participants as something they tried to do when they were not at work, which for many of the participants, who work where they live, this is easier said than done.

Even though some participants have had violent encounters with police, they were still able to identify the benefits of having police on campus. Some referenced the strong relationships they had formed with some individual police officers through their work in student housing. This reinforced literature that housing staff members are more likely to be known and work directly with campus law enforcement than they are with academic faculty and larger campus administrators in areas outside of student affairs (Collins & Hirt, 2006). That said, most participants admitted that they would not have these connections with police if they were not campus police and were not asked to engage because of their work in student housing.

As Cochran & Warren (2012) reference, a black person does not have to experience police directly to have perceptions of police or feel that there is an injustice. Social position and circumstances also play a role in perceptions of police by black people. These dynamic

perceptions occur at work and in a person's personal life (Cochran & Warren, 2012). When participants talked about their encounters with police, it was layered in their own narratives and intersected with comparisons of what they had seen in the media and stories passed down through the family.

A black hall director may not feel comfortable sharing their trauma about police in a meaningful way with a supervisor. Nor may they feel safe voicing concern about how working with police makes them feel personally, especially if they do not share their racial identity. As Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith (2002) conveyed, black identity and how black people navigate their identity has connections to the understanding of one's self as a whole and emotional and psychological health. This research provided a space for black staff members to collect their thoughts and have room to reflect while still active in their role. This is space that is often not afforded to entry-level hall staff.

Campus Police: What is Their Purpose

When participants talked about campus police, they used words like educators and saw them as 'campus partners' responsible for keeping the campus safe. This was despite their earlier, sometimes traumatic experiences with police. They are the barricade between the campus and crime and bad things that happen outside of the campus bubble. Campus police were described as the gentler and kinder version of the "real" police. Literature states that campus police often struggle with being perceived as real police (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016). The participants who shared thoughts about police as being kinder or gentler made connections to seeing campus police as partners in educating the student. Still, participants did not refer to them as not being real police. Participants association with campus police as educational partners likely comes from engagements with campus police for educational

programs outside of emergency and crisis student housing. This is supported by Grimm (2008), who referenced that campus police often collaborate with live-in staff to gain access to students by providing safety and security programming to educate the campus population, especially first-year students.

Both municipal police and campus police have a spotlight on their work, but who directs the spotlight and where it shines is different when the two types of police are compared. This follows the literature that emphasizes campus police do their police work in a setting that requires them to take into context that criminalization of the students on campus could harm the institution's enrollment and financial well-being (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016). This was referenced by participants in examples of how they perceived and sometimes observed white students being treated differently as it relates to how campus police address alcohol and drugs. Participants expressed that the difference in treated by campus police was related to perceived pressure to protect the institution.

Municipal police are judged by crime statistics, conditions of the gathered community, and who lives in that community. The origins of municipal police also make a difference. The idea of law enforcement being established as a mechanism to police the freedom of black members of society is an idea that predates the civil war (Thompson, 2017). This history was known and referenced by one of the participants but not by others. The participant referenced this in the context of municipal police and not about campus police.

When thinking about campus police's purpose, it could be essential to understand the origin stories of campus police. Campus police originated as monitoring units on campus that did not engage with students until the early 1960s, which saw a rise in campus protests and upheaval (Patten, Alward, Thomas & Wada, 2016; Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000). This is not something

that participants shared a part of their understanding of campus police. It is not clear if participants lacked an understanding of campus police' origins or did not see this as connected to their present existence. Municipal police were created to protect one group-white people from other group-black people is still an unsaid mechanism of the purpose of today's police. As Thompson (2017) shares that there are still links between modern police and slave patrols. The origin stories of both these groups are connected to how they operate in the present culture.

When campus police had to start engaging with students, it was during a time of political unrest occurring on predominantly white campuses. Campus police will always be connected and affiliated with youth and education. Today's campus police are asked to be more proactive instead of reactive to student behavior, identities, and support (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000; Wilson & Wilson, 2011). Their purpose will continue to be tied to learning and academics, thus creating the feeling that they are not as deadly, or their presence should not cause alarm.

Campus police engagement with students as a positive influence was referenced by several participants. Some perceived that the engagement with campus police through programming, and educational engagements could be harmful to black students as this could create a false narrative that campus police are harmless. Even as they referenced perceived harm to students' multiple participants shared that they saw campus police as the people who will continue to hold the line of safety between college students, staff and faculty and the bad things that occur outside of the campus walls.

Campus police have had to adapt their purpose to meet the needs of the student population coupled with, high expectations of safety from parents (Wilson & Wilson, 2011). They are also tied to the public scrutiny that exists with administration and navigating public opinion, impacting the institution's bottom line-enrollment and finances. As campus

demographics have changed, so have the priorities and complexities of the role of campus police (Wilson & Wilson, 2011). Police are being charged with addressing issues like sexual assault, student protests, and campus crime in more multifaceted ways.

Participants referred to this part of police work as the line police would not cross as it related to allowing for crime or statistics to increase that would put the university in a negative light. This involves front facing contact with campus administration, students, and reporting campus crime through Cleary (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000; Wilson & Wilson, 2011). Today's campus police are asked to be more proactive instead of reactive to student behavior, identities, and support (Sloan, Lanier & Beer, 2000; Wilson & Wilson, 2011). Campus police and their ability to adapt based on what is occurring on campus will continue to direct how they spend their time and how others view their purpose.

A Complicated Campus Partnership

Literature about the partnership between campus police and housing states that campus administration works directly with the police to problem-solve student concerns or be a facilitator to possible arrests and citations (Williams, et al., 2016). Residence hall staff are charged with educating the whole student (Long, 2012). This includes "helping students discover their values and core experiences that will guide them in their adult lives beyond college" (Long, 2012, p.30). Based on the literature, the relationship between housing and police should have minimal grey. Campus police come when called and address the criminal activity and then they leave. Housing staff are changed with educating and helping the student understand their behavior. Many participants referenced that this relationship is full of grey because of the on-surface transactional relationship does not operationally work. Housing staff referenced engaging with staff in meet and greets and ice cream socials and wanting to engage

with police to understand their work better. There is a perception shared by participants that as a black person who has to work with police it is essential that campus police see and know them. Engaging in these efforts to get to know police and then being rebuffed or dismissed was referenced multiple times by black housing staff as detrimental to establishing a partnership and do to their identity takes away a mechanism for making them feel safe working with campus police.

As Asimou & Adams (2016) stated, the work that live-in staff do is as ambiguous as it is clearly defined and is often wrapped around responding to, educating, and following up on student misbehavior that occurs at all hours of the day and night. Participants referenced that they often felt that police were unaware of their role and responsibilities and were often worried about how they may be perceived as not doing their job correctly when engaging with police. This reinforced writing by Collins & Hirt (2006), who note that working in student housing, especially for entry-level staff, can be isolating as the tasks of the job fluctuate in hours and levels of responsibility and can include high levels of blame when things do not go well.

Participants shared that campus police can be a problematic partner with whom they struggle to find equal footing. If staff do not get along with campus police, there is no one else for them to call in case of emergencies. Most on-campus emergency response systems are set up so that when 911 is dialed; it goes straight to campus police versus the city police. One of the complexities of the partnership that creates issues is that both campus departments are charged with supporting students and addressing campus safety. Establishing a safe on-campus living experience is a vital part of the experience of the staff that lives and works in the residence halls (Long, 2012). This partnership includes educating residents on how to take ownership of their safety and educating them on policies, procedures, and laws that could result in engagements

with campus police (Long, 2012; Letarte, 2013). Housing staff work in tandem with campus police, as a campus partner, to provide support services to students as it relates to campus security and addressing student behavior (Williams, LePere-Schloop, Silk, & Hebdon, 2016). Participants felt housing staff and campus police often had misaligned views on what educating a student means and that these misalignments exacerbate the cracks in the partnership. That when campus police show up, housings staff cannot know ahead of time if campus police will lean educational or punitive.

Participants also referenced that police would pick and choose how they engage with students. Housing staff participants expressed that they could not pick or choose how they engaged with students. They also made connections with how they believe that appearing personable to students is connected to their black identity. As one participant shared that as a black housing professional, they could not just walk into their halls dining center and not talk to residents, but campus police can.

When both groups are charged with supporting safety and working with students who sometimes resist the policies and procedures developed to protect them, there can be conflict on how this work is done and who takes the lead. In the dance of supporting students, someone must take the lead, so that there is a clear understanding of where they fall out will land when or if a situation goes wrong. Participants shared that housing departments spend time during training to ensure that hall staff engages with campus police to introduce the different staff members to each other and to train housing staff on police protocols and procedures on how to respond. The literature supported this aspect of the relationship between campus police and housing staff.

Campus police are often changed with training housing staff on how to identify drugs and illegal substances, how to address underage drinking and disposal of alcohol (Seager, 2018).

Police are also charged with giving housing staff language and resources to explain campus policy on search and seizure, weather emergencies, active shooter response, and terrorism (Seager, 2018). Participants consistently shared that after these first interactions and introductions are done, that a lot of the work is dependent on which police officer responds to the situation and what is occurring during the situation. These anomalies create uncertainty for the housing staff responding, which leads them to question if they are doing their job correctly. These observations by participants were supported by Grims (2008), who noted that engagement with campus police is dependent on the housing staff member. Participants seemed to interpret that housing staff has more investment in the partnership, that once training was provided, then the partnership lacked investment by the campus police.

Although housing staff is trained on when to call campus police, there can be a lot of uncertainty in how campus police may address the situation. The 'how' and 'why' may shift from police officer to officer, and there is often no consistency or a clear path for how to hold a police officer accountable when something goes wrong. Participants expressed the frustration with being charged by higher administrations in their departments to hold police responsible for doing educational programming in the halls or participating in officer liaison programs. There was frustration expressed that campus police do not seem to invest in the partnership and that housing staff are often the ones who are held accountable when the partnership struggles.

Participants shared that they depend on building these relationships as black housing staff because they offer a layer of safety that comes when they address situations with police to have the officer know them. When they engage with campus police and know their name and face, they are not just another utopian black face. They are the campus partner who is on equal footing

with the campus police officer, a role they will never be afforded with police outside of the context of their job.

Advocating Against a Barrier

Black staff members on a college campus often find themselves in circumstances that force them to be a voice, advocate, and mentor for students who look like them. Staff of color often take on mentoring relationships with students of color who live in their buildings or work on their staff. This includes giving the student psychological and emotional support, helping the student navigate university systems, and supporting their academic and career goals (Luedke, 2017). Several participants referenced feelings of conflict about their role working with campus police and advocating for students.

Participants referenced that the amount of energy and time, both personally and professionally, can be exhausting as a black person and that other non-black colleagues did not feel this same exhaustion. These feelings are supported by Luedke (2017), who stated these relationships require the staff member of color to engage in sharing their own values and experiences while walking a fine line of professionalism. These relationships are built on the staff member of color being authentic in sharing their own story and genuine investment in the students' success.

White staff members do not engage in these types of relationships with students of color at the same depth or rate as staff of color. Black housing staff talked about the knowledge they hold about the damage that police can do to black and brown bodies and being challenged by how much they should or could do to support their black students. This could connect back to where the individual is in their identity development. Black identity does not exist in a vacuum. Black identity and how black people navigate their identity has connections to the understanding

of one's self as a whole and emotional and psychological health (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002).

It would be understandable that a black housing staff member would want to support a black student and advocate and protect them against police even if the version of police is their campus partner and colleague. A black housing professional working in a residence hall as a hall director may be at the stage of their black identity development where, they have a heightened understanding of black culture and have begun to acknowledge and gain context for black identity and its intersection between other identities, races, and ethnicities (Plummer, 1996), but they may be working and a supporting a student who is not at this stage.

Participants referred to their black identity when talking about feeling campus police were dismissiveness. Participants who shared this observation shared that they thought campus police did not respect their role as authorities. They shared that they felt police did not see them as equals when they are addressing student behavior. Participants referenced being more educated than campus police, as the majority of live-in hall staff hold master's degrees. They shared that police often only hold bachelor's degrees and did not study student development theory, thus lack an understanding of student behavior. Participants shared that they view campus police as being reactive to student needs and that this creates barriers to their ability to support students. Being dismissed or bypassed often feels different for a black professional than a white professional. Participants felt that the dismissive behavior of campus police was not just about the situation but also about the push and pull between black people and police in general.

Implications for Practice

This study's findings lend themselves to several implications for practice for campus police, Senior Housing Officers, and black professionals' supervisors. Supervisors must be named because, as referenced by several participants, supervisors are often the first line of communication for concerns and issues at any department level. Like any department, student housing is a hierarchy where the person in the direct supervision role of the individual staff member has the greatest ability to remove barriers or push a concern forward.

Implications for Supervisors of Black Housing Professionals

When looking at the race and ethnicity within student housing, the largest number of black housing staff are often in entry-level positions within in a housing department and have less than five years of experience. The Association of University Housing Officers International states that 26% of housing staff identify as being a minority. When broken down into roles, 10% of chief housing officers identify as black, 84% identify as white. 22% of entry-level staff who oversee the activities within a residence hall identify as black, and 66% identify as white (AUCHO-I, 2019).

When looking at these numbers, an assumption can be made that many black housing staff are in positions that are supervised by a white person and have colleagues that are majority white. This may make a difference in how polices, procedures, and concerns are heard and moved up the chain of command. As a white supervisor, there may be a lack of cultural understanding or context of the complexities of feelings and thoughts that a black housing staff member may have about working with campus police because they are not the police showing up on videos killing black people. The supervisor should recognize that although the campus police

and municipal police are different, they are still police and can create the same anxiety, fear and mistrust.

It is important for a white supervisor to acknowledge this, especially if they are in the position to create policy, procedures and programming expectations that guide the work of their supervisees. The supervisor should make it a priority to check in with their supervisor to ask how their interactions with campus police have been. The supervisor should seek out this information with their black staff member instead of waiting for a concern to come forward or assume that there are no issues or concerns.

Implications for Senior Housing Officers

The senior housing officer is the person who is the head of the housing department. This position title ranges from dean to director depending on the institution's structure and the size of the housing department. This is the person who sets the department's culture and structure and is the deciding voice on significant shifts within the department.

When considering the findings of this study, senior housing officers should reevaluate and ask the critical question about campus police and their partnership with housing. They should evaluate why housing has such a close partnership with campus police and whether this partnership serves and supports students and staff or does the partnership exist to just police and enforce policy when housing staff departments feel they cannot. As several participants stated, campus police are called for everything in housing from mental health issues, to drugs to lockouts. Over the years, as laws and student behavior have come more constricted, housing departments have relied on-campus police to draw a bright line on what is legal and not legal.

As campus culture has shifted, the partnership between campus housing and campus police have rarely been evaluated. Instead, they shift, as several participants mentioned when the

senior housing officer changes or when the chief of the campus police partners changes. This makes this partnership connected to individuals and how well or not well those two individuals work together. The partnership is not built on what makes sense for the department and the individuals who will be executing the working-the hall staff and those who will be impacted-the on-campus residents. It becomes equally important that there is good communication between the two offices and clear guidelines on how feedback will be gathered and communicated and how issues of concerns will be addressed.

There should be a memorandum of understanding that covers not just any paid aspects of the partnership but also how the two departments will work together to support students and staff. This agreement should outline training expectations and a mechanism for housing staff to engage with police at the beginning of the year that includes a way for housing staff and campus police officers who will be in the trenches together to know each other's names and faces. This does not have to be the high touch of a meet and greet or ice cream social.

It could be as simple as being clear about who the officers will be responding to calls, especially at night, making sure that campus police know the names and faces of the full-time staff in each building. This can be done by giving police a picture roster or making sure that the housing website and the campus police website are up to date. The senior housing officer's goal should be to evaluate programs like adopt a cop or building campus police liaisons to understand if this is something that campus police want to invest their time and energy. As several participants mentioned spending time and energy on prodding campus police to engage in these programs often takes more time than what is gained. It also could leave housing black housing staff feeling that they are forcing a relationship that they are not excited about but are required to

engage in. When the partnership fails, this could leave the black housings staff member feeling they are not meeting expectations.

Implications for Campus Police

Although this study is based on black housing staff members' responses, some recommendations would be valuable for campus police departments. Although there is a need for evaluation about how campus police engage with on-campus housing staff and residents, the ability to dissolve all connections would not benefit either departments or students. As stated by participants, when there is clear support, respect, and good communication, that partnership can be helpful to both sides.

When police take the time to understand how student housing works and who works within student housing it is helpful to everyone involved. When campus police acknowledge that housing staff are there to help and are not in the way, it helps build trust between the two departments. The relationship between campus police and housing staff cannot be just transactional. It must be set in clear expectations and there must be a path forward for accountability for campus police when they are not meeting expectations. A recommendation would be having a liaison between the two offices, who is charged with building a strong connection between the two offices.

Incorporating a liaison involves looking more globally to one person who is responsible for maintaining the partnership. Often the thought is that each hall director needs a direct person on-campus police to know and plan programs. In actuality, there is too much turnover for both campus police and student housing for this to be a sustainable effort, and as mentioned by participants, it is often the first thing to be left when things get busy. To avoid this campus police should designate one person who is the student housing liaison and will work to arrange

trainings, get other officers to attend programs, provide educational support and is responsible for updating housing on changing police procedures.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research

As I reflect on limitations of this study and future considerations for further research there are a few emerging themes that will need more attention from researchers. This study was not able dedicate as much time reflecting on different intersections of black identity. The study participants were majority female which is reflective of most student housing professionals. There can be considerations for additional research on gender identity within black housing staff and its role in engagement with campus police.

This study was also unable to fully explore how whiteness impacts discussions about campus police. Several participants shared that they felt that their white colleagues, supervisor, and the police, did not have a good understanding of the feelings and struggles that black housing professionals might have with working with campus police.

Summary

The major findings of this study found that participants wanted to be involved in the study because it gave them a place to share thoughts about experiences about working with police and their encounters with police. This study found that participants felt that the purpose of campus police was to protect and ensure the safety of the university community from outside threats and identified this as complicated when thinking of campus police in the same way as municipal police.

Participants shared narratives of the difficulty of building partnerships with the campus police and the challenges of working with them. Finally, participants identified that a core aspect of their interactions with police is in advocacy and protecting black students.

Closing Remarks

Two national events occurred just weeks after I concluded my research interviews. My last interview was March 13th, towards the end of spring break for many institutions. Most of the housing professionals were gearing up to attend various professional development conferences and starting to wind up the machine that is job searching and on-campus interview season. In housing, the spring semester brings excitement and joy mixed with time that moves quickly as you interview potential colleagues, plan those important end-of-the-year recognition events and say goodbye to graduating students. We train staff in July and July, and students arrive in August to move in and they leave campus in May. For all the chaos that can come with housing students on campus, the beginning and end of the year in student housing is very traditional in how it plays out.

The spring of 2020 was turned upside down for universities around the country because of COVID-19. This was especially true for student housing departments. Student housing departments across the country had to navigate what to do with students, facing issues such as: do we send them home, do we allow them to stay-what do we do with their stuff if they already left? Housing staff at all levels were tasked with having to make some quick decisions and battling COVID-19 and figuring out what on-campus housing would look like, who could stay, who should go consumed every housing department.

There was no room for anything else. Had the timeline of my research been even a day or two later, there is a strong possibility I would not have been able to conduct interviews as time was not something that anyone had to give. The implications that COVID-19 has had on university housing departments has been broad and deep. Housing staff have been furloughed, have had salary cuts, and layoffs. Housing staff has had to change the scope of their daily duties

and what they prioritize. There are various intersections between this research and the intersections of COVID-19. States like Michigan and Illinois, which are located in the GLACUHO region were hit hard early by COVID-19. Research has shown that black and brown people continue to be adversely impacted by the spread of the illness. There is a need to understand the impact of COVID-19 on black housing professionals and their work in student housings.

As COVID-19 quarantined people inside their houses, they had no choice but to pay attention to a disturbing video of a black man killed by police. On May 25th a video of the last 8 minutes and 46 seconds of George Floyd's life was broadcast for the world. George Floyd's neck being knelt on by Minneapolis Minnesota police for 8 minutes and 46 seconds. He used his last breath to say the words "I can't breathe" the same words there have been shared by others black men and women killed by police and the same words one of my research participants had to use to describe her bother as police kept her brother from his inhaler.

In response to the murder of George Floyd there were protests in the streets for several weeks, and calls by many to defund the police. Some institutions were called upon and took steps to end cooperative agreements or memorandums of understanding their campus police and the municipal police. Universities across the country, corporations, and others issued statements on anti-blackness and police brutality, confederate statues tumbled, and it seemed that everywhere black lives mattered.

There have been words used like 'reckoning' to describe what occurred and continues to happen in this country. The intersection of COVID-19 and the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd have strong connections to student housing and campus police. These combinations of events will continue to change the work that is being done in student housing on both anti-

blackness and how housing defines what is important and critical to operations. The intersection

of COVID-19 and a reinvigoration of cultural awareness creates a launching pad to ask if the

partnership between student housing and campus police are critical to operations.

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Appendix A

Email Invitation

Subject: Invitation to participate in a research project on black housing staff and their engagement with campus police.

My name is Aramis Watson and I am a doctoral student in the Higher Education Administration program at the University of Kansas.

I am looking for individuals to participate in a study entitled "The Thin Black Line: The Narrative of How Black Housing Staff Make Meaning of their Encounters with Campus Police". The purpose of this study is to understand how black housing staff at colleges and universities engage and interact with campus police and how these interactions shape the narrative of law enforcement among this population.

This study involves one 60-75-minute interview that will take place over the phone. With participant consent, interviews will be audio-recorded.

While this project does involve some professional and emotional risks, care will be taken to protect the subject's identity. Both the name of the institution and the names of participants will be kept confidential, when individuals or institutions are named, pseudonyms will be used.

The subject will have the right to end their participation in the study at any time, for any reason. If you choose to withdraw, all the information provided will be destroyed.

As a token of appreciation, I will be providing participants a with a $15 Visa gift card. (The compensation is theirs to keep, even if they choose to withdraw.)

All research data, including audio-recordings and any notes will be stored in a secure location. Research data will only be accessible by the researcher and the research supervisor.

The ethics protocol for this project was reviewed by the University of Kansas Research Ethics Board, which provided clearance to carry out the research.

Anyone interested in participating in this research project should go to the following link to provide their information https://forms.gle/awjWUr5sSWMo6VYN9

Sincerely,

Aramis Watson

Investigator
Doctoral Student
Higher Education Administration

The University of Kansas

Please email any questions to: aramiswatson@ku.edu

Appendix B

Recruitment Flier

Appendix C

Adult Informed Consent Statement

Name of the Study: The Thin Black Line: How Black Housing Staff Engage with Campus Police

KEY INFORMATION
- This project is studying how black housing staff at colleges and universities engage and interact with campus police both on and off campus and to learn how these interactions shape their perceptions of law enforcement.
- Your participation in this research project is completely voluntary.
- Your participation will take 60 minutes.
- You will be asked to do the following procedures: participate in a semi-structured interview process. Interviews will be conducted via phone or video conference.
- There are no reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts to the subject as a result of participation in this study.
- This study will empower the participant through their self-disclosure and ensure that they are in the lead in sharing their own personal and cultural narrative with someone who understands the work, has a shared identity but does not have hierarchal power over them or their institution.
- Your alternative to participating in this research study is not to participate.

DETAILED INFORMATION

The Department of Education at the University of Kansas supports the practice of protection for human subjects participating in research. The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. You may refuse to sign this form and not participate in this study. You should be aware that even if you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time. If you do withdraw from this study, it will not affect your relationship with this unit, the services it may provide to you, or the University of Kansas.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The intended purpose of this qualitative study is to understand how black housing staff at colleges and universities engage and interact with campus police both on and off campus and to learn how these interactions shape their perceptions of law enforcement. This study will explore possible changes in their opinions and perceptions of off campus police as a result of engagement with on campus police through working in student housing. Further, the study will also seek to discover how working with police through interactions that include addressing student behavior, hall programming and performing job position responsibilities affect the personal and professional lives of black housing staff members.

PROCEDURES

You will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview process. Interviews will be conducted via phone or video conference and will be a minimum of 60 mins in length.

You will have the option of having taping stopped at any time. Recordings interviews are required to participate in the study. All recordings will be done on a personal recording device and then uploaded to my university share drive folder. The recordings will be transcribed via a transcription service. The recordings will be kept until the completion of the study and then destroyed/erased.

RISKS

There are no reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts to you as a result of participation in this study.

BENEFITS

You will not directly benefit from participation in the study. The benefits are indirect (e.g., to society). The study allows black housing staff members to share their own personal and cultural narrative with someone who understands the work, has a shared identity but does not have hierarchal power over them or their institution.

The overall goal of this study is to understand how black housing staff at colleges and universities engage and interact with campus police both on and off campus and to learn how these interactions shape their perceptions of law enforcement. The findings may provide a better understanding of this topic that would help inform future partnerships, trainings and support for black housing staff members.

PAYMENT TO PARTICIPANTS

You will receive a $15 gift card from Amazon or Visa at the conclusion of the study. You be allowed to keep the gift certificate even if you withdraw from the study. Funding for these gift cards have been provided by a grant from the Upper Midwest Region - Association of College and University Housing Officers. Investigators may ask for your social security number in order to comply with federal and state tax and accounting regulations.

PARTICIPANT CONFIDENTIALITY

Your name will not be associated in any publication or presentation with the information collected about you or with the research findings from this study. Both the name of the institution and the names of participants will be kept confidential, when individuals or institutions are named, pseudonyms will be used.

Interview notes and transcripts will be saved to the researchers University of Kansas personal share drive which is secured and backed up by the University system. All materials will be deleted at the conclusion of the study.

Your identifiable information will not be shared unless (a) it is required by law or university policy, or (b) you give written permission.

REFUSAL TO SIGN CONSENT AND AUTHORIZATION

You are not required to sign this Consent and Authorization form and you may refuse to do so without affecting your right to any services you are receiving or may receive from the University of Kansas or to participate in any programs or events of the University of Kansas. However, if you refuse to sign, you cannot participate in this study.

CANCELLING THIS CONSENT AND AUTHORIZATION

You may withdraw your consent to participate in this study at any time. You also have the right to cancel your permission to use and disclose further information collected about you, in writing, at any time, by sending your written request to *Aramis Watson at aramiswatson@ku.edu*

If you cancel permission to use your information, the researchers will stop collecting additional information about you. However, the research team may use and disclose information that was gathered before they received your cancellation, as described above.

QUESTIONS ABOUT PARTICIPATION

Questions about procedures should be directed to the researcher(s) listed at the end of this consent form.

PARTICIPANT CERTIFICATION:
I have read this Consent and Authorization form. I have had the opportunity to ask, and I have received answers to, any questions I had regarding the study. I understand that if I have any additional questions about my rights as a research participant, I may call (785) 864-7429 or (785) 864-7385, write the Human Research Protection Program (HRPP), University of Kansas, 2385 Irving Hill Road, Lawrence, Kansas 66045-7568, or email irb@ku.edu.

I agree to take part in this study as a research participant. By my signature I affirm that I am at least 18 years old and that I have received a copy of this Consent and Authorization form.

_____   _____

    Type/Print Participant's Name   Date

_____

      Participant's Signature

Researcher Contact Information

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Appendix D

Interview Protocol

<u>Opening Questions/Background</u>

- Tell me about your role in housing on your campus?

- Why did you decide to participate in this study?

- Tell me about where you lived/your community prior to starting college?

  - Possible prompt: Did you grow up in a city/town/urban/rural/suburban?

<u>Questions about perceptions/beliefs about police</u>

- When you hear the word police what perceptions (prompt: images and feelings) come to mind?

- When you hear the words campus police what images and feelings come to mind?

- What do you feel is the purpose of police on a college campus?

<u>Questions about campus housing and working with campus police</u>

- How do you work with campus police in your current role?

  - Possible prompt: What are the positives of these interactions? What are the negatives of these interactions?

- What do you feel are important aspects of housing staff and campus police working together?

  - What changes have you seen or experienced as you have progressed in your career in housing and worked with police?

  - Possible prompt: What were the differences in the interactions and engagements when you were in an undergraduate, graduate or full-time role?

- What perceptions did you have with police before you started working in housing?

- How have these perceptions shifted or changed as you have worked in housing?

- What are the characteristics of a good housing/campus police relationship? What are the characteristics of a bad housing/campus police relationship?

Closing Questions

- What have you learned about working with police as a housing professional?

  - Possible follow up: How has what you've learned shaped how you engage and interact with police in your personal life?

- What do you wish you could change about the role of police in the university housing?