

PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPUS CRIME

By

MARK VERMILLION

Bachelor of Science
Kansas State University
Manhattan, Kansas
2000

Master of Arts
Wichita State University
Wichita, Kansas
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Dissertation Approved:

Dr. Gary Webb
Dissertation Advisor

Dr. John Cross

Dr. Ron Thrasher

Dr. Jason Kirksey

Dr. A. Gordon Emslie
Dean of the Graduate College

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) and the Digest of Education Statistics (2003), by the fall of 2013 more than 18 million students will be setting foot for the first time on American college and university campuses. With so many people heading to colleges and universities, perceptions of security and campus police effectiveness are topics that generate a lot of discussion. On a related note, processes of colleges and universities “hiding” official crime statistics to misrepresent the actual number of crimes in order to better promote their institution is fast becoming a reality that has not received much attention from either sociology or criminology. Since many colleges and universities tend to handle discipline and even potentially legal matters on an “in-house” or “internal” basis, the crime statistics that are provided to the public can often be unrepresentative of the actual crime rates of these institutions. These statistics have the potential for possibly eschewing the perception of students, faculty, staff, and other university employees concerning crime and security on campus.

Recently, colleges and universities have become more prominently featured in today’s news media and have come under more scrutiny as a result. Specifically, with the murder of a retired research professor at the University of Missouri-Columbia (Wells, 2005) and the estimate that over 1,000 students every year commit suicide on college or

university property (Franke, 2004), institutions of higher education are becoming the focus of diverse topics such as incidences of alcohol abuse, hazing activities, incidences of campus crime, and how these crimes are reported and subsequently disseminated to the public.

According to the Clery Act, any college or university that receives federal funding has to annually record campus crime rates and statistics in order to produce a proper annual security report (Sawyer, 2005). Security on Campus, Inc, a campus crime watchdog group started by the Clery family after the murder of their daughter at Lehigh University, reported in their May 1-7, 2005 (volume 4, number 12) newsletter that Salem International University in West Virginia was given the first six digit fine by the federal government for violating the full disclosure requirement of the Student Right-To-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 (known as the Clery Act). Specifically, SIU has to pay \$200,000 over the next five years for neglecting to report over eighty campus crimes, including five sexual assaults. The U.S. Department of Education's review also revealed that the campus police department was severely under-staffed for the size of the university and under-funded.

The University of New Hampshire is also in violation of the Clery Act (Sawyer, 2005). Specifically, the university "failed to send the annual security report to the campus community as required by the act." (Sawyer, 2005: 2). In addition, the university does not have an explicit policy (i.e. in writing) that stipulates the university is complying with the "timely warning" clause of the Clery Act. They were also in non-compliance with:

procedures students should follow if a sex offense occurs, including procedures concerning...the importance of preserving evidence for the proof of a criminal offense and sanctions the institution may impose following a final determination

of an institutional disciplinary proceeding regarding rape, acquaintance rape, or other forcible or nonforcible sex offenses. (UNH's annual security report cited in Sawyer, 2005: 4).

Crime has affected many parts of American society and the sacred halls of the academic world are no exceptions (Smith, 1995). In the past twenty-five years the media highlighted a few high profile violent campus crimes and helped to create the image that college and university campuses were dangerous places (Fisher, 1995). To combat this media storm of bad publicity, which can affect enrollment rates, many universities are resorting to reporting procedures that appear to be intentional manipulations of these crime statistics in order to portray the best possible image. The aforementioned examples are merely two of the most recent violations involving circuitous reporting procedures.

To add to the sociological and criminological knowledge base concerning campus crime, the purpose of this research is to measure students' and campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime and security. Specifically, to measure students' perceptions of campus crime, previous research has stipulated that perceptions of crime and security are directly related to perceptions of the police. In order to effectively measure students' perceptions of campus crime, one must measure students' perceptions of campus police officers, as well.

When addressing campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime, it must be kept in mind that these individuals work within large bureaucratically structured organizations (i.e. colleges and universities). Campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime and security will be affected by their position within the organizational structure. By detailing the power and influence that organizations have on both individuals and subsequent procedures, it will be easy to see that organizational

processes, whether explicitly or implicitly developed, will fundamentally alter how crimes are reported on college and university campuses. By altering how crimes are reported, official crime statistics are shaped, distorted, or simply manipulated in order to provide the best public visage for a university. Low official crime rates can lead to claims of being “the safest” campus within regions or conferences, which in turn, can affect enrollment rates leading to greater prestige and economic gain for the university. The research project, then, can be divided into the following chapters: a brief socio-legal background, previous literature, theoretical framework, methodology, analysis, and a conclusion.

Socio-Legal Background

The socio-legal background chapter covers a historical overview of the legal and legislative contexts concerning crimes committed on college and university campuses, while providing a legal background concerning the development of the Student Right-To-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 (known as the Clery Act). The overview details the legislative precedents and doctrines that have governed the relationship between a college or university and the student over the years. Fisher (1995) notes that colleges and universities’ responses of increased student security are based on the U.S. courts’ decisions of *loco parentis* and the *doctrine of foreseeability*.

Loco parentis, which means “in the place of a parent”, helped to initially establish college and universities’ liability in relationship to student safety. Specifically, it said that anything that happened to the student while in the care of the college or university was the school’s fault because the student is the responsibility of the institution (Spitzberg and Thorndike, 1992). The *doctrine of foreseeability*, on the other hand, has

gradually replaced the notion that universities should act like a surrogate parent, but rather have the duty to provide students with information warning them of known risks. In addition, the *doctrine of foreseeability* states that institutions should provide students with adequate security protection; the association is akin to the relationship of landlord and tenant (Fisher, 1995).

Another part of the socio-legal background chapter deals with a detailed analysis of both the federal government's response and state's responses to campus crime legislation. While much of the publicity for campus crime legislation is directed at the Clery Act, it should be noted that the first piece of campus crime reporting legislation that was passed into law was done in 1988 by the state of Pennsylvania. While both pieces of legislation were lobbied for by the same individuals, the Clery family, the state response preceded the federal response by two years. Finally, a brief discussion is entertained concerning how victimization and the social construction of law were crucial for campus crime legislation.

Previous Literature

The previous literature chapter contains two main topics: perceptions of crime and the police and organizational deviance. Since information concerning campus crime is in short supply, this research attempts to draw a linkage between perceptions and ideas of society and those of a campus community. Since Fisher (1994) notes how campuses are communities of their own, theoretical ideas and previous literature from larger communities should, theoretically, be applicable to campus communities.

The discussion concerning perceptions of crime is heavily influenced by Baer and Chambliss' (1997) discussion of reporting procedures (including the Uniform Crime

Report) in conjunction with Scheingold's (1984) idea of the "American Crime Myth". These authors help to illustrate how the general public's perception of crime is shaped. The related section concerning the perceptions of the police draws from Brown and Benedict's (2002) typologies. These categories include individual level variables, such as race, gender, and class; contextual variables, such as fear of victimization and residence; and how juveniles perceive the police. While college campuses are not considered communities that have large amounts of juveniles inhabiting them, they are communities that have large numbers of young people in or around them. It is important to review this literature because perceptions of the police are greatly affected by the age of the individual.

The section dealing with organizational deviance attempts to provide a brief overview of the highly complex literature concerning bureaucratically structured organizations. Specifically, Vaughan (1999) notes that the "Dark Side" of organizations produces three consequences: 1) consequences for organizations themselves, 2) consequences for individuals, and 3) consequences for the larger society. These aspects of organizations are discussed further and examples are provided to illustrate how bureaucratically organizations can become extremely inefficient- including the bureaucratically structured colleges and universities.

Next, Vaughan's (1996: 394) "nascent theory for the normalization of deviance in organizations" is used to focus the organizational deviance discussion of universities. This three-part theory includes the production of culture, and culture of production, and structural secrecy and is tied into Clarke and Perrow's (1996) discussion of fantasy

documents, which are ideas concerning procedures and practices established as a way of responding to disastrous situations.

Theoretical Framework

The theory chapter introduces the theoretical framework that is used in the research. Specifically, McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) Integrative Conflict Model (ICM) is used to analyze issues of campus crime and how students' and police officers' perceptions are influenced. This heuristic model proposed to work on three analytical levels. These levels include larger structural foundations, the perceptions of crime and the police, and triggering events. The ICM helps to focus the discussion and make sense of the complex feedback loops from all levels of the model that helps to illustrate how perceptions of campus crime are developed among both students and campus police officers. To further explicate the most singular level of the model, the triggering event, a discussion is entertained on the role the media plays in developing perceptions of crime and the police.

Data and Methodology

This particular chapter attempts to explicitly discuss the process of data collection within this research project. Because the data chosen for this project reflect McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) ICM, sources of data include interviews done with campus security officials, including campus police officers, and a survey distributed to a sample from the student body of a large university. The methods chapter illustrates the process of how the survey is designed and constructed, including the types of questions and responses available on the distributed surveys. In addition, data collection via the survey instrument is evaluated in terms of validity, reliability, and limitations of the constructed

instrument. Finally, a brief, but in-depth review of the sampling procedures used in the project is discussed.

While survey data is collected from the aforementioned university's student body to test the second (meso) level of the ICM, additional interviews with campus security officials, including campus police officers are used. These interviews are essential to the discussion of the structural foundations, or the macro level, of the ICM. The methods section clearly covers how the surveys are designed and the sample that is used. Within this discussion are important points, such as getting entrance to the population, types of questions asked, and approximate length of the interviews. Finally, the interviews are evaluated in terms of their validity, reliability, and limitations. Throughout the entire section, special attention is paid to how the researcher, following Institutional Review board (IRB) guidelines attempts to keep both subjects and data safe and secure.

Survey Results

The purpose of this chapter is to present statistical results. The statistical results aim to expand the literature concerning perceptions of campus crime, while at the same time helping to explicate how McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) integrative conflict model can be applied to campus crime. As a result, these analyses help to better inform a discussion relating to perceptions of campus crime. Within this section univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses are conducted using survey data obtained from a university's student body.

In particular, this chapter addresses students' perceptions of campus crime (and security). Utilizing McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) integrative conflict model as a framework, the constructed survey and resulting regression analysis tests the meso-level

of the theoretical framework. Specifically, this analysis tests the research question of whether students' perceptions of the campus police (which is a proxy for how they perceive campus crime and security) is influenced by measures of self-protection taken by the student; prior victimization of the student; and how often (during both the daytime and nighttime hours) students see campus police officers on campus. Results are presented and framed within both the previous literature concerning perceptions of police officers and McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) integrative conflict model.

Interview Results

The interview results chapter summarizes and analyzes the interviews conducted for this study. Interviews were conducted with campus police officers and other campus security personnel. These interviews were transcribed and then content analysis was conducted on the remaining interview texts. Categories for the content analysis were developed *a priori* and are based on Vaughan's (1996) categories. Both the survey data and the analysis of the interviews, in conjunction with the previously identified triggering event of Jeanne Clery, help to develop a fuller picture of the perceptions of campus crime.

The macro-level of McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) model, the structural foundations, is analyzed by looking at interviews with campus police officers (and other related security personnel). These results are presented within the broad categories of overall perceptions, production of culture, culture of production, and structural secrecy. Interview quotes from past officers, present officers, and other security personnel are presented as evidence of data to illustrate the power of the thematic, typological categories. In particular the analysis focuses on how the bureaucratic structure of the

campus environment relates to incidences of organizational deviance that manifests itself in confusion and misreporting of campus crime rates.

Discussion

The discussion chapter attempts to provide a detailed analysis of all results of the current research project. Specifically, an analytical discussion that synthesizes both this research's current conclusions with the previous literature concerning both perceptions of crime and the development of organizational cultures provides a differing view into the literature addressing campus crime. A separate discussion will be entertained to address the statistical results of the survey data, which represents the meso-level of the ICM, while another discussion is presented that analyzes the interview data (or the macro-level of the ICM). Finally, all of these discussions are entertained while framed explicitly within the ICM as a way of providing a more holistic picture of perceptions of campus crime while at the same time illustrating the usefulness of this new theoretical approach.

Discussion of survey results centers on the unique conclusions from statistical analyses. Specifically, the extremely low amount of explained variation alludes to either one of two things: 1) the sample used is extremely unique and does not adhere to the same generalized patterns that the previous literature points to, or 2) the previous literature and current theoretical models developed for municipalities and applied to campus environments do not explicitly apply to the unique environments of college and university campuses. The interview discussion focuses on the complex nature of bureaucratically structured college and university environments and that structural secrecy (lack of communication) is the primary source of misreporting or circuitous

reporting procedures. Other bureaucratic dysfunctions are important, but oftentimes are tangentially related to the constrained flow of information within a bureaucracy.

The final section of the discussion chapter attempts to framework all the aforementioned conclusions and discussions within the study's adopted theoretical perspective. Survey analyses represent the meso-level of the model, while interviews address the structural-level of the model. The triggering event, the micro -level of the model, was not tested within the research, but is discussed. The rationale for not addressing the triggering event in this research is that all accounts of the previous literature identify one singular event as setting in motion the Student-Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990: the murder of Jeanne Clery in 1986 in her Lehigh University campus dorm room. All of the previous discussions are discussed in terms of both the previous literature and the integrative conflict model.

Conclusion

The purpose of this final chapter is to synthesize and integrate all information and discussion presented about perceptions of campus crime. The chapter focuses on future research that can result from this initial exploration into campus crime. The topics that are addressed include a review of the limitations of the current research, including the survey, interviews, and the sample(s) used. Another topic covered within this chapter is future areas of research and ways of improving upon the current research project's design. Finally, a brief assessment of the current research's overall contribution is discussed as a way of providing final commentary on perceptions of campus crime.

CHAPTER II

A SOCIO-LEGAL BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

To accurately address why issues of campus crime have become increasingly important, a historical overview of the legal and legislative contexts concerning crimes committed on college and university campuses must be entertained. Crime has affected many parts of American society and the sacred halls of the academic world are no exception (Smith, 1995). In the past twenty-five years the media highlighted a few high profile violent campus crimes and helped to create the image that college and university campuses were dangerous places (Fisher, 1995).

The media's coverage of extremely violent cases (Bromley, 1995), such as professors being killed, students being murdered, sexual assaults, and rape-related homicides (Seng, 1995), the reality of campus crime is being exposed. Subsequently, students and faculty members are increasingly more fearful and at a greater risk of victimization than ever before (Fisher, 1995).

LEGISLATIVE PRECEDENTS AND RESPONSES

Throughout the history of the United States, there have been two major doctrines that have helped to govern the relationship between a college or university and the student. Specifically, when it comes to bearing responsibility for protection and safety

universities have subscribed to two major doctrines: *loco parentis* and *the doctrine of foreseeability*.

Loco Parentis

Fisher (1995) notes that colleges and universities' responses of increased student security are based on the U.S. courts' decisions of *loco parentis* and the doctrine of foreseeability. *Loco parentis*, which means "in the place of a parent", helped to initially establish college and universities' liability in relationship to student safety; anything that happened to the student while in the care of the college or university was the school's fault because the student is the responsibility of the institution (Spitzberg and Thorndike, 1992). This particular precedent dates as far back as 1866 in the case of *People v. Wheaton College*, which banned the existence of secret societies and determined that educational authorities should act toward their students as a parent would to a child (Fisher, 1995).

Doctrine of Foreseeability

The *doctrine of foreseeability*, which was established in a series of court decisions in the late 1970's and early 1980's, has slowly replaced the idea that universities should act like a surrogate parent. Instead colleges and universities have the duty to provide students with information warning them of known risks and to provide students with adequate security protection; the association is similar to the relationship of landlord and tenant (Fisher, 1995). Smith and Fossey (1995), however, note that in the end, the university's top administrators are responsible, whether implicitly or explicitly, for the safety of its students, faculty and staff, administrators, or visitors. The administrators are judged in the court of public opinion through the mass media's coverage of campus

crimes (Fisher, 1995). Administrator's responses to campus crime offenses can then, in turn, help to foster a greater sense of community (Spitzberg and Thorndike, 1992). The placing of safety and responsibility back with the institution of higher education over students during the mid to late 1980's has led to a revival of the *loco parentis* doctrine (Smith and Fossey, 1995: 49). In response to providing students or potential students with proper information concerning campus crime statistics and adequate security, Congress and numerous states have taken legislative action.

The Federal Response

The Student- Right-to- Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 were legislative actions signed in November of 1990 and designed to increase students', parents', faculty and staff, and campus administrators' awareness of crime on college campuses (Henson and Stone, 1999). The pieces of legislation required that colleges and universities had to collect, prepare, distribute, and publish crime rate information in accordance with FBI Index offenses and three violations (Fisher, Sloan, and Wilkens, 1995: 179). In addition to mandating that the Secretary of Education prepare and present a one time report to Congress concerning campus crime statistics (Post Secondary Education Quick Information System [PEQIS]; Seng, 1995), the Crime Awareness and Campus Security Act of 1990, which encompasses the Student-Right-to-Know and Campus Security Acts, required that all postsecondary institutions that received federal funding had to disseminate campus crime statistics on an annual basis (Fisher, 1995).

While the Campus Security Act crime reporting procedures place a disproportionate amount of emphasis on violent crime, institutions must also report the proper statistics concerning on-campus arrests of particular crimes (Henson and Stone,

1999). Often times these statistics include liquor law and drug abuse violations and weapons possessions (Spitzberg and Thorndike, 1992). All of these crime and reported statistics must be in compliance with Federal Bureau of Investigation's uniform reporting system. Since colleges and universities originally only had to report six of the seven FBI index crimes (murder, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft), the law was amended in 1992 to replace rape statistics by collecting data for both forcible and nonforcible sex offenses (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, fact file, 1998)

Like many pieces of legislation the Campus Security Act has some severe limitations (Sloan, Fisher, and Cullen, 1997). First, since only six of the FBI's seven index crimes are collected, a true picture of campus crime cannot be attained. Theft, which is a property crime, not a crime against the person, is the most common campus crime committed (Sloan, 1995, Fox and Hellman, 1985, McPheters, 1978, and Henson and Stone, 1999). Theft, however, is not within the mandated data collection procedure (Henson and Stone, 1999). On a related note, Sloan et al. (1997) note that gross underreporting of campus crimes, especially thefts or sexual assaults, occurs. The large amounts of underreporting and the strict adherence to only six of the FBI's seven index crimes helps to distort the true picture of campus crime occurrences.

Secondly, the Campus Security Act focuses on the number and frequency of crimes known to the authorities, when it could be examining crime rates, such as number of crimes per 1,000 students, faculty, and staff (Seng and Kroehler, 1993). Because the raw data can be manipulated in many subversive, yet legal ways (Baer and Chambliss, 1997), colleges and universities are able to provide the student body and potential

students with an inaccurate portrayal of crime on a specific campus. The politicized nature of counting crime statistics or rates is not limited to merely campus crimes. In fact, Baer and Chambliss (1997) see crime reporting on the national level as extremely flawed, biased, and politicized. It can be deduced, then, that many of the same limitations that occur on the national level also occur when reporting campus crime statistics.

Seng (1995: 39) notes since the term ‘campus’ is defined by the Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act as including “...any building or property owned or controlled by the institution in the same or contiguous geographic area and used by the institution in direct support of... education purposes.” Colleges and universities with branch or multiple campuses are listed as separate campuses. These separate campuses, therefore, have separate crime rates and are subject to separate reporting procedures. The division of campuses and the resultant separate crime rates contradicts some of the primary purposes of the legislation, which are simplicity, uniformity, and consistency in the reporting of campus crimes (Seng, 1995). Another important point of ambiguity concerns fraternity and sorority organizations (Spitzberg and Thorndike, 1992). Since these organizations are recognized student organizations, the Campus and Security Act is often interpreted as extending over these organizations making them subject to campus crime reporting procedures (Seng, 1995).

Seng (1995) notes another federal response to better inform students and parents of campus crime statistics involved amending the 1965 Higher Education Act. The amendment in 1998 saw Congress authorizing the development of the Office of Postsecondary Education (OPE) within the U.S. Department of Education. The OPE maintains a website called the Campus Security Statistics Website to assist potential

students and parents of students to research incidences of criminal offenses on a variety of college campuses including over 6,000 urban, rural, liberal arts, state, technical or community colleges and universities.

Each college or university that receives federal funding and is Title IV eligible is required to publish and distribute an annual report by October 1st of each academic year concerning campus security. In addition, colleges and universities are mandated to provide advanced warnings of incidences of crimes that are reported to local campus and community authorities. These reports are to be done in a timely manner as to aid in the prevention of similar crimes from occurring. The reporting procedures, done in accordance with FBI criminal reporting measures are executed to increase the protection levels of both students and employees (faculty/staff).

The OPE Campus Security Statistics Website is also linked to the National Center for Education Statistics, which maintains the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System ,COOL (IPEDS, College Opportunities On-Line). This particular site helps parents and students to differentiate between colleges and universities based on a variety of criteria including location, program, size or degree offerings, which all have relationships to campus crime.

The State Response

The State response to campus crime began in Pennsylvania after Jeanne Ann Clery's parents, who found their daughter brutally raped and murdered in her Lehigh University dorm room, successfully lobbied the state legislature for the nation's first campus security reporting law (Fisher, 1995). In 1988 the Pennsylvania College and University Security Information Act (of 1988) spearheaded campus crime awareness

legislation with many other states following the precedent, including but not limited to California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Nevada, New York, and West Virginia. State campus crime reporting legislation is generally divided up into three main sections involving compilation of information, distribution of statistics, and punishment for noncompliance (Griffaton, 1995).

According to Griffaton (1995) most state reporting laws require that colleges and universities gather information about security procedures and crimes committed on their campuses. While there is much variation in how states mandate security and reporting laws to be implemented, many of the state reporting laws, such as those from Pennsylvania and Connecticut, require that campus authorities report campus crime statistics to the state police for publication in the FBI's Uniform Crime report.

Delaware's security and reporting law takes this one step further and requires a prepared monthly report be submitted by each college or university detailing the number and type of criminal offenses taking place on school property. In addition, California's security and reporting laws require the gathering of all criminal and non-criminal acts and arrests involving hate crimes, while Wisconsin addresses issues of rape and acquaintance rape by producing separate statistics concerning these specific crimes (Griffaton, 1995).

Once campus crime reporting procedures are in place, accessibility of this information is crucial and varies by state security and reporting laws (Griffaton, 1995). With many states, including California and Tennessee, campus crime information is made available to persons that submit an application for admission or are hired as an employee to any college or university. It should be pointed out that the point of inquiry must start with the individual usually involving a formalized request and application,

which is not included in the non-refundable fee required with a student's application for admission (Griffaton, 1995).

In Delaware, however, students and employees are specifically informed about campus crime rates, but college applicants are not as easily informed. Applicants are overlooked because the Delaware reporting law states that campus crime information is a matter of "public record" and that these rates should be published in a campus newspaper or similar publication. Once again, the burden of inquiry lies with the applicant to track down campus crime rates.

One final variation concerning how different states mandate reporting of campus crime statistics is what Griffaton (1995) calls 'public record'. Louisiana, for example, does not explicitly provide the diffusion of campus crime statistics and information to presently enrolled students or potential applicants. Louisiana's campus crime reporting law stipulates that these statistics are a matter of public record and must be accessed or requested by students or potential applicants. Since current and potential students do not have campus crime statistics readily available at their finger tips, it is highly unlikely that they will search and ask for this information.

Fisher (1995) notes that the Campus Security Act does not provide a clear understanding for how gathered crime statistics or crime prevention programs (and related information) should be disseminated to the larger public. This oversight results from the fact that "...no money was appropriated for this purpose." (Fisher, 1995: 95) The fundamental purpose of the campus security reporting law is to decrease occurrences of crimes on campuses by educating and making students aware of these incidences (Griffaton, 1995). Without a clear cut provision on how to mandate the reporting of

campus crimes, the purpose of the reporting law fails and leaves colleges and universities loopholes through which the reporting law may be circumvented leaving states in the position of mandating reporting laws (Griffaton, 1995: 60). Prior to these state reporting laws, no college or university was required to report any criminal activity (Fisher, 1995). Griffaton (1993) reports, however, that at least twenty state legislatures have reacted by instituting state level reporting procedures with more coming in the future.

VICTIMIZATION AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF LAW

As previously mentioned, the brutal murder and rape of Lehigh Freshman, Jeanne Clery, in 1986 had an enormous impact on the subsequent development of campus crime legislation. Specifically, once the Clery family learned of the death of their daughter, they began a personal crusade that would eventually result in the Clery Act, a federal law that requires the publishing and dissemination of campus assault records (Hoover, 2003). This particular law mandates all colleges to report data on crimes that occurred on their campuses by the first of October of each year. Before the federal law was adopted by legislators, the Clery family had successfully lobbied the state legislature (of Pennsylvania) for the nation's first campus security reporting law (Fisher, 1995). In 1988 the Pennsylvania College and University Security Information Act (of 1988) spearheaded campus crime awareness legislation. This example illustrates how campus crime legislation is a social construct that once informed by the media's coverage of high profile cases and individuals or organizations that engage in claims-making, affects the construction of both state and federal legislation.

Victimization and the Relationship to Claims-making

Hester and Eglin (1993) illustrate how laws, whether criminal or tort (civil), are constructed within societies, thereby making them social constructions. The social construction of laws, according to a social constructionist perspective, is also heavily related to values of a particular society (Spector and Kitsuse, 1987). Since Bromley (1995) asserts that the media's coverage of high profile violent campus crime incidents has brought greater awareness to the issue of campus crime, it is easy to see how a society's set of values concerning crime victimization and the resultant media coverage has the ability to influence both state and federal legislation.

Claims-making, according to Spector and Kitsuse (1987) involves individuals or collectivities, such as formalized organizations, that engage in activities that consist of a form of social interaction where demands are made to ameliorate a specific social condition. Once these claims, which involve demanding a specific social or supposed right, are levied by a party, they have the ability to start influencing larger policy decision (Spector and Kitsuse, 1987). Hester and Eglin (1993) also note how once a claims-making individual, group, or organization gains public support or attention (usually through mass media outlets), the movement begins to "simultaneously generate data [t]hrough a symbiosis with the mass media, [where] more cases came to be reported and the class composition of the perceived problem broadened" (pp. 43). Fernandez and Lizotte (1993) demonstrate that campus crime is actually decreasing, but the media's coverage of brutal killings and incidences of victimization help to produce an inaccurate picture of campus crime. The larger public, therefore, sees campus crime as a problem, and a problem that should be dealt with through legislative outlets.

Once the Clery family had successfully lobbied the Pennsylvanian legislature for the enactment of a campus crime reporting law, their crusade eventually resulted in federal legislation. The Clery Act and the Student Right- to-Know and Campus Security Act were pieces of federal legislation that help to spawn more coverage on campus crime incidents. Not only are violent incidents of campus crime being closely monitored, such as the establishment of the watchdog group known as Security on Campus, Inc. (established by the Clery family and currently run by Howard Clery III) (Hoover, 2003), but campus life in general is coming under closer scrutiny. Incidents of hazing (See Hoover and Milner, 1998; Sweet, 1999; Bushweller, 2000; Jones, 2000; and Hollman, 2002 for a greater discussion of hazing related activities), alcohol consumption, and substance abuse arrests are being closely watched by not only mass media outlets, but campus police or security organizations (Hoover, 2003). For example, in September of 2004, University of Colorado officials released the name of a CU freshman that died as the result of alcohol poisoning while pledging the Chi Psi fraternity (The Colorado Daily). Similar incidences were reported in recent years involving other universities such as the University of Oklahoma, Clarkson University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

Claims-making and the Relationship to Law and Policy

The constant media coverage of such aforementioned events has an effect on government or university policy, which illustrates the nature of law being a social construction. The death of David Schick, which occurred as a result of an alcohol-related fight while at Georgetown University, prompted his family to contact their government representatives (over a period of years). It took the Schick's over a year and a half to

finally find out that the individual that was drunk and killed their son in a fist fight was required to write a ten page paper, to attend alcohol counseling, and to serve a one semester suspension. After appeal, the one semester suspension was overturned and the individual, who was a member of the men's varsity soccer team, never missed any school (Fleming, 2003). The result of their frustration and their lobbying efforts is a congressional proposal that is going before Congress (in late 2004). This proposal mandates that colleges and universities tell victims and/ or victim's families the results of judicial proceedings (and subsequent punishments) against their perpetrators (Fleming, 2004).

Another example of how the media's coverage of individual claims-making activities can influence public policy involves Mercer University in Macon, Georgia. Amanda Farahany is an Atlanta lawyer that was representing a former Mercer University student who claimed to have been raped on the college's campus in 2002. While attempting to prepare a case against the university, Ms. Farahany inquired about campus police documents dating back to 1995. These documents included incident reports, radio logs, contact-person reports, and reports pertaining to sexual assaults (Hoover, 2004). Although the university was complying with the Clery Act, which "requires colleges to maintain a public crime log, listing the nature, time, date, location, and disposition of each incident" (Hoover, 2004: 1), the Clery Act does not stipulate that institutions have to make available detailed information about specific crimes or police investigations. Ms. Farahany filed a complaint against the university and demanded the release of the desired documents under the Georgia Open-Records Law. When Mercer University responded

that they were a private institution (with a private police force) and that the law did not apply to them, the Georgia state-court intervened (Hoover, 2004).

The Georgia state-court judge ruled that Mercer University must turn over the records because they are an institution that performs a public function and since their police officers carry weapons and make arrests, they were akin to municipal police officers (Hoover, 2004). A similar case is being heard concerning Harvard University and the Harvard University student newspaper, *The Harvard Crimson*. Specifically, this case involves important criminal records, which would help the newspaper's investigative reporters report on recent issues of public interest, such as alleged acts of embezzlement by two students, is currently being adjudicated (Hoover, 2004).

Claims-making, whether by individuals or groups, can bring media attention and garner public support or attention for a particular cause or movement (Hester and Eglin, 1993). By illustrating how claims-making influences law or policy, one can demonstrate that all legislative policies are social constructions and the result of social agendas brought forth by specific parties wanting ameliorative action. Specifically, when it comes to policies or legislative responses (both federal and state level), the media's coverage of crime victimization, especially violent crime, helps to bring attention to issues of campus crime (Bromley, 1995) and more recently, campus life issues, such as drug and alcohol abuse (Hoover, 2003).

Another important observation is that universities much like other bureaucratic organizations; do not welcome these changes, because they upset the routinized and structured activities of those in the bureaucracy (Vaughan, 1996). While the public appears to be adhering once again to the doctrine of *loco parentis*, colleges and

universities are still clinging to the *doctrine of foreseeability*. The former lends support to Smith and Fossey (1995) that claim there has been a change in the last fifteen years that signifies a reversal in doctrines back to more of a *loco parentis* nature, that is colleges and universities should act as surrogate parents (Fisher, 1995). With issues of campus life, such as drinking and drug abuse becoming more closely watched (Hoover, 2003), the public is expecting that colleges and universities have students, staff and faculty, administrators, and visitors' security at the top of their priority list.

CONCLUSION

It is important to focus on how the Student Right-to-Know Act and Campus Security Act became law. With the media's focus on some high profile and brutal campus crimes (Bromley, 1995), many states and the federal government felt pressured to react by proving comprehensive legislation that helped to ensure the safety of students, faculty and staff, administrators, and visitors on a college campus (Fisher, 1995).

Throughout American history the role of the university in protecting students has evolved. Traditionally, there have been two major doctrines that have governed the relationship between colleges and universities and the students that attend them. *Loco parentis*, which means "in the place of a parent", helped to initially establish college and universities' liability in relationship to student safety (Fisher, 1995). Specifically, *loco parentis* viewed college campuses as extensions of the home or family, and mandated that universities protect students, even from themselves (such as alcohol or drug abuse) (Fisher, 1995; Smith and Fossey, 1995).

The *doctrine of foreseeability* slowly replaced the idea that universities should act like a surrogate parent, but rather have the duty to provide students with information

warning them of known risks and to provide students with adequate security protection (Fisher, 1995). This association, which is similar to the relationship of landlord and tenant, placed less of a care giving burden on the university and more of a burden upon students or potential students to determine their level of risk when attending a college or university (Fisher, 1995). Smith and Fossey (1995) note, however, that there has been a change in the last fifteen years that signifies a reversal in doctrines back to more of a *loco parentis* nature. This shift back to seeing the university as a protectorate of youths has been highlighted by the media's coverage of high profile, brutal killings on college campuses (Bromley, 1995).

In conjunction with the media's coverage, claims-making by individuals, groups, or organizations are influencing how laws and policies are determined in relationship to colleges and universities. By showing how crime victimization can, through the media, influence laws one is able to illustrate that the nature of both criminal and civil law is a social construction (Hester and Eglin, 1993). Even though individuals are safer on college campuses than in their surrounding communities (Volkwein, Szelest, and Lizotte, 1995), one issue that has been raised is that colleges and universities are not concerned about crime within their boundaries, *per se*, but rather they are concerned with the bad publicity and image that results from that coverage (Burd, 1992). The tarnished image might alert more watchdog groups or cause other crime victims to speak out further demanding, in the court of public opinion through the use of claims, a change in the antiquated bureaucratic policies employed by many colleges and universities, which are resistant to change (similar to other bureaucratic organizations such as NASA).

Whether concerned with criminal activity or not, both the federal government and state level governments have reacted to incidents of campus crime. Specifically, on the national level, there have been a variety of campus crime legislations with the Student Right-to-Know Act and Campus Security Act, which is found in Title II of the General Education Provisions Act (20 USC 1092 b) (Seng, 1995: 39), being the most well recognized. After being signed into law in 1990, it was designed to increase students', parents', faculty and staff, and campus administrators' awareness of crime on college campuses (Henson and Stone, 1999). The pieces of legislation required that colleges and universities had to collect, prepare, distribute, and publish crime rate information in accordance with six FBI Index offenses and three violations (Fisher, Sloan, and Wilkens, 1995: 179).

While these pieces of legislation helped to ease the fear on college campuses, there were many limitations. Specifically, the most glaring limitation is that the legislation only requires institutions to report on six of the FBI's seven Index crimes. Theft, which is the most common crime committed on college campuses (McPheters, 1978; Fox and Hellman, 1985; Fisher, 1995; and Sloan, 1992) does not have to be reported. Secondly, the legislation focuses on the number and frequency of crimes reported to authorities. Underreporting of crimes to authorities (Baer and Chambliss, 1997) and manipulations of crime statistics lead to inaccurate portrayals of crime rates on college campuses. A third limitation is that colleges or universities with multiple or satellite campuses are seen as separate campuses, which mean separate sets of crime statistics are produced, thereby clouding the true rate of crime even further. Lastly, no uniform way for disseminating crime statistics or information on crime prevention

programs leaves many colleges or universities with the possible loophole of “hiding” crime statistics.

The State response to campus crime began in Pennsylvania after Jeanne Ann Clery’s parents successfully lobbied the state legislature for the nation’s first campus security reporting law (Fisher, 1995). In 1988 the Pennsylvania College and University Security Information Act (of 1988) spearheaded campus crime awareness legislation with many other states following the precedent, including but not limited to California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Nevada, New York, and West Virginia. State campus crime reporting legislation is generally divided up into three main sections involving compilation of information, distribution of statistics, and punishment for noncompliance (Griffaton, 1995).

According to Griffaton (1995) most state reporting laws require that colleges and universities gather information about security procedures and crimes committed on their campuses. While there is much variation in how states mandate security and reporting laws to be implemented, many of the state reporting laws require that campus authorities report campus crime statistics to the state police for publication in the FBI’s Uniform Crime report.

By detailing the doctrines that have been used historically to govern the relationship between students and institutions of higher education, one is able to lay a foundation for how legislative responses, both federally and on the state level, were produced. In addition, the illustration that law is a social construction and that claims-making, by either an individual or a group via the mass media, creates momentum for a movement designed to engage in policy reform or ameliorative action (Hester and Eglin,

1993), helps to illustrate how campus crime has been defined as a problem, even in the face of contradictory research (Fernandez and Lizotte, 1993; NCES). Since issues of campus crime are so prominently covered by the media, one can logically assume those students' perceptions and campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime are influenced by current perceptions of how universities should view security issues, legislative policies, and media coverage.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

To properly understand issues of campus crime you have to look at the surrounding bodies of literature. For this particular research those surrounding bodies of literature include perceptions of crime and police officers, organizational deviance literature, community policing literature and an application of McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) integrative conflict model. By detailing what the current perceptions of crime and police officers are within the larger American culture, this research will provide a linkage between societal perceptions and perceptions of crime and police agencies on college campuses. The organizational deviance literature will be important when discussing the structural foundations of the integrative conflict model.

Specifically, because of the media's coverage of high profile, brutal crimes on college and university campuses, both federal and state legislatures passed crime reporting laws for colleges and universities. These strict reporting procedures lead to an increase in circuitous reporting procedures by these bureaucratic organizations in order to maintain a positive perception as a campus with low crime rates.

University and college campuses are often seen as places of learning, scholarship, and training grounds for future leaders where campus crimes are usually attributed to pranks (Smith, 1988). Recently, however, the perception of college campuses as void of

crime, fear, and victimization is changing. Highlighted by some extreme cases covered by the media (Bromley, 1995), such as professors being killed at Stanford University, the University of Missouri-Columbia and the University of Iowa, students being murdered at the Universities of Florida and Montreal, and the high profile brutal rape and strangulation of Lehigh Freshman, Jeanne Ann Clery in 1986, the reality of campus crime is being uncovered (Fisher, 1995).

Directly related to the increasing fear on college and university campuses are issues of campus security. McPheter's (1978) landmark study of campus crime revealed that campus crime was a crucial component to determining expenditures for campus security. Volkwein et al. (1995) note, however, that students are actually safer on college and university campuses, then in the surrounding communities. One particular issue that has been raised is that colleges and universities are not concerned about crime within their boundaries, but the image and bad publicity that is generated by such coverage (Burd, 1992).

As previously noted, the Student- Right-to- Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 were legislative actions designed to increase students', parents', faculty and staff, and campus administrators' awareness of crime on college campuses (Henson and Stone, 1999). As Fisher et al. (1995: 179-180) note, much information and research has been collected about campus crime and security, but less attention has been given to perceptions of risk and fear of victimization.

Since the post World War II college campus has expanded its boundaries physically and the student population has exploded, the issues of a police presence on campuses to deal with campus crime has become a reality (Bromley and Reeves, 1998).

In relation to police and campus security, the current revisions to the Higher Education Amendment Act of 1998 stipulate that disclosure of crime prevention efforts made by colleges and universities (and their policing agencies) in association with crime rates and statistics be readily available (Wilkinson and Rund, 2002).

In 1993, the *Chronicle of higher Education* published the crime statistics for 774 higher education institutions. It revealed that 17 murders, 914 rapes and sexual offenses, 1,353 robberies, and 21,478 burglaries were reported (Ledderman, 1994). Although only about 10% of higher education institutions reported violations involving weapons possessions (usually associated with drug and alcohol usage) and only 28.7 per 1,000 students for a property crime rate (Bromley, 1995), people are fearful of campus crime, which tarnishes the image of an educational institution (Smith, 1989). Contributing to fear of campus crime levels already heightened by the media (Fisher, 1995), Taylor (2003) notes that many crimes go unreported to the police. This means that an accurate description of overall crime in communities is extremely difficult to determine.

Since it can be determined that college and university settings constitute a 'community', because they share similar characteristics (Fisher et al., 1995), similar conclusions about developing an accurate description of crime rates for communities would extend to college and university campuses. This is extremely important, because with the lack of campus crime literature available, generalizations from cities, communities, and neighborhoods help to provide a template of how to view campus crime.

Fear on College Campuses

One recent area of research concerning campus crime has centered on victimization and the fear that is generated. While this is not the main point for this research project, it should be, nonetheless, discussed. Using the definition provided by Fisher et al. (1995:180), fear of victimization can be conceptualized as “an emotional response to perceived danger.” Fear of being victimized while on a college or university campus can then be studied using three major models. These models are vulnerability (social and physical), victimization (direct or vicarious), and formal social control. Social and physical vulnerability emphasizes the importance of demographic characteristics in relationship to fear of victimization.

Physical vulnerability relates to being “openness to attack, powerlessness to resist attack, and exposure to significant physical and emotional consequences if attacked” (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981: 77). Physical vulnerability characteristics include being female (Spitzburg and Thorndike, 1992), elderly (Fisher et al., 1995), or not taking concern with measure of personal safety (Wilkinson and Rund, 2002). For physical vulnerability, women tend to have higher rates of fear of victimization than men (Reed & Benedict, 2002), while being elderly does not necessarily relate to increased fear of victimization (Chadee and Ditton, 2003).

In a post 9-11 world on college campuses, it has been noted that college students are more vulnerable and less prepared and concerned with personal safety than ever before (Wilkinson and Rund, 2002). While campus crime victimization is not the focus of this particular research project, it is important to note how victimization can impact perceptions of crime and campus police officers.

Attitudes towards the police are important in determining the fear of victimization students feel and subsequently influence perceptions about not only crime rates, but also police officers and agencies. Miller and Pan (1987) reported that students had relatively positive attitudes toward the police, but these attitudes were affected by dealings with the police, such as receiving traffic tickets from the police. Positive attitudes also tended to vary based on race and gender. African-Americans tended to have more negative views of the police than their white counterparts and females tended to have more respect for the campus police force, than men (Miller and Pan, 1987). In a similar study, Trojanowicz, Benson, and Trojanowicz (1988) note that the most favorable attribute of the campus police force was the quick response time, while the least favorable attribute was the issuing of too many parking or traffic tickets. The most frequently made suggestion to improve their policing practices was more foot patrolling of campus boundaries at night (Trojanowicz et al., 1988).

While all of the aforementioned ideas are important to discussing perceptions of campus crime, this particular research will focus on perceptions of crime from both students' and police officers' points of view. The literature review will address how specific reporting procedures influence perceptions of crime, how Schiengold's "American Crime Myth" influences perceptions of crime, how crime victimization will undoubtedly influence perceptions of crime, and how campus crime characteristics, themselves, can play a role in influencing perceptions of campus crime rates.

The next section will identify the individual level and contextual level variables that influence perceptions of the police and/or security. Extending this discussion, Brown and Benedict (2002) also identify how juveniles' perceptions of the police are important

and how perceptions are shaped by police policies and practices. These last two factors that influence perceptions of the police and security are relevant, because of the fact that many students on college and university campuses are not far removed from being considered as “juveniles” (in fact, most are still considered as “dependents”) and as previously noted, campus crime prevention policies, along with current campus crime rates should be made readily accessible to the student or potential student body. Having an understanding of current or future police policies or practices will have an affect upon ones perception of both the police and security.

The next section will focus on organizational deviance. Specifically, Vaughan’s (1996) discussion of the Challenger explosion will be important for illustrating how bureaucratic organizations engage in deviant behavior, which is the result of the organizational culture, not individual blame. Using her “nascent theory of the normalization of deviance in organizations” Vaughan (1996: 394) shows how investigations revealed that the explosion was not merely a technical failure, but a condition that resulted from NASA. In addition to Vaughan’s ideas, Clarke and Perrow’s (1999) idea of ‘fantasy documents’ will be discussed to show how bureaucratic organizations provides documents that detail procedures to follow in an emergency, but that these documents are often times not practical and rarely properly address the situation.

Finally, a brief discussion will be entertained concerning the media. The role the media plays in the developing perceptions of crime cannot be ignored. The purpose of this particular section is to merely identify the influence the media can exert on forming perceptions in relationship to crime. This section will become extremely relevant when

discussing Galliher and Cross's (1982) concept of 'triggering events' within the theory section.

PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME

Roberts (1992) notes how the general public knows relatively little about crime, crime rates, or even the criminal justice system. In addition, she notes how most Americans, despite crime rates or official materials, believe that crime rates are on the rise and have been increasing for some time. Baer and Chambliss (1997) provide a useful framework for examining perceptions of crime. Specifically, they do a detailed analysis of how the politics of reporting crime helps to generate a certain perception of crime. According to Baer and Chambliss (1997: 88) "data and information about crime is generated by government bureaucracies, reported in the press, and supported by some criminologists with the effect of misrepresenting "the crime problem" to politicians, lawmakers, and the general public." Their analysis is focused on how the uniform crime report, counting crimes, police and prosecutor charges, and selective reporting influence perceptions of crime.

Crime Reporting Procedures

The uniform crime report (UCR) is the oldest and most institutionalized source of national data concerning crime rates and is reported annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Baer and Chambliss, 1997). Data are generated by local police departments and are based on crimes that are known to the police¹ and the resulting arrests. The crime clock that is used to illustrate crime trends is seen as the FBI resorting to "gimmicks and tricks to make the problem of crime appear as threatening as

¹ "Crimes known to the police" are the result of citizens calling in to police agencies, or actions observed by police officers.

possible...[r]endering the data in this manner is designed to exaggerate the seriousness and frequency of crime” (Baer and Chambliss, 1997: 88).

In their analysis of the annual report of the *Federal Bureau of Investigation: The Uniform Crime Report*, Baer and Chambliss (1997) also notice how crimes were counted. Specifically, the way that crimes were counted and then published directly influences how people perceive crime and crime rates. They noticed that police officers are instructed, upon seeing a dead body that was believed murdered, to report the incidence as a murder. If a coroner finds the death as resulting from natural causes, the report is still not changed. Another way of distorting crime statistics is with illogical comparisons to other countries, most notably Scandinavian countries. Using this, the Department of Justice “generates fear and creates moral panics” by comparing the U.S. to other countries “where the official murder rate is substantially lower than in the U.S.” (pp. 89). These comparisons, however, are illogical because the countries use drastically different means for defining what constitutes a “homicide”.²

McPheters (1978) was the first and the landmark study in campus crime. Specifically, using the UCR reports he found that campus crime rates were affected by both campus related and non-campus related forces. Specifically, institutions with higher expenditure levels in relationship to security matters had higher crime rates, which was the inverse of what was expected. However, because he employed the use of the UCR, and in light of Baer and Chambliss’s (1997) discussion, his conclusions can be called into question.

² Baer and Chambliss (1997: 89) provide the example of Sweden to exemplify this point. Specifically, in Sweden, an act is not considered as a murder or homicide until the individual has been found guilty and convicted in a court of law. In the U.S., that is not the same reporting procedure we employ.

On a related note, Baer and Chambliss (1997: 90-91) illustrate how police and prosecutors charge individuals. Specifically, in the U.S. over 90% of the cases in U.S. court are settled with guilty pleas. What is not mentioned when this statistic is discussed is that because of the massive workload, most cases are pleaded down to a lesser charge. Knowing this, most police officers and prosecutors exaggerate the charges on the reports in order to get a plea bargain that still retains some punitive measures. The problem, however, is that the official report still reads the exaggerated charge, thereby constructing a false image of crime.

In addition, the issue of selective reporting is not only related to perceptions of crime in general, but also related directly to perceptions of crime on college and university campuses. Baer and Chambliss (1997: 95) note that “[s]electing years for comparison that show increase in crime is common practice in Department of Justice reports.” Specifically, the authors charge that the FBI in determining which years to select for comparison chooses years to show the greatest amount of increase in crime statistics. As an example, they note:

the number of homicides where it was determined that the assailant was a stranger, has remained fairly constant. The figure stands at 13% in 1994, the same as 1980. The number rose to 15% in 1985 before falling to 12% in 1988. Since these data will not serve to fan the public paranoia about crime, the FBI prefers to draw faulty conclusions about the nature of unknown murder assailants.

The related issue of the “teen-age super predator” (where crime in general and predatory crimes in particular are rapidly increasing among American youths) and selective reporting have helped to generate a false image about the reality of crime in America.

It should be stated, however, that as the FBI attempts to create a moral panic over rampant crime, this according to Baer and Chambliss (1997), colleges and universities are doing the exact opposite. Selective reporting is being used to create the perception that crime is virtually nonexistent, or the result of college pranks (Fisher, 1995). Examples of selective reporting include Harvard University, which is under scrutiny from the campus newspaper, *The Crimson*, for attempting to 'hide' crimes through circuitous reporting procedures of their own (Hoover, 2004), and according to *The Yale Daily News*, students are charging the university with trying to hide rape and sexual assault numbers from the student body (Anand, 2005).

The American Crime Myth

McGarrell and Castellano (1991: 185) note how: "culture appears to play a crucial role in shaping ideological images of crime and mediating individuals and collective responses to crime." In particular, fear and concern with crime are heavily shaped and influenced by the mass media. Hester and Eglin (1993) note how the media's influence can help to shape not only people's perceptions of certain types of crimes, but also by defining the social nature of crime in reference to a specific event, other similar events become noticed. In addition, Barak (1995:5) notes how the individualistic nature of American society leads the mass media to gravitate towards representations of crime that are violent or "anomalous" in nature.

Expanding on this point, Scheingold (1984) illustrates how rampant individualism in the United States contributes to the perception of crime. Specifically, he recognized that:

...the actual incidence of crime and public attention to crime, particularly in the form of media presentations, is related to societal levels of fear and concern with

crime (through mechanisms of actual and vicarious victimization)” (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991: 186).

This “American Crime Myth” that Scheingold (1984) talks about deals with the notion that American culture, which is hyper-individualized, perceives crime as always increasing and being committed by predatory strangers (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991). Indeed, Coleman (2002) echoes this sentiment by exclaiming that the public’s perception of crime is that of a predatory stranger lurking in a dark alley, not the most powerful individuals within a powerful organization.

Contributing to this “American Crime Myth” is the discussion entertained by Baer and Chambliss, (1997: 93) that notes in 1994, the FBI sent press releases saying that “for the first time murders were more often committed by strangers than acquaintances and that the percentage of murders committed by non-family members had increased,” thus re-enforcing the image within the minds of the American public that crimes will be committed by predatory strangers. Colvin (1997) also illustrates how an individualized response to criminal actions has even influenced the development of penitentiaries and the penal system in America. Specifically, this hyper-individualization has influenced the public’s perception of not only crime, but also how to deal with criminal actions.

In conclusion Baer and Chambliss (1997: 103) note that “[b]y perpetuating the myth of “crime out of control” and the need for massive interventions on the part of the police agencies the U.S. has embarked on a policy of “ethnic cleansing” by putting poor young black males in prison for minor violations of the law.” While this last polemical statement can be debated from differing positions, in relationship to campus crime one can see how crime reporting procedures are crucial to developing a perception of crime. With colleges and universities trying to lower crime rates to increase public perceptions

of a 'safer' campus, ambiguous reporting procedures become the norm and help to further distort crime rates and statistics. Perceptions of crimes are not the only thing that relates to issues of safety on college and university campuses, perceptions of the police are also crucial.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

To detail how perceptions of campus police officers affect perceptions of campus crime an overview of perceptions of police officers and agencies should be entertained. Brown and Benedict (2002) lay out specific levels and variables that affect perceptions of the police. While Decker (1981) identified those individual level variables, in particular race and socioeconomic status, and contextual variables, such as crime rates and victimization rates, Brown and Benedict (2002) expand this body of knowledge into several useful categories for focusing on perceptions of the police. These categories are as follows: 1) individual variables (race, socioeconomic status and political alienation, contact with the police, age, and gender), 2) contextual variables (primary and secondary victimization, fear of victimization, urban/ rural), and 3) juveniles perceptions of the police.

Individual-level characteristics

Since many studies have indicated that support for the police can vary between different demographic groups, individual-level characteristics can provide some insight into differing perceptions of the police. Specifically, race, socioeconomic status (SES) and political alienation, contact with the police, age, and gender are all variables that, on the individual level, help to influence perceptions concerning the police.

Concerning race, African-Americans are the most commonly studied minority group and research reveals that overall, this group has a less favorable perception of police officers than do whites. Specifically, the race (and in particular African-Americans) of a respondent is the best predictor of how evaluations of the police will be distributed; even in comparison to other individual level variables such as gender, age, or victimization (Weitzer and Tuch, 1999). What makes this interesting is that Brown and Benedict (2002) report that Blacks' poor evaluations of the police are not confined merely to the United States, but was also found in Great Britain among Afro-Caribbeans. From this, we could generalize that within college and university campuses, we would expect to find similar findings. In a study of college campus crime Miller and Pan (1987) note that positive attitudes towards the police tended to vary based on race, meaning that African-Americans tended to have more negative views of the police than their white counterparts

Concerning other races, Song (1992) found that the Asian community was not unified with its perceptions of the police. Specifically, Vietnamese persons were much more dissatisfied and had a lower perception of the police than did the Chinese. The Asian community as a whole, and both groups in particular, believed that police officers should be more sensitive to their cultural backgrounds. On a related note, Walker (1997) reported that Hispanics were scared of the police and Carter (1983) noted that Hispanics had a lower perception of the police than whites, but it was not as pessimistic as Blacks. Cheurprakobkit (2000), however, identifies that Hispanics' attitudes towards the police are evolving with no distinct conclusions available to be drawn.³

³ Perceptions of the police in reference to the Hispanic population are also related to the immigrant status of the Hispanic population in question. Also, it should also be noted that while *Hispanic* is an ethnic label,

The SES of an individual is also related to their perception of the police. Brown and Benedict (2002: 550) treat SES and political alienation together because the “poor usually have the least political power.” Specific findings suggest that perceptions concerning the police are entangled with the person’s view of the political and judicial systems, especially with reference to low SES (Brown and Coulter, 1983). This manifests itself in the idea that a positive perception of the police is related to the accumulation of wealth. Boggs and Galliher (1975) note how Black respondents with high incomes generally had a better perception of the police than poor Blacks. While this is inconclusive, Brown and Benedict (2002) note how SES and resultant attitudes toward the police are compounded by race.

Contact with the police is also important for determining an actor’s perception of the police. Worrall (1999) notes how positive contact with the police over negative contact with the police (i.e. being arrested) influences perceptions of the police. While it is not clear which type of contact is more powerful, Reisig and Correia (1997) note that, unfortunately, peoples’ perceptions of the police can be negatively influenced by receiving traffic tickets.

Related to campus crime, since school violence has become such a serious problem, it has been hypothesized that the interaction between students and school police officers could affect students’ perceptions of the police (Jackson, 2002). By integrating police officers within educational environments (Johnson, 1999), administrators hope that school violence will decrease and perceptions of the police will be strengthened (Jackson, 2002).

in keeping with the discussion as outlined by Brown and Benedict (2002) it is subsumed under the heading of *race* for this particular discussion.

Similarly, community policing strategies have been implemented in many instances both in communities and on college campuses (Peak, 1995) as an effective way to deal with crime. They are also used to increase the public perception of the police by interacting more and becoming proactive in the community (Jiao, 1997). According to Lanier (1995) community based policing strategies on college campuses, focus on community members as clientele, are environmentally defined, involve legal, educational (preventive vs. reactive), and social agencies. Community based policing strategies derive their authority from the faculty, staff, students, and the regulatory agencies associated with the university and/or community.

Miller and Pan (1987) also reported that students had relatively positive attitudes toward the police, but these attitudes were affected by dealings with the police, such as receiving traffic tickets from the police. In related research, Trojanowicz, Benson, and Trojanowicz (1988) note that the most favorable attribute of the campus police force was the quick response time, while the least favorable attribute was the issuing of too many parking or traffic tickets.

Another important individual-level variable is age. While Fisher et al. (1995) note that age is significant in predicting campus crime victimization, Brown and Coulter (1983) illustrate that persons of younger age tend to have a less favorable view of the police. Since a college campus is comprised of potentially thousands of individuals that might be labeled as 'younger', this particular variable could be very important to analyses of campus crime. Gender is another important, but interesting variable. Brown and Benedict (2002) note that while men are more likely to be arrested, women are much more likely to be victimized, especially on college campuses (Henson and Stone, 1999;

Fox and Hellman, 1985; and Volkwein et al., 1995). Therefore, a true consensus regarding gender's affect upon police perceptions could not be found. We now turn our focus to more environmentally based variables, namely those dealing with social contexts.

Contextual variables

Contextual variables are those characteristics that are extra-individualized and occur outside of individual actors. Specifically, for this analysis these variables⁴ include the effects of victimization and fear of victimization, and the place of residence (urban vs. rural; on campus vs. off campus living quarters).

Although Brown and Benedict (2002) conclude that the findings for the effects of victimization and fear of victimization are inconclusive or mixed, Fisher et al. (1995) states that fear of victimization is increasing. Since the 1986 murder of Jeanne Clery at Lehigh university in Pennsylvania, media coverage concerning violent, campus crimes has been extensive (Bromley, 1995). Concerning primary victimization, fear of being victimized while on a college or university campus can then be studied using three major models. These models, according to Skogan and Maxfield (1981) are vulnerability (social and physical), victimization (direct or vicarious), and formal social control.

Social and physical vulnerability emphasizes the importance of demographic characteristics in relationship to fear of victimization. Concerning victimization Skogan and Maxfield's (1981) victimization model emphasizes that those individuals that have been previously victimized or know someone that was previously victimized tend to have

⁴ These variables, again, are based upon the typology presented by Brown and Benedict (2002) except for the distinction between on campus and off campus residences, which is put forth by much of the campus crime literature including McPheters (1978), Fox and Hellman (1985) and Sloan (1994).

a greater fear of victimization, while the physical disorder model states that physical disorder involves obvious signs of physical negligence.

Incidences of physical disorder, such as broken parking and street lights, buildings in poor repair, and abandoned campus properties are linked to fear of crime victimization (Fisher et al., 1995). Smith and Fossey (1995) note that architecture that does not place boundaries between potential criminals and victims, parking lots and garages that are hidden with large trees, shrubs, or foliage, or poorly maintained lights, emergency telephones, or alarm bells, all contribute to increased amounts of fear and incidences of victimization on college and university campuses. These incidences of victimization drastically affect perceptions of campus police officers or protective agencies.

Finally, the effect of where a person resides can influence their perception of the police. Brown and Benedict (2002: 555) state that “different communities have different needs and expectations of the police.” Concerning the urban and rural dichotomy, while these authors note that there is not enough difference or enough research to generalize about which community has a better perception of the police, McPheters (1978) has noticed that campuses that had residence halls that were closer to urban centers tended to report more incidences of campus crime. While there is nothing in this line of literature concerning whether urban or rural campuses have better perceptions of the police, it could be surmised that campuses with higher crime rates (such as those in urban centers) would have a more negative perception of the campus police.

Juveniles and Their Perceptions of the Police

While numerous studies have focused on the perceptions of the police from adults, there are not many that have looked at the perceptions of the police from a juvenile's standpoint (Brown and Benedict, 2002). Most research concerning adolescents, however, shows that positive contact with police officers increase a positive perception of the police. As previously noted, since school violence has become such a serious problem, it has been put forth that the interaction between students and school police officers could affect students' perceptions of the police (Jackson, 2002). By integrating police officers within educational environments (Johnson, 1999), administrators hope that school violence will decrease and perceptions of the police will be strengthened (Jackson, 2002).

Similarly, community policing strategies have been implemented in many instances on college campuses (Peak, 1995) as an effective way to deal with crime. This is done to positively alter the public perception of the police by interacting more and becoming proactive in the community (Jiao, 1997). What is of utmost importance here is the diversity of ages that usually attend a college or university campus. With some campuses catering more to non-traditionally aged students, that student population might perceive the police differently in comparison to a traditionally aged campus (ages 18-25), which could have thousands of people under the age of 21.

Since it has been shown that there are many different factors influencing individuals' perceptions of both crime and the police, it can be surmised that these same mechanisms are operating on college and university campuses. Specifically, perceptions of campus crime and campus police officers are influenced by both individual level

variables and contextual variables. Next, a discussion concerning organizational deviance will be entertained to develop another aspect of the issue of campus crime.

ORGANIZATIONAL DEVIANCE

Max Weber (1864 -1920) is a seminal thinker and theorist within the discipline of Sociology (Weber, 1920 translated by Gerth and Mills, 1946). As a theoretician, Weber has left a long line of ideas, concepts, and analytical tools with which to examine the social world (Eisenstadt, 1969). Specifically, Weber's work on the bureaucracy is of importance to this analysis. The bureaucratic form of structure for organizations is a pervasive form of organization within the modern society (Perrow, 1994). Examining the "Dark Side" of organizations (Vaughan, 1999) relates to Weber's contrasting ideas that bureaucratic organizations, while efficient, productive, and stable, do have severe shortcomings and negative aspects (Eisenstadt, 1969).

The "Iron Cage", as Weber called it (Colvin, 1997), has led some scholars, specifically Dianne Vaughn, to examine the "Dark Side" of organizational life. The dark side of organizational life is important to outline a theoretical discussion and will provide a starting point for a discourse centered on organizational deviance. The dark side of organizations can be divided into three groups: 1) Consequences for organizations themselves, 2) consequences for individuals, and 3) consequences for the larger society. A brief, non-exhaustive discussion of these ideas will set the stage for the organizational component of this particular project and provide a linkage to illustrate organizational deviance upon college campuses.

Consequences to Organizations Themselves

Vaughan (1999) describes goal displacement as the primary negative consequence of the bureaucratic structure. In addition, Colvin (1997: 21) notes how “power becomes driven by rules, the purpose of which, are to foster efficient conformity to goals set by bureaucratic organizations.” As rationalization increases, power slowly becomes more centralized, leaving decisions about goals of the organization to those at the top of the organizational hierarchy. With goal displacement the primary, official goal of the organization shifts to being the survival of the organization. The shift that inevitably occurs lessens efficiency. Wysong and Wright (1995) conducted a study to measure the effectiveness of D.A.R.E. (Drug Abuse Resistance Education). They noted that the program had become ineffective and was not meeting their primary goal of providing drug abuse education to 5th graders in hopes of decreasing drug use in American teens. What they did find, however, was the organization itself had become a political entity complete with their own lobbying group in Washington, D.C. The new goal of the D.A.R.E. program was to sustain itself as an organization, not a drug education program. This is an example of Vaughan’s goal displacement.

Another negative consequence to organizations is the diffusion of responsibility. Who is to blame when things inevitably go wrong? Since we, as a culture, have a bias to locate structural failures within the individual (similar to the “hyper-individualism as characterized by Scheingold’s (1984) discussion of the “American Crime Myth”), blaming individuals and using them as scapegoats (Ermann and Lundman, 1996) is common when examining organizational failure (Perrow, 1984 [1999]).

Perrow (1984 [1999]) warns that the characteristics inherent in structural systems actually cause disruptions or failures, but because it is hard to punish organizations, sanctions are usually brought against the individual (Erman and Lundman, 1996). The Exxon Valdez oil tanker is a good example of diffusion of responsibility. At the onset of that disaster, the captain and whether or not he was intoxicated while driving the tanker became the first focus of the investigation and public scrutiny. Coleman (2002) also provides a similar example in his discussion of how white collar crimes, which are committed by large bureaucratically structured corporations, are difficult to prosecute and usually involve 'blaming' one individual.

The death of Scott Krueger at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1997 serves as an example and extends this particular idea to colleges and universities. According to an Associated Press story out of Boston, Scott was killed in a hazing activity involving alcohol abuse (i.e. binge drinking) in the Fraternity that he was pledging⁵ ("MIT Agrees to Pay \$4.75 Million to Student's Parents"). When punishment and legal action was to be taken, the judge overseeing the case decided to charge the entire fraternity for Scott's death. In doing so, however, the national chapter of the fraternity simply disbanded that particular chapter at MIT leaving no defendants available. This case illustrates the difficulty in holding organizations responsible for actions and shows why most of the time scapegoating is used.

The final negative consequence to an organization itself involves communication and the flow of information. The complex structure of bureaucratic organizations means that many people are working on a singular issue or product. The specialization of individuals in bureaucracies, long touted as a positive component to this type of structure,

⁵ Scott Krueger was pledging Phi Gamma Delta, also known as FIJI house, around the MIT campus.

is also a negative. The free flow of information from the bottom to the top of the hierarchy does not exist (Coleman, 2002). Clarke and Perrow (1996) detailed how during a disaster simulation, the Long Island Lighting Company failed abysmally to properly organize evacuation efforts. One of the recommendations of the advisory board and panel of judges that were evaluating the simulation was to increase levels of communication. Turner (1976) also points out that poor communication within an organization can lead to the development of disasters. This is important in Vaughan's (1996) discussion of the explosion of the Challenger, which will be elaborated on within the theoretical framework section.

Consequences to Individuals

The bureaucratic form of structure also produces negative effects for individuals. Alienation of individuals within the structure is a common occurrence because the individual is completely separated from their work⁶. Human contribution to the overall product, or service produced, is low, because often times many workers do not see their completed product. Alienation results from the increased specialization that is prevalent within bureaucratically organized structures. This is what Weber was referring to when he discussed the "Iron Cage" (Colvin, 1997). He said that work within a bureaucracy is demoralizing. Mills (1959) echoes a similar sentiment when he describes individuals as merely going through the motions of tasks, not being actively engaged in their production.

Another negative consequence of bureaucratic organizations for individuals is ritualism. Merton (1936) developed a typology that labeled a person in relation to their

⁶ This is best exemplified by Karl Marx's discussion concerning worker alienation within the factory system.

acceptance and achievement of cultural goals and means. This typological label can be applied to some individuals that function within formal organizations. Ritualist individuals lose sight of the institutionalized ends and view the means or the process as the ends themselves. As Turner (1976) points out administrative organizations set and achieve certain collective goals, but individuals within these organizations often rely on rituals, habitual patterns, and rules of thumb (later echoed by Vaughan (1996)). Individuals often have uncertainty about attainment of these goals, because the loose structure of organizations does not provide reassurance that individuals are operating in an efficient, proper manner (Turner, 1976).

Concerning campus crime, when Salem International University (SIU) was cited in May of 2005 for under-reporting campus crimes, one of the U. S. Department of Education's findings was that the police department there was under staffed. It was also noted that the campus police department often engaged in many activities that were unrelated to campus security or law enforcement, such as delivering campus mail (Security on Campus, Inc. Newsletter, May 1-7, 2005, volume 4, number 12). Clear goals and expectations for these campus police officers were not in place and could have resulted from the loose organizational structure of both the university and the police department itself.

Consequences to Society

Bureaucratic organizations can develop negative consequences for society. Weber warned that the more human life becomes bureaucratized, the more disenchantment that individuals and society will experience. Disenchantment is characterized by people's reliance on rules and regulations and the increased use of

specialists. The individual does not make decisions or resolve conflict, but focuses on the means/ends purposive type of social action. Coleman (2002) notes how extreme specialization in certain corporate settings fosters an organizational culture that relies on an “end that justifies the means” approach. Specifically, since workers rely on rules and regulations for almost all direction within an organization, a byproduct of the office holding power and responsibility, not the individual, it is easy to see how constant reliance upon organizational procedures can lead to a routinized pattern of behavior, thereby increasing worker disenchantment.

The calculation of worth versus effort slowly dominates all aspects of social life. The best example of this calculation is the Ford Pinto case during the 1970’s. According to Lee and Ermann (1999) although Ford Motor Co. did not violate any federal regulations, they knew that their vehicle was dangerous under certain conditions. To solve the problem would have necessitated recalling the previous cars and additional costs. It was decided that to settle the law suits due to the loss of life from their vehicles would be more cost effective than changing the design and recalling the cars. The means/ends calculations weighed what a human life is worth in contrast to potential profits.

If calculations are made to determine benefits within organizations, the charge that some colleges or universities are not concerned about campus crime, but merely the perception of low campus crime rates (Burd, 1992) would illustrate how organizations calculate worth versus effort in order to achieve profit. Indeed, Margolis and March (2004) identify that campus police departments need to engage in public relations strategies in order to maintain positive perceptions and appearances.

Another consequence of organizations on society deals with Mills's (1959) idea of higher immorality. In a world that is dominated by a bureaucratic ethos and the military, political, and economic institutions (power elite), a technocratic world is developed where individuals all work within an organization. Higher immorality is the idea that people are capable of engaging in extremely devastating actions under the auspice of doing their job. An individual divorces themselves from the idea that they are engaging in a deviant action and rationalize their action by the fact that it is not their own action, but one that is done on behalf of their job- a formal organization.⁷ When people start to rationalize their actions that point is the point when higher immorality takes hold. Coleman (2002) notes how prevalent these *ex post facto* rationalizations are used by corporate criminals. The rationalizations are similar to what Sykes and Matza (1957) called techniques of neutralizations, which are ways that individuals rationalize and neutralize the impact of violating normative standards of behavior.

A final example of a negative consequence to society is the formation of what Clarke and Perrow (1996) call fantasy documents. Organizations develop disaster plans based on 'worst case' scenarios. Since the organizations themselves develop the standard for a 'worst case' scenario, they are always going to develop a scenario that is within the execution of the organization. A false sense of security can result for the surrounding communities or societies.

Organizational deviance that results in negative consequences for society is extremely important to campus life, in general, and campus crime in particular.

Specifically, when bureaucratic organizations, such as colleges and universities, fail to

⁷ Examples can range from Nazi Germany and the extermination of human life in which executioners had to 'rationalize' that they were merely 'doing their job' to engineers at Ford that designed the Explorer to get around fuel efficiency standards, but found that their vehicle would roll over.

provide proper information to the general public, the public is being deceived, which can result in possibly increased rates of crime victimization. Federal law stipulates that students, potential students, faculty/staff, administrators, or visitors have the right to know the (proper) incidences of crime upon a college or university campus.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Discussing the social construction of crime via media outlets is an enormous task and far beyond the scope of this research. The mass media, however, has a profound impact upon how crime is perceived (Roberts, 1998). On a related point, Colvin (1997) notes how in the rural South around the turn of the twentieth century the news media exerted an impact upon the general public's fear of crime, thereby illustrating the media's impact, historically. By including this section within the previous literature section, however, I merely want to emphasize the point that the media's role concerning the issue of campus crime is crucial. Specifically, concerning the media and its relationship to campus crime, there are three points which directly relate. These points are: 1) media as data generation, 2) media as the primary source of information, and 3) the bureaucratization of the media.

According to the social constructionist view (such as Spector and Kiseuse, 1987), Hester and Eglin (1993: 43) note that:

On the one hand, as the movement generated public concern and public attention, it simultaneously generated data. Through a symbiosis with the mass media, more cases came to be reported and the class composition of the perceived problem broadened from a working-class to a classless phenomenon.

Although Hester and Eglin (1993) were writing concerning the social construction of wife battery laws, an important point was identified that is extremely relevant to the

study of campus crime. Specifically, the murder of Jeanne Clery, which will be discussed in more explicit detail in the following section, was covered extensively by the media. By covering this particular event so extensively, more cases or a similar nature came to be both reported and covered resulting in enough cases to illustrate the Clery family's point: campus crime rates should be reported in order to decrease incidences of violent crimes.

Another point in relationship to the mass media and campus crime is that the media is the primary source of information for the general public. While Roberts (1998) notes how individuals in the U.S. do not have much awareness concerning crime rates or the criminal justice system, Barak (1995) states that the general public's view of crime and crime rates is directly a product of the mass media outlets. Specifically, Barak (1995: 3) notes that "[a]s for the cultural visions of crime projected by the mass media, or the selections and presentations by the news media on criminal justice, these representations are viewed as the principal vehicle by which the average person comes to know crime and justice in America."

Basically, a linkage between these two theorists can be simply drawn. The public does not have a great awareness about many criminal justice related issues, and the public receives almost all of its information from the news media. It should be noted here, then, that the media's coverage of events, will heavily influence the general public's perception concerning crime and crime related news. For campus crime, this is important, again in conjunction with the first point (that the media helps to generate data concerning a specific issue) because once a campus crime event is extensively covered by the media, more cases and information come to light. Because these cases are highlighted within the news media, actors' perceptions concerning campus crime events become influenced.

The last point concerns the bureaucratization of the mass media. Specifically, the mass media is composed of select view bureaucratic organizations that own many of the media outlets. Because these organizations are bureaucratically structured, they are susceptible to the previously mentioned aspects of organizational deviance, such as goal displacement (Vaughan, 1996). This means that in time, the primary purpose of newspapers and TV news magazines is not to merely report impartial pieces of news, but to turn a profit by disseminating “information”, which is their product. This is one posited reason why the news media focuses almost exclusively violent or “anomalic” events and incidences of crime (Barak, 1995).

On a related note, Gans (1980) identified four categories of news: natural, technological, social, and moral. He states that most media outlets are focused on social and moral order categories and issues. Social order events are activities that disturb the peace of the general public and can include such things as the dissolution of the family institution. Often times, however, this particular category involves physical violence (or the threat of physical violence) against a person, a life in general, or physical property. Moral order events include transgression of current laws or prevailing norms and values, which might not explicitly endanger the general public or the social order. Barak (1995) gives the example of homosexual marriages.

For the purposes of this research the media plays an integral role in the coverage of campus crime events. Because the mass media is a bureaucratic organization looking to primarily sell newspapers and turn a profit, they are going to gravitate towards news stories that sell newspapers or provide high TV ratings. These stories, based upon the “American Crime Myth” will usually involve violent and brutal campus crimes, such as

the murder of Jeanne Clery in 1986. The extensive coverage of such high profile cases helps to bring more awareness to campus crime events (especially violent ones), which in turn develops more data by digging up similar stories from across the nation. Since the general public's sole source of information are the mass media outlets, whatever these outlets cover is going to heavily influence the public's perception of campus crime and the police.

To gain a better understanding how the literature addressing perceptions of the police and organizational deviance can relate together, the next chapter will identify and elaborate on the theoretical framework used in this research. A discussion will be presented that illustrates how circuitous reporting procedures and the "hiding" of campus crime statistics is the result of a complex interplay between the general public's perception of crime, the role of the media in covering specific and anomalous crimes, and a cultural foundation that develops both implicitly and explicitly within the bureaucratic organizations of colleges and universities.

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CAMPUS CRIME AND THE INTEGRATIVE CONFLICT MODEL

As previously mentioned, the perception of college campuses as void of crime, fear, and victimization is changing. Highlighted by some cases covered by the media (Bromley, 1995), campus crime is being exposed (Fisher, 1995). Students and faculty members are increasingly more fearful and at a greater risk of victimization than ever before (Fisher, 1995). The brutal rape and strangulation of Lehigh Freshman, Jeanne Ann Clery in 1986, however, provided the genesis for all the media coverage. This particular case has also been identified as the single reason that both state and federal campus crime reporting legislation was enacted (Seng, 1995). It will be shown, later on, how truly important the Clery murder was in shaping perceptions of campus crime.

While much work has been done focusing on structural issues concerning campus crime (see McPheters, 1978; Fox and Hellman, 1985; and Fisher, Sloan, and Wilkens, 1995), there has also been an increase in the amount of research looking at individual levels of victimization (see Volkwein et al., 1995 and Henson and Stone, 1999). The rationale of this chapter, however, is to integrate both micro and macro views utilizing McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) integrative conflict model. Specifically, looking at the organizational deviance literature (in particular Vaughan's (1996) discussion of her nascent theory and Clarke and Perrow's (1996) idea of 'fantasy documents') will provide

a review of structural issues, while perceptions of campus crime will constitute a focus on micro level issues. Using Galliher and Cross's (1983) idea of 'triggering events' provides a linkage between larger structural issues and the micro level of individual perceptions. Finally, the purpose of this research is to examine perceptions of campus crime by focusing on how incidences of organizational deviance (on the structural level) integrate by way of a specific event and resultant media coverage (the triggering event) to influence individual perceptions of campus crime.

An Integrative Conflict Model

McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) integrative conflict model is a tool that is proposed to focus on three analytical levels to better explain origins of crime and justice legislation. While this model is not being used to explain the origins of legislation in this particular paper, it is believed that the flexibility of McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) model translates to explaining how perceptions of campus crime originate. The purpose of the integrative conflict model, according to the authors, is to resolve the traditional debate of origins of crime and justice legislation between moral functionalist, who draw on the writings of Durkheim (1933) and Parsons (1951) and emphasize the "emergence of moral consensus and the functional interdependence of the law with other institutions" (Galliher, McCartney, and Baum, [1974] 2003: 21), and moral Marxists, such as Quinney, (1970) and Young, (1973) who see the law as medium by which competing groups attempt to dominate each other (Galliher et al., 1974).

By adhering to other pluralistic conflict models, such as those from Scheingold (1984) and Galliher and Cross (1983), McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) integrative conflict model "...allows for the systematic incorporation of many of the factors

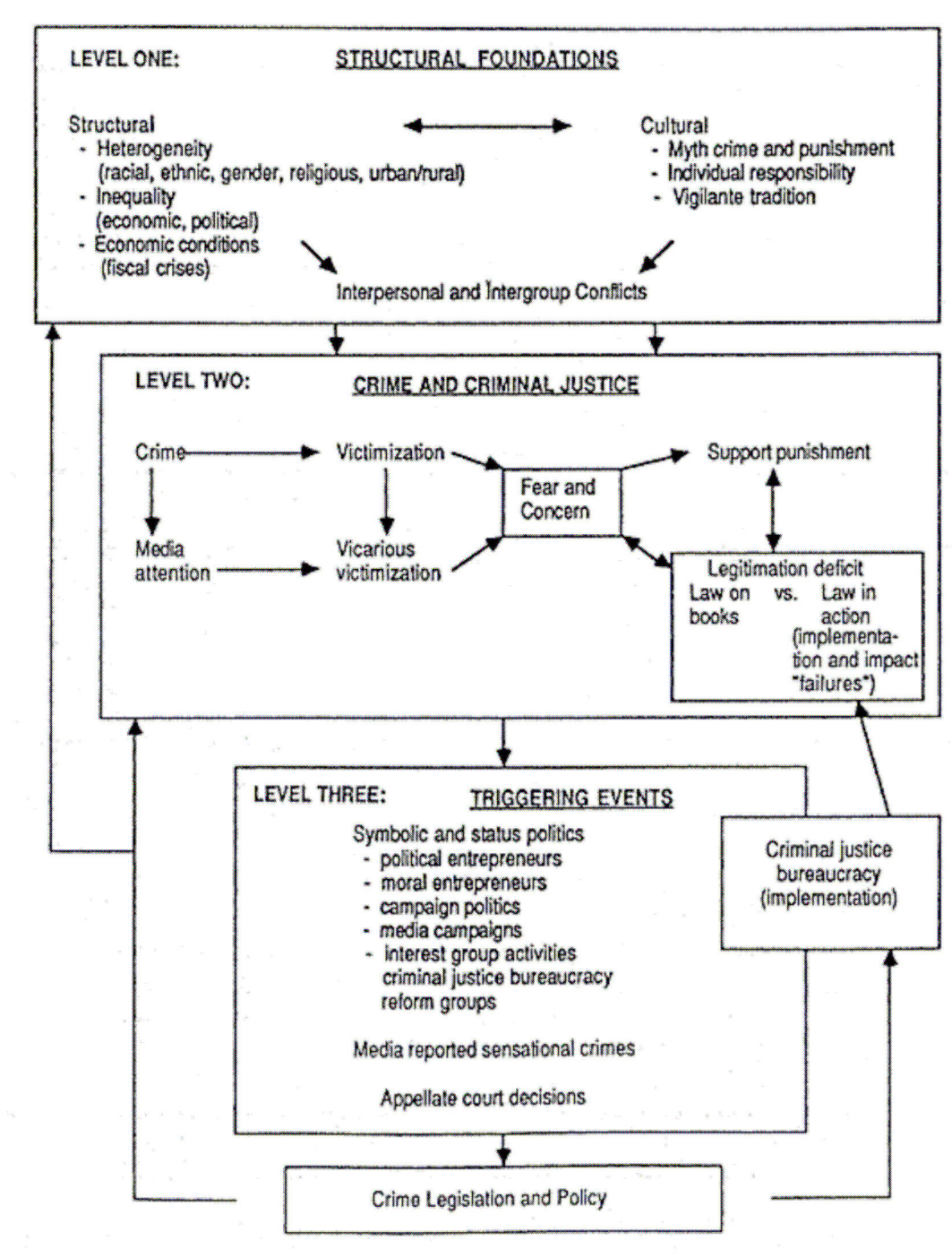
commonly associated with the origins of the criminal law (e.g., structural conflict, interest group activities, the media, political and moral entrepreneurship, etc.) into an interpretive...model of the criminal law process formation.” (pp. 174).

To discuss the integrative conflict model, McGarrell and Castellano (1991) identify three analytical levels, upon which their model will operate. The three levels are labeled as structural foundations; crime, legitimation deficits, and the demand for punishment (perceptions of crimes); and triggering events (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991). Figure 1 graphically represents the model’s various levels and feed back loops. The following discussion is an in-depth look at each of these levels.

Structural Foundations

According to Galliher and Cross (1982) structural foundations are the overriding social structural and cultural factors that help to both initiate crime in society and steer society’s response to such crimes. These structural and cultural conditions include but are not limited to the economic, racial, gender or religious composition of a particular society (for a further discussion on these structural foundations, see Galliher and Basilick (1978), Galliher and Cross (1982), and Galliher et al. (1974)). McGarrell and Castellano (1991: 184) see these structural foundations as the “primary contradictions, conflicts, and dilemmas in society, of which behavior is defined as criminal in one manifestation.” These social structural and cultural conditions are characterized by great amounts of heterogeneity, inequality, and declining economic conditions. Specifically, social structures exert an enormous amount of influence on interpersonal or intergroup conflict (Baron and Strauss, 1988).

Figure 1 McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) Integrative Conflict Model



* Model as proposed by McGarrell and Castellano (1991)

Since social structures on the top level of the integrative conflict model exert such an enormous influence on individual perceptions of crime, it should also be noted that highly differentiated structures will have increased rates of conflicting behavior (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991). A high amount of differentiation creates a “pool of potential targets for punishment, a dangerous class” (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991: 185). Finally, Galliher and Basilick (1979) note that the institutional features of society provide the social environment within which individual perceptions form. Cultural factors, which are part of the structural foundations, are seen as having prime importance or influence in how criminal behavior is perceived and reacted to.

Galliher and Cross (1983) demonstrate in their study of Nevada’s marijuana laws how the symbolic nature of strict marijuana law helps to balance out the perception of Nevada as being an amoral state (because it has legalized prostitution and gambling). Specifically, Galliher and Cross (1983) illustrate that the dominant economic condition of gambling, which controlled most of Nevada’s, and in particular Las Vegas’s, economy would be threatened by other activities, such as the appearance of a drug trade. The resultant harsh marijuana laws, although not enforced heavily by officers, still provided the state with a respectable image. This particular example, which will also become salient when we discuss triggering events, illustrates how structural conditions are important to perceptions of criminal legislation.

As noted earlier, McGarrell and Castellano’s (1991) integrative model is being used to focus on perceptions of campus crime. Also of utmost importance is that a structural condition in the integrative conflict model can be a cultural component based upon organizational deviance. Numerous examples can be found to see how culture can

influence perceptions. For example, Galliher and Basilick (1979) show how the religious makeup of Utah (and the resultant Mormon culture) influenced Utah's marijuana laws. Vaughan's (1996) discussion of the culture of NASA, however, illustrates how important a developing culture is to influencing perceptions. In this case, the culture develops within an organization.

Structural Foundations, Organizational Deviance, and Campus Crime

On January 28, 1986, NASA launched the Challenger space shuttle.

Investigations after the *Challenger* explosion revealed that there was a multitude of explanations related to the O-ring problem. Vaughan illustrates how this particular issue, which is a cultural and therefore structural issue, is also considered an example of organizational deviance. Using her "nascent theory of the normalization of deviance in organizations" Vaughan (1996: 394) showed how investigations revealed that the explosion was not merely a technical failure, but a condition that resulted from the NASA organization including the economic and political environments that provided the structural origins of the incident.

Production of Culture

Vaughan's (1996) nascent theory, which relates to the structural foundations of perceptions, includes three parts: production of culture, culture of production, and structural secrecy. The production of culture includes ways of communicating within a group or culture that affects how a social phenomenon is viewed; in this case how the O-ring problem was constructed. Specifically, Vaughan illustrates how the decision making process, itself, was key to the disaster and normalization of deviance. The managers and engineers developed normalized procedure and values that formed their 'scientific'

paradigm, which was based on ad hoc judgments and assumptions that occurred on a daily basis. Hester and Eglin (1993) detail an ethnomethodologically based study done by Bittner, which illustrates similar ad hoc adjustments based on situational environment and processes, that police officers use while ‘peace-keeping’ on skid row. Specifically, these officers see the process of keeping the entire skid row occupants safe, not as arresting them, but as a process necessary to peace-keeping activities, that is, it is done for their own safety.

Since it has been shown that university police officers, even at private colleges and universities, operate under the same assumptions and perform similar duties as public police officers (Hoover, 2004), it is not unconceivable to see how campus police officers might define drug/alcohol arrests, not as a punishment, but as a protective act for the student’s own welfare, thus reinforcing the claim that universities are reverting back to a doctrine of *loco parentis* (Bromley, 1995)⁸. Looking at the “Students’ Rights and Responsibilities of Student Conduct” of a large, Midwestern university (in particular their Prohibited Conduct policy), it was noted that university officials (including RA’s, CF’s, and campus police officers) have the ability to confiscate or attend to any behavior that could endanger students or is considered as unlawful. Examples include confiscation of alcoholic beverages (for person under the age of twenty-one years old), stalking individuals, or gambling related activities.

What can develop within the bureaucratic structure of the campus police agency or the university misconduct officials is a culture where decision making rationalized

⁸ Related articles that illustrate the return to *loco parentis* include Ann H. Franke’s (2004) piece in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that details how colleges and universities should take more responsibility in the suicide of their students and Lori Robertson’s (1999) “Body Slam” and Jennifer Jacobson’s (2004) “Sex and Football”, which detail athletics and the universities roles in various sexual assault scandals.

their definitions of situations (Vaughan, 1996). To elaborate, Vaughan (1996: 395) notes that within bureaucratic organizations:

A fundamental sociological notion is that choice creates structure, which in turn feeds back; influencing choice...we see this principle at work, as work group participants created an official cultural construction of risk that, once created, influenced subsequent choices.

The dialectic that is produced when choice influences structure and vice versa helps to promote an organizational culture. This can be problematic if the bureaucratic organization is basing its entire image, or at least a major part of it, off of crime rate statistics (Burd, 1992). Therefore, the structural condition of organizational culture that develops could be considered deviant if that culture is produced to influence crime rate statistics, thereby promoting an eschewed version of campus victimization and safety.

One example of this type of dialectic being produced is from Yale University. Specifically, students have charged the university with hiding sexual assaults and rapes that have occurred on campus in order to promote a better public image. The campus newspaper, *The Yale Daily News*, notes how Harvard University⁹, a university composed of similar demographic characteristics, had 41 sexual assaults or rapes occur on their campus, while at Yale only 9 were reported in 2003 (Anand, 2005). Specifically, the article states that:

[p]articipants in the town hall meeting pointed to accusations that Yale has violated the Jeanne Clery Act, which mandates reporting sex-crime statistics to the Department of Education, and a lack of publicity surrounding the case of

⁹ Consequently, Harvard University is under scrutiny for attempting to 'hide' crimes through circuitous reporting procedures of their own (See *The Daily Free Press*; 02/16/05; or Hoover, 2004).

Tiberio Frisoli '02, an alumnus who pleaded no contest to sexually assaulting a Yale student two years ago, as evidence that the issue of rape is "hushed up" on the Yale campus.

These violations of the Clery Act illustrate that some colleges and universities are engaging in deviant behavior in crime reporting procedures. Similarly, Baer and Chambliss (1997) note the political nature of most crime reporting procedures. To illustrate this, the University of New Hampshire is also under criticism for not fully complying with the Clery Act because the university, reportedly, has "not complied with regulations requiring notification of students, staff members and prospective students/staff members (campus community) of the University's annual security report" (Sawyer, 2005: 1).

Culture of Production

The second aspect to Vaughan's (1996) nascent theory is the culture of production. The culture of production relates to how belief systems, institutional processes, and the wide array of inter and intra organizational politics influence the views of the managers, suppliers, and the employees. Vaughan (1996: 396) succinctly summarizes as follows:

Cultural beliefs in the environment affirmed the work group's definition of the situation, informing their sense-making in common directions. These cultural scripts were part of the worldview that work group participants brought to the decision-making, providing taken-for-granted sets of invisible rules about how to act in the situations that they faced. Their actions conformed to the culture of production in which they work; thus, they were acceptable and not deviant in that context.

It is easy to see how members of an organization, such as a university, would become routinized into organizational cultures. Specifically, Stryker (2002) notes how one's identity is often located within a set of roles that individuals play. If that role is based in a bureaucratically structured organization, and the actor is merely following the cultural script provided to them by their culture (in this case an organization), the individual might not see that the role they are engaging in is actually counter-productive and possibly deviant (Coleman, 2002).

An example could be a Resident Authority (RA) that lives on and supervises a dormitory floor. If a resident comes to them wanting to talk about date rape, the RA's first thought might be to get the university housing authority involved or to have the person report the incidence to a rape crisis center. By doing this, the police are not called and an official crime statistic concerning acquaintance rape is not generated. Another example could involve an 'innocent' fist-fight on the dorm floor. The RA's role is to break up the fight and deal with the emotional consequences after the safety of the floor is preserved. A call to the police will probably not be forthcoming, again, resulting in another statistic, in this case assault, not being reported.

Upon viewing the student conduct code for another large, Midwestern university a related point was discovered. Specifically, as a member of this particular living community, each student was made aware of the discipline procedures. The discipline procedures, however, never mention involving the campus police department for a myriad of offenses, including offenses such as hazing, fighting/assault, vandalism, or unwanted sexual advances. Discipline procedures are kept 'in-house' and often involve informal hearings or Community Judicial Board (J-Board) hearings (comprised of

individuals from that particular living community). According to the student conduct statement, offenses should be resolved among the persons involved and if that does not result in a satisfactory outcome, they are to report the incidence(s) to either a Resident Authority (RA) or a Community Facilitator (CF).

Structural Secrecy

The final component to Vaughan's (1996) nascent theory is structural secrecy. The structural secrecy component of Vaughan's nascent theory refers to the flow of information and control up and down the hierarchy of an organization, like NASA. Vaughan (1996) also notes how this is a natural process and a byproduct of the rigid specialization of the bureaucratic structure. A bureaucracy's reliance on secrecy is based on its "patterned reduction due to official organizational practices, specialization, and the tendency of top decision makers to rely on signals when unable to discriminate in decision making situations" (pp. 396).

The top down flow of information is evident in many bureaucratic organizations, including colleges and universities. Decisions concerning finances, budget approvals, hiring and firing practices, and other relevant sources of information are often made without lower ranking member's knowledge. Indeed, structural secrecy was present when the University of Minnesota recruited a top football prospect, despite his previous record of sexual assault (Robertson, 1999). If organizational scandals, such providing athletes with extra-institutionalized benefits including strippers (Jacobson, 2004) and grades (Robertson, 1999), are kept out of the public's knowledge, it is not unconceivable to find instances where other crime rates were not made readily available to potential students in order to preserve a public image.

One notable example of this preservation of a public image involves Harvard University, which is under scrutiny from the campus newspaper, *The Crimson*, for attempting to ‘hide’ crimes through circuitous reporting procedures of their own. Specifically, the newspaper has appealed to the judicial system to get involved and make sure that all crime logs, which detail days, times, and other relevant information to criminal records, be made accessible to both the newspaper and the general public (See *The Daily Free Press*, 02/16/05; or Hoover, 2004). Coleman (2002), on a related note, details how large bureaucratic organizations (such as corporations) often employ delaying tactics by withholding official documents and data to individuals or government regulatory agencies. By playing this ‘delaying game’, these collectivities are able to force “a time-consuming legal battle to obtain information” (Coleman, 2002:173).

Another example of colleges and universities not properly reporting crimes comes from Webster University. Specifically, Pilcher (2005: 1-2) notes how:

The Department of Public Safety [for Webster University] did not report 57 incidents to The Journal [the student newspaper] during the Fall 2004 semester. The incidents included five cases of harassment, four cases of theft more than \$500, seven incidents of theft less than \$500, three incidents of property damage, an assault and a suspected overdose.

Webster University is be accused of withholding important information from students, staff, faculty, and visitors by not making available the crime-log that details important criminal related activities on campus.

Vaughan’s nascent theory provides a good example of how organizational culture can be located within Galliher and Cross’s (1983) idea of structural foundations. The same types of structural conditions that formed a culture at NASA, which contributed to

the Challenger explosion, are also formed in other bureaucratic organizations. For my purposes, colleges and universities are the bureaucratic organizations that are focused upon. Specifically, all the problems that relate to bureaucratic organizations in general, (See Vaughan 1996, 1998, and 2000) will translate to bureaucratically structured colleges and universities.

Relating this particular idea to perceptions of campus crime, one can see how an organizational culture develops within a university system. Specifically, colleges and universities are worried about public perceptions of campus crime and safety (Burd, 1992). Smith and Fossey (1995) also note that in the end, the university's top administrators are responsible, whether implicitly or explicitly, for the safety (or perceived safety) of its students, faculty and staff, administrators, or visitors. The administrators are judged in the court of public opinion through the mass media's coverage of campus crimes (Fisher, 1995). Administrator's responses to campus crime offenses can then, in turn, help to foster a greater sense of community (Spitzberg and Thorndike, 1992) and provide good public relations resulting in increased enrollment figures. Therefore, a focus on crime rate statistics (and how these statistics are generated) becomes extremely important in determining which colleges and universities provide the "safest" campuses.

Perceptions of Crime

McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) second level of their integrative conflict model deals with crime, legitimation deficits, and the demand for punishment. For our purposes this second level will be called perceptions of crime, since the authors note how this second level is often characterized by the public's perception of crime and punishment

(pp. 185). Specifically, McGarrell and Castellano (1991: 185) note how: “culture appears to play a crucial role in shaping ideological images of crime and mediating individuals and collective responses to crime.” In particular, fear and concern with crime are heavily shaped and influenced by the mass media. Hester and Eglin (1993) note how the media’s influence can help to shape not only people’s perceptions of certain types of crimes, but also by defining the social nature of crime in reference to a specific event, other similar events become noticed. In the end, the media’s coverage helps to ‘uncover’ more instances of a particular type of crime, thereby, generating more data.

Concerning campus crime, it should be noted that college and university violent crime is actually decreasing (Fernandez and Lizotte, 1993). According to the School Survey on Crime and Safety (2000) produced by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) violent crime on high school campuses is also decreasing. On a related note the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (1994) reports that school administrators are scrambling to enhance, or at least enhancing the perception, of campus security. The NCES reports in their 2004 campus crime statistics report that an estimated 9,850 violent crimes (murder, forcible sex offenses, robbery, and aggravated assault) were reported by postsecondary institutions in 1992, while 10,330 violent crimes were reported in 1993, and 9,550 violent crimes were reported in 1994.

Although statistics seem to consistently bear out the fact that campus crime rates are low or at least decreasing, fear of victimization and fear on college campuses has increased over the last decades (Fisher, 1995). According to Sloan, Fisher, and Cullen (1997) most campus crimes that are committed involve larceny/theft, threats, harassment and vandalism, yet it was a violent crime, in particular, the murder of Jeanne Clery that

initiated the Student Right to Know Act of 1990. Scheingold (1984) illustrates how rampant individualism in the United States contributes to this problem. Specifically, he acknowledges that:

...the actual incidence of crime and public attention to crime, particularly in the form of media presentations, is related to societal levels of fear and concern with crime (through mechanisms of actual and vicarious victimization)” (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991: 186).

This “American Crime Myth” that Scheingold (1984) talks about deals with the notion that American culture, which is hyper-individualized, perceives crime as always increasing and being committed by predatory strangers (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991). The resultant fear influences public policy, as exemplified by the Clery family who lobbied both the Pennsylvania state legislature and Congress (on the federal level) for a comprehensive law requiring that all colleges and universities that received federal funds make available campus crime rates and statistics of victimization (Fisher, Sloan, and Wilkens, 1995: 179). Because of the constraints on policymakers within the American system of law making, some pieces of legislation, of which the Student Right to Know Act of 1990 is one (Seng, 1995), result as non-punitive types of legislation (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991).

McGarrell and Castellano (1991: 189) note how the “interplay between structural and cultural antecedents and triggering events produces crime legislation policy.” Up to this point, I have focused on how structural foundations, these over-arching cultural conditions, have the ability to influence perceptions about crime. To adequately understand how larger structural issues, such as organizational deviance, truly influence

and are linked to perceptions of crime, a discussion of triggering events should be entertained.

Triggering Events

Triggering events can be defined as strategies, ambitions, motivations, and amounts of power that certain interest groups employ to sponsor or oppose legislation (Galliher and Cross, 1983). Triggering events are important because the society's demand for punishment, which comprises their perceptions of crime, leads to uneasy discussions concerning public legislation or policy (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991). Specifically, increased pressure from the public to these bureaucratic organizations to provide a response can be set off by a single event that garners a multitude of media coverage. These bureaucratic organizations can include correctional bureaucracies, bar associations, probation groups or law enforcement agencies (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991).

Galliher et al., (1974) illustrate an example of a triggering event. Specifically, they show how Nebraska, which is usually a politically conservative state, was one of the forerunners in lowering the penalty for marijuana possession from a felony to a misdemeanor. The triggering event in this particular case was the arrest of a county attorney's son for marijuana possession. Since Nebraska had a relatively homogenous population in reference to minority groups, the drug laws were now being applied to the middle and upper middle class's children- not the minority groups with which drug laws were developed (Hester and Eglin, 1993). In affect, they were sentencing "their kids" to strict and harsh penalties for what were seen as adolescent mistakes, not patterns of behavior. To rectify the situation, Nebraska voted in favor of more convictions, which

conservative politicians favored, yet less harsh penalties in terms of sentencing, for the more visible middle and upper classes.

The single event that captured the public's attention concerning campus crime and "triggered" the need for public policy occurred in 1986. As a freshman Jeanne Clery was brutally raped, strangled, and eventually murdered in her dorm room located on the campus of Lehigh University (Fisher, 1995). The public outrage that something like this could happen in a university dorm created a backlash on the school's administration and set the stage for legislative change. Specifically, that legislative change would be the Clery family's efforts in lobbying both the (Pennsylvanian) state legislature and eventually Congress for a more comprehensive campus crime reporting law (Fisher, 1995). In 1990, the Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 were signed into legislation in Washington, D.C. (Henson and Stone, 1999).

Fisher (1995) notes that colleges and universities' responses of increased student security are based on the U.S. courts' decisions of *loco parentis* and the doctrine of foreseeability¹⁰, *Loco parentis*, which means "in the place of a parent", helped to initially establish college and universities' liability in relationship to student safety; anything that happened to the student while in the care of the college or university was the school's fault because the student is the responsibility of the institution (Spitzberg and Thorndike, 1992). This particular precedent dates as far back as 1866 in the case of *People v. Wheaton College*, which banned the existence of secret societies and determined that educational authorities should act toward their students as a parent would to a child (Fisher, 1995).

¹⁰ For a more detailed discussion of these doctrines, see Chapter 2.

The public's concern and fear of campus safety, resulting from media coverage, spawned many universities to examine their organizational features to develop policies that would yield lower crime statistics. Smith and Fossey (1995) note that this change in the last fifteen years back to the doctrine of a *loco parentis* results in a shift back to seeing the university as a protectorate of youths. The death of Jeanne Clery is highlighted by all the campus crime literature as the single most important event in the past twenty years of campus crime coverage. Specifically, her murder triggered a storm of media coverage that, as Hester and Eglin (1993) note, helps to bring about a greater awareness and develop more data concerning brutal incidences of campus crime.

CONCLUSION AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

McGarrell and Castellano (1991: 190) note that while crime legislation has been ineffective in reducing crime and related offenses, specific triggering events help to “generate continued media attention to crime issues, and feedback into the cultural and structural foundations of society relevant to crime and justice. Thus the dialectic process continues unabated.” Concerning campus crime, the murder of Jeanne Clery brings large amounts of media coverage to the topic of violent campus crime. Her family, then, continues to lobby various legislatures, which results in crime reporting legislation on both the state and federal levels. This media coverage helps to increase the public's anxiety and fear concerning safety issues while on colleges and universities.

The subsequent legislation, the Clery Act, requires that all colleges and universities had to collect, prepare, distribute, and publish crime rate information in accordance with FBI Index offenses and three violations (Fisher, Sloan, and Wilkens,

1995: 179).¹¹ What results from the public's fear is an "arms race" to show which campuses across the nation are considered the safest. Since campus crime rates are common indicators of rates of victimization, at least from the public's point of view, institutions with low crime rates have the best perception in the media.

On the structural level what develops is what Vaughan (1996) notes as a nascent theory in which there is a production of culture, a culture of production that develops, and structural secrecy within the bureaucracy. These attributes that Vaughan (1996) identifies are cultural conditions that develop in the structural foundations of large bureaucratically organized structures. These structural conditions form in reaction to the public's perception of campus crime, which is identified with increasing fear of victimization, perpetuating what Scheingold (1984) refers to as the "American Crime Myth", that crime is increasingly violent and committed by predatory strangers. The public's perception of campus crime is then, in turn, influenced by the triggering event of Jeanne Clery's murder, which was extensively covered by the news media.

In this chapter, the purpose was to apply McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) integrative conflict model to examine perceptions of campus crime. Their model operates on three analytical levels, including structural foundations, perceptions of crime, and triggering events. For the structural level organizational deviance literature was used to show how cultural conditions within an organization can provide the structural foundation necessary to operate within the model. Secondly, perceptions of crime were

¹¹ In addition to mandating that the Secretary of Education prepare and present a one time report to Congress concerning campus crime statistics (Post Secondary Education Quick Information System [PEQIS]; Seng, 1995), the Crime Awareness and Campus Security Act of 1990, which encompasses the Student-Right-to-Know and Campus Security Acts, required that all postsecondary institutions that received federal funding had to disseminate campus crime statistics on an annual basis (Fisher, 1995).

discussed in relationship to what Scheingold (1984) refers to as the “American Crime Myth”. Specifically, the individualistic nature of American cultural influences the public’s perception of crime.

Finally, triggering events, as discussed by Galliher and Cross (1983) are used to bridge the gap between micro and macro levels of analyses. Specifically, the triggering event applied here is the murder of Jeanne Clery in 1986 at Lehigh University. Her murder was the single event that set in motion and influenced both structural and cultural ideas of colleges and universities and the public’s perceptions of campus crime.

Research Questions

Gary Margolis, Ed.D is the Chief of Police at the University of Vermont and Noel March is the Chief of Police for the University of Maine. In their article, Margolis and March (2004) note the important role of the media in defining how a university police department is viewed. Specifically, they detail how issues of community policing have been recently instituted in many college and university police departments. While this research is not focusing on policing strategies, it is important to identify that Margolis and March (2004) touch upon the key findings from an October, 2001 report done by the Administration of Justice program at George Mason University. Specifically, they identified historical trends concerning the general public’s perception of the police. They note that:

- 1) Confidence in the police depends more on perceptions of an officer’s motives than on the outcome of a contact or resolution.
- 2) Racial minorities consistently have lower perceptions of the police than nonwhites.

- 3) People's perceptions of the police affect their ideas concerning their ability to obey the law.
- 4) People's perceptions of police performance affect how they perceive the police while interacting with them.
- 5) Most people see the mass media as the prime source for factual news. Because they see so much news coverage concerning crime, they believe that the police are not effective. Also, fictional entertainment images and programs from the media (such as CSI, or NYPD Blue) also influence their perception of the police.
- 6) While most people seem to have confidence in the police, respect for the police has been decreasing since the 1960's, with a dramatic decrease since 1996.
- 7) While most people have positive attitudes towards the police "a significant portion rate them as 'only fair or poor'" (Margolis and March, 2004:1).

These ideas are important concerning how the police are perceived by the general public. On a related note, Wilson and Kelling (1982) have stated that police officers should be highly visible, utilizing the best technologies and policing approaches available, and engaging in the promotion of social order and safety among residents of a community. Adams, Rohe, and Arcury (2005: 44) note how perceptions of the police are to be managed, like any other bureaucratically structured organization, by organizational management encompassing a "flattened command structure" and requiring a decentralization of authority. Specifically, under the new orthodoxy of community

oriented policing, measures of self-protection, visibility of police, fear of crime, and prior victimization all affect perceptions of the police (Adams et al., 2005).

Fisher et al (1995) also illustrates how the issues of community oriented policing are closely related to issues of policing on college campuses. Specifically, since it can be surmised that college and university settings constitute a 'community', because they share similar characteristics, such as having common ties among people, common routinized activities within its borders, and takes up a specific amount of acreage or physical space (Fisher et al., 1995), similar conclusions about perceptions of police in communities would extend to college and university campuses.

From the previous literature, including the discussion of the media, organizational deviance, perceptions of the police, and framed within McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) integrative conflict model, the following research questions are developed in reference to examining perceptions of campus crime. The research questions are as follows:

- 1) Do students' perceptions of campus crime and the campus police depend upon demographic characteristics such as the race, age, gender of a person; measures of self protection taken; prior victimization, and the visibility of the police presence on campus?
- 2) On the structural level of the bureaucratic organization, are circuitous or non-complying reporting procedures are engaged in to maintain the image of a safe campus by producing positive crime rates. Are official reporting procedures (i.e. Fantasy Documents) regularly used and/ or are incidences of campus crime are dealt with on an internal basis by the bureaucratic organization?

3) Are campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime in alignment with official crime rates and statistics? Similarly, do other campus officials, such as Resident Authorities and officers within the Student Conduct Office, have similar perceptions of campus crime because of their attachment to the organization?

CHAPTER V

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this particular chapter is to describe, in detail, the ways of gathering data for this research project. Specifically, this chapter will address various aspects of data collection used in order to answer the proposed research questions. These aspects include the samples used in this project, the construction of interview briefs and surveys, issues of reliability and validity for both methods of data collection, and limitations of both methods.

To reiterate, the research questions for this project that are based upon the previous literature are as follows:

- 1) Do students' perceptions of campus crime and the campus police depend upon demographic characteristics such as the race, age, gender of a person; measures of self protection taken; prior victimization, and the visibility of the police presence on campus?
- 2) On the structural level of the bureaucratic organization, are circuitous or non-complying reporting procedures are engaged in to maintain the image of a safe campus by producing positive crime rates. Are official reporting procedures (i.e. Fantasy Documents) regularly used and/ or are incidences of campus crime are dealt with on an internal basis by the bureaucratic organization?

3) Are campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime in alignment with official crime rates and statistics? Similarly, do other campus officials, such as Resident Authorities and officers within the Student Conduct Office, have similar perceptions of campus crime because of their attachment to the organization?

In addition, triangulation is a research methodology that is employed in this project to address the aforementioned the research questions. According to Berg (2004), triangulation is a way of gathering information that involves a multi-method approach. Utilizing more than one method provides a fuller picture of perceptions of campus crime. For this project, interviews are done with campus police officers and other security officials within the campus community while a survey is constructed and distributed to measure students' perceptions of campus crime. Multiple methods are used as a way of addressing various parts other theoretical model including the structural foundations and the perceptions of crime.

SURVEY

Design

To investigate students' perceptions of campus crime and security, a survey is constructed. The survey contains a scale to measure perceptions of the police. The scale is composed of eleven statements that are measured using Likert-scale responses, such as "Strongly Agree", "Agree", "Disagree", and "Strongly Disagree". The category of "Neutral" was omitted in order to avoid an acquiescence bias from respondents. The scale, which was adapted from Love's (1973) thesis, measures juveniles' perceived competence of police officers. Brodsky (1983) notes that the scale has demonstrated good reliability (alpha measures above 0.6 to 0.7) and appears to have good face validity. For

this particular analysis the scale demonstrated an extremely strong cronbach alpha level, which measures the inter-correlation reliability of a scale. When applied to this sample, the scales reliability analysis was an alpha level of .85. According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2001), alpha levels for social science scales should be 0.7 or above. The scale, which is a scale resulting in a continuous variable (i.e. the higher the score per student, the better their perception is of campus police officers, and as a result, the better their perception is of campus crime) serves as the dependent variable for later statistical analyses, including multiple regression.

In addition to the perceptions of the police scale, the survey contains a section of demographics questions, such as age, race/ethnicity, residence, and gender. This demographic data is useful in providing univariate statistics that describe the sample being used. The second section of the survey contains questions concerning measures of self-protection. Specifically, this section illustrates how often students on campus take measures of self-protection, including carrying objects (such as keys) in a defensive manner, walking with someone while on campus, avoiding certain areas on campus at night, and attending crime prevention workshops. These statements are measured in Likert-type responses and include categories of “Always”, “Often”, “Sometimes”, “Rarely”, and “Never”. These statements are then summed together to form a ‘measures of self-protection index’. According to the previous literature, the more measures of self-protection that a student takes, the less favorable their perception of campus crime. As a result, the score of each student on the index indicates, partly, their perception of campus police security.

The third section on the survey deals with crime victimization. These questions are broad in scope and merely measure the presence of crime victimization in reference to the respondent. Specifically, respondents are asked whether they have ever been assaulted, had property stolen, had property vandalized, or been subject to verbal harassment. The possible responses include answers of “Yes” or “No”. The responses are then summed together to form a ‘campus crime victimization index’. According to the previous literature, if a student is victimized on campus, they will have a different perception of campus crime compared to those that were not victimized. As a result, the score of each student on the index indicates, partly, their perception of campus police security.

The fourth section of the survey measures police presence on campus. In essence, these statements measure how often respondents see campus police officers in various campus locations and various times (including day or night). The responses categories include categories of “Always”, “Often”, “Sometimes”, “Rarely”, and “Never”. (See Appendix A for a copy of the survey.) These statements are then summed together to form a ‘police presence index’ during the day and a ‘police presence index’ during the night. According to the previous literature, the more often students see police officer, the better their perception of campus crime will be. As a result, the score of each student on the indexes indicates, partly, their perception of campus police security.

Sample

Subjects for the study are selected from the student population of a large, state university located in the southern high plains of the United States. Students are selected from a restrictive sample of introductory sociology courses and upper division Arts and

Sciences classes. Introductory courses are used because of their large size (anywhere from 65-300 persons per class), diversity of majors, and their representativeness of the student population. Durkin, Wolfe, and Clark (2005) note that large “introduction” courses provide a great deal of information and are representative, in general, of the student population. Upper division courses (i.e. 4000 and 5000 level courses) are selected in addition to introductory courses to further increase age, major, and residential diversity. Once the surveys are collected, they are coded and entered into SPSS (Statistical Package for the social sciences) in order to develop an electronic database. Surveys with missing (skipped) questions or ambiguous answers are thrown out and not included in the database. As a result, over five hundred surveys are used in the analysis (n=518).

Reliability, Validity, and Limitations

Reliability is “a matter of whether a particular technique, applied repeatedly to the same object, yields the same result each time” (Babbie, 2002: 136). Since the perceptions of the police scale is an already established measure¹² and the other sections of the survey were developed by strictly adhering to the previous literature, the reliability of the survey is suitable. Similar results utilizing a similar population would be expected.

Validity is related to the accuracy of the questions used to examine a topic, how the data are collected, and the appropriateness of the analyses employed (Babbie, 2002). For this research, the validity is appropriate. The questions on the survey are based off of the literature review (previous research) and similar survey instruments. Specifically, the survey instrument is pre-tested in order to see where revisions could be made. The survey was pre-tested as part of a graduate level Quantitative Methods course during the spring

¹² One method that Babbie (2002) suggests for increasing reliability.

of 2004. Further revisions were made for a graduate level Sample and Survey Design statistics course during the summer of 2005. Both of these instruments are administered to undergraduate students in lower level sociology courses. The face validity of the measures is also measured by faculty members within the OSU sociology department.

Anonymity is maintained because the researcher does not have any knowledge of persons' responses to the questionnaire. Specifically, the researcher labeled each survey with an identifying number during the coding process after surveys were completed. In addition, by completing the survey and returning it to the researcher, consent to participate in the survey is implied. The researcher, however, made announcements before distributing the survey to inform participants of possible risks and of subjects' rights.

Perceived limitations of the survey include the fact that the sample is not a random sample. In order to generate the proper statistical analyses, true randomness of a sample would need to be done. Because of the time and cost involved in obtaining such a sample, a true random sample is not used. Another possible limitation could include a bias towards sociology or Arts and Sciences courses. While introductory courses are surveyed in order to address a wide variety of majors (Durkin et al., 2005), using the upper level courses to address an age bias slants the analysis toward Arts and Sciences upper level students compared to other departments and majors. Again, due to the lack of time and the potential cost, a purposive or restrictive sample is used.

INTERVIEWS

Sample and Design

In order to create a fuller explanation concerning perceptions of campus crime, campus police officers and other security officials are interviewed. To gather police officer information, I spoke with one police officer that I have an acquaintance with, which serves as my gatekeeper to this population. Gatekeeping, according to Berg (2004) involves having an individual assisting the researcher in getting access to the desired group. Once that interview is completed, a snowball sample methodology was used to identify other willing participants. That is, the initial respondent put me in contact with others that would be willing to participate in the research.

The interviews, which contain about 5-6 questions, are semi-structured, face to face interviews that were recorded, upon subject's approval. Specifically, the interview brief (see Appendix B for the interview brief) deals with questions about how respondents perceive issues of crime (in relationship to their campus), actual rates of crimes committed on campus, crime awareness, crime prevention programs, proper crime reporting procedures, and the possibility of underreporting of crime on campus. Probing questions were asked during interviews to have respondents expand on particular issues.

Reliability, Validity, and Limitations

It is often noted how the reliability of interviews are lower than other measures (see Berg, 2004 or Babbie, 2002 for example) because interviews provide in-depth description of a particular topic in reference to a small number of people. Though the reliability, ability to be replicated in other interviews, might be low the validity is extremely high. Since respondents are able to have ambiguous questions clarified, the

questions asked during the interviews will explicitly address the topics of inquiry that the researcher wants to research. Therefore, answers to possible questions are be able to make a distinct contribution to the scholarship concerning perceptions of campus crime.

The biggest limitation of utilizing the interview process is that of generalizability (Berg, 2004). The results from these interviews will not be able to be extrapolated to a larger population. However, due to the relatively small number of campus police officers in the campus police department, using the interview process allows the researcher to gain a wealth of productive and descriptive information that can help to explain under-reporting of certain crimes. This, however, leads to another limitation. Due to the nature of the topic being examined and the relatively close bond between the bureaucrat and the bureaucracy (See Stryker, 2000 for a discussion of how a person's identity is constructed in relationship to their structural location.), many officials and officers might not be completely open with the researcher. By developing a good rapport with the respondent (Berg, 2004) the researcher can attempt to address this and similar issues.

Finally, consent is gained from the participants in the form a written consent form. This form will be kept confidential, along with the tapes (which are later destroyed after anonymous transcriptions are done) under close supervision of the researcher. No one else will have access to any of these materials, except the researcher. Maintaining the confidentiality of respondents will help to ensure ethical standards in conducting social science research (Berg, 2004).

CHAPTER VI
**FACTORS INFLUENCING STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPUS CRIME
AND THE POLICE**

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to display the results of the current research project and provide discussion. Specifically, statistical results from survey data are analyzed and presented. Before the analyses are presented, however, a brief but extensive discussion linking the theoretical model explicitly to data analysis is entertained.

As reported in chapter IV, the theoretical used in this project is McGarrell and Castelano's (1991) integrative conflict model (ICM). The model, as proposed by the authors, is flexible and works on three distinct, analytical levels. These levels include the following: structural foundations (macro), perceptions of crime and the criminal justice system (meso), and triggering events (micro). The murder of Jeanne Clery in 1986 appears to be identified by all accounts of the previous literature as the precipitating factor, or triggering event, for the passage of the Clery Act in 1990.

This particular research project, however, tests the remaining two parts of the theoretical model. Specifically, the survey data (n= 518) gathered on the campus of a large university serves as a test of the meso-level of the model, by illustrating how perceptions of campus crime and campus police officers are related students' perceptions of campus crime and security. In particular, the dependent variable of student's

perception of campus police is a measure designed to approximately represent the meso-level of the ICM. The statistical analyses are an attempt of illustrating how students' perceptions of campus crime and security are related to individual and structural variables set forth within the previous literature. The macro-level of the model, the structural foundations which is discussed in the following chapter, is analyzed by looking at interviews with campus police officers (and other related security personnel).

PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPUS CRIME AND SURVEY DATA

The following statistical results aim to expand the literature concerning perceptions of campus crime, while at the same time helping to explicate how McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) ICM can be applied to campus crime. As a result, these analyses help to better inform a discussion relating to perceptions of campus crime. Within this section univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses are conducted using survey data obtained from a university's student body.

Univariate Results

Univariate results help to provide a description of the sample (see Table 1). Specifically, it can be seen that almost half of the sample self-identified as being freshmen (45.4%), while sophomores, juniors, seniors, and graduate students make up 19.1%, 18.1%, 16.8% and 0.6% of the sample respectively. In addition, the sample reported being composed of more females than males (52.7% vs. 47.3%), overwhelmingly single compared to married (96.5% vs. 3.5%), and comprised of more full-time students compared to part-time students (97.7% vs. 2.3%). There are more students in the sample that self-reported not being involved in either a fraternity or sorority (Greek system) compared to those involved (74.9% vs. 25.1%).

The sample is mostly white, non-Hispanic compared to non-white minority group members (80.5% vs. 19.5%) and the average age of the sample is 20.27 years old. These descriptive results are not only useful, but are also in-line with similar demographic characteristics of the university¹³. The age, class status, and marriage frequency are logical results from the sample used (i.e. students in “Introduction to...” courses).

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Survey Sample (n=518)

Variable	Frequency	%	Standard Deviation
Class			1.16
Freshmen	235	45.4	
Sophomore	99	19.1	
Junior	94	18.1	
Senior	87	16.8	
Graduate Student	3	0.6	
Gender			0.39
Male	245	47.3	
Female	273	52.7	
Married			0.18
Yes	18	3.5	
No	500	96.5	
Status			0.15
Full-time	506	97.7	
Part-time	12	2.3	
Fraternity/Sorority			0.43
Yes	130	25.1	
No	388	74.9	
Race			0.40
White, non-Hispanic	417	80.5	
Non-white	101	19.5	
Age*	NA	20.27	NA

* Since “age” is continuous, the mean (measure of central tendency) age of the sample is reported within the “%” column. In addition, the range of the “age” category varied from 18-51 years old.

¹³ In fact, the racial breakdown of the sample has a greater proportion of non-white minority group members included as compared to the racial statistics for the university.

Bivariate Results

In order to locate basic differences within the sample, bivariate analyses are conducted. Specifically, in order to differentiate between two group members within a sample, independent sample t-tests are conducted. The t-tests will locate differences between dichotomous groups as directed by the previous literature. Specifically, these groups are males/females and white, non-Hispanics/non-white minority group members. A correlation is done with age because it is a continuous variable and not applicable to a t-test. The dependent variable for these tests, as it is for all statistical analyses, is the perception of (campus) police scale that measures students' perception of campus police officers, which correlates to students' perception of campus crime. In addition, t-tests are conducted to illustrate mean differences on the other independent variables, including measures of self-protection, victimization rates, and police visibility during both daytime and nighttime hours.

Table 2 graphically illustrates the differences in the mean scores (and significance) of males and females in reference to the scales and indexes used as both the dependent and independent variables. It should be noted that a higher score on "self-protection" indicates taking more measures of self-protection (i.e. using more caution), while a higher score on "victimization" indicates a higher level of not being victimized (a.k.a. safety) on campus. The two police visibility scores reflect the police's presence on campus during both daytime and nighttime hours. A higher score indicates seeing the campus police officers at a higher rate in a variety of places on campus.

Table 2: Mean Differences between Males and Females

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Male</u>		Significance	<u>Female</u>	
	Standard Deviation	Mean		Mean	Standard Deviation
Police Perceptions	4.84	24.40	***	22.70	3.41
Self-Protection	3.13	6.50	***	10.60	3.54
Victimization	0.06	7.70	**	7.90	0.04
Police visibility: day	2.96	8.10	ns	7.70	2.59
Police visibility: night	2.97	6.20	ns	5.84	2.93

Significance= *** p< 0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, ns non-significant

Table 2 notes that males have a (slightly) higher score on the perceptions of police scale as compared to females (24.40 vs. 22.70). This difference is statistically significant (p< 0.001). In addition, males score higher on police visibility indexes for both the day and the night as compared to females (8.10 vs. 7.70 and 6.20 vs. 5.84 respectively). While these scores on the police visibility indexes indicates that males report a greater police presence on campus, both during the day and the night, in comparison females, the scores are not significant, meaning that the differences are small. Overall, though, scores for both males and females in relationship to police visibility (both day and night) are extremely low; police presence on campus is not seen by many students. Females, on the other hand, report taking significantly more measures of self-protection and report slightly more campus crime victimization. Scores for both males and females concerning victimization and measures of self-protection, however, are very low. This indicates that

not many male or female students are being victimized while on campus, or taking precautions to ensure safety.

Table 3 reports the differences between mean scores and significance levels in reference to the scales and indexes used as both the dependent and independent variables between white, non-Hispanics and non-white minority group members. While the previous literature stressed that there are many differences between the races when it comes to perceptions of both the police and crime, this research did not find that. Consequently, there are not any statistically significant mean differences between whites and non-white minority group members along any of the dependent or independent variables. It should be noted, however, that the relatively racially homogeneous campus could have played a part in both the sampling error and the resulting t-statistics.

Table 3: Mean Differences Between White and non-White Minority Group Members

<u>Variable</u>	<u>White</u>		Significance	<u>non-white</u>	
	Standard Deviation	Mean		Mean	Standard Deviation
Police Perceptions	4.31	23.5	ns	23.4	3.89
Self-Protection	3.93	8.7	ns	8.3	3.95
Victimization Index	0.79	7.8	ns	7.6	0.82
Police visibility: day	2.76	7.89	ns	7.83	2.88
Police visibility: night	2.96	6.01	ns	5.88	2.95

Significance= *** p< 0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, ns non-significant

Table 4 presents the bivariate relationship between all the continuous variables within this analysis. The only statistically significant relationships exist between the students' age and self-protection, police perceptions and self-protection, and the visibility of police during the day and the night. Specifically, as the age of the student increases there is a decrease in the taking of measures of self-protection ($r = -.12$). This relationship, however, is moderately strong.

Table 4: Correlation Matrix for Variable "Age"

	Age	Police Perceptions	Self-Protection	Victimization Index	Police visibility: day	Police visibility: night
Age	1					
Police Perceptions	-0.3 ns	1				
Self-Protection	-.12 *	-.20 ***	1			
Victimization Index	-.07 ns	-.11 ns	-.04 ns	1		
Police visibility: day	.03 ns	-.10 ns	.06 ns	-.06 ns	1	
Police visibility: night	-.14 ns	-.03 ns	.02 ns	.05 ns	.60 ***	1

Significance= *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, ns= non-significant

Another significant correlation exists between police perceptions and self-protection. To interpret this: as more measures of self-protection are taken, there is a relatively strong decrease ($r = -.20$) in how the campus police officers are perceived in their effectiveness. Finally, the strongest correlation within the matrix exists between police visibility during the day and police visibility during nighttime hours. Those

students that see a strong police presence on campus during the daytime hours also see a strong police presence on campus during nighttime hours.

To further understand the relationship between perceptions of campus crime and students, a multivariate analysis is conducted. Since the previous literature determined the sections of the survey distributed to the student body, the previous literature also aids in determining what influences an individual's perception of the police. Specifically, within the multivariate analysis section, the research attempts to determine how much of the variance in a positive (or negative) perception of the campus police is a result of a student's 1) taking measures of self-protection, 2) victimization level, 3) police visibility on campus during the day, and 4) the police's visibility on campus during the night.

Multivariate Results

To conduct the multivariate analysis multiple regression is the statistical test that is used. Specifically, it is used in order to locate the amount of explained variance within the dependent variable, 'police perceptions', that is caused by taking measures of self-protection, prior victimization, police visibility on campus during the day, and police visibility on campus during the night. Locating the amount of variation within this model is useful for illustrating how accurate current criminology or criminal justice based theoretical models are in explaining crime upon college and university campuses. It is also useful for identifying how students' perceptions of campus crime are developed. The regression equation would be structured as follows:

$$\textit{Police Perception} = B_0 + B_1 \textit{Measures} + B_2 \textit{Victim} + B_3 \textit{Police (am)} + B_4 \textit{Police (pm)} + B_5 \textit{Female} + B_6 \textit{Race} + B_7 \textit{Age}$$

According to Huck (2004: 434), researchers are “far more likely to report the value of R^2 or to report the percentage equivalent of R^2 ” in an effort to illustrate that “the success of the regression analysis is quantified by reporting the proportion or percentage of the variability in the dependent variable that has been accounted for or explained by the study’s independent variables.” As a result, a R^2 is reported in an effort to assess the influence of the independent variables upon the dependent variable’s variance.

Table 5 graphically depicts these relationships. The full model, which included the independent variables of measures of self-protection, victimization, police visibility (both daytime and nighttime hours), gender, race, and age, had a R^2 that equaled 0.08. Essentially, this particular model explains about 8% of the variation in students’ perceptions of campus police officers and security. While this explained variation seems extremely low, Landsheer and van Dikjum (2005) note in their research, which deals with adolescence and delinquency, that a R^2 of 0.11 has “moderate strength” (pp. 742), thereby making it a useful contribution. In addition, numerous useful conclusions can be drawn when R^2 s are extremely high or low (Huck, 2004).

Concerning Table 5, in particular, it notes that taking measures of self-protection and being female are the only independent variables that have a statistically significant impact upon perceptions of campus police and security, $F(7, 510) = 5.123, p < 0.001$. Essentially, the results reveal that the gender of the student significantly affects their perception of the campus police. Because of the positive t -value of 12.73, it can be interpreted that females have a better (i.e. more positive) perception of the campus police as compared to males. In addition, the number of measures of self-protection that a student engages in also affects their perception of the campus police. Because of the

negative t -value of -2.70, the fewer measures of self-protection that a student takes, the better their perception is of the campus police.

While the previous literature (see Chapter III) specified that the age, race, prior victimization, and police visibility (both during the daytime and nighttime hours) impact perceptions of both police and security, these independent variables are found to have no statistically significant impact when discussing students' perceptions of campus police officers. It should be noted, however, that although police visibility on campus during daytime hours is not statistically significant (where $p < 0.05$), it is extremely close and could provide useful information ($p < 0.08$). The severely low levels of statistical significance of key variables such as race and the campus police's visibility during nighttime hours is an extremely interesting finding. These findings contradict the previous literature, which is focused on crime in municipalities and communities, not on college campuses. Overall, however, these conclusions are not surprising, but merely reflect on the multivariate level, conclusions that are drawn from the bivariate level.

Table 5: Independent Variables' Influence on Perceptions of Campus Police^a

Variables	B	SE	Beta	t	Sig
Dependent Variable					
Police Perceptions	30.37	2.39	Constant	12.73	0.00***
Independent Variable(s)					
Self-Protection	-0.15	0.055	-0.14	-2.70	0.01**
Victimization Index	-0.32	0.23	-0.06	-1.39	0.17ns
Police visibility: day	-0.13	0.08	-0.09	-1.68	0.08ns
Police visibility: night	0.01	0.08	0.01	0.11	0.91ns
Female	-1.07	0.44	-0.13	-2.46	0.01**
Race	-0.24	0.46	-0.02	-0.53	0.60ns
Age	-0.06	0.05	-0.05	-1.20	0.23ns

^a Note: Model R²= 0.08

Significance= *** p< 0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, ns= non-significant

Many important conclusions can be drawn from the survey data of this project. These conclusions are further elaborated upon within the discussion section. While the survey data helps to inform a discussion concerning the meso-level of the ICM, interviews conducted with campus police officers and security personnel aim at addressing the macro-level of the ICM, structural foundations (see Chapter VII). Addressing both the meso-level and the macro-level of the ICM aids in developing a more comprehensive picture of campus crime. To better understand how to interpret the

meso-level results, however, a brief discussion is entertained that explicates these results by relating them to the previous literature in this area.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

As previously noted in Chapter III, a majority of the work done on perceptions of crime has centered, and rightfully so, on community or municipal crime. While there has been some work done on campus crime, the vast majority of this research is focused on two levels: campus crime rates (i.e. McPheters, 1978) or individual-level crime victimization (i.e. Henson and Stone, 1999). As a way of extending the research on college campuses, this research approached campus crime somewhat differently. Specifically, the purpose of this part of the research was to address the meso-level of the ICM by detailing what influenced students' perceptions of campus crime.

The previous research concerning perceptions of crime begins with Roberts's (1992) assertion that the general public is relatively uninformed when it comes to crime rates. Baer and Chambliss (1997) also state that crime reporting procedures are extremely political in nature and do not fully represent a true perception of campus crime. On a related note, one's perception of crime is often influenced by how one perceives police and security personnel. The previous literature illustrates that there are numerous factors that affect a student's perception of campus crime. As a result, this research adopted Brown and Benedict's (2000) categories that distinguish those factors that influence perceptions of the police.

Brown and Benedict (2000) updated the review of literature that was conducted in the early 1980s by Decker (1981). While developing their categories, Brown and Benedict (2000) identified individual-level variables, such as race, age, and gender, and

contextual variables, such as victimization, fear of victimization, and measures of self-protection. Additional literature from the community-policing strand of scholarship influenced this analysis with ideas of police visibility and community perceptions. These categories form the foundation of the survey analysis and discussion of this research. As a result, statistical analyses are conducted using the demographic categories of age, sex (gender), and race. In addition, the previous literature identified taking measures of self-protection and victimization as important to perceptions of the police. The community-policing literature identifies police visibility (both during the day and during the night) as important to developing a positive perception of local police authorities.

When looking at the univariate statistical results, it is easy to see that this particular college campus is a reflection of the community and state within which it is located. Specifically, you have a traditionally college aged sample with few older students (average age of sample is 20.27 years) comprised of few married students (96.5% single). The breakdown based on the individual's sex is roughly equal with slightly more females than males in the sample (52.7% vs. 47.3%). All of the demographics up to this point are in alignment with the official demographic breakdown of the university. The individual's race, however, is a different issue.

This university can be characterized as racially homogenous. Because of the homogeneity of the campus, different racial groups are coded into one 'non-white minority group members' category that is juxtaposed to the white majority. As a result the sample was 80.5% for whites vs. 19.5% for non-whites. In all actuality, this sample has a slightly larger percentage of diversity when compared to the university itself.

Another important point that adds to this discussion is that most of the previous literature is based upon theories and conclusions, which were developed with communities and municipalities in mind. It is assumed that college and university settings constitute a 'community', because they share similar characteristics (Fisher et al., 1995). Because of this assumption similar conclusions about developing an accurate description of crime rates for communities would extend to college and university campuses. However this discussion illustrates that there are extreme differences between crime within a community or municipality and crime on a college or university campus.

Bivariate Results

Race

The individual-level variable of race, according to the previous literature, should greatly affect perceptions of the police. Specifically, Weitzer and Tuch (1999) note that race is a variable that affects the perceptions of the police more than any other variable. Other scholars note the importance of race. Specifically, those that are non-white minority group members have a more negative view of the police (Weitzer and Tuch, 1999, Song, 1992, Walker, 1997, and Carter, 1983). In fact, Miller and Pan (1987) illustrate that non-whites, especially African-Americans, tend to view the campus police officers in a negative way.

This research, however, did not find any statistically significant (mean) differences in how whites and non-whites viewed the police. In addition, there are no observable statistically significant differences between whites and non-whites concerning taking measures of self-protection, victimization, and police visibility (day or night). The previous literature stresses how non-white communities are often targeted by police

agencies, which increases arrest rates for these communities (Baer and Chambliss, 1997). The lack of a significant relationship in this instance could be the result of one of two things: 1) there is not a strong non-white minority population on this campus, and as a result the minority group members are not highly segregated and therefore, not targeted by the police, or 2) the lack of racial heterogeneity both on campus and within the community leaves the non-white population such a numerical minority that the group differences would not be statistically visible. Only the gathering of additional data from more racially heterogeneous campuses will be able to truly answer this question.

Gender

Gender is a unique individual-level. Specifically, Brown and Benedict (2002) note how men are much more likely to be arrested, but that women are much more likely to be victimized (Henson and Stone, 1999 and Fox and Hellman, 1985). The literature also states that those that have negative contact (i.e. being arrested) with the police (Worrall, 1999) and those that are victims of crimes are more likely to have a negative perception of the police (Brown and Benedict, 2002). Overall, however, women tend to have a better perception of the police as compared to men (Volkwein et al, 1995).

In contradiction to the previous literature, males have a statistically significant difference in their perception of the police. That is, males have a better perception than females do, which is reflected in higher scores on the perceptions of police scale (24.40 vs. 22.70). An explanation for this difference with the previous literature could be found within the sample used. Since the university does not have a criminology or criminal justice department, many students wanting to major in these areas are enrolled in sociology courses. A disproportionate amount of those wanting criminal justice degrees

are males. Individuals that are sympathetic to the police would often times be taking some of these courses.

Another possible explanation could center on fear of victimization. The previous literature does state that those that have been violently victimized on campus (such as sexual assaults) are more fearful (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981) and could perceive the police as ineffective. With such media coverage and in conjunction with the “American Crime Myth” that crimes are predatory and committed by strangers, women might be more fearful, which results in a more negative view of the police.

Males, however, reported being slightly less safe on campus (or more victimized) as compared to females (7.70 vs. 7.90). Durkin et al (2005) note how a large majority of those involved in binge drinking behaviors on college campuses are males. The masculine culture of college age males intertwined with large amounts of alcohol could very realistically explain why more males reported being victimized than females.

In keeping with the previous literature, however, females took significantly more measures of self-protection (10.60 vs. 6.50). With many of the campus safety programs being targeted toward females it would seem that females have a greater awareness of victimization opportunities. The media’s persistent coverage of violent criminal acts, especially predatory sex-crimes, has probably created awareness among females. In addition, females’ tendency to be more friendship-oriented could manifest itself in traveling the campus in large social groups, or with other individuals. Not walking alone on campus (day or night) is one of the greatest measures of self-protection that an individual can take (Fisher et al., 1995).

Age

Within the criminological or criminal justice literature, age is an important variable concerning the perception of the police. The older a person is, the more likely they will have a positive perception of the police and other authority figure (Brown and Coulter, 1983). Because this campus is a traditional college campus (a vast majority of the students are traditional college age, i.e. eighteen to twenty five years old) the influence of a person's age on their perception of the campus police is unknown. What the correlations show is that the older the student became, the fewer measures of self-protection they took ($r = -.12$). While moderate, at best, this would suggest that as students become more familiar with their educational and social environment, they are not as apprehensive and may be less careful with things such as locking their doors, walking with somebody on campus at night, or carrying their keys in a defensive manner. In keeping with the previous literature, as the student gets older, maybe their perception of the police and other authority figures evolves. As the student gets older and closer to graduating, maturity might manifest itself in better perceptions of the police.

Self-Protection and Police Visibility

Other significant correlations exist between police perceptions and taking measures of self-protection and between police visibility during the day and during the night. Specifically, in accordance with the previous literature, as people take more measures of self-protection, there is a decrease in their perception of the police as being effective ($r = -.20$). If an individual does not have a great perception of the campus police in keeping the campus safe, then they are more likely to take prevention matters into their own hands because of fear of victimization. What is also interesting, is that those

individuals that see the police during the daytime hours are also more likely to see the police during the night time hours ($r = .60$). This can be interpreted as general awareness of the police. Indeed, as Skogan and Maxfield (1981) note, if an individual sees the police during the day, then they are probably cognoscente of security issues. As a result, this awareness is in use while on campus at night, which deals with the vulnerability of the individual and their attentiveness of being potentially victimized (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). What is the most interesting, however, is that the police's visibility does not seem to have any relationship to how the police are perceived. According to community-policing theories, increased visibility should translate into a greater comfort level of the community, which results in a better perception of the police (Peak, 1995). This theoretical concept, however, does not seem to pertain to this sample of campus police perceptions.

Multivariate Results

To review, the regression equation that is used to explain the amount of variance in students' perception of the campus police includes measures of self-protection, previous victimization, police visibility during the day, police visibility during the night, being female, race of the individual, and the age of the individual. What results from this model is an explained variance of 8% ($R^2 = 0.08$). While at first glance this seems extremely low, Huck (2004) notes that explained variations that are extremely high or extremely low are important and should be analyzed on a deeper level.

Upon further examination, the model put forth by the previous literature does not seem very useful for explaining perceptions of campus police for this sample. There are many other factors to consider that could have increased the model's effectiveness.

Specifically, Brown and Benedict (2000) note how socioeconomic status (SES) is extremely important to influencing perceptions of the police. Indeed, Boggs and Galliher (1975) show that SES was more important than race, in their research. The problem becomes, then: How do you measure the SES of students while at college?

Determining the SES of college students is very difficult. Specifically, many of the students are still extremely tied economically and socially to both their parents and their former communities. To determine the SES of college students, you could ask questions that serve as a proxy for SES. These questions could include whether the respondent's parents are married or divorced, education levels of parent(s), approximate annual incomes of parent(s), occupation of parent(s), who pays for their tuition, or whether the respondents supported themselves financially in the last couple of years. While all of these questions have the problem of being self-report measures in relationship to their parents, which they may or may not even know the answers to, they would be helpful in giving a rough idea of the SES of the student's family. This is important because lower levels of SES would greatly affect their perceptions, in a negative manner, of the police (Bromley, 1995).

Another important point to keep in mind that could greatly influence students' perception of campus police is the political and religious orientations of the students, which is often a reflection of the liberal or conservative nature of the school the student attends. The campus used in this research is probably politically and religiously (along with racially, as previously mentioned) homogeneous. In addition, since almost half of the sample (about 45%) self-reported as 'freshmen', many of the students may not have had enough life experience to develop opinions concerning crime, security, or the police

independent of their peers, family members, or other agents that act as a form of social control (i.e. the church).

One final factor that could have influenced the perception of the campus police is the rural/urban dichotomy. While no specific research has been done comparing and contrasting urban and rural campuses, McPheters (1978) noticed that urban campuses reported much higher crime rates as compared to rural campuses. Higher crime rates are usually associated with more negative perceptions of the police. This particular campus could be identified as a rural campus, and as an institution with a distinctly agricultural history, which would draw upon a specific student population. All of these factors could partially explain the low R^2 .

With such a low R^2 , however, what this research does illustrate is that college and university campuses cannot be thought of as complete “communities” in their own right. That is, the theoretical and conceptual ideas that apply to communities or neighborhoods, do not necessarily apply to perceptions of crime, security, and the police on college or university campuses. This is an extremely important discovery, because now separate work can begin on theory development for organizations and institutions, such as college and university campuses. While there are distinct differences between high school and college campuses in terms of crime rates, there are probably distinct differences in community colleges and four-year colleges and crime rates. Indeed there are probably even distinct differences in types of colleges, where they are located regionally, the types of programs emphasized, and associated crime rates. What increasingly becomes important in relationship to how students perceive campus crime: how do campus police

officers and other security personnel view campus crime from within a burgeoning organizational culture?

CHAPTER VII

STRUCTURAL FACTORS INFLUENCING CAMPUS POLICE OFFICER PERCEPTION OF CAMPUS CRIME

INTRODUCTION

Interviews are conducted with campus police officers and other campus security personnel. These interviews were transcribed and then content analysis is conducted on the remaining interview texts. Categories for the content analysis are developed *a priori* and are based on Vaughan's (1996) categories. Both the survey data and the analysis of the interviews, in conjunction with the previously identified triggering event of Jeanne Clery, help to develop a fuller picture of the perceptions of campus crime. Finally, a brief, but in-depth discussion is entertained that centers on explicating the research's findings and discussions framed within the integrative conflict model.

As previously mentioned, the macro-level of McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) model, the structural foundations, is analyzed by looking at interviews with campus police officers (and other related security personnel). The structural foundations of McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) ICM include both structural and cultural components. For this research, the cultural aspect of structural foundations is crucial to the analysis. These results are presented within the broad categories of overall perceptions, production of culture, culture of production, and structural secrecy.

PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPUS CRIME AND INTERVIEW DATA

To reiterate, interviews were conducted with campus police officers, former campus police officers, and other campus security personnel in an effort to identify the organizational culture that is pervasive in a bureaucratically structured organization. Specifically, to analyze the interview data, Vaughan's typological analysis is adopted and used as *a priori* categories for a content analysis of interview texts. These categories resulted from Vaughan's detailed study of the *Challenger* explosion in 1986.

The categories from her "nascent theory of the normalization of deviance in organizations" (1996: 394) includes three parts: production of culture, culture of production, and structural secrecy. To review, the production of culture includes ways of communicating within a group or culture that affects how a social phenomenon is viewed, while the culture of production relates to how belief systems, institutional processes, and the wide array of inter- and intra-organizational politics influence the views of the managers, suppliers, and the employees. Finally, structural secrecy refers to the flow of information and control up and down the hierarchy of an organization.

Quotes from interview texts are supplied that illustrate both the presence and functioning of these organizational phenomena within a campus police department. This resulting organizational culture, in turn, influences perceptions of campus crime within the organization. The first section, however, illustrates the overall perception of campus crime by those within the campus police department and other security offices. Subsequent sections aim to illustrate how the current perceptions of campus crime come into existence, via Vaughan's (1996) typological categorizations.

Overall Perceptions of Campus Crime

While interviewing campus police officers, former campus police officers, and other security personnel, the overall perception of campus crime on this particular campus is a positive one. Specifically, all individuals believed campus crime is very low.

As one officer notes:

I think the actual crime of-maybe to break it down-crime rate against property is moderate, crime rate against other people is probably low. I'd say our biggest part of crime to deal with is property crime. Again, I would say it's on the moderate or low level as compared to maybe municipalities.

Individuals within these organizations, however, tend to have their perceptions of processes and events shaped by already established bureaucratic rules and structures (Vaughan, 1996). This structure is reflected in many ideas concerning overall perceptions of campus crime. Another officer states that

[W]e can only go on what's reported and we have all that published with our UCR reports and the FBI statistics and such. So, the only thing that I can go on is what's reported. Probably there's a lot that isn't reported, but I think overall this is a pretty safe campus.

Interestingly enough, the campus crime rate is often discussed in terms of comparison with another community or entity. One officer illustrated this by comparing the current campus crime rate in relationship to a continuum with large cities at one end and no crime at the other. Specifically, she states that "the current rate's fairly low here. Pretty low like between one and ten. Ten being like a, you know, big city like New York and zero being no crime at all. I'd say probably [the current crime rate on this campus is] like two or three."

In addition, Weber notes that bureaucracies rely upon specific rules, regulations, and a formal-rational way of conducting business and defining activities (Weber, 1920 translated by Gerth and Mills, 1946). This bureaucratic tendency to “break-down” phenomena into separate categories influences perceptions of campus crime. Specifically, one officer states:

First, I would want to define crime as being not just like traffic accidents and things like that. We are talking actual crimes such as drug and alcohol related [offenses], sexual assaults, and things like that are what I would consider to be crimes- thefts- things like that. As far as on this campus I would say it's extremely low. As a matter of fact I know in the [school's athletic conference] we have the lowest crime rate statistically speaking of all the [school's athletic conference] schools.

This sentiment is echoed by another officer who states that “I'd say we are the lowest in the [school's athletic conference], so I'd say its pretty low. I mean, I came from- I've worked for two different municipal agencies and a county agency before here. So...crime rates [here are] usually low. Another officer, while agreeing with the spirit of his colleague's answers, expresses his overall perception somewhat differently.

I would say in comparison it's low. I think that this being a small smaller town compared to most Division I schools, brings the rate quite a bit down, quite a bit lower. I would say like, I don't know what the national average is on those stats, but I do believe this is pretty low. I know a little bit about our stats, we have very little, as far as serious assaults and things like that. It's pretty low like maybe one a year or something.

The overall perceptions of campus police and security officers, while positive, can be shaped by the organization itself (Vaughan, 1996). Vaughan (1996) illustrates how this process begins to occur. Specifically, she discusses the emergence of a cyclical

process where the ways of communication within an organization, influence perceptions amongst individuals within the bureaucracy.

Production of Culture

The production of culture that Vaughan identifies within NASA is an organizational phenomenon that can emerge within other bureaucratically structured organizations. Both colleges and universities and security agencies are subject to the same types of processes that Vaughan identified within NASA. In particular, ways of communicating with others (including organizations) both internally and externally to the organization can facilitate the development of an organizational culture within a bureaucracy.

When discussing the production of culture, the disorganized communication began to emerge as influencing how crime is perceived within the organization.

Specifically, one officer notes that

Communication between the two [residential life and the campus police department] is not real well organized. If we go to the residence halls for something [like a] suspicious odor, smell, or marijuana or something, we tell our dispatcher to contact residential life and have somebody respond. [T]hey know when we respond to their area for something, but most of the time they find out the circumstances [beforehand]. They get to the area, we talk to them a little bit, tell them what's going on; however, the specific communication between, I don't know [shakes his head].

In addition, while expanding on the difficulty of coordinating meeting with personnel from residential life to discuss possible criminal activity, he goes on to say communication between different organizations is different, and sometimes difficult.

I don't know where they are in the building; I don't know what their names are in most buildings. So communication- pretty much is, our dispatcher calls, I show up and I kind of tell them what's going on [at a particular dorm] and then maybe somebody, maybe somebody goes to jail maybe they don't.

Because department within the bureaucracy is a bureaucracy in and of itself, communication can be further strained. As an example, this officer speaks of how each department fills out their own reports of what happened within a residential housing unit. He states:

They [residential life] make their own little report and we make ours and you know as far as [the office of] student conduct, however we send all of our reports that involve students and their conduct to student conduct so they can review them. [W]e put in our reports and a copy will be sent to student conduct so there's a lot of communication there, they get all of our reports. We don't talk to them but they get all of our reports that have something to do with students.

What becomes extremely clear, however, when discussing how reports are drawn up and distributed and how crimes are reported is that the university's structure of different departments is very complex. Specifically, many different hierarchies are involved in the reporting, controlling, and punishment of campus crime. For example, when campus police officers take a report, many other agencies are involved that decide both the validity of the claim, but also how to prosecute or punish. One officer described the complex bureaucratic process by starting with the victim:

Your victim will actually come home, they will recognize that they've been robbed or burglarized, they will call the dispatcher. Dispatch will send the call to the proper district and district officer. The district officer will respond. Say a burglary response, usually we will talk with the victim; you usually try to find out where they've been, what they've

touched and get them out of the way...Then we'll basically get their information for the uniform crime report. We take all that information down and collect any evidence we can, get a statement from the victim, when they left, what they had, if they have any serial numbers. Give them contact information to contact us back if they need to. We give them a case number, like a tracking number so they can call and check on the case with the investigators.

Once the report is taken, officers develop the official report, which is then given to another level within the departmental bureaucracy. He goes on to say:

Then we'll come back and do the report, if it's an investigatable thing, we forward it to investigations where they have investigation division. Investigation division takes over from there.

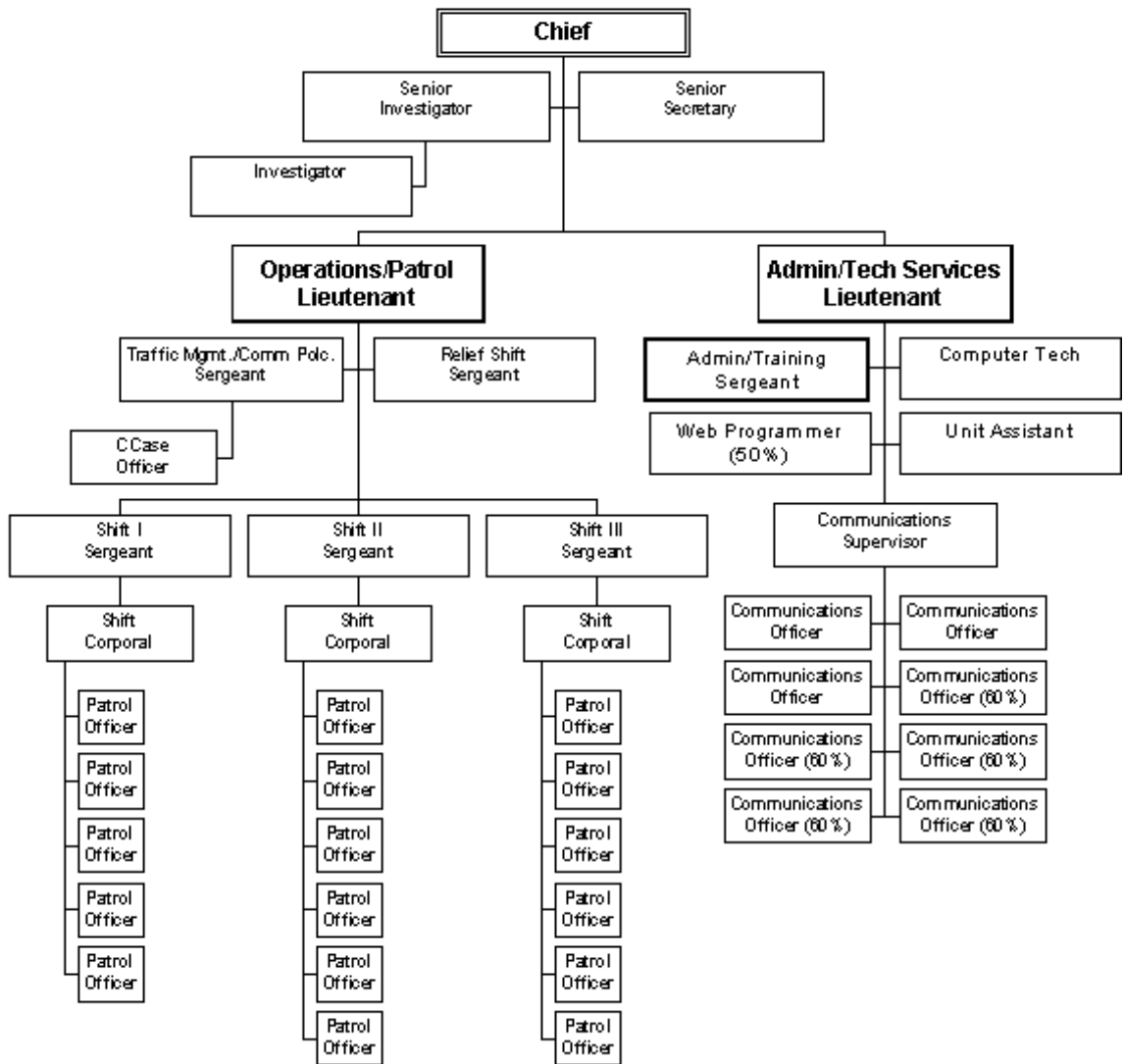
As previously mentioned some confusion or gray areas enter into the process. Another officer illustrates how the process of getting other bureaucratic departments within the police department involved increases the complexity of communication. In fact, patrol officers generally do not have a say in how the claim, once filed and reported, is resolved. Once the report is turned over to the investigations division, the patrol officer's responsibility to the case is completed. He states:

We'll forward that information to investigations in a supplemental report that they'll add that to their investigation and then investigation takes over from there and does whatever they need to do. Working from that side of it, investigations will do any other processing of the evidence, whether it means to go to OSBI or whether they need to log it into evidence and do all that. Then they call them if we find a suspect. If we find a suspect they'll usually call the suspect in, maybe refer them to our polygraph operator if they need to do a polygraph on somebody...then they'll file the affidavits with the District Attorney and then usually you go to court. Could be- who knows- one year, two years,

three years it depends. When the court case comes up ...you get your subpoena, you testify, [it] goes through the court system that way.

Figure 2 illustrates, graphically, how complex the campus police department is with all the different bureaucratic layers and levels. Since most other campus departments are bureaucratically structured also, their organizational chart would be similar, if not more complex. It is easy to see how communication becomes a problem not only within a department, but between departments.

Figure 2 Organizational Chart* of a Campus Police Department



*Figure 2 is taken from the university's police website.

Other ways of communicating that inform a perception of campus crime involves other university departments. Other university departments that are mentioned by the officers during interviews include mental health agencies, counseling services, departments controlling university residences (residential life; usually involves members from the student's living community in a hearing run by a J-board [Judiciary]), and the

athletic department. Many officers discuss the positives and negatives of interacting with so many university organizations. These other organizations have the opportunity to punish students “in-house” without involving the campus police department. One officer notes that the J-board is composed of:

folks that work in the residence halls and it may have a student on the board it may have on of the hall directors. I’m not sure how many people are on there board but it’s the immediate peers of the students that live within those buildings, the residence halls, but they oversee and sort of sit like we are and all discuss their cases that they don’t feel are needed to be mentioned to us.

The final way the communication within the organization can influence how crime is perceived is during the field training of new or young officers. Officers are sent to the police academy where they receive training. After that, they are engage in six weeks of ‘field training’ accompanied by a licensed field training officer that observes them for two or three weeks. While ‘learning the ropes’, these officers are engaging in basic socialization processes based on the formal-rational terminology of criminal justice and bureaucratically worded reporting procedures and becoming engrained in the organizational culture that helps to determine how they fill out their reports; and essentially how crimes become reported. One officer notes the amount of formal-rationality in assigning crimes to categories:

There could be questions whether it’s a grand larceny, [or] whether it’s a burglary. I mean a variety of other categories and the biggest part of that would be whether property was stolen. So then that puts it into the larceny [then] you have to determine whether it’s lost, but then [you have] to determine whether it’s a theft or a burglary. A burglary would

define it where it's in a secure location or where a person has a belief that by leaving it in this area that it'd be secure.

Another officer echoes this sentiment by saying:

Everything is set out in the statutes, as far as the specific circumstances have to be met for it to be a crime. For example-burglary- for it to be burglary they have to make forced entry where as larceny they just steal something. So I mean...you just kind of over time just learn what's what.

The training of new officers, as noted by a field training officer, begins with showing them "how to fill out our uniform crime reports" because "you may have one crime but there could be two or three things, it could be you know like rape, larceny, burglary, arson, auto something like that." In addition, new officers must

ride with us and then after that we ride with them. We evaluate what they do and then they kind of learn. You kind of learn- you're kind of hands on, you get a little classroom training and you come on and do the 'hands on'. So it's kind of both.

From the interviews, it can easily be seen that there are many dynamics at play within organizations. Specifically, as Vaughan (1996) notes, the production of culture is extremely important to the development of a culture within an organization. Since McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) ICM focuses on the structural level, a discussion of organization culture is crucial. In addition to the production of culture, Vaughan (1996) notes how the culture of production influences perceptions within an organizational culture.

Culture of Production

The culture of production is a category that Vaughan uses to identify how belief systems, institutional processes, and the wide array of inter- and intra-organizational politics influence the views of the managers, suppliers, and the employees. Both colleges and universities and security agencies are subject to the same types of processes that Vaughan identified within NASA. For campus crime, many ideas surface regarding where a student should be punished for particular offenses.

Because of the nature of bureaucratically structured organizations, numerous departments have to work together. What develops through this communication is a “culture of doing things” that maybe slightly different compared to processes outside of the organization. One officer explains how relationship and communication with other security-related departments functions on campus, which details the complex relationship between student workers (residential authorities that live in dorms), directors of dorms and residential life, and the campus police department.

We’ve worked a lot with them [residential life] on training. They’ve gotten better than they use to, like on drug cases, they would just go in and start causing us all kinds of problems and by the time we got there stuff was missing and gone. Communication wise we get along pretty good with them, I mean they want to be involved. Sometimes that’s good sometimes that’s bad. When you get new ones [residential authorities] sometimes you get someone who’s real gun happy or wanting to get into stuff, their young and sometimes they get too involved, they kind of get in the way.

In addition another officer states how, while working with many safety and security agencies on campus, other security departments punish offenders. What is interesting is that police reports are distributed on a regular basis to these departments to

help punish students that may have committed criminal acts, albeit minor acts, but nonetheless criminal acts. He states that:

We work with- counseling services would be another one we work with, security agencies, probably J board, we work with them because, like I said, something happens in a hall, alcohol, drug offense, whatever the actual hall director, the CF, writes them up and that throws them to J Board. Our report also goes to help them with their case so we work with them.

Indeed, as an officer from the Office of Student Misconduct notes:

If I hear about one [a crime], then I send them a memo that outlines what was reported to me. They can be referred to me on campus, [or] by res-life. If it is off campus, I get the arrest logs every week from the [local] police department because they are open records under the “open records” act. Other referrals could be the [university] police arrest logs.

In addition, those in the Office of Student Misconduct have communication with the campus police department. The communication, however, appears to be somewhat limited in scope and impersonal by nature, both characteristics of bureaucracies. She states:

I can request reports- I get little snippets of the report and if I think it is something that I should deal with I can request it from the [university] police and they send it to me. [The snippets from the university's] police, it is like a paragraph that just says like a student was...arrested for DUI at McElroy [street name] and Mackenzie [street name], or whatever. For the [local municipal] police it just says what the arrest was for, like public intoxication and things like that.

An example of organizational politics shaping and dictating how crimes are reported comes from a campus police officer. Specifically, he states that certain departments on campus, for example the athletic department, had ties to the upper

echelon of the school's administration. These ties and political connections influenced what crimes were reported. Specifically, he states

Well I know most of what we deal with lately with the riot calls- the big fights that involve athletics and stuff we've got [the current football coach] out and well even in the past we've had the other coaches out. Some have been good to work with us some haven't. Currently [this coach's] been doing pretty good working with us to help curtail all this crap with the fighting just because they're a jock or football player or whatever sport they're in.

Another officer goes on to elaborate on the role of athletic departments and politics in crime reporting:

I remember one time it would have been 90 to 90-91-92 and 93. [The campus police] reported a car stolen. We pulled it over and it has some [university] football players and a particular person [present day administrator and former campus police officer] whose still there sent them on foot to Bennett Hall. I'd say it correlates with the, with the head football coach at the time. I mean who was that coach where we arrested these kids so many times? They never got in trouble on campus...[gives name of coach].

In detailing how power and politics are influential within the university hierarchy, one officer notes how individuals within residential life not only had to be present during all police visits, but also how the residential life staff is the first response to a potential crime and actually decide if the police should be called. She initially notes:

They have RA's which are residential assistant and C uhh, something, I don't know. They had so many- they had like this hierarchy of housing people that you can go through. It got to the point a while before I left when no matter what we were responding to if it involved housing we had to have a CF or RA or something like that with us so that

they could keep track of what was going on, on their floor and in their building and stuff like that.

She further adds that the staff within these departments decides what is to be reported as a crime, thereby affecting the official crime rates of this university. Specifically:

it just depends on their discretion. I had a girl that came in two weeks after...well I can't tell you about that [case still pending]. It just depends on the person. A lot of times if it's a suspicious odor or something like that then they would call us and if it's something they can handle- then they would handle it. It just depended on whether the victim called their CF or RA or whoever or if they call the police first. Sometimes the CF or RA would know then, and they would decide if the police need to be called.

Another former officer provides an example that illustrates the complex interplay of organizational communication, campus crime, potential punishments, and how beliefs, ideas, and perceptions of a campus crime can be formed. She states

there's only been one instance that I can think of where there was an actual serious crime that and I found out about it about 2 weeks after it occurred. The victim came in and said she wanted an information report for student conduct purposes only because she wanted to get this guy kicked off campus. But anything else...we don't take information reports on that They go through their training with CF's and all those people have their own training to say when to call the police and everything...they seem like they kind of draw the line.

Once again, however, once reports are taken they get forwarded to other levels within the bureaucracy. She states: "if there is something like that, a lot of this stuff will get forwarded to investigations along with student conduct or somewhere else. They do that quite a bit."

The limited amount of information and communication between organizations are characteristics that are engrained within the culture that develops in bureaucracies. First, the production of culture dictates that communication be structured in such a way as to benefit the organization, thereby reaffirming its structure. Secondly, the culture of production shows how once the culture is established; the processes and dynamics within the organization become “rules of thumb” that all organization personnel, regardless of department, begin to understand and implement (Vaughan, 1996). Because of the reliance upon specific departments and the specialized nature of units within bureaucracies the final consequence that Vaughan (1996) identified within organizations is structural secrecy.

Structural Secrecy

The final typological category that Vaughan used to evaluate bureaucratically structured organizations is structural secrecy. Structural secrecy refers to the flow of information and control up and down the hierarchy of an organization. Essentially, knowledge and information is not always being sent up or down the hierarchical structure to everyone involved in the organization. This idea seems extremely pertinent to how perceptions of campus crime come into existent. As the last example within the culture of production section illustrates, workers and staff living in campus owned residences (i.e. dorms) are first responders to a scene where criminal activity occurred. These individuals, as a result, have the decision of whether or not to call the campus police. Often times, these individuals rely upon *a priori* bureaucratically established rules, regulations, and procedures.

With so many organizations operating simultaneously, many individuals within these bureaucracies are confused about the responsibilities of the other organizations. Individuals within the overall university structure do not have a clear idea of what are the explicit duties and responsibilities of other departments. For example, one former campus officer notes that

We did a lot of interaction with student conduct [office]. . There was some stuff that legally wasn't a crime but it was against [university] policy or something like that. So then we would take the report and it would get forwarded to student conduct and student conduct would decide from there. They have hearings and stuff like that.

However, while interviewing a campus security officer from the Student Misconduct Office, she describes her office's punishments for student offenses as based upon education and learning principles and never mentions having university hearings.

[O]ur basic goal is to educate people to make better choices in the future. So, I guess that we try to keep a control on the crime rate by educating them about the choices they make and help them make better informed decisions in the future and maybe change that behavior so you know, they don't do it again.

To do this, the office assigns students "punishments" based upon the offense they committed. Specifically, for alcohol-related offenses:

There is a program that is called "Alcohol 101"- a DUI [computer] program that I sometimes assign people to do if they have had a DUI or something. It teaches about blood alcohol content and simulates being at a party and teaches how much you can drink, it teaches about impairment. [In addition] I assign papers for people to write so that they have to reflect back on their behavior and think through it, learn about it. They have to cite some sources that help them learn about whatever it was. I have some specific

assignments for specific things that try to get people to think through the decision making that they did.

For physical assault and battery, the assignments are usually:

I give them a paper that goes through anger management, aggression, what gets you stressed, how you handle that, how you handle it in this case, what led you to behave the way that you did, what would you do differently, what are your resources for coping for stress, and anger, stress. [This is done to] just to kind of get them to reflect on it, and think it through and do something differently next time.

Additional punishments that are used by this particular office include community service and university probation, based on conduct. The purpose of these punishments is to force students to recognize their place within the community. This is very interesting because many individuals often have difficulty in placing themselves within a bureaucracy. The officer illustrates how they try to remedy this:

Like give community service-have to try and get them to think about their role in the community and the impact that they have on other people. And get them to see that they are inter-related with others and I might give them something like community service at a domestic violence shelter, somewhere that deals with violence or somehow related to whatever their violation was. Conduct probation is something that I might put somebody on. That basically means that they are on a warning status with our university- it is more punitive, but it sends the clear message that we don't condone that type of behavior and if they do any other violations, than they are subject to suspension. And if you do anything else, we'll put you on suspension.

What appears to happen here is confusion. The officer believes that the Office of Student Misconduct is the same as the residential life offices, which control more on-campus housing related matters. The confusion can create a situation where police officers are

sending certain cases to specific organizations believing that certain punishments will be given. This, however, may not always be the case. While the severity of the punishments could come under criticism, the purpose here is to illustrate that individuals in separate organizations do not always know the duties and responsibilities of other organizations. Indeed, many officers agreed that these other departments that function as quasi-security agencies, such as residential life, have the ability to impose harsher penalties than the police can impose. One officer sums it up by saying:

We actually utilize that quite a bit because the student conduct a lot of times can actually punish somebody worse than we could criminally speaking. [They do it] by affecting their career here at [the university] you know. [T]hat would hurt worse than a ticket or a night in jail...we do defer a lot of things to them.

What becomes evident from the interviews with the campus police officers and other security personnel is that constrained communication, disorganization, and departmental inconsistencies are all prevalent within the university departments that deal with student (and faculty/staff) safety and security. Using Vaughan's (1996) categorizations as a guide, one can see how the culture of production, the production of culture, and structural secrecy are characteristics within many bureaucratically structured organizations, including colleges and universities. It should also be noted how the structure of departments and organizational culture that develops in response to the bureaucratization of rules, regulations, and procedures guides and influences individual's behavior. This is not to say that all or any of the individuals within this research are explicitly hiding or misreporting campus crime rates. What becomes clear, however, is that the organization and hierarchy of the university bureaucracies shapes and influences

how campus crime is perceived by campus police officers and other campus security personnel.

DISCUSSION

As previously noted, the macro-level of the ICM is termed structural foundations. This includes not only structural concerns, but also specific cultural strains. The research focuses on the cultural aspect by interviewing campus police and security personnel. The interviews attempted to illustrate how cultural foundations exist and are produced within police and security departments and how the communication between these various bureaucracies impacts how campus crime is perceived by police and security personnel.

The previous literature concerning organizational deviance and the production of organizational cultures within bureaucracies begins with Vaughan's (1999) discussion of consequences to organizations themselves, individuals, and to the larger society in order to highlight the "Dark Side" of organizational life. Consequences to organizations include goal displacement (i.e. Wysong and Wright, 1995), the complex structure of organizations and how it constrains communication (i.e. Clarke and Perrow, 1996), and diffusion of responsibility (i.e. Erman and Lundman, 1996), while consequences to individuals include alienation (i.e. Mills, 1959) and ritualism (i.e. Merton, 1936). The final consequence involves the larger society. Specifically, this can include cost benefit analyses and disenchantment as epitomized by the "ends justify the means" mentality (Coleman, 2002). All of these examples were shown within the previous literature chapter (see Chapter III) to relate to bureaucratically structured organizations and contribute to the culture that develops within them. Vaughan's (1996) discussion of the

Challenger explosion, however, provides the useful typological categories that were used in analyzing the interview texts.

Vaughan's (1996: 394) categories from her "nascent theory of the normalization of deviance in organizations" include three parts: the production of culture, the culture of production, and structural secrecy. To review, the production of culture includes ways of communicating within a group or culture that affects how a social phenomenon is viewed, while the culture of production relates to how belief systems, institutional processes, and the wide array of inter- and intra-organizational politics influence the views of the managers, suppliers, and the employees. Finally, structural secrecy refers to the flow of information and control up and down the hierarchy of an organization. The author develops another category labeled as "overall perceptions" as a way of illustrating how organizational personnel explicitly perceive campus crime.

Overall Perceptions of Campus Crime

Almost all persons interviewed categorized campus crime as low. While this perception was expressed in several different ways, the sentiment remained the same. Those that seemed to have reservations concerning the actual crime rate, however, did not explicitly state their reservations. It is also interesting to note how those that seemed to have questions concerning the campus crime rates were former police officers now employed in municipal departments. This discovery could be related to Vaughan's (1999) categories that describe the "Dark Side" of organizational life. Specifically, those entrenched within the daily minutia of organizational life have a different perception of campus crime as compared to those that are no longer within the bureaucracy. This means that the socialization processes and possible disenchantment or ritualism appears

to shaping the perceptions of campus police officers and security personnel. One officer even remarked how he could only categorize the campus crime rates based upon the officially generated UCR.

In addition, a diffusion of responsibility also seems evident. Specifically, many officers talked about how they can only be involved after they are called. They can be called by either the victim, or the student housing authority. If a call is not placed to them (and they do not witness the crime), then they cannot begin investigative procedures. Essentially, an act fitting the definition of ‘criminal activity’ could have been committed, but it cannot be said that a crime has occurred. Indeed, the diffusion of responsibility (in combination with Clarke and Perrow’s (1996) idea of strained flows of communication) is easily seen when interacting with other security departments, such as the Office of Student Misconduct. Specifically, some discipline problems are ‘turned over’ to this department. The rationale for this: the office monitoring student conduct can punish the student violator with harsher penalties in comparison to the law. Whether this is true or not, within the organization, this is a technique of neutralization used by officers to rationalize their actions. This rationalization, however, is then coded into university policy resulting in another bureaucratic hurdle that officers and security personnel have to work within. Evidence for this can be seen when officers are talking about their role in the resolution of crime reports. Often times, they take down the information, but simply pass on this information to the investigations division¹⁴; another example of diffusion of responsibility. Vaughan’s (1999) “Dark Side” of organizations categories are useful

¹⁴ Numerous attempts were made to contact and interview individuals from the investigations division. No contacts were established and not one individual agreed to be interviewed.

theoretical tools for analyzing how overall perceptions of campus crime can be organizationally shaped.

Production of Culture

Communication within an organization is a crucial step in determining how campus crime is perceived. As previously noted, communication within the organization is difficult. The difficulty in communicating with other departments can lead individual police officers to becoming disenchanted. Indeed, when Weber discussed the “Iron Cage” he noted how work within bureaucracy is demoralizing. One officer exemplified this demoralization when he was discussing the communication with student housing authorities. During the interview he kept saying “I don’t know” over and over as he was shaking his head. This nonverbal communication seemed to illustrate a high level of frustration within the system, for this particular officer. This frustration over time can result in “burned” out officers that are simply “going through the motions.” These individuals are demoralized by the bureaucratic structure and personify Merton’s (1936) concept of ritualism. Other officers seem to accept the current organization and work within the structure. One officer noted, when talking about how complex the process was from the time a crime is reported to adjudication:

Could be- who knows- one year, two years, three years it depends. When the court case comes up ...you get your subpoena, you testify, [it] goes through the court system that way.

While this officer was very upbeat and happy, he seemed resigned to the fact that this is the process. He appears to be “alienated” from his work and product (that of reporting, investigating, and solving a crime). This response could be very typical of those individuals stuck in the “Iron Cage” of the bureaucratic communication process.

In addition, the production of culture continues within a department by the training or socialization process of new officers. It was noted how new officers go the police academy and then return to this department for advanced “field training.” This field training is conducted by senior level officers within the department. It became clear that reliance upon bureaucratic rules and regulations was both essential and secondary. When attempting to label an event as a particular crime, specific formal-rational procedures were used to identify an act as a particular crime. While there is the reliance upon these rules, these rules have to be explained in a vernacular understood and comprehensible by the new officers. The senior level officer helps integrate the new officers into how to understand and use the rules and regulations. Here we have reliance upon formal-rational procedures, but they are funneled through a substantive-irrational process based upon specific, individualized officers and situation. This example illustrates the constraining power of the bureaucracies, but also the “rules of thumb” that develop among individuals within these bureaucratic structures.

Culture of Production

The culture of production identifies how beliefs are shaped by organizational policies and procedures. Again, it is important to note how some officers believe that the campus crime rate is best expressed by the UCR. Indeed, it was noted several times that officers pointed to this campus’s crime rate as the lowest in the campus’s athletic conference. Specifically, one officer states: “we can only go on what’s reported and we have all that published with our UCR reports and the FBI statistics and such. So, the only thing that I can go on is what’s reported.” These crime rates are again based on UCR

reports, which as Baer and Chambliss (1997) note, are subject to political influences and are not accurate portrayals of (campus) crime.

Another example of the culture of production includes how universities, and to some extent this university in particular, develop procedures and processes that are unique to their organizations. Specifically, it was pointed out by some officers and echoed by other security personnel that some acts, which might be criminal, are left to other departments for punishment. For example, the existence of J-boards to judge those living in campus housing, in lieu of criminal sanctions, points to a culture that is evolving differently in comparison to municipal criminal guidelines and organizations. Specifically, one officer states: “they oversee and sort of sit like we are- [they] discuss their cases that they don’t feel need to be mentioned to us.” Working with these other campus agencies helps the department, in their eyes, to develop a more comprehensive set of punishments for student violators.

The constant communication between the various security-related departments is so engrained within the system that police reports are distributed to various departments on campus. What results, however, is a decentralization of discipline within the university wide organization and goal displacement for the police department. As Vaughan (1999) notes, goal displacement occurs frequently within bureaucracies. If the campus police department’s purpose is to provide a safe and secure campus community, then they are not able to fully achieve this if punishments are being metered out by other departments. In fact, the argument could be made, and is echoed by one particular officer, that residential life takes care of most of their problems. The campus police department is

called in when housing authorities believe the problem to be beyond their control. One officer believes:

if it's something they can handle- then they would handle it. It just depended on whether the victim called their CF or RA or whoever, or if they call the police first. Sometimes the CF or RA would know then, and they would decide if the police need to be called.

This decentralization of power and authority means that constant efficient communication must be engaged in by all security departments within the campus structure. If this does not occur, then what results are “disasters” (Turner, 1976) and, possibly, the misreporting of campus crimes.

Structural Secrecy

Structural secrecy involves the flow of information. While structural secrecy is definitely a consequence to organizations themselves, it can also be a consequence to the larger public. On a related note, Clarke and Perrow (1996) note how some organizations produce fantasy documents that ease the public's fear concerning a disaster. If organizations are not in proper communication on a university campus, then the proper channels are not being followed and a potentially important crime might not be reported to the proper authorities. If this happens, and the campus police are not involved, then a crime does become reported officially and listed within campus crime statistics. This, essentially, makes the UCR generated campus crime statistics fantasy documents that do not truly represent the actual occurrences of campus crime. In addition, all of the rhetoric used in official police policies can be considered as fantasy documents, because students are sometimes going to residential life authorities or other offices first. The campus police department policies and procedures become a “best case scenario” where the victimized individual does not contact local housing authorities first, but calls directly to

the police department. Only if this procedure is followed explicitly by all victims can the UCR generated campus crime statistics be seen as an accurate reflection of campus crime rates.

Additionally, all security related organizations must be in constant communication to avoid structural secrecy. According to the interviews, this does not seem to be taking place. Structural secrecy appears to be the most noticeable deficiency of the current organizational structure. If J-boards, Offices of Student Misconduct, and other campus housing authorities are taking it upon themselves to “police” the campus, then the campus police department cannot become adequately involved. As Margolis and March (2004) noted, campuses need to have the best possible “public relations” in an effort to compete against other universities for student enrollment figures. Having a system in place where there are so many individuals and specialized departments established for campus security and safety, when a crime does occur which department has jurisdiction? What are the responsibilities of other departments? At what point do these auxiliary departments say they cannot handle a case and bring in the campus police? The communication, or lack thereof, can have an indirect, yet powerful, effect on campus crime rates. The campus crime rates could then affect enrollment figures.

The questions of departmental jurisdiction and response lead to confusion and an unclear delineation of process and procedure, which is ironic considering the rationale for bureaucracies is efficiency and organization. The web of (dis)communication becomes so entangled that individuals within these bureaucracies forget their place within the structure. As a result, officers become disenchanting, demoralized, and alienated from their occupations. Their perceptions of campus crime, however, are positive. They

believe the campus to be extremely safe. Their individual perception is a reflection of all of the processes that are simultaneously working within bureaucratic structural of security departments on university campuses. The final part of this chapter is an overall discussion of the researcher's findings framed within McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) ICM.

THE INTEGRATIVE CONFLICT MODEL AND CAMPUS CRIME

As previously noted in both Chapter III and Chapter IV, the integrative conflict model (ICM) is a unique theoretical tool being applied to campus crime. While originally designed to discuss the origins of legislative policy, the model is a heuristic tool that operates on three distinct levels (McGarrell and Castellano, 1991). The levels include structural foundations (macro-level), perceptions of crime (meso-level), and triggering events (micro-level). The Clery Act is a result of all of these factors operating on the various levels of the model. While the triggering event was the murder of Jeanne Clery, the other parts of the model are less clear. Specifically, this research focuses on both the structural foundations and the perceptions of crime. By looking at campus police officers and other security personnel, the research was able to see how the cultural aspect of the structural foundation plays into the reporting of campus crime statistics. In addition, student perceptions were measured as a way of identifying how students perceive campus crime. As a result, the research presents a further elaboration of how students' perceptions of campus crime and campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime influence overall perceptions of campus crime. Using the ICM to framework these conclusions helps to increase the knowledge base about campus crime and safety. The

following discussion focuses on structural foundations and perceptions of campus crime as frameworked within the ICM.

Structural Foundations

Structural foundations is a conceptual idea that is first put forth in Galliher's research agenda in the 1970s and 1980s, which discussed the origins of law. According to Galliher and Cross (1982) structural foundations are the overriding social structural and cultural factors that help to both initiate crime in society and steer society's response to such crimes (for a further discussion on these structural foundations, see Galliher and Basilick (1978), Galliher and Cross (1982), and Galliher et al. (1974)). McGarrell and Castellano (1991: 184). Examples from the previous literature dealing with structural foundations include the economic environment of Nevada and how that lead to the strict drug laws; the religious homogeneity of Utah and how that affected its decriminalization of marijuana laws; and the racial homogeneity of Nebraska and how that contributed to Nebraska being the first state to decriminalize marijuana. Of great importance to this research, however, is the idea of cultural factors and how they influence perceptions of campus crime. In attempt to measure and identify these cultural factors, interviews were conducted with campus police officers and other security personnel.

Galliher and Basilick (1979) note the institutional features of society provide the social environment within which individual perceptions form. Cultural factors are seen as having prime importance or influence in how criminal behavior is perceived and reacted to. What is shown from previous discussions of this research is that campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime are highly influenced by the organizational culture that develops within bureaucratically structured departments. This overarching influence

helps to form the individual officer's ideas about campus crime. Specifically, this is done by their adherence to structured rules and regulations (such as a reliance and validation of UCR statistics); the internal socialization process by fellow officers that integrate new officers into the organizational milieu (such as the field training program); and the interaction and communication with other security related campus departments (such as residential life of the Office of Student Misconduct).

To supplement work on these cultural factors, Vaughan's (1996) ideas on how organizational routines and communication influence decisions being made is very useful for framing a discussion that attempts to identify how and why the misreporting of campus crime statistics is done. Oftentimes officers do not consciously "hide" campus crimes, but through the internal confusion of inter-organization communication, the flow of information within a bureaucracy is often constrained (Vaughan, 1996; Vaughan 1999). Essentially, perceptions of campus crime start with the patrolmen¹⁵ on campus. These individuals, who theoretically would have access to all available campus crime information, perceive the campus crime rates to be extremely low. This idea becomes pervasive within the overall university bureaucracy, and eventually trickles down to the student population by way of student and employee interactions. While campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime is crucial for examining perceptions of campus crime, students' perceptions of campus crime is equally important.

Perceptions of Campus Crime

McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) second level of their integrative conflict model deals with crime, legitimation deficits, and the demand for punishment. Essentially, for

¹⁵ The term 'patrolmen' is used because those officers within the investigations division did not grant the researcher access to interviews.

this project, that constitutes perceptions of campus crime. Since we are focusing on the campus community, the “society” perception in question belongs to the student body. Over the recent year, however, some interesting trends have started to emerge; campus crime is actually decreasing (Fernandez and Lizotte, 1993). To explain how perceptions of crime develop, McGarrell and Castellano (1991: 189) note the “interplay between structural and cultural antecedents and triggering events produces crime legislation policy.” The “feedback loops” that are part of the ICM (see page 62) are important and illustrate the interplay between all levels of the model and the resulting legislative policy.

The relationship between the triggering event and the already established cultural factors (structural foundations) help to influence students’ perception of campus crime. Since students on this campus had a positive view of campus police officers, a vast majority of the sample believed campus crime to NOT be a problem or issue for concern. Many factors could influence this perception. Since the triggering event (the Clery murder) occurred twenty years ago, mass media coverage of violent offenses might not be that extensive anymore. In addition, if campus crimes are not being properly reported because of bureaucratic failures and structural secrecy, low crime rate statistics are being produced. As a result, fear of victimization appears to be decreasing, which results in an overly optimistic and positive perception of campus crime.

It appears that campus crime, on this campus, is not an issue for concern. Both students and police officers seem to agree that this campus has a low crime rate. The ICM, however, helps to framework how organizational deviance on the structural level and the development of cultural factors within a bureaucratically structured department can result in positive perceptions, by students, of both their campus safety and the

police's effectiveness. The ICM helps to organize the data collected and synthesize ideas from the organizational deviance literature, the community policing literature, and the perceptions of police literature into one coherent, theoretically, and empirically based argument about perceptions of campus crime.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this final chapter is to synthesize and integrate all information and discussion presented about perceptions of campus crime. As previously noted numerous times in various chapters, this research uses McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) ICM as a theoretical framework to guide informed analyses. Previous literature from scholarship on organizational deviance, perceptions of police and security, and community policing literature helped to inform data collection procedures. To reiterate, the research questions for this project are as follows:

- 1) Do students' perceptions of campus crime and the campus police depend upon demographic characteristics such as the race, age, gender of a person; measures of self protection taken; prior victimization, and the visibility of the police presence on campus?
- 2) On the structural level of the bureaucratic organization, are circuitous or non-complying reporting procedures are engaged in to maintain the image of a safe campus by producing positive crime rates. Are official reporting procedures (i.e. Fantasy Documents) regularly used and/ or are incidences of campus crime are dealt with on an internal basis by the bureaucratic organization?

3) Are campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime in alignment with official crime rates and statistics? Similarly, do other campus officials, such as Resident Authorities and officers within the Student Conduct Office, have similar perceptions of campus crime because of their attachment to the organization?

To answer the aforementioned questions, surveys were developed and distributed to a convenience and purposive sample within a large state run university. The survey analyses test the meso-level of the ICM by detailing what influences students' perceptions of the campus police and security. Results indicate that current theoretical models that are developed for municipal communities do not have explanatory power when applied to campus communities as previously thought (i.e. Fisher et al., 1995). While the resultant discussion posits numerous explanations and possibilities, (such as racial homogeneity) what seems most plausible is that the unique characteristics of this particular sample and college campus greatly affected the usefulness of previous explanations for perceptions of the police. To develop a more holistic view of campus crime, interviews were conducted.

Interviews were conducted with former and current campus police officers and other security personnel in an effort to inform a discussion about the macro-level of the ICM: cultural factors. Specifically, the interviews, framed within Vaughan's (1996) typological categories from the organizational deviance literature, help to identify the campus police officers' perceptions of campus and how they could result from the organizational culture that they are embedded within. Results indicate that structural secrecy appears to be the most salient factor within the development of an organizational culture that influences campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime. While other

instances of organizational deviance are discussed, overall, campus police officers appear to have a positive perception of crime on this campus. That is, they believe crime to low and not a problem, which can be traced to their position within the bureaucracy.

The rest of this chapter will focus on future research that can result from this initial exploration into campus crime. The topics that will be addressed include a review of the limitations of the current research, including the survey, interviews, and the sample(s) used. Another topic covered within this chapter is future areas of research and ways of improving upon the current research project's design. Finally, a brief assessment of the current research's overall contribution will be discussed as a way of providing final commentary on perceptions of campus crime.

LIMITATIONS

As previously mentioned in both Chapter V (Data and Methodology) and Chapters VI and VII (Factors Influencing Student Perception of Campus Crime and the Police, Structural Factors Influencing Campus Police Officer Perception of Campus Crime), this project has some theoretical and research design limitations. Specifically, the survey that was developed was distributed to both a purposive and convenience sample (i.e. student body). Because of time and economic limitations, only one university campus was used. As a result, the results' generalizability can be called into question. On a related note, this particular campus is primarily racially homogeneous and a rural campus embedded within a community that shares the same characteristics as the university. These characteristics, in conjunction with the lack of age diversity of a traditional-aged college campus, greatly affect the results and explanatory power of previously developed empirical and theoretical ideas.

The interviews used to focus on the development of an organizational culture also suffer from some severe limitations. First and foremost were the interviews themselves. The head(s) of the campus police department would not grant interview requests unless the length of the interview was cut to around 20 minutes, and consisted of only three or four scripted questions that were approved before interviews by the officers in charge. Interviews also had to be conducted within the campus police department in one of two official conference rooms. All of these requirements have the ability to influence campus police officers' responses to various questions. Interviews also took place at the end of, not during, officers' shifts. As a result, the validity of questions and responses can be called into question.

In addition, requests to interview police officers from the investigative division were repeatedly declined. Figure 2 (pg 106) illustrates the complex network in this campus's organizational hierarchy. It is clear that by only interviewing patrol officers, that much of the upper echelon of the departmental hierarchy goes untapped. What results is a eschewing of data. Essentially, data was only gathered from those at the bottom end of the hierarchy that have little to do with "shaping" the university's perception. However, to combat this criticism is the idea that by interviewing patrol officers, data was gathered from those officers that are first upon the scene and have the ability to first declare the validity of a potential criminal claim. This idea was allude to many times by the officers, that is, they oftentimes had to decide (through a battery of formal-rational questions learned from both the academy and their field training) whether a criminal act occurred and if the police could be involved.

One final limitation during the interview data collection process was with “other security personnel.” An attempt was made to interview various officers from the Student Misconduct Office, but only one officer agreed, and this officer had only been in that position for two and a half months. The officer probably did not have a complete understanding of ALL procedures and processes resulting in missing information. In addition, no one was interviewed that was affiliated with university owned housing (i.e. Residential Life). One electronic (email) request and one phone request was made for interviews, but none were returned. Due to time constraints placed on the investigator, follow-up requests were not done and interviews were not given. There was, potentially, a lot of useful information that could help to “fill in the gaps” between police officers’ ideas of bureaucratic processes and procedures. It is important to future research that current limitations are identified. This way, future research can avoid previous shortcomings and build upon the previous knowledge about campus crime.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research involving perceptions of campus crime should address numerous factors that were not part of this project’s research design. In particular, when dealing with both students’ and police officers’ perceptions of campus crime, an effort should be made to gather data from numerous college and university campuses. A variety of campuses from across the nation could uncover regional, state, or other geographical differences. In addition, by examining numerous campuses, the research is able to gather data from various group members that are underrepresented on this college campus. Specifically, students with more urban backgrounds and students with differing racial and

ethnic identities would greatly enhance the research concerning perceptions of campus crime.

Gathering data from a wide variety of campuses is also important for focusing on campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime and misreporting of campus crime. More studies detailing the development of organizational cultures within bureaucratically structured campus police departments is important for illustrating the power of the bureaucracy. With college and university enrollment figures being affected by incidences of campus crime, the public has the right to be informed, not only of what campus crime statistics are, but also how these statistics are generated. By detailing how the university system works, it is evident that the flow of communication between university departments is sometimes constrained or inhibited. The flow of communication can result in organizational deviance, which generates campus crime statistics.

Future research about the perceptions of campus crime, as outlined within this research, can be useful because of the practical implications. Stronger theory development designed for college and university campuses, in particular, will help to provide better explanations for differing crime rates between colleges and universities. Like much of criminological research, further research into campus crime can provide insights that could result in issues of public safety and legislative policies.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In a December report for the National Institute of Justice (a research agency of the U.S. Department of Justice), Karjane, Fisher, and Cullen (2005: 1) note that "campus crime in general and sexual assault in particular have been receiving more attention than in the past, and concern has been expressed at the highest levels of government." They

go further and report that misreporting of campus crimes is extremely harmful to students, parents, victims, and others associated with the campus community. Indeed, Kerkstra (2006: 1-2) notes that about one third of campuses report crime statistics that are inconsistent with federal laws; extremely low crime statistics, especially sexual assault, “defy common sense.”

Green (2005), when discussing crime reporting procedures in Virginia, notes that lawmakers want colleges and universities to punish offenders with criminal sanctions, not administratively or “in-house.” This practice, which was common on the campus used in this research, is used in lieu of criminal punishments oftentimes as a way to circumvent federal reporting procedures that result in official crime statistics. Green (2005: 2) goes further to state that 4,543 crimes reported in the state of Virginia during 2003 were from twenty-two campus police departments, and crimes that “occurred on campuses with security departments rather than sworn officers are reported by local police”, not campus police departments.

The problem appears to be the organizational structure and culture that develops on college campuses. Specifically, both Green (2005) and Kerkstra (2006) note that many colleges and universities routinely label offenses inconsistently, which helps avoid being reported on official crime statistics. For example, if an offense is labeled as ‘theft’ and not ‘burglary’ it does not need to be reported to federal crime agencies (Kerstra, 2006). Since most students do not seem to blame campus police officers for misreporting (Kerkstra, 2006), the onus would fall on the bureaucratic structure of the university, itself. With a “college culture” than often includes alcohol, drugs, and resulting criminal behavior, circuitous reporting procedures are usually, according to university officials,

the result of confusing and complex reporting procedures (Green, 2005). The solution- more training in record keeping, technical support of security agencies, and more bureaucratic rules, regulations, and procedures (Green, 2005).

As Weber noted, the Iron Cage of bureaucracies are now involving more and more aspects of social life- universities are no exceptions. Victims are not simply victims of crimes anymore, but a starting point for determining the type, classification, and severity of a “potential” crime or event. Someone may not be the victim of ‘rape’ anymore, but of ‘forcible sexual offenses’, which includes all sex offenses (except statutory rape and incest) (Kerkstra, 2006). These subtle differences have an enormous impact upon the official crime statistics that a college or university reports. Indeed Margolis and March (2004) and the University of Pennsylvania’s security chief, Chief Rush, note college and university officials are cognoscente of the public relations aspect of crime statistics. Specifically, Rush acknowledges that proper crime statistics that are high can “seriously damage a university’s ‘brand’” (Kerkstra, 2006: 3).

How does this research contribute to the aforementioned discussion? It is evident that structural secrecy between campus security departments and within departments is occurring- it is a byproduct of both managing an ‘image’ and ‘perception’ and the natural dysfunctions of bureaucracies. Throughout the whole research, however, it appears that students have positive perceptions of both campus safety and the police department, again, illustrating the power and influence of the organizational structure. Reasons for circuitous reporting procedures are probably varied and include wanting to maintain a good reputation for increased enrollment; wanting to not bring negative attention to athletic programs or prominent students/alumni; and not wanting to be associated with

the crime associated with urban decay. While this research cannot fully identify why the misreporting of crimes occurs, it does, however, point to how these processes might be set in motion and result in circuitous reporting procedures. The power of the organization cannot be taken for granted simply because we cannot “see” it. Specifically, formal theoretical models and frameworks need to be developed with college and university organizations in mind. From this research, it is evident that current theories may not properly address all aspects of crime on college and university campuses. While this campus may be an “outlier” in terms of its extremely low crime rates, especially sexual assaults, Catherine Bath (executive director of the Security on Campus watchdog group) provides some interesting insight: “Really low numbers are a red flag. When you see zero or one sexual assaults for a school of 12,000, that school has what we call a ‘culture of silence’” (Kerkstra, 2006: 3).

More academic research needs to be done on campus crime. While much of the current probing into college and university affairs is journalistic in nature, rigorous research based on strong theoretical backgrounds that is tested via proper empirical procedures from an unbiased party is needed. As previously noted, the need is not purely for interesting, informative, and academic research/knowledge- one of the often cited criticisms of sociology. The need is for the potential safety of current students, faculty/staff, and campus visitors and for the nearly 18 million students that will step onto college or university campuses for the first time by 2013 (National Center for Education Statistics and the Digest of Education Statistics: 2003).

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APPENDIXES

Students' Perceptions of Campus Crime & Police Effectiveness

I. The first few questions ask for basic information about you. Please indicate your response by placing an "X" in the appropriate space or by writing your answer in the space provided.

What is your age? _____

What is your classification?

freshman sophomore junior senior graduate student

Do you play organized sports (i.e. intramurals, on a team for the university, play in a recreational league)?

yes no

What is your gender?

male female

Are you currently married?

yes no

What is your status as a student? (NOTE: 'Full time' student= enrolled in at least 12 undergraduate hours or at least 9 graduate hours)

full time part time (or not full time)

Please check the following category that most represents you:

White/Non-Hispanic Black/African American Asian/Pacific Islander
 Native American Latino/a Other- Please Specify: _____

Do you belong to an organized fraternity or sorority (excluding academic honorary societies)?

yes no

Do you currently live in University owned housing (i.e. dorms, university apartments, etc.)?

yes no

II. The next section includes questions about protecting yourself while on campus. Place an "X" in the appropriate space to indicate how often you do the following:

	<i>Always</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Never</i>
I carry objects that can be used for protection, such as mace, keys being used in a defensive manner, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I walk with someone while on campus at night.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I attend crime prevention workshops when they are offered on campus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I use crime prevention services while on campus (i.e. escort services at night).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I avoid certain areas on campus at night.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I lock my vehicle while on campus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(Please Continue on the Reverse Side)

III. The next questions involve occurrences of crime victimization while on campus. Please indicate your response by placing an “X” in the appropriate space.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Have you ever had any personal property stolen while on campus?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Have you ever been physically assaulted while on campus?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Have you ever had personal property vandalized while on campus, including motor vehicles?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Have you ever been the target of verbal harassment while on campus?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IV. This particular section deals with your perception of the police’s presence on campus. Specifically, it measures how often you see campus police officers on campus during both the daytime and nighttime hours.

	<i>Always</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Never</i>
I see campus police officers on campus throughout the day.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I see campus police officers inside campus buildings (i.e. academic buildings, the student union, and residential areas) during the daytime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I see campus police officers on bicycles during the daytime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I see campus police officers in the parking lots throughout the day.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I see campus police officers on campus during the evening hours and at night.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I see campus police officers inside campus buildings (i.e. academic buildings, the student union, and residential areas) during the night.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I see campus police officers on bicycles during the nighttime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I see campus police officers in the parking lots throughout the night.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(Please Turn to the Next Page)

V. The last section of this survey involves questions that measure your perceptions of the campus police. Please indicate your level of agreement to the following statements by placing an “X” in the appropriate space.

	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
Campus police officers try to protect things which belong to you.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Campus police officers often overstep their authority.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On the whole, the campus police officers are honest.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Campus police officers are nice individuals.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Things would be better on campus if there were fewer policemen on campus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Campus police officers do not care what happens to you after they arrest you.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Campus police officers enjoy over-exercising their authority.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Campus police officers are a great help to the campus community.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Campus police officers are unresponsive to those with less money.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Campus police officers are just as criminal as the people they arrest.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Campus police officers do an excellent job of enforcing the laws.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Overall, campus police officers do a great job providing a safe and secure campus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for your time and for agreeing to participate in this important project about students’ perceptions of campus crime and of the campus police.

Instructions and Notification of Voluntary Participation

Title of Research: Students' Perceptions of Campus Crime & Police Effectiveness

Investigator: Mark Vermillion, M.A.

My name is Mark Vermillion and I am a PhD. student in the Sociology department here at OSU.

I am conducting a survey attempting to measure perceptions of crime on college campuses and the effectiveness of campus police organizations. You are being asked to participate in a survey of OSU students concerning their perceptions of crime on this campus. You are also being asked to evaluate the effectiveness of the OSU campus police and security measures. If you agree to take part in the survey, completion of this survey will only take a few minutes (about 10 minutes).

The potential risks to those that respond to the survey are extremely minimal. Specifically, the psychological and emotional trauma resulting from completing the survey is very low. There are no known risks associated with this project which are greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

By participating in this survey you will be helping the researcher illustrate what factors influence students' perceptions of campus crime, security, and police officers. These data will aid in advancing the sociological and criminological knowledge base concerning perceptions of campus crime and police effectiveness.

To protect the confidentiality of the respondents to the survey, the researcher will gather survey instruments in a large box to reduce the opportunity that the researcher can match students' responses with particular surveys. No identifying information will be gathered by the survey, other than basic demographic information including race, gender, and age that would allow the researcher to identify the respondent. Actual hard copies of the surveys will be destroyed once entered into a computer database, leaving only the computer and statistically coded record. The record will be kept in the researcher's home computer under a filename that does not identify the information. Identifying information that could connect students with particular responses is not present, thereby keeping the confidentiality of the respondents.

If you would like to see final results of this project, feel free to contact the primary investigator, Mark Vermillion, 006 CLB, Department of Sociology, 405-744-6107. For information on subject's rights, contact Dr. Sue Jacobs, IRB Chair, 415 Whitehurst Hall, 405-744-1676.

Your participation is, of course, strictly voluntary and you may refuse to answer any specific questions or withdraw your participation at any time. Any information that you provide will be strictly confidential.

Thank you again for agreeing to participate in this important research project about students' perceptions of campus crime and of the campus police. Your participation will allow for new research into this important area.

**Interview Brief/Schedule
Campus Police Officers & Other Security Officials**

1. What do you think is the actual crime rate on this particular campus?

- How many crimes, in your opinion, are actually committed per year?
- Breakdown by crimes?

2. What does “crime awareness” mean to you? How do you help to increase “crime awareness”?

- How does OSU help to increase “crime awareness”, in your opinion?
- What are some specific programs?

3. On a related note, what crime prevention programs does your organization provide? In your opinion, how effective are these programs?

- Examples of programs?

4. How are crimes reported at OSU?

- How often do you think crimes go unreported? Why?
- What other departments on campus, to your knowledge, could crimes be reported to in lieu of the police department? How often does this occur, on average?

5. In your opinion, how aware are other members of the campus community, such as students, of incidences (both reported and unreported) of campus crime?

6. In your opinion, how aware are campus police officers of incidences (both reported and unreported) of campus crime?

LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

Title: *“Campus Police Officers’ Perceptions of Campus Crime”*

Investigator: Mark Vermillion

Hello. My name is Mark Vermillion and I am a PhD. student in the Sociology department here at OSU. I am conducting interviews in an attempt to measure perceptions of crime on college campuses. You are being asked to participate in this interview of OSU campus police officers concerning their perceptions of crime on this campus. You are also being asked to evaluate the effectiveness of the OSU crime reporting and security measures. Your participation is, of course, voluntary, and you may refuse to answer any specific questions or withdraw your participation at any time. Any information that you provide will be strictly confidential.

Specifically, I would like to interview you concerning your perceptions of campus crime. By agreeing to be interviewed you will be asked to provide responses to between five and six questions, which will take about twenty to thirty minutes of your time. Also, with your permission, I would like to tape record the interview to ensure that your responses are accurately reported. Once interviews are completed, the tapes will be transcribed to generate documents of text with no identifying information. Upon the transcriptions being complete, all tapes will be destroyed.

The OSU IRB has the authority to inspect consent records and data files to assure compliance with approved procedures. Signed informed consent letters will be kept in a locked, metal desk in the investigator’s office. The investigator will be the only person with access to the materials, including the interview transcripts and informed consent letters, which are stored in separate drawers, both locked in the metal desk. There are no known risks associated with this project which are greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

For information on subjects’ rights, contact Dr. Sue Jacobs, IRB Chair, 415 Whitehurst Hall, 405-744-1676. If you would like to see the final report, you may contact the investigator once the dissertation is completed. To obtain this information, contact Mark Vermillion, 006 Classroom Building, 405-744-6107.

I want to thank you again for agreeing to participate and reiterate that you may withdraw participation at any time either before or during the interview process. The data gathered during these interviews will greatly expand the research on campus crime, which focuses exclusively on the school level. In addition, this research will expand the literature concerning perceptions of law enforcement officers on college campuses.

I have read and fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy of this form has been given to me.

Signature of Respondent

Date

I certify that I have personally explained this document before requesting that the participant sign it.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Friday, July 01, 2005
IRB Application No AS05100
Proposal Title: Perceptions of Campus Crime

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 6/30/2006

Principal Investigator(s)

Mark Vermillion 3602 N. Washington D23 Stillwater, OK 74075	Gary Webb 012 Classroom Stillwater, OK 74078
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The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Beth McTernan in 415 Whitehurst (phone: 405-744-5700, beth.mcternan@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,


Sue C. Jacobs, Chair
Institutional Review Board

IRB Application # AS 05-100

EXEMPTION CRITERIA (from 45 CFR 46.101)

To qualify for a category, the research must meet all of the conditions of the category.

Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as:

- (a) research on regular and special education instructional strategies, or
- (b) research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.

Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, if:

- (a) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and
- (b) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subject's financial standing, employability, or reputation; and
- (c) subjects are not under the age of 18 or members of a vulnerable class, including prisoners, pregnant women, individuals who are mentally disabled or economically or educationally disadvantaged.

NOTE: all three conditions must apply.

Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior that is not exempt under paragraph (2) above if:

- (a) The human subjects are elected/ appointed public officials or candidates for public office; or
- (b) federal statutes(s) require(s) without exception that the confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter.

Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if:

- (a) these sources are publicly available; or
- (b) if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.

Research and demonstration projects which are conducted by or subject to the approval of department or agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine:

- (a) Public benefit or service programs; or
- (b) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs; or
- (c) possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; or
- (d) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs.

Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, if:

- (a) wholesome foods without additives are consumed; or
- (b) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level and for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found

VITA

Mark Clayton Vermillion

Candidate for the degree of

Doctorate of Philosophy

Dissertation: PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPUS CRIME

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Education: Graduated from Liberal High School, Liberal, Kansas in May 1995; received Bachelor of Science degree in Social Sciences Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas and a Masters of Arts in Sociology Wichita State University in Wichita, Kansas in May 2000 and May 2003 respectively. Completed requirements for the Doctorate of Philosophy degree with a major in Sociology at Oklahoma State University in July, 2006.

Experience: Vice President of Alpha Kappa Delta (AKD), Sociology Honor Fraternity, fall 2005 through spring 2006; Graduate Teaching- Assistant Fellowship, Department of Sociology, summer of 2005; Co-contributor to Oklahoma State University's "Introduction to Sociology Collected Readings", spring 2005; Sociology Graduate Student Association Representative to the Faculty Committee, 2004; Graduate Teaching – Assistant Fellowship, Department of Sociology, Oklahoma State University, 2003 to Present; Graduate Teaching- Assistant Fellowship, Department of Sociology, Wichita State University, 2001 to 2003; Phi Kappa Phi, Graduate Honor Society, 2003 to Present; Vice President of Phi Theta Kappa, 1997; Phi Theta Kappa, Honor Fraternity, 1995 to Present.

Professional Memberships: American Society of Criminology; North American Society for Sport Managers; Oklahoma Sociological Association; Mid-South Sociological Association; Midwest Sociological Society.

Name: Mark Vermillion

Date of Degree: July, 2006

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPUS CRIME

Pges in Study: 170

Candidate of Doctor of Philosophy

Major Field: Sociology

Scope and Method of Study: The purpose of this research is to analyze campus crime from both a student perspective and a campus police officer perspective. Specifically, by employing literature from organizational deviance, community policing, traditional criminological variables explaining perceptions of crime, and framed within McGarrell and Castellano's Integrative Conflict Model this research attempts to locate what influences perceptions of campus crime for both students and campus police officers on both the structural (macro) and intermediate (meso) levels. Surveys measuring students' perceptions of campus crime and the campus police are distributed to a sample of a large public university located in the Southern United States as a way to measure the meso level of the theoretical framework. The sample is taken from large introductory courses and upper level courses from the College of Arts and Sciences. The final sample size is five hundred, eighteen surveys (N=518). On the structural level, interviews are conducted with campus police officers. Using Vaughan's nascent theory for the normalization of disasters in an organization as an *a priori* typology, interview transcripts are analyzed.

Findings and Conclusions: Statistical analyses done on the surveys collected reveal the current literatures do not adequately explain perceptions of both campus police and crime for the sample. The conclusion provided by this research is that more theory development needs to focus on the organizational and unique structure of campus communities. Previous theories developed upon community models do not appear to explain a high amount of variance within the dependent variable. Concerning the interview data, results reveal campus police officers' perceptions of campus crime are influenced by the web of miscommunication that occurs within the hierarchically structured, bureaucratic environments of institutions of higher education. The structure of both security departments and campus crime reporting procedures appear to influence security officials' perceptions of campus crime. Conclusions state circuitous reporting procedures engaged in by institutions are partly a result of the "dark side" of organizational life.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Dr. Gary Webb