



Building Trust and Solidarity with Campus Policing: Interventions for Social Capital

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Building Trust and Solidarity with Campus Policing: Interventions for Social Capital

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Introduction

According to the US Census Bureau, the population of the greater metropolitan Austin, Texas area has grown at a rapid pace over the past two decades. With a 47.7% population increase between 1990 through 2000, the Austin metropolitan area was among the nation's top five fastest growing cities (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), and became one of two most rapidly growing metropolitan areas between 2007 and 2008 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). In addition to the population increase, Austin has seen a steady increase in the level of crime. Between 2000 and 2007, the number of criminal incidents reported in Austin has grown by 18.9% (Texas Department of Public Safety, 2007). Interestingly, however, the number of criminal incidents reported on the University of Texas campus has decreased by 28% in the same time frame (Texas Department of Public Safety, 2007).

The University of Texas at Austin (UT) consists of a specific set of demographics. About 50,000 students strong (of which 35,000 are undergraduates), the university is one of the more visible in the nation. The faculty members at UT are internationally known and are often off campus pursuing research or speaking agendas. Unlike many tier one universities, UT only houses approximately 7,500 students on campus, leaving the remaining 42,500 students in the commuter category. Accepting students from rural, suburban, urban, national, and international homes, the UT student body is considered to be diverse. While predominantly white, UT becomes more racially, ethnically, and culturally complex each year.

Perception of crime, either by citizens or police officers, can greatly alter the way in which one approaches another. The external increase in crime will often affect the perception of the citi-

zens on the UT campus as well as the campus police. Despite the decrease in on-campus reports, there is a concern that the external crime is affecting the interactions between police officers and citizens on campus.

This research seeks to understand first how the police are perceived by the citizens on campus and identify potential problem areas. The second aim is to use this study as the initiation of an engagement process to enhance the ability of the officers to build social capital on campus.

This research was conducted at the request of the University of Texas Police Department (UTPD) Oversight Committee (OC) last year and funded by UT.

Existing University structures monitor police policy and actions, and in response to concerns about racial/ethnic profiling, University structures reviewed vehicle and pedestrian stop and search data, and found no compelling evidence of race-based officer behavior. Nevertheless, the previous year, those concerns and subsequent discussions coalesced around quality assurance and validity of the stop and search data, and whether there was a perception of racial profiling among members of the University of Texas at Austin community.

This research project was conducted in three phases. The first two phases were exploratory and involved qualitative research (individual and focus group interviews, observations, and document review). These earlier phases informed the development of an online survey that is currently being administered. Michael Lauderdale and Noel Landuyt created the third part of the study and assumed responsibility for the project, including incorporation of Parts 1 and 2 – which were created by Laura Lein and her colleagues – as well as developed of the final report.

All authors are affiliated with The University of Texas at Austin.

Background

Relations between law enforcement and the community are highly complex and critical in a modern society. To a significant degree they may be more critical in a university community. Students, a significant part of the university community, are young and, in many instances, acquiring the first skills of independence living apart from their parents and their home communities. Necessarily, part of the teaching responsibilities of the university community concerns civic conduct and public safety. The university police are first in line in those educational responsibilities.

The responsibilities of a police officer have undergone great change over the past two centuries. Policing in America today is broadly defined by three duties: 1) order maintenance (writing traffic tickets, attending to noise violations, etc.), 2) public service (assisting with changing a car tire, directions, taking debris out of the road, etc.) and 3) crime control (as opposed to crime fighting). Similar to many large organizational changes, the change and current state in policing reflects several historical influences. Transitions in the description and framework of policing have been categorized by three eras: the political era, the professional era (also known as the reform era), and the community problem-solving era, or the community policing era (Palmiotto, 2000).

Professional Era

The professional era (also known as the reform era) of policing is considered to be the period between the early 1900s and the early 1970s (Fleissner & Heinzelmann, 1996). One of the major objectives during this era was to separate the police from politics. Because there was such closeness between police and particular citizens during the political era, another goal of the professional era was to distance the police from the citizens. Part of the reform was to create a “professional model” for policing that included formalized training, the introduction of civil procedures including recruitment and supervision. Police considered themselves to be crime fighters and left the responsibility of public service to other local organizations.

According to Cao (2003), the changes brought

on by President Lyndon Johnson’s “great society” created a substantial dilemma for the police. Between the societal changes occurring from the civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War reactions, the role of the “crime-fighting” police officer became incredibly conflictual. Adams and colleagues (2005) offer three problematic themes that emerged for the police in the 1960s (Adams, Rohe, & Arcury). First, increasing crime rates did not appear to respond favorably to “improvements in police tactics or police visibility” (p.44). Crime increased in the face of improvements. Secondly, marginalized African Americans continued to receive harsh and unequal treatment from the police. One of the tactics of civil rights activists was to violate laws that were viewed as unjust such as segregated public facilities. The violation of those laws increased the conflict with the police and subjected minorities to greater police action. And thirdly, due to the increased crime, police forces suffered from depleting resources.

In addition to these social changes, the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal provided additional motives for the American public to lose trust in the government and in authority. Eck and Rosenbaum (1994) explain that out of these substantial problematic themes, came the birth of the community problem-solving era.

Community Problem-Solving Era

The community problem-solving era (also known as the community policing era) began in the early 1970s. Opposite that of the professional era, the community problem-solving approach aimed to realign with citizens and establish rapport and relationship with the local community. Instead of the police being seen as a force working separate from citizens, this new period was defined by working with the community to problem-solve and achieve the local good. Specific efforts to realign with the community consisted of “the creation of storefront or substations, foot or bike patrol” (Scott, 2002, p.151), “youth-oriented educational and recreational programs, [and] ... neighborhood watch programs” (Ren, Cao, Lovrich, & Gaffney, 2005, p.56). While there are a number of conceptual models existing to explain

community policing, Scott (2002) notes several models communicate “community policing involves attempts made by the police to mobilize and empower residents to enhance their collective sense of responsibility and thereby address issues of their own” (p.151). In essence, community policing facilitates a greater level of communication between citizens and police (Moore, Trojanowicz, & Kelling, 1988). The idea is that by engaging the community in a collective problem-solving model, citizens work with the police in a reciprocal relationship to address crime control (as opposed to crime fighting).

Social Capital

An essential factor in successful community policing is how well trust and reciprocity are engendered between officer and citizen. This is the operational definition of social capital. While the major constructs of social capital are nearly a century in age, the actual conceptual framework and definition of social capital have only evolved over the past three decades beginning with the works of French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1980), economist Glen Loury (1981), and sociologist, James Coleman (1988). One of the first definitions of social capital comes from Bourdieu (1985, p. 248); “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition”. In the early 1990’s, political scientist Robert Putnam (1993) evolved the definition to encompass three specific components: networks, norms, and trust. Putnam explains that these three components “facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (1995, p. 67). When a social group, organization, or community develops strong social networks and shared norms, qualities such as trust, reciprocity, mutual obligation, and loyalties begin to form. Onyx and Bullen (2000) determine that a community with this level of social capital is a strong community. Mattessich and Monsey (1997, p. 61) elaborate on specifics of social capital and note that it has “the abilities to: develop and sustain strong relationships, solve problems and make group decisions, and collaborate effectively to

identify goals and get work done”. Social capital has become a popular concept among researchers in the fields of sociology, political science, business, and psychology (Portes, 1998). While researchers do not fully agree on the conceptualization and definition of social capital, Ferguson notes that most researchers can agree that social capital “consists of a set of components found in social associations and interactions among people that, when activated, empower individuals and facilitate cooperation toward a mutual benefit” (2007, p. 323).

University Policing

Over the past few decades, universities have seen an incredible growth not only in numbers, but also in levels of diversity. Campuses have also experienced a great increase in crime (Smith, 1995). This crime and the concerns received national attention and reporting requirements with the Clery Act: The law is named for Jeanne Clery, a 19-year-old Lehigh University freshman who was raped and murdered in her campus residence hall in 1986. The Clery Act, signed in 1990, was originally known as the Crime Awareness and Campus Security Act. Nichols (1995b) and Smith (1988) note that campuses exceeding an enrollment number of 30,000 experience levels of crime equal to that of a small city. To address rising crime, universities have incorporated community policing strategies on many campuses. According to Reaves and Goldberg (1996), multiple community-policing strategies, such as foot patrol, bike patrol, public education programs, crime prevention programs, and victim assistance programs have been implemented.

A component making the implementation of community policing strategies and a high level of social capital difficult on University campuses is the ever-changing community. While the faces of faculty and staff might remain fairly familiar, the faces of the student body, and thus community, are changing almost continually. The major concepts behind strong levels of social capital and community policing are that they reflect established and nurtured reciprocal community trust and norms. Another challenge within the Univer-

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sity community is with regard to the increasing changes in diversity. As a predominately White community becomes more racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse, the community and police force must work to meet the diverse needs.

The core function of the American university at the baccalaureate level is to provide a liberal education. Liberal is used in the sense of liberating the student from the parochialism of time and place and first exposing the student through books and lectures to broader viewpoints of history, society and world understanding. Inherent in the process is exposing the student to faculty, staff and students that will be different than the student. This liberal learning builds skills in critical inquiry and both prepares the student for citizenship and creates the basis for inquiry and intellectual growth. For this liberal learning process to occur the student must have an environment of trust and reciprocity. Here then is where an approach to policing that is built upon community policing and high social capital is critical.

Racial Profiling

As was reflected with the recent issue¹ involving the Cambridge Police and the Harvard professor, Henry Lewis Gates, racial profiling continues to be point of contention in America today. Regarding racial profiling in general, the US Department of Justice compiled a seminal review of data collection methods by police departments and made recommendations for future research on policing methods as well as racial profiling (Ramirez, 2000). This was followed by other studies, such as the one by Engle (2002), which asserted that future studies must move beyond observational data and utilize theoretical models to understand race-based decision making practices and make appropriate policy recommendations. A substantial body of research informs the topic of racial profiling among US police practices since it originated as a technique in the 1980's to apprehend drug traffickers on the East Coast highways (Harris, 1999). To date, however, there are not many studies in the literature regarding racial profiling on predominately White university campuses. Two studies (Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Harper, 2008) exist that report on the

results of interviews with African American students attending predominately White universities. The results from the two studies are vastly different and draw attention to the need for further research.

In 2003, in response to several incidents on campus, including a racial profiling complaint against the UTPD, a study of cultural awareness and community relations of the UTPD was conducted by the Diversity Institute at the University of Texas School of Social Work (McRoy, 2004). University students, faculty, and staff, as well as UTPD officers, were included in the study and the findings indicated that while only a small minority of UTPD personnel believed that there was racial profiling on campus, the vast majority of students, regardless of ethnicity, believed that racial profiling indeed exists on the university campus. The significance of student experiences on campus and perceptions of the university environment has been linked to student academic performance (Dorsey, 1995) and, in a study of both White and African American students at a predominately White university, Cureton (2003) found that there was no significant relationship between race and negative perceptions of university police and social environment. It is therefore problematic to assume that racially-charged events on a campus would affect only a segment of the student body rather than the whole community.

Research Questions

This research was originally designed to explore the degree to which people stopped by University police, who were neither arrested nor charged, experienced their interaction with the police. In collaboration with UTPD and the UT

¹On July 16, 2009, an African American Harvard Professor, Henry Louis Gates received a visit from the Cambridge Police regarding a report of a break-in to his home. At the conclusion of the encounter with the police, Gates was arrested. This encounter made national news and received attention from President Barack Obama.

Police Oversight Committee, the focus of phase 3 of this study has slightly broadened, to include ALL individuals who have contact with UTPD, whether initiated by the individual or the police officer. The methods are based on over a decade of work that Professors Lauderdale and Landuyt have done with Texas State agencies, including the Texas Department of Public Safety. It focuses more broadly on customer satisfaction with UTPD, and is not limited to instances of racial profiling.

The focus of the study is to explore the experiences of individuals who have contact with UTPD and understand:

- the function of the police and the reason for the stop;
- the ways in which they feel respected or disrespected;
- the degree to which they experience racial identity as an issue;
- the ways in which they feel targeted or stopped justifiably; and
- their assessment of the quality of the interaction with police officers.

Research Plan and Initial Findings

This research project was conducted in three phases. The first two phases were exploratory and involved qualitative research (individual and focus group interviews, observations, and document review). These earlier phases informed the development of an online survey (phase three) that is currently being administered. All phases of the study were approved by the University IRB (approval # 2008-09-0088). Each phase will be discussed in turn.

Phase 1: Interviews With UTPD Officers

The Center for Social Work Research (CSWR) staff began the study with two activities involving UTPD officers. The purpose of these activities was to understand, from the officers' perspectives, what happens during a police encounter with an individual and the range of options UTPD officers have when interacting with individuals.

Methods

Research staff met with UTPD senior officers

on November 5, 2008 to explain the study. They then conducted one focus group with seven officers and a small group interview with two officers on November 12, 2008. All interviews were conducted in person. The purpose of these activities was to understand, from the officers' perspectives, what happens during a police encounter with an individual. Officers were recruited via email (see Appendix A) to participate voluntarily. In order to protect their confidentiality and to allow for a more open discussion of their experiences, no supervisors were recruited and supervisors were not informed by research staff about officer participation. No individually identifying information was collected from participants, and we did not collect written consent forms. The information gathered was reported as a group, as was detailed in the consent letter (see Appendix B). Each interview took approximately 1.5 hours. The interviews were conducted using a series of open-ended questions (see Appendix C). Interviews were not recorded, again to protect participant confidentiality. Research staff took notes during the meetings and summarized their findings in written fieldnotes.

CSWR staff participated in four ride alongs with UTPD officers, between November 13 and November 19, 2008. To observe a variety of police activities, we chose to ride along on different police shifts and weekdays. One ride along was on a Thursday night shift, one was on a Friday night shift, one was on a weekend morning shift and another was on a weekday afternoon shift (3-6 p.m.). However, all the ride alongs were in Sector 4, which roughly covers the area of campus south of the tower and from Guadalupe to San Jacinto St.; this was accidental.

Findings

From the ride alongs and officer interviews, we gained a great deal of information about when and how officers initiate a stop or are dispatched to a scene. We also learned the various kinds of stops and contacts that officers make with individuals during a typical shift, including responses to alarm calls, traffic stops, responses to welfare checks, and suspicious person calls, to name a

few. It seems that this varies according to the shift, with the overnight shift spending more time responding to calls, rather than initiating contacts.

What emerged from all the activities with officers and the ride alongs was the idea of “discretion” – not only in when to initiate a stop, but also in how to respond to a call or a stop, and what the outcome of the stop will be. In many instances, officers have the latitude to decide when to stop someone and when to issue a citation or a warning. However, officers must respond to all calls from their dispatcher, although even in this situation they still have a great deal of discretion in handling the outcome of these calls.

From the observations and discussions with officers, it seems that most officers are more likely to be lenient and give a warning rather than a citation, although officers mentioned exceptions, i.e. some officers are more likely to issue citations for traffic or minor in consumption violations than other officers. However, it seems like this practice of “discretion” could certainly lead some individuals to perceive the officers of practicing discrimination, since the same offense could result in a different response, depending on the circumstances. Certain situations (like traffic stops at night) are likely to result in a more “heavy handed” response by all officers, due to safety issues for the officers. For example, all traffic stops require backup, which could be unsettling for an individual who felt he or she was being pulled over for a “routine” or minor traffic stop in which two to four additional officers show up and participate.

Communication was also another defining feature of police/individual interactions. This topic emerged from both the activities with police as well as the interviews with individuals who were stopped. From the perspective of police, communication can make a stop go well or make it difficult. For example, if there is a language barrier between the officer and the individual, the stress level for all involved is heightened and the individual and officer are likely to leave the encounter frustrated. Furthermore, officers noted that individuals who were stopped often interpreted the officer’s serious demeanor as unnecessarily rude. Police agreed that it was nearly impossible to be friendly in all cir-

cumstances. In fact, they noted that approaching a situation in a relaxed manner could actually be quite dangerous for an officer, especially during a traffic stop at night when it was impossible to know who or what was in a vehicle until the officer had approached the car and shone a flashlight into it. Officers told several stories about situations that at first glance would appear to be a benign situation that were in fact very dangerous (for example, a car that appeared to have only one occupant actually had six people in it – they could have easily overcome the officer). Overall, officers felt that most of the public did not understand the risks that they could incur in the course of conducting their duties and that their serious and cautious disposition was often perceived as punitive or an excessive reaction.

Phase 2: Interviews with Individuals Who Had Been Stopped By UTPD

In the second phase of the study, CSWR research staff conducted ten telephone interviews with individuals who had been stopped by the police.

Methods

During the period from November 14 to November 21, 2008 officers provided all of those stopped, but not charged or arrested, with a card inviting them to contact the research team for an interview. We offered an incentive (a \$25 gift card) for participation. The purpose of these interviews was to understand, from the individuals’ perspective, what happens during an encounter with the police.

While we were aware that recruiting participants in this way could be highly influenced by officer discretion (that is, officers might be especially pleasant to those they gave cards to and less likely to give a card if interaction didn’t go well), other methods of recruiting participants increased the human subject risk. UTPD had been advised by the UT legal department against allowing researchers to recruit a sample by contacting individuals directly from police records, as this constituted an invasion of privacy.

As a result of this recruitment, we were able to conduct ten telephone interviews with individuals

who had been stopped by UTPD. The interviews were conducted between November 19 and November 26, 2009. After a brief screening, potential research participants were emailed a consent form (see Appendix D) and an interview time was scheduled. Consent was reviewed again before the interview began. In order to protect participants' confidentiality, written consent was waived. The interviews were not audiotaped and research staff took detailed notes during these interviews. No individually identifying information was collected. The interviews lasted between 10 and 30 minutes. The interviews were open-ended and focused on a series of questions about their encounter with police (included in Appendix E).

Findings

A summary chart of the interviews conducted with individuals is included in Appendix F. About half of the participants were students and most were in their twenties. In general, the participants reported positive encounters with UTPD officers, even in cases where a citation was issued. There were two incidents where the individuals were displeased, and described officers as uncommunicative and rude. One respondent said that she did not understand why she had been stopped until after the officer presented her with a traffic citation. This individual felt that campus police should be aware of the demands of student life and not target students for what they perceived as "minor" infractions around the time of final exams. Other individuals also made comparisons between UTPD officers and other police officers, stating that UTPD were either nicer or less nice than other police. Some individuals have the idea that UTPD officers are different than other police officers and that they should cater to the needs of the student population. In the officer focus groups, several spoke of what one officer called "the perceived bubble of safety at UT." Several who had been UT students themselves once admitted that they had the same perception. Now that they are UTPD officers, they are aware that there are felons and dangerous people who congregate at UT, but many students remain unaware of this fact.

While individuals did not tend to label it as a "difficulty," several people expressed surprise or

confusion when backup officers assisted nighttime traffic stops or when these extra officers shone flashlights into their car or engaged them with questions during these stops.

In contrast with the individuals that were unsatisfied with their interaction with UTPD, the majority of respondents had positive comments and indicated that the officer was "professional," "knowledgeable," or "respectful." Even in cases where citations were issued, the respondent said that the interaction was easier because the officer communicated clearly why they were being cited at that time.

We should note that we received a small number of calls from people who were not interviewed, either because they were not appropriate research participants or we had already completed the needed interviews. For example, we received calls from two parents who called our line to complain about the treatment of their children. Both of these parents believed that their children (both male) were targeted by police because of their race. In both cases we left messages explaining we could speak to their children directly, but if they wanted to make a complaint, they should contact the police department. Our human subjects' protocol did not include any further specific actions that we might take and thus required that we handle such inquiries by that referral. We also received a call from someone we presume was a homeless man, since the number he gave to contact him was the community voice mail number. We were unable to contact him after several attempts. We also spoke with an individual who was later advised by his attorney not to participate in the research, and returned several phone calls of someone who identified himself as a "very busy" attorney; this person was very eager to speak with someone about the study, although from the telephone messages it was not clear whether he had been personally stopped by the UTPD or if he was calling to get more information on the study for a client.

We received other calls and emails responding to the interview opportunity from people we were not able to connect with for an interview. From the names and information contained in the email signatures, we were unable to contact two other male

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students of Asian decent, a male student of Hispanic decent, and a male student and a female student both of European descent. There were also phone calls from about five other individuals, all male, although it was difficult to know their student status or decent.

It is also important to note when officer conduct either deviated from or conformed to the expectations of the individuals. As officers articulated, most individuals do not know that it is standard practice to have backup officers attend nighttime stops and that night stops can be very dangerous for police. The gap in understanding of police procedures by individuals could create a perception of targeting certain individuals. On the other hand, individuals seemed to have positive experiences with police when the police behavior conformed to their expectations of campus police service: courteous, efficient, and respectful. At issue is the fact that individuals may have expectations of encounters with police that don't reflect the reality of what officers can or should do, in the course of their jobs. This complicates the concept of "customer satisfaction" in assessing UTPD.

In summary, officer communication emerged as an important aspect of individual perceptions of their encounter with the UTPD. Whether or not respondents felt that the officer communicated to them why they were stopped and the actions the officer was taking during the stop seemed to directly influence their attitudes about the stop and the officers involved.

Phase 3: On-Line Survey with Persons Who Have Contact With UTPD

Based on the data collected in the first two phases of this study, and in collaboration with UTPD and the UT Police Oversight Committee, we constructed an online survey as the third phase of the project. The focus of Phase 3 of this study was broadened to include all persons who have contact with UTPD, whether initiated by the individual or by the police officer.

Methods

In Phase 3 of the study, which is ongoing, we are recruiting all individuals who have had contact

with UTPD officers in the past several weeks. We assume that they will be healthy adult men and women who speak English, although they may represent a variety of ethnic, cultural, or racial groups. In the event that there is a significant number of Spanish-only speakers, the survey will be translated into Spanish. In that event, we will submit an amendment to the IRB to include a Spanish version. We are seeking maximum variation in terms of ethnicity (White, Black, Asian, American Indian, Hispanic).

All participants who are stopped or request assistance by officers during the recruitment period will be given a card with an access number and the website of the online survey, asking them if they would consent to be interviewed. The card reads:

WE WANT TO HEAR FROM YOU!

The University of Texas Police Department is committed to providing excellent service. Please participate in a short anonymous online survey about your interaction with UTPD. In appreciation of your time, you will receive a coupon for two complimentary tacos and a drink at Taco Bell. Thank you in advance for your opinion.

To Participate Go To: www.orgexcel.org/utpd

Use Access Code: <<CODE HERE>>

The researchers offered an inexpensive coupon (worth approximately \$2.50) to a local fast-food restaurant as an incentive for participation in the survey. Participants are asked to participate in an online survey that takes approximately five minutes (See survey script in Appendix G). They will be asked to check various boxes about the incident (for example, date, time, number of officers involved). They are then asked their degree of agreement (on a five-point Likert scale) with 11 positively worded statements about their perception/satisfaction with the contact, such as "The officer(s) was courteous;" "I understood why the officer(s) stopped me;" "The officer(s) responded in a timely way." If the participant selects either 1 (strongly disagree) or 2 (disagree) on any of the above statements, which indicates a less than positive experience, the survey skips to the following question: "You selected (1) Strongly Disagree or

(2) Disagree regarding this aspect of your contact. Can you tell us more about the reason why you disagreed with the statement(s)?" The participant can then enter comments directly into a field.

This format was selected because an online survey offers maximum privacy and confidentiality to participants. No personally identifying information is to be collected. All data are reported in aggregate. The projected size of the dataset should provide additional confidentiality. In order to retrieve their incentive, participants enter an access number that directs them to a separate database to give their name and address so that the coupon can be sent to them. This information is not linked to their survey information.

Officers began passing out cards in mid-March, 2009, and as of August 28, 2009, UTPD has distributed approximately 4208 SSW Survey Cards. There were 486 valid responses through August 19, 2009. Due to budgetary constraints, the incentive was no longer offered as of the first week of July, 2009. When providing the incentive, an average of 20 survey responses were collected each week. Post-incentive, the number of surveys declined but responses continued.

Findings

On July 22, 2009 quantitative and qualitative results were examined from the online survey. Approximately 25 responses were considered invalid and deleted. Responses were considered invalid if they were duplicates, filled out by someone who did not interact with the police officer (participant was given the card by someone who *did* interact with the officer), or if the respondent was under 18 years of age. As of that date, 372 valid responses had been collected. Response rates ran as high as 10 percent of officers' encounters at particular points in the data collection activity but declined when the incentive ran out. From our previous research with a variety of organizations, this level of response falls within typical zones.

Demographics. Overall, the reported demographics are fairly representative of the University's demographics (see Tables 1 and 2). Males are slightly overrepresented (58.2%) as compared to the actual University's population (49.8%). As is consistent with the University demographics,

people who are White represent the largest category (61.4%) and are followed by Hispanic (13.7%), Asian (12.9%), and African American (7.7%) respondents. Those who reported themselves as "Foreign" represent only 1.9% of the sample as opposed to the University's reported 6.1% (see Figure 1).

Thirty-five percent of the participants were between 21 and 30 years of age, representing the largest age group responding to the survey. The four remaining age groups (18 to 20, 31-40, 41-50, and over 50) were approximately similar in size, ranging from 14 to 18 percent. Roughly half (42.1%) were UT students and 38.3% reported themselves as being UT staff (see Appendix H).

Interaction with police. Of the interactions with the officers, the greatest amount of respondents reported receiving the assistance they requested from the officer (37.8%). Twenty-six percent reported they received a verbal or written warning, and 7.3% noted they had received a citation (see Figure 2). The shifts during which the encounters took place were equally represented, each accounting for 30% to 33% of the responses (see Figure 3).

Open-ended comments. There were two opportunities for participants to give open-ended responses to the survey. If participants selected either 1 (strongly disagree) or 2 (disagree) on any of the 11 perception/satisfaction questions mentioned earlier, they were asked to comment. In addition, participants were asked at the end of the survey, "If you have anything else you would like to tell us about this contact, please enter it in the space below." Approximately one third of the participants (31%) provided comments. As illustrated in Table 3, comments were coded as positive, negative, neutral, or provided suggestion. Some comments contained a combination of comment codes (for example, positive and provided suggestion) but for simplicity, they will only be discussed within one of the four aforementioned categories.

The majority of the comments were positive (63.2%) and about one-fifth (22.3%) were negative. As expected, most of the negative comments (n=20) were from individuals who were interacting with the police due to a potential law violation. Many individuals felt the encounter was unfair or

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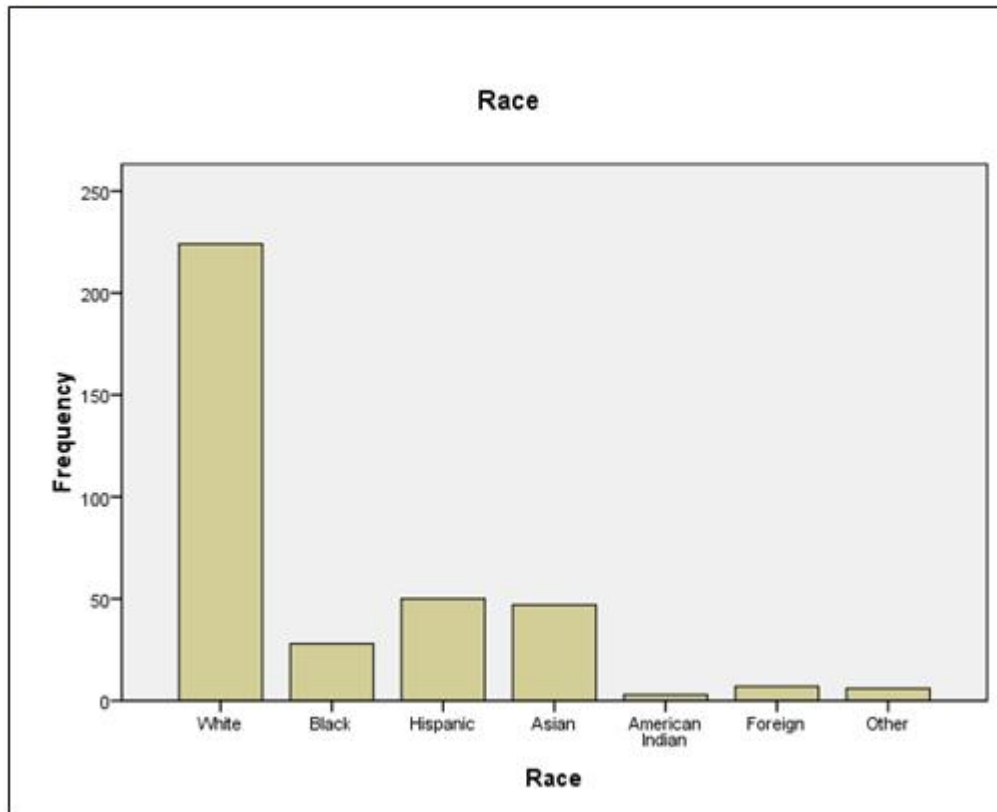
Table 1: Survey Demographics

Demographic	Number	Percent
Gender		
Male	212	58.2
Female	152	41.8
Age		
18-20	68	18.2
21-30	128	34.3
31-40	51	13.7
41-50	53	14.2
Over 50	69	18.5
Race		
White	224	61.4
African American	28	7.7
Hispanic	50	13.7
Asian	47	12.9
American Indian	3	.8
Foreign	7	1.9
Other	6	1.6
Relation to UT		
Student	155	42.1
Faculty	16	4.3
Staff	141	38.3
Relative or Friend of UT Student, Staff, or Faculty	9	2.4
No Relation	47	12.8
Student Relation to Campus		
Living on Campus	39	25.3
Living off Campus	115	74.7

Table 2: 2008 UT Demographics (Student, Faculty, and Staff, N=74,581)

Demographic		Number	Percent
Gender			
	Male	37,138	49.8
	Female	37,443	50.2
Race			
	White	42,481	57.0
	African American	3,594	4.8
	Hispanic	11,875	15.9
	Asian	11,375	15.3
	American Indian	369	0.5
	Foreign	4,536	6.1
	Other	351	0.5

Figure 1: Race from Survey Results



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Figure 2: Result of Interaction with Officer

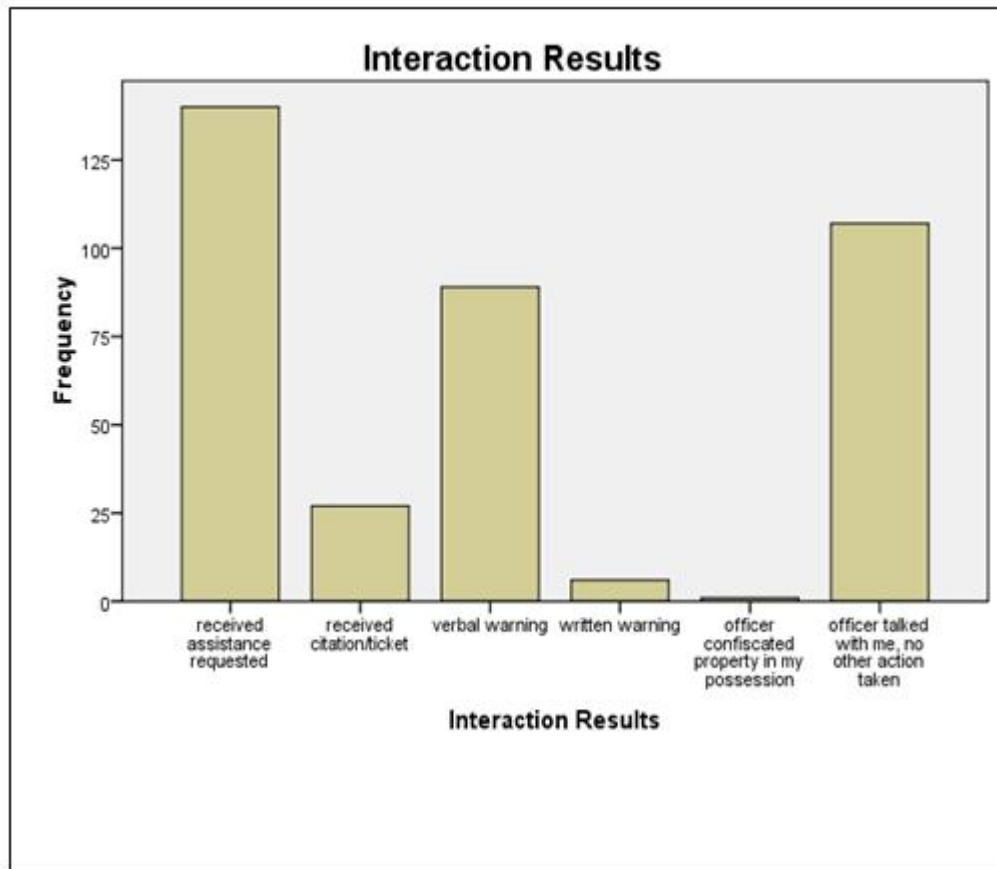


Figure 3: Time of Interaction with Police Officer

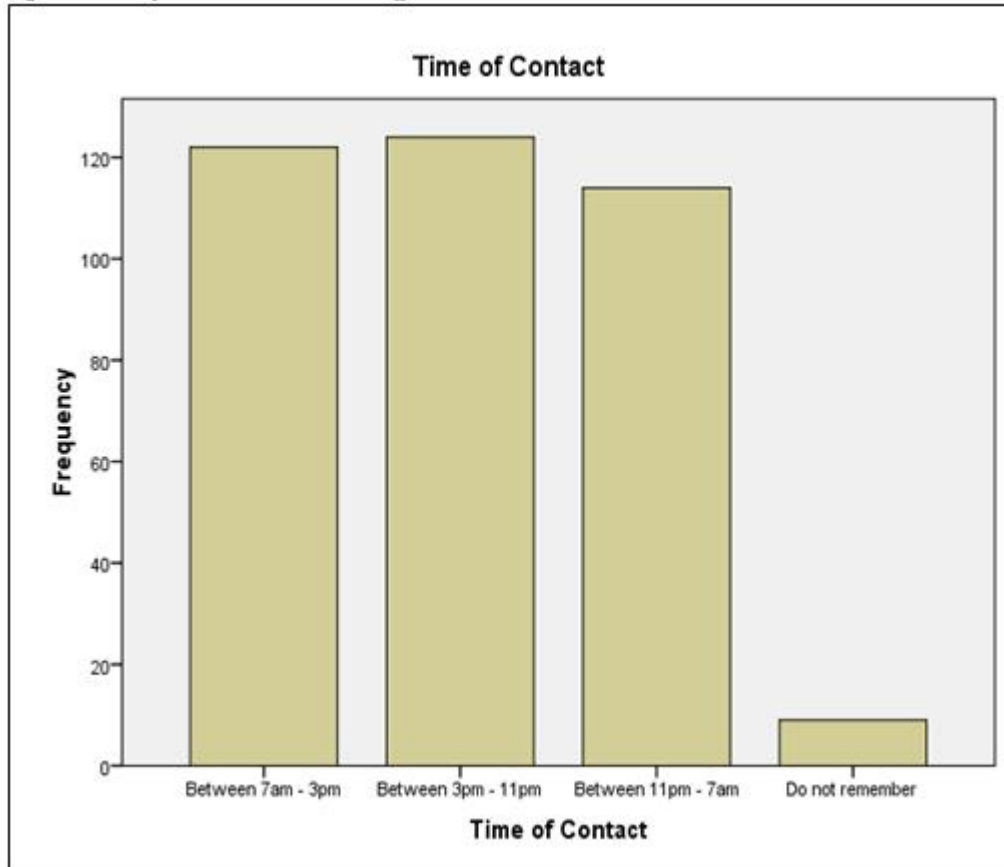


Table 3: Survey Comments (N= 130)

Comment	Number	Percent
Positive	82	63.1
Negative	29	22.3
Suggestion	11	8.5
Neutral	8	6.2

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Table 4: Survey Comments and Race

Comment	Race	Number	Percent
White (N=79)			
	Positive	50	63.3
	Negative	20	25.3
	Neutral	5	6.3
	Suggestion	4	5.1
African American (N=9)			
	Positive	7	77.8
	Negative	1	11.1
	Neutral	0	0
	Suggestion	1	11.1
Hispanic (N=22)			
	Positive	15	68.2
	Negative	2	9.1
	Neutral	1	4.5
	Suggestion	4	18.2
Asian (N=13)			
	Positive	8	61.5
	Negative	3	23.1
	Neutral	1	7.2
	Suggestion	1	7.2

Note: American Indian, Foreign, and Other were not included in the table because the N was too small to justify a meaningful conclusion.

unnecessary. When observing the type of comment by race (Table 4), individuals who were African American provided the highest percent of positive comments (77.8%) within their race, whereas individuals who were White provided the highest percentage of negative comments (25.3%). When observing type of comment by type of interaction with the police (Table 5), it is not surprising that about half (n=40) of the positive comments were from participants receiving assistance. Nor is it surprising that of the eleven participants providing commentary that received a citation, 8 were negative comments.

While no theme of racial profiling emerged in the comments, there were several responses that might be of interest for administrative or training purposes. For example, eleven respondents provided suggestions including comments related to effi-

ciency, productivity, and safety suggestions. This survey might prove to be a useful tool for UTPD administration to implement helpful solutions.

The researchers found multiple themes that emerged from the comments. The most prevalent theme was with regard to specifically identified traits about the officer with which the participant interacted. Table 4 provides an illustration of the identified traits. The respondents most frequently cited the following traits regarding their encounter with the UTPD: professional (n=26), courteous (n=18), nice/kind/friendly (n=15), responded quickly (n=14), informative (n=13), officer was concerned with/sensitive to my needs (n=12), and helpful (n=12). While most of the traits were mentioned in positive comments, some participants, coded as providing negative commentary, stated the officer with which they had the encoun-

ter was respectful (n=3), courteous (n=2), and professional (n=2) despite the negative experience they reported.

A second theme that emerged from the comments was the frequency of specific names mentioned. Twenty-three participants identified an officer's name with which they had the encounter. Twenty of the comments were positive, two were

negative, and one was neutral. This may be a potentially useful tool to reinforce and encourage positive interaction as well as address negative encounters.

Respondents' frequency in using the words "thank you" was a third theme. Twenty-eight participants communicated thanks in their responses, four of which were included in negative com-

Table 5: Comments by Type of Interaction with Police

Comment	Type of Interaction	Number	Percent
Positive (N=82)			
	Received Assistance	40	48.8
	Received Citation/ Ticket	2	2.4
	Verbal Warning	16	19.5
	Written Warning	1	1.2
	Officer Confiscated Possession	1	1.2
	Officer Talked with Me, No Further Action Taken	22	26.8
Negative (N= 29)			
	Received Assistance	3	10.3
	Received Citation/ Ticket	8	27.6
	Verbal Warning	8	27.6
	Written Warning	2	6.9
	Officer Confiscated Possession	1	3.5
	Officer Talked with Me, No Further Action Taken	7	24.1
Neutral (N= 8)			
	Received Assistance	1	12.5
	Received Citation/ Ticket	0	0
	Verbal Warning	2	25.0
	Written Warning	0	0
	Officer Confiscated Possession	0	0
	Officer Talked with Me, No Further Action Taken	5	62.5
Suggestion (N= 11)			
	Received Assistance	4	36.4
	Received Citation/ Ticket	1	9.1
	Verbal Warning	1	9.1
	Written Warning	1	9.1
	Officer Confiscate Possession	0	0
	Officer Talked with Me, No Further Action Taken	4	36.4

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Table 6: Specified Traits about the Officer from Positive Comments

Specified Traits
Responded quickly
Respectful/Polite
Courteous
Professional
Informative
Nice/Kind/Friendly
Pleasant
Officer was concerned with or sensitive to my needs
Sense of humor
Helpful
Excellent work
Attentive
Patient
Reassuring
Capable
Sincere
Effective
Great to work with
Understanding
Outstanding
Reasonable
Thorough

ments. One respondent expressed their complaint and concluded with thanks for being allowed the opportunity to provide feedback.

A final theme to be noted is related to bicycle and skateboard violations. Seven comments were identified reflecting this theme. Most (n=6) were complaints expressing a level of frustration towards UTPD for enforcing bicycle and skateboarding laws, and one participant expressed thanks for “cracking down” on the issue. Understanding that there was an initiative to enforce bicycle and skateboard laws on campus, the survey reflects actual changes occurring on campus.

Satisfaction scale results. As previously noted, each participant was asked to complete a satisfaction scale regarding level of satisfaction with their interaction (ranging from 1- strongly disagree to 5-strongly agree). The overall average from the survey was 4.5, indicating the average to be between agree and strongly agree regarding level of satisfaction with the encounter. The items were all worded so that strongly agree was a positive re-

sponse and strongly disagree was negative (see Appendix H). Statistics were run to look for significant differences in survey satisfaction between groups. Researchers looked for differences in race, gender, age, and relation to UT. Of all statistics run, no significant differences were found between groups. In other words, no single group (race, gender, age, or relation to UT) significantly differed from another regarding satisfaction with UTPD.

Interviews with UTPD. In mid-July, interviews were held with officers at an afternoon shift change. Officers were asked open-ended questions aimed at gathering feedback on the surveys. Questions were intended to provoke conversation regarding officer’s initial impression of the survey, officer’s opinion of negative and positive responses from the community, and their suggestions for greater efficiency.

While many officers expressed that they were initially hesitant and somewhat resistant toward the survey cards, it appears that all officers have

adapted routines to include card distribution. They reported that this added activity does not impair the officers' responses and responsibilities. No officer expressed current frustration or hesitation in using the survey cards. Some officers felt that the survey card has served to be helpful to them for two purposes. First, some officers expressed the survey cards to be a mechanism that encouraged immediate feedback and communication between officer and citizen. It was noted that the card initiated conversation in encounters that have otherwise been short and lacking a relational component. The second purpose mentioned was with regard to citizens who had become upset in the encounter. An officer noted that when a citizen becomes angry during the interaction, it was helpful to hand them the card and let them know their feedback was welcome. Often, the citizen would become less angry and willing to end the interaction. When the officers were asked if the survey cards were problematic, all officers communicated that, outside of getting in the habit of initially handing them out, they did not make things more difficult.

When asked to provide suggestions, officers provided helpful input. For ease of distribution it was suggested that the survey card be printed on the back of an officer's business card. It was also noted that by placing survey information on the officer's business card, the respondent might be more likely to use the officer's name in providing feedback. They also suggested that if survey results continued to be collected, it was important to provide the incentive. The officers spoke of the difference between those who received the incentive and those who did not. They reported that those who did not receive the incentive did not seem to care about completing the survey as opposed to the citizens who seemed to show interest when they understood they were to receive an incentive.

The interviews provided some unexpected results. The first was interaction with the homeless population. When interacting with those who were homeless, the officers reported mixed responses: 1) the person seemed offended that the officer would think they had access to a computer and 2) the person was eager to receive the free food incentive

and would break into a University lab to complete survey. Another unexpected result was regarding encounters with people who were only Spanish-speaking. While officers reported that most citizens could speak English, some had an encounter with University staff that did not speak English.

Recommendations and Future Directions

While our findings suggest that the operation and conduct of the University of Texas at Austin Police Department is admirable in its fairness and uniformity in its dealings with all citizens, there are important continuous activities that are advised both to maintain the current state and continuously improve functioning. We recommend the following:

- The Oversight Committee should regularly and annually inquire of the UTPD of its operation relative to the concerns of this report. Data should be reduced to quantified measures to permit overtime and episodic comparisons.
- Continuous systematic data should be maintained about how the citizens view the conduct of the officers. The past year's study has provided the basic infrastructure and procedures to accomplish that. It is precisely this sort of transparency that is congruent with a community-policing philosophy and that over time, nurtures good will and trust between police officers and a campus community.
- Specific organizational, recruitment, and training suggestions flow from the study. Diversity and building social capital are critical functions and realities of the university experience. Leadership and all staff need to be well-versed in community-based policing and prepared for educational roles involving people from many backgrounds.
- The University of Texas at Austin is perhaps one of the most visible setting for the entire state of Texas as it is located in the state's capital. Civic trust in police is essential to a thriving community. In this area of police leadership and conduct, as with all parts of the University, we should act to assure exemplary conduct and promote our findings to the local and state communities.

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The University of Texas at Austin Police Department plays a critical role in student instruction, general public relations and in maintaining a safe environment for students, staff, faculty and visitors. This study conducted over several months and used a variety of methods to ascertain the key qualities of the Department and the perception that the community has of the Department. We find that the relationship is characterized by trust and respect. That must be the continual theme of campus policing. It can be maintained and strengthened only by continuous, informed and careful attention to this social capital quality.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment Email to UTPD Officers

Dear _____:

The Center for Social Work Research is currently conducting research about the experience of citizens who are stopped by University of Texas police. One aspect of that research is understanding when and how patrol officers decide to stop citizens, the range of issues and events that occur during a stop, and the types of records kept after a stop when an arrest has not been made.

We would like to invite you to participate in a group discussion at a convenient time. The group will be held at the School of Social Work, located near the UTPD Office at 1900 San Jacinto. Refreshments will be provided. We anticipate that the group will take about 1.5 hours. Please see the attached form that describes the group in more detail.

If you are interested and willing to participate, please contact me by email (hbelle@mail.utexas.edu) or phone at my home office (443-9212). Please indicate what days/times

would be most convenient for you.

If scheduling a group interview becomes too challenging, we may ask to talk with you individually, either in person or by phone. If you are interested and willing, I would like to talk with you, either in person or over the telephone. The interview should take between 30 minutes and one hour, depending on how much time you have and how much you have to say. The interview will be scheduled at your convenience.

All information provided during the interview will be kept confidential. Results will only be reported in an aggregate form with individual identities undisclosed.

Your opinions and experiences are crucial to understanding citizens' experiences. I look forward to speaking with you.

Holly Bell, Ph.D., LCSW
Research Associate
The Center for Social Work Research
School of Social Work
The University of Texas at Austin

Appendix B: Consent Letter

Title: Citizen Experiences with the University of Texas Police Department²

IRB PROTOCOL 2008-09-0088

Conducted By: Laura Lein, Ph.D., and Holly Bell, Ph.D., LCSW, Center for Social Work Research, School of Social Work, The University of Texas at Austin; Telephone: 443-9212 (Dr. Bell)

Funded by: University of Texas at Austin

You are being asked to participate in a research study. This form provides you with information about the study. The person in charge of this research will also describe this study to you and answer all of your questions. Please read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part. Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can refuse to participate without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You can

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stop your participation at any time and your refusal will not impact current or future relationships with UT Austin. To do so simply tell the researcher you wish to stop participation. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this consent for your records.

The purpose of this study is to discover the experiences of citizens who are stopped by University of Texas police officers where no arrest is made. One aspect of that research is understanding when and how patrol officers decide to stop citizens, the range of issues and events that occur during a stop, and the types of records kept after a stop when an arrest has not been made.

If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you to do the following things:

- Participate in one face-to-face or telephone interview OR
- Participate in one group interview (depending on time and scheduling issues)

Total estimated time to participate in study is 30 minutes to one hour (for individual interviews) or 1.5 hours for a group interview.

Risks of being in the study

- The loss of privacy in discussing responses to work situations
- A related risk is that officers might disclose unprofessional behavior that might lead to embarrassment or sanction if revealed.

If you find discussing this issue stressful, there may be some associated psychological or emotional stress, but it is not anticipated to be more stressful than the stress of your everyday work life.

Benefits of being in the study

- There are no anticipated individual benefits to participation in this study. Understanding citizens' experience with UTPD can improve their service to citizens

Compensation:

There will be no compensation for participating in

this study.

Confidentiality and Privacy Protections:

- You will be interviewed in a private location.
- The interview will not be audio or videotaped. Your name will not be attached to any notes taken at the time of the interview. Your comments will be reported in a group with other research participants (up to ten total participants) and no identifying information will be associated with your individual comments.

The records of this study will be stored securely and kept confidential. Authorized persons from The University of Texas at Austin, members of the Institutional Review Board, and (study sponsors, if any) have the legal right to review your research records and will protect the confidentiality of those records to the extent permitted by law. All publications will exclude any information that will make it possible to identify you as a participant. Throughout the study, the researchers will notify you of new information that may become available and that might affect your decision to remain in the study.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have any questions about the study please ask now. If you have questions later, want additional information, or wish to withdraw your participation call the researchers conducting the study. Their names, phone numbers, and e-mail addresses are at the top of this page. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, complaints, concerns, or questions about the research please contact Jody Jensen, Ph.D., Chair, The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at (512) 232-2685 or the Office of Research Support at (512) 471-8871 or email: orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Please keep copy of this information for your records. You will be asked at the time of the interview if you have received this information and consent as below.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information and have sufficient information to make a decision about participating in this study. I consent to participate in the study.

²This was the original title of the study. However, based on feedback from OC members, we have since replaced the term “citizen” with “individual” or “person” in all documents relating to this project.

Appendix C: Interview Guide UTPD Officers

You have been asked to participate in a study about the experience of citizens who are stopped by University of Texas police officers where no arrest is made. One aspect of that research is understanding when and how patrol officers decide to stop citizens, the range of issues and events that occur during a stop, and the types of records kept after a stop when an arrest has not been made. Have you had a chance to read the consent form? Do you have any questions about this research? (If a telephone interview) Are you in a private place where you feel comfortable?

No identifying information will be collected from this interview. This information is being collected for the purpose of developing questions for a survey of citizens who are stopped and will not be reported in detail. (If a group interview say) As we are meeting in a group, please respect the confidentiality of other members of the group. Also, please share only information that you feel comfortable sharing. If there is information that you would like to share with the researcher, but don't feel comfortable sharing in the group, you may let one of us know after the group interview and we would be happy to hear from you. There are no right or wrong answers from our perspective. We welcome diverse opinions. No information from this interview will be supplied to your superior officers.

[If consent has been given, all questions answered, and participant(s) is (are) in a comfortable and private place, then begin.]

We value your expertise and would appreciate any information you can give us about foot and patrol stops. If there is a question you feel uncomfortable answering, we can skip it. You may feel free to end the interview at any time.

1. How do police officers decide to stop someone?
2. What steps do officers take in the course of a stop?
3. What are the range of outcomes from such a stop?
4. What issues or events make a stop particularly difficult?
5. What issues or events make a stop particularly easy?
6. What kinds of record(s) is (are) kept of these stops?

Appendix D: Consent Letter for Citizens

Title: Citizen Experiences with the University of Texas Police Department

IRB PROTOCOL 2008-09-0088

Conducted By: Laura Lein, Ph.D., and Holly Bell, Ph.D., LCSW, Center for Social Work Research, School of Social Work, The University of Texas at Austin; Telephone: 443-9212 (Dr. Bell)

Funded by: University of Texas at Austin

You are being asked to participate in a research study. This form provides you with information about the study. The person in charge of this research will also describe this study to you and answer all of your questions. Please read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part. Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can refuse to participate without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You can stop your participation at any time and your refusal will not impact current or future relationships with UT Austin. To do so simply tell the researcher you wish to stop participation. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this consent for your records.

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The purpose of this study is to discover the experiences of citizens who are stopped by University of Texas police officers where no arrest is made. We will be interviewing up to ten participants.

If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you to do the following things:

Participate in one face-to-face or telephone interview

Total estimated time to participate in study is 30 minutes to one hour. You will receive a gift card worth \$25.00 for your participation.

Risks of being in the study

- The loss of privacy in discussing your experience
 - Emotional or psychological distress in discussing a stressful experience
- Another potential risk is the disclosure of illegal behavior. Since the focus of this research is not what led to the stop, but the police response, you will not be asked about potentially illegal behavior.

Benefits of being in the study

- There are no anticipated individual benefits to participation in this study.
- You will be contributing toward the better understanding of citizens' experiences with UTPD and, possibly, toward UTPD's improvement of service to citizens

Compensation:

There will be no compensation for participating in this study.

Confidentiality and Privacy Protections:

- You will be interviewed at a place of your choosing
- The interview will not be audio or videotaped. Your name will not be attached to any notes taken at the time of the interview. Your comments will be analyzed in a group with other research participants (up to ten total participants) and no identifying information will be associated with your individual comments.

The records of this study will be stored securely and kept confidential. Authorized persons from The University of Texas at Austin, members of the Institutional Review Board, and (study sponsors, if any) have the legal right to review your research records and will protect the confidentiality of those records to the extent permitted by law. All publications will exclude any information that will make it possible to identify you as a participant.

Throughout the study, the researchers will notify you of new information that may become available and that might affect your decision to remain in the study.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have any questions about the study please ask now. If you have questions later, want additional information, or wish to withdraw your participation call the researchers conducting the study. Their names, phone numbers, and e-mail addresses are at the top of this page. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, complaints, concerns, or questions about the research please contact Jody Jensen, Ph.D., Chair, The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at (512) 232-2685 or the Office of Research Support at (512) 471-8871 or email: orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Please keep copy of this information for your records. You will be asked at the time of the interview if you have received this information and consent as below.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information and have sufficient information to make a decision about participating in this study. I consent to participate in the study.

Appendix E: Interview Guide for Citizens

You have been asked to participate in a study about the experience of citizens who are stopped by University of Texas police officers on foot or bicycle where no arrest is made. One aspect of that research is the experience of citizens who have been stopped. We will be asking you about

your experience of the stop. Since the focus of this research is not what led to the stop, but the police response, I will not ask you about potentially illegal behavior and ask you not to disclose such behavior.

You have been asked to participate in a study about the experience of citizens who are stopped by University of Texas police officers on foot or bicycle where no arrest is made. One aspect of that research is the experience of citizens who have been stopped. We will be asking you about your experience of the stop. However, we are interested in your reaction to the police, and not the details of the reason for your stop.

Just to clarify, have you recently been stopped by the UTPD?

Have you had a chance to read the consent form?

Do you have any questions about this research?

(If a telephone interview) Are you in a private place where you feel comfortable?

[If consent has been given, all questions answered, and participant(s) is (are) in a comfortable and private place, then begin.]

We value your expertise and would appreciate any information you can give us about foot and patrol stops. If there is a question you feel uncomfortable answering, we can skip it. You may feel free to end the interview at any time.

1. Why do you believe you were stopped by the University police?
2. What was the sequence of events in the stop?
3. What, if anything, made this situation difficult for you?
4. What, if anything, made this situation relatively easy for you?

Additional demographic information can be requested at www.profdevjournal.org