

POLICING THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

by Jared E. Knowles, Ph.D.



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How to cite this report:

Knowles, Jared E. (2020). *Policing the American University*. Watertown, MA: Civilytics Consulting.

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Report last revised: February 23rd, 2020

Policing the American University

by Jared E. Knowles, Ph.D.

Preface

On its best days, policing is a complex and difficult job. On its worst days, it asks those in uniform to perform miracles. Police departments are asked to shoulder an increasing share of the burden of policy failures in areas like economics and public health. Any picture of a system as complex as policing, then, is necessarily incomplete. However, incomplete pictures play an important role in decisions about how policing occurs today and evaluating whether that policing aligns with the values of the communities it serves. We need to have deep and serious local conversations about the job of policing and the kind of communities we want to have – all across the country.

Policing on American college campuses illuminates many of these broader questions of policing and accountability. Campus police departments (CPDs) are separate police departments accountable to university leadership and the state legislature. They work together with, but independently of, municipal, county, and state police forces. Most CPDs have jurisdiction beyond the boundaries of their campuses – giving officers the authority to police housing, public spaces, and roads adjacent to the campuses they serve. These complex relationships make the already difficult task civilians face in holding police accountable even more difficult. Where can a member of the public turn to get information on the activity of campus police? To file a grievance? And who is responsible when the policies and actions of the department stray outside the values and preferences of the community that is policed?

Campus police departments are an important feature of the American law enforcement landscape, but their role in the broader criminal justice system is often overlooked. This report intends to highlight some key facts about campus policing in order to ground our understanding of the state of campus policing today. The report also highlights future analysis that can be done to expand our understanding of campus police and provide meaningful information for campus police departments, university administrators, and members of the public to better understand the ways police activity impacts campus life.

Executive Summary

- Campus police departments (CPDs) are a unique type of law enforcement agency chartered by a state legislature and directed by an institution of higher education. Unlike campus security offices, **CPDs employ sworn law enforcement officers with full powers of arrest and investigation.** CPDs serve public and private colleges and often have jurisdiction beyond the borders of the campus they serve.
- Nearly 7.5 million students attended a college with a campus police department in 2016. That was 63% of the 11.7 million students attending a four-year degree-granting college.
- While campuses are mandated to file a public safety report, their police departments are not required to submit data to voluntary police data collections like the FBI's Uniform Crime Report (UCR). Fortunately, a high percentage of CPDs voluntarily participate in the UCR program – enabling this study.
- **877 campus police departments in the UCR reported a total of 24,600+ employees.** The median department reported 17 employees. The number of CPDs, and the number of officers they employ, has been growing steadily since 1980.
- Of the 10 largest campus police departments by officers per student, 4 were private not-for-profit colleges. Overall private not-for-profit colleges were less likely to report to the FBI than their public counterparts, but **148 CPDs operating at private not-for-profit colleges reported data to the FBI.**
- **Campus police departments made over 65,000 total arrests in the most recent year of data.** The median CPD made 44 arrests: 12 for liquor laws, 8 for marijuana possession, 6 for driving under the influence (DUI), 5 for drunkenness, and 4 or fewer for each of the following: larceny, assault, disorderly conduct, vandalism, and drug possession.
- **Arrest rates have held steady or slightly reduced for most offense categories since 1980. The exceptions are for marijuana possession and liquor laws: marijuana possession arrests are up and liquor law arrests are down.**
- **Since reporting began, CPD arrests of black adults have annually increased.** Recent reductions in total arrests are due to a sharp decrease in arrests of white adults.
- There were an estimated 6,714 rapes reported by colleges in 2016, but campus police do not have primary responsibility for pursuing these cases, as only 95 rape arrests were made by CPDs.
- **More than half of CPD arrests are for just three offense categories: liquor laws, marijuana possession, and driving under the influence (DUI).** City police are more diversified in their arrests — it takes five categories to account for more than half of their arrests. For 45 CPDs, marijuana possession arrests make up 25% or more of their arrests.

The truth is that, in America today, the reliable public information available about police forces is woefully inadequate to understanding the work of policing and the role it plays in our lives. Numbers cannot tell the whole story, nor should they. **We do not always measure what matters.** But, by looking at the measures of campus policing that are available to us across time, across colleges, by student population, and by comparison to other types of police, we can better understand law enforcement on college campuses, form new questions, and build our intuition for measures of policing.

Understanding campus policing, and the variation among campus police departments, empowers the public to start asking questions. It is hoped that in using this information, asking questions, and gathering more local information, productive collaborations will be formed between communities and their police departments.

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Introduction

American college campuses are a complex mix of residential and commercial spaces, dense with activity, and often the site of special events drawing large crowds. Providing security in such environments is important, but how that security is provided, and to whom the security force is accountable is increasingly the subject of debate. Campus police departments (CPDs) are special police forces chartered by state legislatures that employ law enforcement officers with “full arrest powers granted by a state or local authority” (Reaves, 2015). Campus police departments, like their municipal counterparts, also employ civilian support and administrative staff. As of 2011-12, 68% of colleges with 2,500 or more students employed sworn police officers to provide security and law enforcement services.¹

Campus police departments are not restricted to large city-like public colleges either – they can be found at public and private, large and small colleges. Private colleges are the only private enterprise with the authority to charter a police force – not even politically powerful private enterprises like banks, investment firms, Amazon, or Google have this authority. While many commercial enterprises have security guards, sometimes armed, the limits of their legal authority are quite clear — they cannot arrest you, they cannot conduct a search or seizure, and they cannot conduct criminal investigations. Campus police are empowered to do all of these – and often those powers extend beyond the boundaries of the college campus they serve (Reaves, 2015).

This means that the presidents of many American colleges directly oversee a police force with the authority to search, detain, arrest, and even use deadly force in order to secure the campus, administer university policy, and enforce the law. Policing is already a public service that raises complex questions of accountability (Walker and Archbold, 2019). If a municipal police force fails to uphold the standards demanded by its community, elected city leaders pay a political cost, facing possible removal from office and public pressure at budget meetings.²

In the case of CPDs, the lines of accountability are more diffuse and less transparent. Unlike municipal police, CPDs are not responsible directly to an elected official like a mayor, but instead to university administrators and their boards, to state legislatures, and to state police training and standards boards. These venues are less open to members of the public and more difficult to influence directly. Additionally, CPDs often receive special protections like exemption from public record laws, making it even harder for the public to hold them accountable (Anderson, 2015; Okeke and Abrahams, 2018; Nelson, 2015). Reliable public information is an important first step toward clarifying and strengthening these lines of accountability.

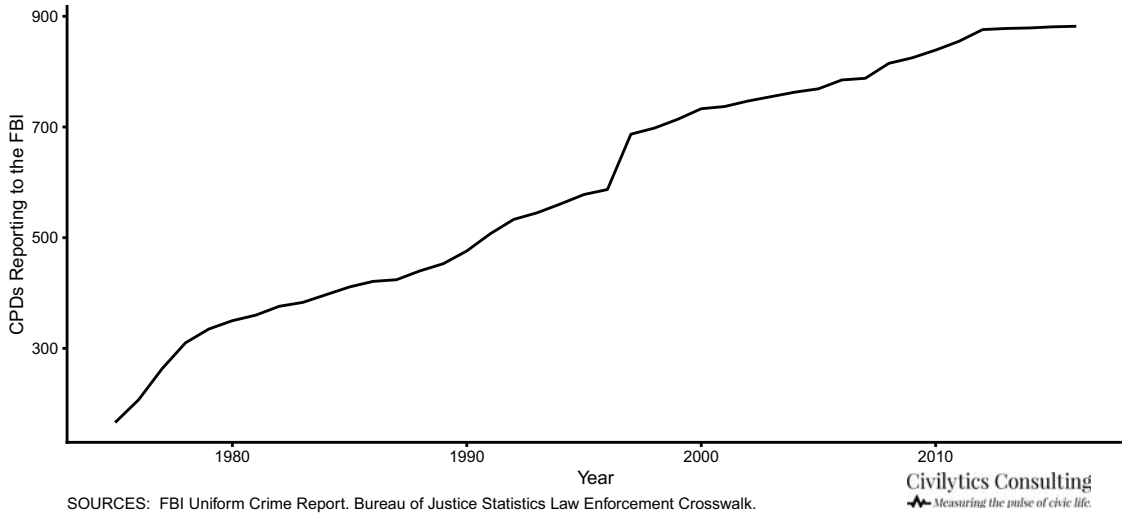
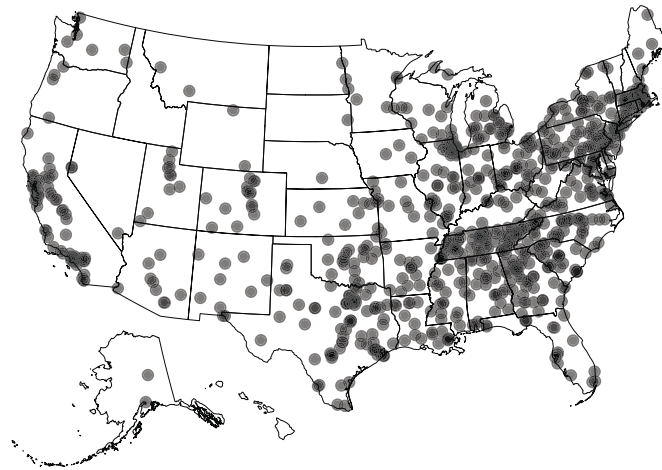


Figure 1: Growth in Campus Police Departments 1975-2016

¹For convenience, throughout this report the term “college” is used as a collective noun to refer to all institutions of higher education including two-year colleges, four-year universities, medical schools, and vocational schools.

²I’ve argued in other places the need to strengthen these avenues of accountability for municipal police.

This report aims to describe what we know about CPDs at American colleges and give readers the opportunity to reflect on what the presence of CPDs means for colleges, the communities in which they are situated, and our responsibility as a public for the methods we use to secure our liberties. As we will see, CPDs have become ubiquitous (see the growth shown in Figure 1), and now operate in nearly every state, as Figure 2 shows.



Each dot represents a single campus police department reporting between 1980 and 2016. Darker areas represent overlapping departments.
SOURCES: FBI Uniform Crime Report.
U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System.
897 campus police departments.

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Figure 2: CPDs across the United States

Historically, the reason for creating campus police departments (CPDs), instead of leaving responsibility for policing campuses to municipal police departments (MPDs) or county sheriff's, has been to provide better security and specialized functions for the campus. But, with renewed focus on police use of force and racial bias in policing, it is a good time to look at the information available to us to describe CPDs today.

To do this, this report will provide an overview of the known facts about CPDs. First, we review the background and history of CPDs, previous attempts to study them, and current controversy. Next, we review the available data sources in an attempt to identify how many CPDs operate currently in the U.S. and where they are found. Then, we review the number of people CPDs employ and the variation in the size of CPDs. From there we explore what campus police officers do on campus with a focus on the number and types of arrests made each year. Keeping with the arrest behavior of CPDs we look next at how CPD arrests compare to their municipal police counterparts and how the race of individuals arrested compares to the racial makeup of the college the CPD serves. We then focus in on one of the most important safety issues in college today, sexual assault and violence against women and review the available evidence on the role played by CPDs in these issues. Finally, we end with examples of how the behavior of individual CPDs has shifted over time and demonstrate how monitoring the arrest patterns of CPDs can be an important tool for understanding their role on campus.

The best thing a report like this can achieve is to encourage the asking of more questions – not questions to be asked by researchers or pundits, but questions to be asked by readers, questions to be asked of those in power. Whether you're a student, faculty member, parent, or neighbor, you have a stake in how colleges are policed. And, you have the right to question your local college president or your state legislators about campus policing. Armed with the information in this report, you can begin a community conversation about your local CPD – starting with questions like: How do campus police balance the need for security with the liberty of those on campus? Do the same

concerns of racial profiling, racial bias, and differential treatment apply to campus police? This report will shed some light on these questions, but most of all it will **provide others with the power to ask further questions.**

Background and History

Experts identify three key events that led to the creation of campus police departments and their institutionalization as a standard feature of the modern American university. CPDs were first created in response to the campus protests of the 1960s, most notoriously the Kent State massacre when the Ohio National Guard, responding to a campus demonstration against the bombing of Cambodia, fired 67 rounds in 13 seconds into a crowd of students, killing four and wounding nine others. After this, university presidents began lobbying state legislatures to create campus police departments (Nelson, 2015).³ They argued that the presence of CPDs would circumvent the need to bring in outside law enforcement unfamiliar with the campus community, decreasing the risk of violent clashes between police and students. They also argued that campus police officers would be specially trained to better meet the needs of the campus environment focusing more on public safety and harm reduction and less on crime control and law enforcement – a claim to which we will return (Anderson, 2015).

Another wave of growth in campus police departments came in response to the federal Clery Act of 1990, which obligates colleges to tabulate and report on crimes and criminal activity on or near campus and to provide timely notification about threats to safety. The act was named after a Lehigh University student who was murdered in her dorm room in 1986. The focus on violent crime and the tough-on-crime political context of the late 1980s and early 1990s has been credited with this second wave of chartering campus police departments and arming the officers in those departments (Anderson, 2015).

The Virginia Tech massacre in 2007, in which a lone gunman shot and killed 32 people and wounded 17 others, led to a third wave of creating, arming, and further professionalizing campus police.⁴ Again the focus was on improving colleges' ability to provide for the security of their students (Rasmussen and Johnson, 2018). The horrific nature of the shooting led to a renewed focus on protecting staff and students from such events. **Active shooter drills, campus lockdowns, and shelter-in-place became part of campus vocabulary alongside the quad, homecoming, and the student union.**

Finally, this growth in CPDs has not just impacted colleges – the increased need for security in educational environments and the model of specialized police forces that CPDs have provided means that K-12 school districts in the United States are beginning to charter their own independent police forces.

Present Challenges in Campus Policing

Police brutality and accountability have been increasingly in the public eye throughout the last decade. Perhaps the most notable catalyst for this new wave of scrutiny was the fatal shooting of Michael Brown by Officer Darren Wilson of the Ferguson Police Department on August 9th, 2014 and the protests that followed. Police departments nationwide found their use of force and officer-involved shootings under renewed scrutiny – and the lack of available information about how often police fire their weapons, under what circumstances, and what follow-up, if any, occurs became a focus for activists and concerned citizens.

CPDs have not been insulated from this scrutiny, with renewed attention paid to the tactics and purpose of CPDs coming in 2011 after campus police officers pepper sprayed non-violent student protesters at the University of California Davis. Since that time, campus police departments have been responsible for several incidents of police brutality against unarmed (most often non-white) men including:

- **Samuel Debose** – killed by a University of Cincinnati Police officer; 2013
- **Tyrone West** – killed by a Morgan State University Police officer during a traffic stop; 2013

³This article cites an interview with Dr. John J. Sloan III, a professor of criminology and sociology at University of Alabama Birmingham and an expert on campus crime.

⁴Virginia Tech had a campus police department at the time of the shooting. The university was found to have been in violation of the Clery Act in the final report investigating the incident. In the aftermath parents of the victims called on Governor Tim Kaine to remove the campus police chief and university president. Governor Kaine declined.

- **Cameron Redus** – shot and killed by a University of the Incarnate Word Police officer; December 2013
- **Antonio Guzman Lopez** – shot and killed by San Jose State Police officers; February 2014
- **Charles Thomas** – shot, but not killed, by a University of Chicago Police officer; April 2018

These assaults, along with the many other lower-profile incidents of suspected racial-profiling, excessive force, and militarized restriction of student protest on campus have raised questions about who is accountable for the policies and conduct of campus police departments. Who governs how CPDs operate and who is responsible for their misconduct when it occurs? What happens when CPD officers shoot and kill an unarmed person? As [Okeke and Abrahams \(2018\)](#) point out, campus police have a wide-ranging impact on the communities around the campus but are only accountable to the university itself. The tragic shootings above are one lens through which we can look at campus police departments — and an important one. But we should also look at the day-to-day operations of CPDs. Who are they? What do they do? How do they do it? Before we do that, let's review what others have found about CPDs.

Previous Studies

Campus policing, despite its affect on the climate and culture of many of the world's great research institutions, is understudied. There are excellent overviews of crime on campuses, but it is helpful to make the distinction between crime as a social phenomenon on campuses and police departments as organizations responding, in part, to crime ([Fisher and Sloan, 2010](#); [Fisher and Sloan III, 2013](#)). Much of the academic research that does exist around CPDs is focused on describing campus police and, at times, contrasting them with other types of police departments.

Most of the campus policing literature has focused on the important task of describing CPDs and their relationships with colleges. These studies tend to use survey-based designs issued to a sample of campus police departments regionally or nationally. An important touchstone in this literature is the periodic public reports administered by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, which report results from a large-scale national surveys of college campuses about their police agencies ([Reaves, 2008](#); [Reaves and Goldberg, 1996](#); [Reaves, 2015](#)). These comprehensive studies give critical periodic windows into the focus, priorities, and growth of campus police departments.

The campus policing literature has recently included focus on the perceived legitimacy of campus police – that is, whether the presence of campus police is seen as legitimate by the campus community ([Jacobsen, 2015](#); [Wada et al., 2010](#)). Some of these studies focused on student perceptions of campus police – their feeling of safety, protecting the rights of victims, and satisfaction with campus police's resolutions of safety incidents ([Griffith et al., 2004](#)). This promising new direction touches on the questions of accountability raised in this report, but unfortunately studies to-date have been limited to small-scale surveys and interviews or theoretical explorations.

Another type of study asks – how do campus police officers perceive the campus and the security of the campus environment? One such study found that campus police had a strong belief that outsiders pose the biggest threat to campus security ([Sloan, 1992](#)). A larger-scale and updated version of this study would go a long way toward helping us understand the role of CPDs today. Unfortunately, surveying campus police is a significant undertaking, and so there are relatively few of these studies.

Finally, periodic efforts have been made to take advantage of the data available on campuses from the U.S. Department of Education and on crime from the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This report follows in that vein, seeking to understand the context of campus policing within the education environment, as well as to describe long-term trends and variability within the universe of campus police ([Volkwein et al., 1995](#)). [Bromley \(2003\)](#) even used these datasets to describe differences in crimes reported by campus and municipal police. As we will see, this approach is a promising use of existing data to provide deeper insight into the behaviors that separate campus police from other forms of police.

Data and Methods

Until now, the best available information on campus policing came from the most recent survey of campus police departments by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). The survey, conducted in 2011-12, found that 68% of colleges

with more than 2,500 students used campus police departments with sworn police officers for law enforcement as opposed to campus security officers (Reaves, 2015). This report takes a different approach. Instead of starting with the universe of campuses and surveying them, we begin with administrative data on police departments and match police departments to the campuses they serve. To do this, we use the FBI's voluntary administrative data collection – the Uniform Crime Report (UCR).⁵

The UCR collects summary statistics on crimes known to the police; arrests; and law enforcement officers employed, killed in the line of duty, and assaulted. It has uniform definitions of crimes and police activities to allow for comparison over time and across jurisdictions.⁶ Today, the FBI uses the data collected by the UCR to produce summary publications describing the state of crime in the U.S. Although the collection is voluntary, over 18,000 city, campus, state, tribal, and federal law enforcement agencies participate.

The advantage of the UCR is its coverage. Unlike efforts to scrape police department websites, which only cover the largest jurisdictions, the UCR has a high participation rate covering most jurisdictions with law enforcement agencies. The broad base of the UCR allows for comparisons not just with other campus police departments, but with all police nationally, illustrating the ways campus police contrast with other police departments. Another advantage of the UCR is that respondents are identifiable, so we can look at the data for campus police departments individually. This allows a more detailed analysis useful for accountability purposes, which survey-based aggregated reports often obscure.

The limitation of the UCR is that, what it has in breadth, it loses in depth. Policing, like other public services such as education or sanitation, is complex and has many different intended outputs. Police enforce laws, serve as expert advisers on public safety, resolve disputes, manage traffic, and educate the public. Much of this work is difficult to quantify and doing so will still fail to provide a complete picture of the role police play in their communities. The UCR focuses almost entirely on the law enforcement role of police. However, law enforcement is one of the most visible and critical aspects of the job, and one that the public has a strong interest in monitoring. This makes the UCR a good starting point for an inquiry into the role of CPDs.

How Good is the UCR Coverage of CPDs?

CPD participation in the Uniform Crime Report is voluntary. While the Clery Act requires campuses to report on crime and security issues annually, it does not require campus police departments to submit this information to the UCR. Because of the voluntary nature of the data collection, we cannot conclude that the absence of a college in the data is evidence that the college does not have a CPD – it may just be that the CPD did not submit data to the UCR that year. While missing data requires that we exercise some caution in interpreting results and generalizing to all CPDs nationally, it also serves as a call to action. If campuses have police departments and they are not reporting to the UCR, they are denying the public an important accountability and oversight mechanism. **Any analysis of police activity should start with who is reporting and the quality of that reporting.**

In order to understand what proportion of the universe of CPDs we can find in the UCR, we need to use another source of data. Fortunately, the most recent BJS study on campus policing used a survey of colleges to count the number of colleges with CPDs. Using this survey, we can estimate the UCR's coverage of CPDs. The BJS survey found that 92% of public four-year colleges with more than 2,500 students and 38% of private four-year colleges with more than 2,500 students had CPDs (Reaves, 2015).

To estimate coverage using the BJS study as a baseline we must first link information about CPDs from the UCR to data on the colleges they serve. We can match CPDs to the campuses they serve by combining data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), which provides extensive annual reporting on colleges in the United States. Using IPEDS as the universe of campuses, we can look at what proportion of institutions have a corresponding matched police department in the UCR data to explore the rate and distribution of CPDs by various attributes of the

⁵UCR data provided by the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data. (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2017, 2018a,b; National Archive of Criminal Justice Data, 2007, 2018; U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2001, 2004)

⁶The program was created by the International Association of Chiefs of Police in 1929 as a voluntary collection of data to produce reliable and uniform crime statistics (the FBI took over the program the following year.) For more information on the advantages and disadvantages of the UCR, see <https://www.civilytics.com/post/about-the-ucr/>

colleges they serve.⁷ In comparing the UCR approach here to the BJS campus survey method, this report found:

- 512 CPDs identified in the UCR can be linked to four-year colleges enrolling 2,500 or more students. This covers 83% of the 615 CPDs on four-year campuses serving 2,500 or more students identified in the BJS survey.⁸
- The UCR also includes data on 360 CPDs serving for-profit, two-year, and graduate colleges as well as smaller four-year colleges not included in the BJS study.⁹
- In the BJS survey 92% of public and 38% of private colleges enrolling more than 2,500 students were found to have CPDs, while in the sample for this report, using UCR data, 72% of public and 17% of private colleges enrolling more than 2,500 students have a CPD.
- Private colleges were much less likely to report their policing data to the FBI than their public college counterparts.

What colleges have CPD data in the UCR?

Table 1 shows that of the nearly 12 million students attending a four-year degree-granting college in 2016, 63% attended an institution with a campus police department reporting data in the UCR (just under 7.5 million students). Figure 2 shows the geographic coverage of campus police departments included in the UCR data at least once in the available reporting period (1985-2016). CPDs can be found in almost every state.

Table 1: Percentage of Students Attending a College with a CPD in the UCR

UCR	College Sector	Sector Enrollment	Total Enrollment	Percent of Students
Reported in UCR	Public four-year or above	6,781,954	8,617,725	78.7%
Not Reported in UCR	Public four-year or above	1,835,771	8,617,725	21.3%
Reported in UCR	Private not-for-profit four-year or above	631,421	3,120,330	20.2%
Not Reported in UCR	Private not-for-profit four-year or above	2,488,909	3,120,330	79.8%
Reported in UCR	Total	7,413,375	11,738,055	63.2%
Not Reported in UCR	Total	4,324,680	11,738,055	36.8%

Note:

Using BJS-defined universe of four-year public or not-for-profit institutions with 2,500 or more students.

428 not-for-profit institutions. 611 public institutions.

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System.

FBI Uniform Crime Report. Bureau of Justice Statistics.

YEAR: 2016. Analysis by Civilytics | www.civilytics.com

To further understand the difference between the UCR-based approach of this study and the campus survey approach of previous studies like the UCR it is important to look at the number of CPDs identified by enrollment categories. We start with Table 2, which shows the total colleges active in 2016 in IPEDS and the number of police departments matched to them. A more detailed breakdown of CPDs in the UCR by sector and size can be found in the [online appendix that accompanies this report](#).

What is the coverage of UCR data by topic?

We can see that, as the size of the institution increases, so does the likelihood that there is an associated campus police department. However, being present in the UCR data does not mean that the police department submitted data in all categories — next, we will review both the UCR’s detailed arrest report, which provides a count of all arrests made by the police department by race and offense type, and the UCR’s employment data, which provides a count of all employees of the police department. We will look at how many campuses were matched to their campus police department and reported at least one non-zero value in each of these tables.

In Table 3 we look at how many of those matched departments reported at least one arrest or at least one employee. More departments report at least one employee than at least one arrest. This helps us better understand the sample of

⁷See Appendix A for details on the matching procedure used here.

⁸BJS received responses from 861 campuses, with 776 of the campuses completing the survey beyond the most basic information. Not all of these campuses had campus police departments.

⁹This shows the contrast between the the UCR and the survey-based reports issued by BJS – while BJS intended to issue a report covering the sample of smaller colleges surveyed, to date that report has not been published (Reaves, 2015).

Table 2: Count of CPDs Listed in the UCR

Students Enrolled	Number in IPEDS	Matched Department in UCR	% Coverage
20,000 and above	224	149	66.5
10,000–19,999	337	171	50.7
5,000–9,999	516	219	42.4
1,000–4,999	1,545	260	16.8
Under 1,000	4,320	67	1.6
Total	6,942	866	12.5

Note:

Dropped 78 colleges with enrollment size categorized as Not applicable or Missing

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System.

FBI Uniform Crime Report.

YEAR: 2016. Analysis by Civilytics | www.civilytics.com

Table 3: Count of CPDs Reporting FBI UCR Data by Institution Size

Students Enrolled	Number in IPEDS	Matched Department in UCR	One or More Employees	One or More Arrests
20,000 and above	224	149	146	129
10,000–19,999	337	171	158	130
5,000–9,999	516	219	183	155
1,000–4,999	1,545	260	201	139
Under 1,000	4,320	67	26	10
Total	6,942	866	714	563

Note:

Dropped 78 colleges with enrollment size categorized as Not applicable or Missing

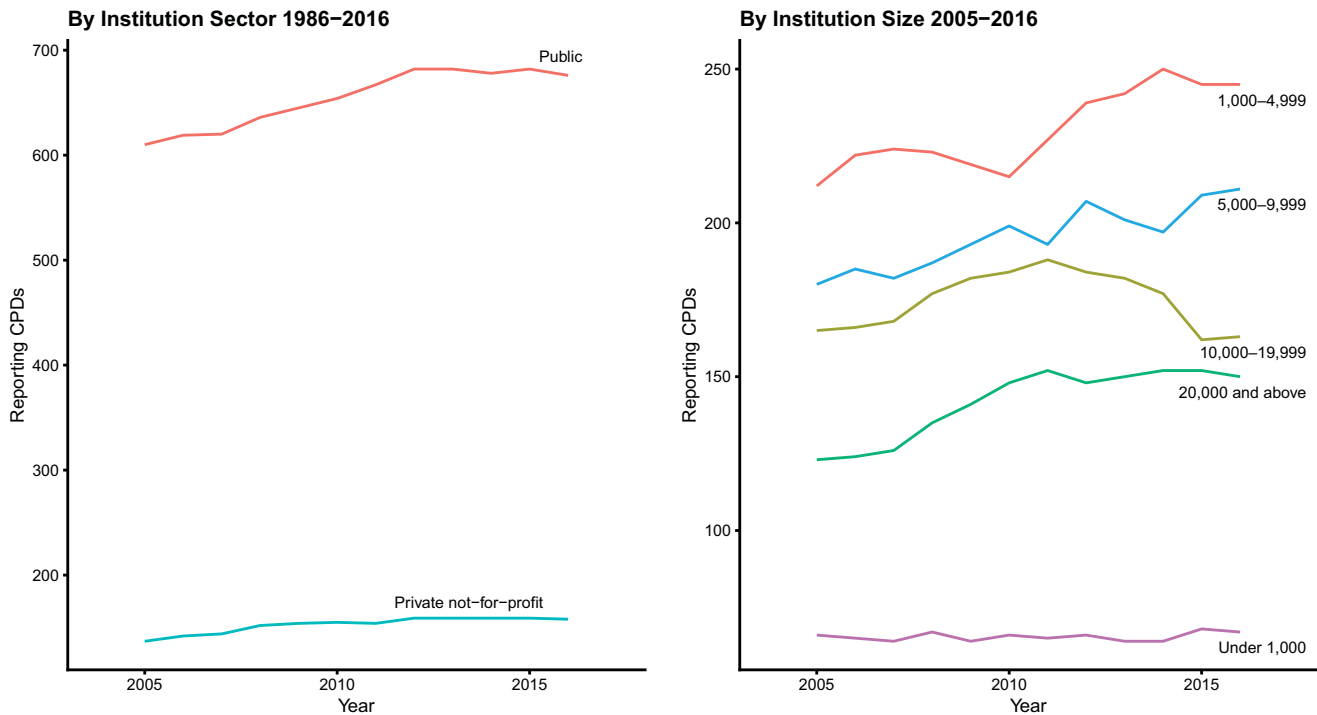
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System. FBI Uniform Crime Report.

YEAR: 2016. Analysis by Civilytics | www.civilytics.com

departments available to us – for questions of employment there are more colleges in the sample than for questions of arrests.¹⁰

¹⁰Importantly, it cannot be determined whether a department failed to report or truly had zero arrests. For large colleges an arrest count of zero would be implausible, but for small colleges it is a real possibility. It is not likely that a department with zero officers would complete the UCR, but this cannot be confirmed at the time of publication.

CPD UCR Reporting Trends



SOURCES: FBI Uniform Crime Report.
 U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).
 Bureau of Justice Statistics Law Enforcement Crosswalk.
 The first panel depicts the count of CPDs for campuses in different sectors.
 The second panel depicts the count of CPDs for campuses of different student enrollment sizes.
 YEARS: 2000–2016. 2005 is when the institution size category becomes available in IPEDS.

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Figure 3: Growth in CPDs by Institution Sector and Size

Next, let’s turn to another advantage of the UCR over snapshot survey data — the ability to look at trends over time. The first trend we will look at, in Figure 3, is good news for those in favor of transparency and oversight: the number of reporting police departments has increased steadily since the 1980s, though the rate of increase in reporting varies by sector. Without additional data we cannot distinguish the creation of new CPDs from existing CPDs newly choosing to participate in the UCR. Regardless, the trend is toward greater coverage of CPDs in voluntary federal reporting (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018b).

In conclusion, the UCR-based approach to studying CPDs provides much of the same coverage as the survey-based approach taken previously by the BJS. The UCR approach also covers institutions not covered by the BJS and includes annual data about a more limited set of topics than the intermittent surveys published by the BJS. Let’s now turn to reviewing, in-depth, what we can learn about CPDs from the available data in the UCR.

Who Are Campus Police?

The BJS survey provides insight into how CPDs equip their officers (94% are armed), their jurisdiction (86% have arrest jurisdiction beyond campus), and their access to specialized training (at least 70% report training in rape prevention, drug education, alcohol education, and victim assistance) (Reaves, 2015). This report extends that analysis by looking at the composition of campus police departments – both in terms of the type of staff they employ (sworn

law enforcement officer [LEO] vs. civilian) and the gender of that staff.¹¹

Campus Police Employment Composition

In 2016, the 879 CPDs that were included in the employment component of the UCR reported a total of 24,242 employees. Of these employees, 15,237 were sworn law enforcement officers while 9,025 were civilians. The median department reported 17 total employees.¹²

Figure 4 displays the trend in the number of employees reported by category as well as the breakdown by category for the most recent year of available data, 2016. CPDs, like other law enforcement agencies, primarily employ male sworn law enforcement officers. A much smaller share of employees are civilians, with female sworn officers remaining the least common category. Despite the growth in campus police departments reporting to the UCR, the picture of the employment composition of the departments since 2000 has remained much the same.

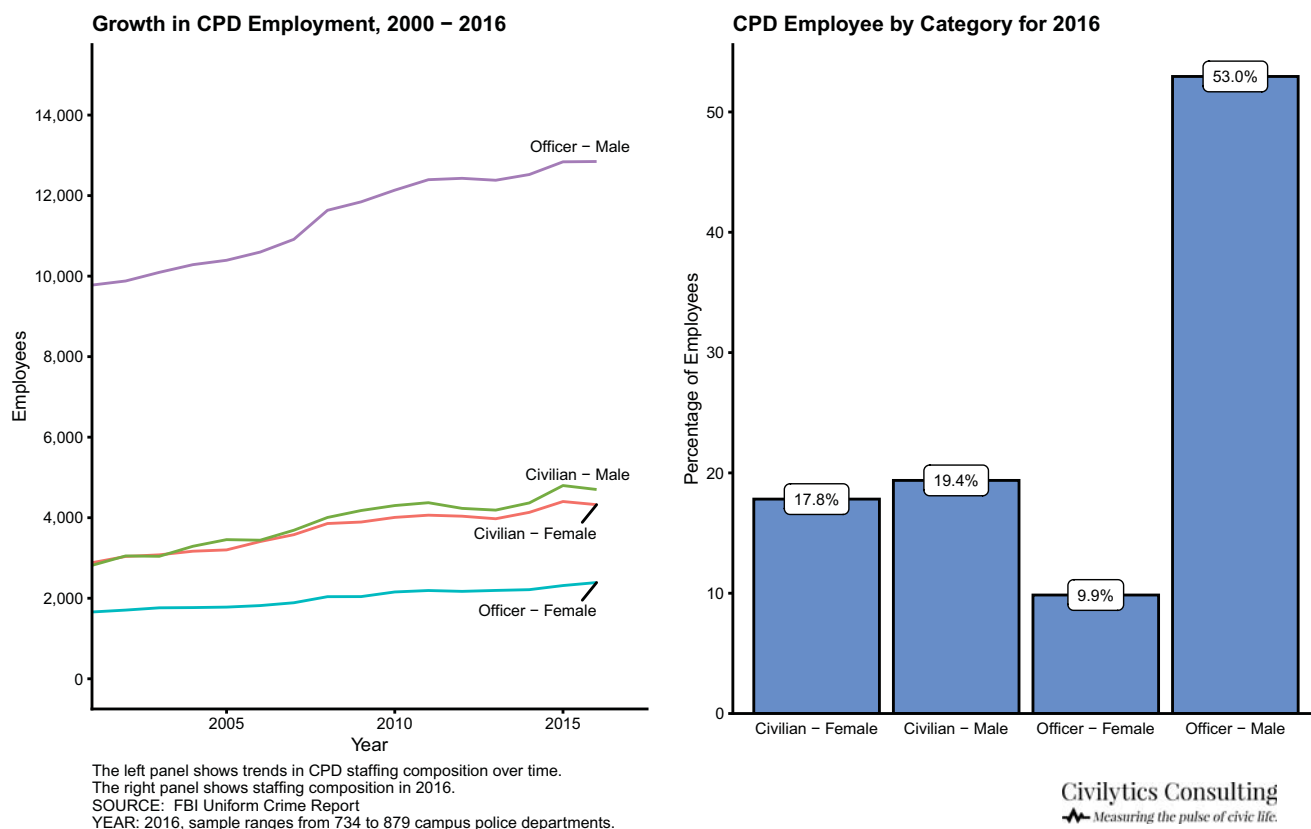


Figure 4: CPD Staffing Composition and Trends

Variation in Campus Police Size

Looking at the overall and average size of CPDs reported in the UCR is only a start. We must also explore the variation in the size of campus police departments and their composition. A common measure of police force size is the rate of police officers per capita. For example, in 2016 the Chicago Police Department had 4.4 police officers per 1,000 residents while the El Paso Police Department had 1.5 officers per 1,000 residents (FBI, 2018b). The FBI does not report a resident population for campus police — the population of a campus includes students, employees, and if it’s game day at a big university, tens of thousands of visitors. So while direct comparison to municipal police departments in staffing size is difficult, we can look at how different campuses vary in their rate of officers per student.

¹¹These details come from the Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted (LEOKA) component of the UCR which contains staffing data on police departments and the number of officers killed or assaulted in the line of duty.

¹²Numbers do not sum because of reporting errors in the underlying data resulting in an overcount of 20 officers across CPDs.

The student population is a useful measure because it is measured annually with precision, available for all colleges, and strongly correlated with the population of other campus groups like employees and visitors. As the student population goes up, so should the entire campus population.

Table 4: Largest 10 CPDs by Count of Sworn Officers

Institution Name	Sworn Officers	All Students	Officers per 1,000 Students
Georgia State University	120	32,237	3.7
University of Pittsburgh-Pittsburgh Campus	98	28,664	3.4
Vanderbilt University	97	12,587	7.7
The University of Texas at Austin	89	51,331	1.7
Virginia Commonwealth University	88	30,872	2.9
The University of Alabama	87	37,663	2.3
Yale University	87	12,458	7.0
Michigan State University	85	50,340	1.7
University of Georgia	83	36,574	2.3
University of Maryland-College Park	83	40,225	2.1

Note:

NOTE: Excludes 36 colleges with fewer than 500 students in 2016.

SOURCES: FBI Uniform Crime Report and U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System.

YEAR: 2016. Analysis by Civilytics | www.civilytics.com

Table 5: Largest 10 CPDs by Officer per 1,000 Students

Institution Name	Sworn Officers	All Students	Officers per 1,000 Students
Baylor College of Medicine	58	1,569	37.0
Louisiana State University Health Sciences Center-Shreveport	29	874	33.2
University of Massachusetts Medical School Worcester	27	1,108	24.4
Medical University of South Carolina	56	2,986	18.8
Eastern Virginia Medical School	21	1,130	18.6
University of California-San Francisco	53	3,145	16.9
The University of Texas Medical Branch	55	3,277	16.8
University of North Carolina School of the Arts	15	1,040	14.4
University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences	40	2,869	13.9
SUNY Downstate Medical Center	25	1,839	13.6

Note:

NOTE: Excludes 36 colleges with fewer than 500 students in 2016.

SOURCES: FBI Uniform Crime Report and U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System.

YEAR: 2016. Analysis by Civilytics | www.civilytics.com

Table 6: Largest 10 CPDs by Officer per 1,000 Students, Excluding Medical Schools

Institution Name	Sworn Officers	All Students	Officers per 1,000 Students
University of North Carolina School of the Arts	15	1,040	14.4
Wesleyan College	9	676	13.3
New College of Florida	11	875	12.6
Cheyney University of Pennsylvania	9	746	12.1
North Georgia Technical College	32	2,838	11.3
Agnes Scott College	9	927	9.7
Benedict College	21	2,281	9.2
Pennsylvania State University-Penn State Greater Allegheny	5	550	9.1
Albany State University	26	3,041	8.5
Spelman College	18	2,125	8.5

Note:

NOTE: Excludes 36 colleges with fewer than 500 students in 2016.

SOURCES: FBI Uniform Crime Report. U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System.

YEAR: 2016. Analysis by Civilytics | www.civilytics.com

The median campus in the UCR had 14 sworn officers in 2016 and 1.6 officers per 1,000 students.¹³ But, looking at these figures does not tell the whole story and it is important to look at the large amount of variance that exists around these figures. At the low end, many colleges do not even have a CPD or employ sworn officers.

Perhaps even more interesting is looking at the largest CPDs. Tables 4 and 5 show the largest campus police departments by the number of sworn officers and the rate of sworn officers per student respectively. These tables use the FBI standard of reporting the number of officers per 1,000 civilians – in this case we use the student enrollment, not total campus population, as the denominator. The largest campus police departments by number of sworn officers, in Table 4, are all large colleges, but they include both public and private universities, varying student enrollment, and can be found in large and medium sized cities. The story changes when we look at the largest campus police departments on a per-student basis in Table 5. These are almost all exclusively medical colleges. This highlights an advantage of using the UCR data compared to survey data — UCR data allows us to look at law enforcement agencies that have fallen outside the sampling frame of previous studies of campus police, which focused on four-year degree-granting colleges (Reaves, 2015). The high rate of campus police per student at medical colleges makes sense as the student enrollment is likely dwarfed by the staff and patient populations at the associated hospitals, but it is important to note that these are still campus police – accountable to the school.

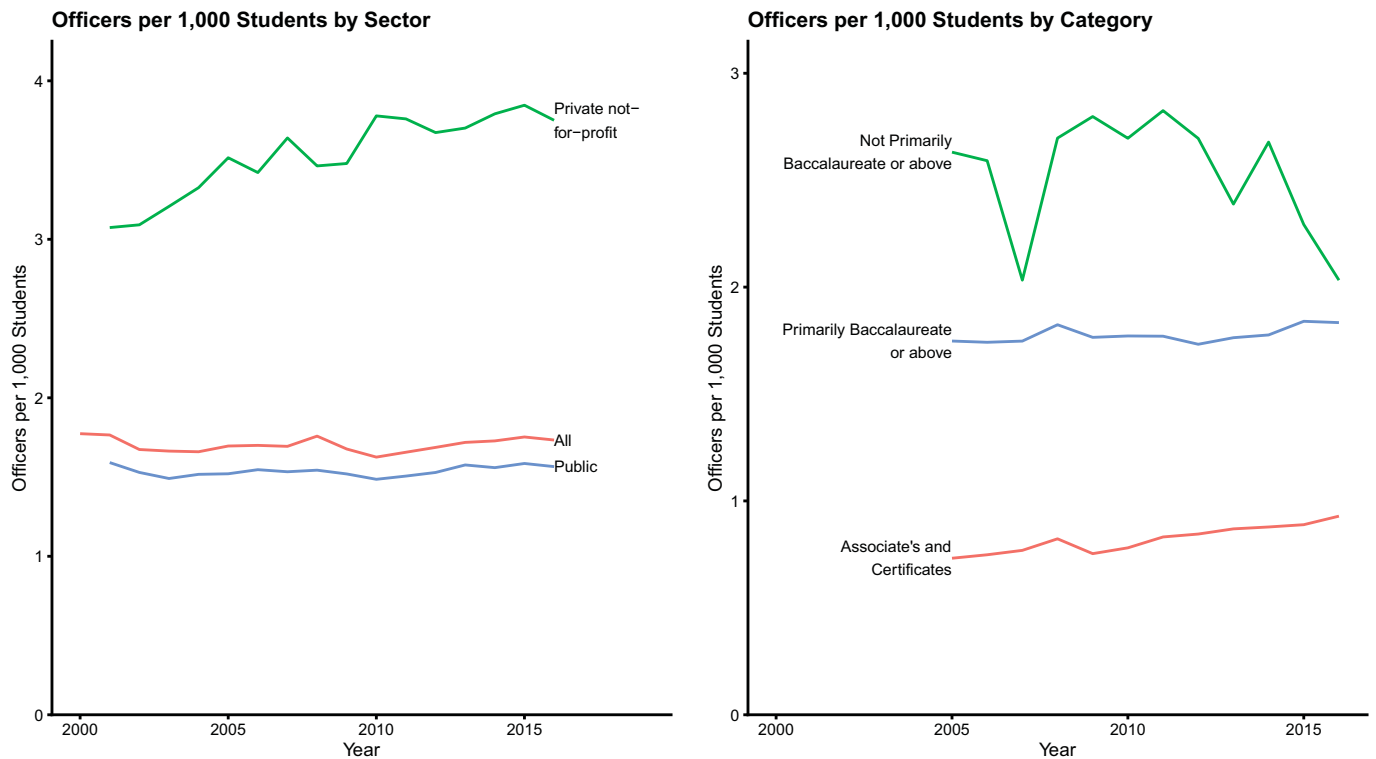
Finally in Table 6 we can look at the top colleges by officers per student excluding medical colleges. We see that these colleges have staffing ratios significantly higher than those of universities with the largest campus police departments, with many of them exceeding a ratio of one officer per 100 students.

Staffing Trends

Figure 5 shows that the staffing rates of CPDs have been stable over time with important exceptions: private colleges have shown a slight increase in the rate of officers and are consistently higher than public schools (left panel). Institutions also have a lower ratio of officer per student if they are primarily granting associate's degrees and certificates, with four-year colleges typically staffing a full additional officer per 1,000 students (right panel). There has been a slight narrowing of the gap in recent years as the ratio is increasing for associate's degree colleges, but the gap remains large even as four-year institution staffing ratios have remained stable.¹⁴

¹³Of note, there is a natural staffing level for campus police departments associated with the minimum staff required for 24/7 presence on campus — 5 officers would be the minimum required to staff an around-the-clock presence on a campus.

¹⁴There were 164 colleges in 2016 in the "Associate's and Certificates" category, 26 colleges in the "Not Primarily Baccalaureate or above" category, 564 colleges in the "Primarily Baccalaureate or above" category, and 8 colleges in the "Graduate with No Undergraduate Degrees" category.



Left panel shows the trend in officers per student by campus sector: Public, Private not-for-profit, and All.
 Right panel shows the trend in officers per student by campus degree-granting category:
 Not Primarily BA or above, Primarily BA or above, Associate's and Certificates.
 SOURCES: FBI Uniform Crime Report. U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System.
 Data from 809 campus police departments. 20 colleges with no undergraduate degrees are excluded from the right panel.

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Figure 5: Campus Police per 1,000 Students, by College Type and Sector

What Do Campus Police Do?

Police serve a number of functions, including ensuring public safety, enforcing laws, and serving as emergency first responders. Sometimes these functions are in direct conflict with one another. The police activity that we can best measure using the UCR data is arrests, which is useful for understanding law enforcement priorities.

Advantages and Limitations of Arrest Data

Data on arrests should not be confused with data on rates of crime or measures of safety (Karmen, 2010). **Arrest data cannot be used as a measure of crime rates** or campus safety.¹⁵ But, measuring crime rates is difficult because we know that most crimes go unreported and that not all crimes that are reported are considered credible by police departments (more on this later) (Karmen, 2010). Additionally, many very common crimes no longer fit neatly into the categories provided by statistics agencies – online harassment, email scams, ransomware attacks, and other forms of criminal activity centered online are under-reported and difficult to include in crime statistics. Finally, the majority of police contacts with civilians are resolved without an arrest.

But, this report is not about campus safety or crime rates on campuses it is about the behavior of campus police departments.

One of the most consequential actions a police officer can take is to make an arrest. Arrests are **costly to departments**. Arrests are **costly to the individual arrested** (Feeley, 1992). And arrests are **costly to society**. Arrests are discrete and well-defined events that lend themselves to being measured well. Arrests incur paperwork, fees, and due process procedures that affect other parts of the criminal justice system and make them easier to trace. This makes arrest statistics more reliable compared to measures with more ambiguous definitions such as crime reports or clearances — does an anonymous complaint over the phone count the same as a victim statement? – or measures of clearances of crimes – where police are given wide discretion in determining if a case has been investigated enough to be declared cleared.

Another advantage of arrest data in the UCR is that it is available for over 35 separate categories of offenses. This allows us to investigate the types of law enforcement activity that campus police undertake and contrast it with municipal police departments. It is also important to note that campus police arrests are not confined to students or employees or visitors on college campuses: according to the BJS, **about 9 in 10 campus police departments have arrest jurisdiction that extends beyond the boundaries of campus** (Reaves, 2015). This allows us to measure the full scope of CPD activity and not just the activities that occur on campus.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that arrest data is most useful for understanding police department performance when looking at the context of a particular problem the agency is tasked with solving such as underage drinking or student party riots (Dedel, 2004, Madensen and Eck (2006)). When looking at the arrest patterns for individual police agencies it is important to understand the population they are serving and the priorities they have been given. In these cases, arrests can provide an important window into the methods an agency is using — a point we will return to in the final section of this report.

Arrest Numbers

Let's start with how many arrests are made by CPDs. In 2016, campus police reported 66,205 total arrests across all offenses for the 586 CPDs that reported arrest data that year. The median CPD reported 44 arrests across all offenses. Table 7 disaggregates these arrest figures by the top ten offenses in 2016, as well as the median and average arrests per reporting campus police department by offense. From this table we see that CPDs spend much of their time dealing with crimes related to alcohol and substance use — liquor law violations, driving under the influence (DUI), marijuana possession, and drunkenness are the top 4 offenses resulting in arrest. When thinking about arrests it is important to remember that completing an arrest can take an officer several hours and that arrests can be the result of

¹⁵Data on campus safety is best found through reporting mandated by The Clery Act which requires colleges that participate in federal financial aid programs to collect and disclose campus safety information. Clery Act reporting is more useful in understanding safety than arrests because it includes incidents that do not result in arrests, crime report logs, and crime statistics by location. The Office of Campus Safety and Security does an excellent job making Clery Act data available to the public: <https://ope.ed.gov/campusafety/#/>. However, such data is limited due to its focus on campus safety, which provides an incomplete picture of the policing activity of campus police, most of which include law enforcement activity outside the boundaries of campus.

Table 7: Top 10 Offenses by Arrest Counts

Offense Description	Total Arrests	Median CPD Arrests	Mean CPD Arrests
Liquor laws	14,798	12	45.8
Possession - Marij.	9,869	8	23.6
DUI	5,564	6	17.2
Drunkenness	4,840	5	21.4
Larceny	3,326	4	8.1
Other assaults	3,066	4	7.3
Disorderly conduct	2,458	4	7.3
Possession - Other drugs	1,552	3	7.0
Vandalism	1,110	2	3.9
Possession - Opium	914	2	4.5
Total	66,110	44	112.8

Note:

"Other assaults" represent non-aggravated assaults, assaults without a weapon, and verbal assaults.

Median and mean represent arrests per campus per year.

SOURCE: FBI Uniform Crime Report. YEAR: 2016

an investigation (where the police seek to make an arrest) or observation (where an officer on patrol observes a crime in progress).

Drug offenses lie at the heart of this distinction between arrests resulting from observation or extinction, a point we will investigate further below. The FBI groups drug offenses into four categories of drugs — marijuana, opium (opium, heroin, cocaine, and its derivatives), opioids (synthetic narcotics), and other drugs (e.g. barbituates or Benzedrine) — and two categories of offense — sales and possession. Fortunately offense categories have stayed consistent across the years of data covered by this report. To learn more about how the FBI categorizes offenses, see the [details on the FBI's UCR page](#).

On their own the usefulness of these counts is limited — do these counts represent a lot of arrests? Not enough? By looking at these numbers in different contexts, across time, across campuses, by student population, and by comparison to other types of police, we can better understand law enforcement on college campuses, form new questions, and build our intuition for the scale of arrest measures.¹⁶

Arrest Trends

Overall, arrests in the U.S. have fallen by over 25% since 1995.¹⁷ However comparing this overall trend to the trend for campus police is difficult because, since 1995, the number of CPDs reporting arrest data has grown by more than 60%. One approach for comparison is to look at the average arrests per officer in our data, which accounts for both variation in the number of departments reporting and the size of those departments.¹⁸

Figure 6 shows that, for CPDs, arrests per officer have declined in the two most recent years of data and are at an all-time low of approximately 5 arrests per officer. Prior to 2016, arrests per officer had been fairly stable with a low of 5.8 in 2000 and a high of 7.6 in 1990. The reduction in 2016 is due to a significant decrease in total arrests reported by CPDs (and a much smaller decrease in the number of officers) which could be either the result of policy change or the population reporting data. Another way to look at arrest trends is to use a different denominator to see how arrest rates have varied with the number of students served by CPDs in the study.

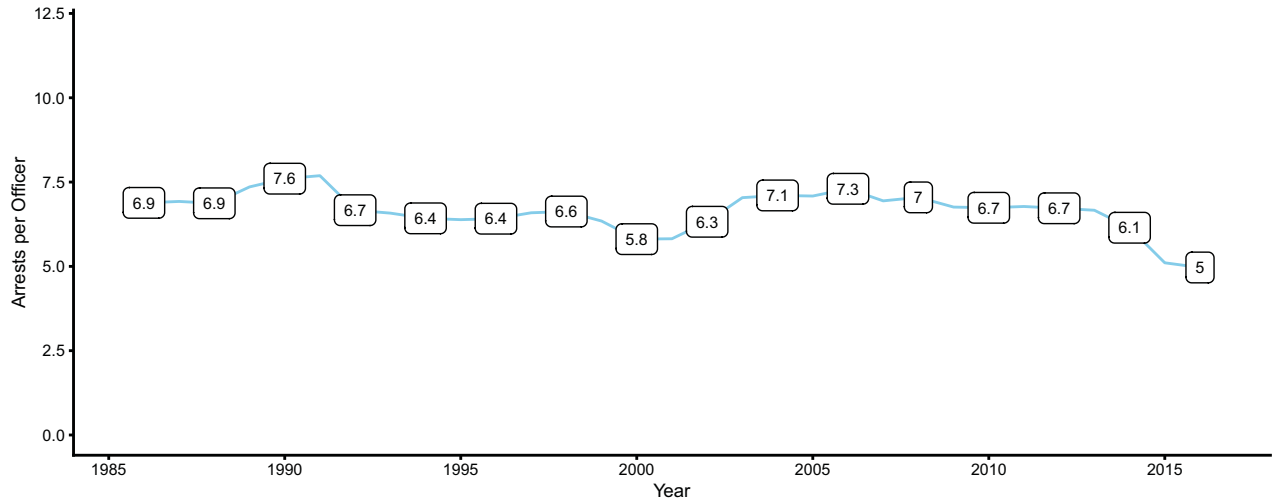
To do this, we join the arrest data with the total fall student enrollment for each matched college.¹⁹ In 2016, the median CPD arrest rate per 1,000 students was 5.1. Figure 7 looks at arrests per 1,000 students for different categories

¹⁶The number of arrests reported in the UCR is higher than the number of arrests reported by campuses on surveys to the Office of Campus Safety and Security (CSS). For example, in 2016, the CSS reported 53,796 arrests whereas the UCR reported 66,110. One possible reason is that the CSS may not include medical college police agencies in its reporting. It is also not clear if campus police are reporting arrests made together with local police in their CSS reporting. Only one such arrest was reported in the CSS in 2017.

¹⁷<https://arresttrends.vera.org/arrests?start=1995&year=2016#bar-chart>

¹⁸It also reduces the potential for error since officer and arrest counts are both available within the same data source, the UCR.

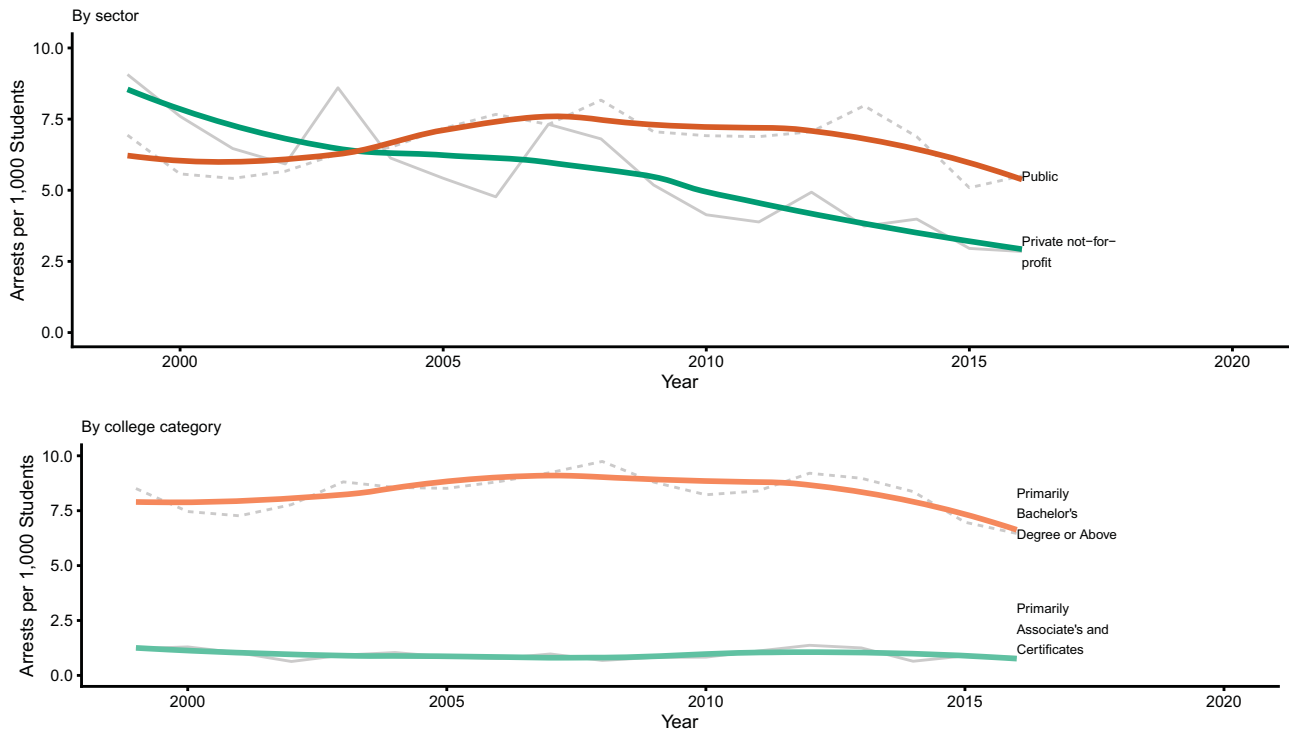
¹⁹The arrest rate per 100,000 is a standard reporting rate used by the FBI in its annual Crime in the United States series, among other places. However, to better align with the size of a college campus, I will use a rate per 1,000 students in this report.



Every other year is labeled.
 Data from 760 campus police departments.
 Calculated by summing the total arrests for all offenses for all reporting departments in the UCR and dividing by the total sworn CPD law enforcement officers.
 SOURCE: FBI Uniform Crime Report.
 YEARS: 1986-2016.

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Figure 6: Arrests per Sworn Officer by CPDs, 1986-2016



Data from 342-585 campus police departments, depending on the year.
 Top panel shows arrests per 1,000 students by the IPEDS sector.
 Bottom panel shows arrest per 1,000 students by IPEDS institutional category, excluding non-degree and graduate-degree only colleges.
 Ratio calculated by summing the total arrests for all offenses for all reporting departments in the UCR and dividing by the total sworn CPD law enforcement officers.
 SOURCES: FBI Uniform Crime Report. U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System (IPEDS).
 YEARS: 1999-2016.

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Figure 7: Arrest Rate per 1,000 Students over Time by College Type

Table 8: Arrests per 1,000 Students by Sector and Category

IPEDS Type	Institution Count	Mean	Median	90th Percentile	10th Percentile
Sector					
Public	485	10.5	5.5	24.2	0.4
Private not-for-profit	70	7.3	2.8	12.4	0.3
Category					
Primarily Bachelor's Degree or Above	441	10.5	6.5	24.4	1.0
Primarily Associate's and Certificates	99	3.0	0.8	5.3	0.0

Note:

Sample restricted to degree-granting colleges only.

SOURCE: FBI Uniform Crime Report.

U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

YEAR: 2016, most recent available.

of college — first by sector (public and private not-for-profit colleges) in the top panel, then by type of degree granted in the bottom panel. Both the raw data (light gray) and the smoothed trend are shown. The decrease in arrest rates has been most notable for private not-for-profit colleges, which had higher arrest rates than public colleges until 2000 but now have lower arrest rates. In the bottom panel the persistent gap between four-year and two-year colleges in arrest rates is clear, with four-year colleges trending downward recently but still maintaining higher arrest rates than two-year colleges.

Table 8 shows the variability in arrests per 1,000 students across institutions by sector and category for the most recent year of data, 2016. Table 8 presents the mean, median, and the 10th and 90th percentile arrest rates for all offenses per 1,000 students.²⁰ We see that there is a wider variance among four-year colleges than among two-year colleges. We also see that the mean can be heavily skewed by a few outlier colleges with a very high number of arrests per 1,000 students – in cases like this the median may be more appropriate for understanding what a typical CPD looks like.

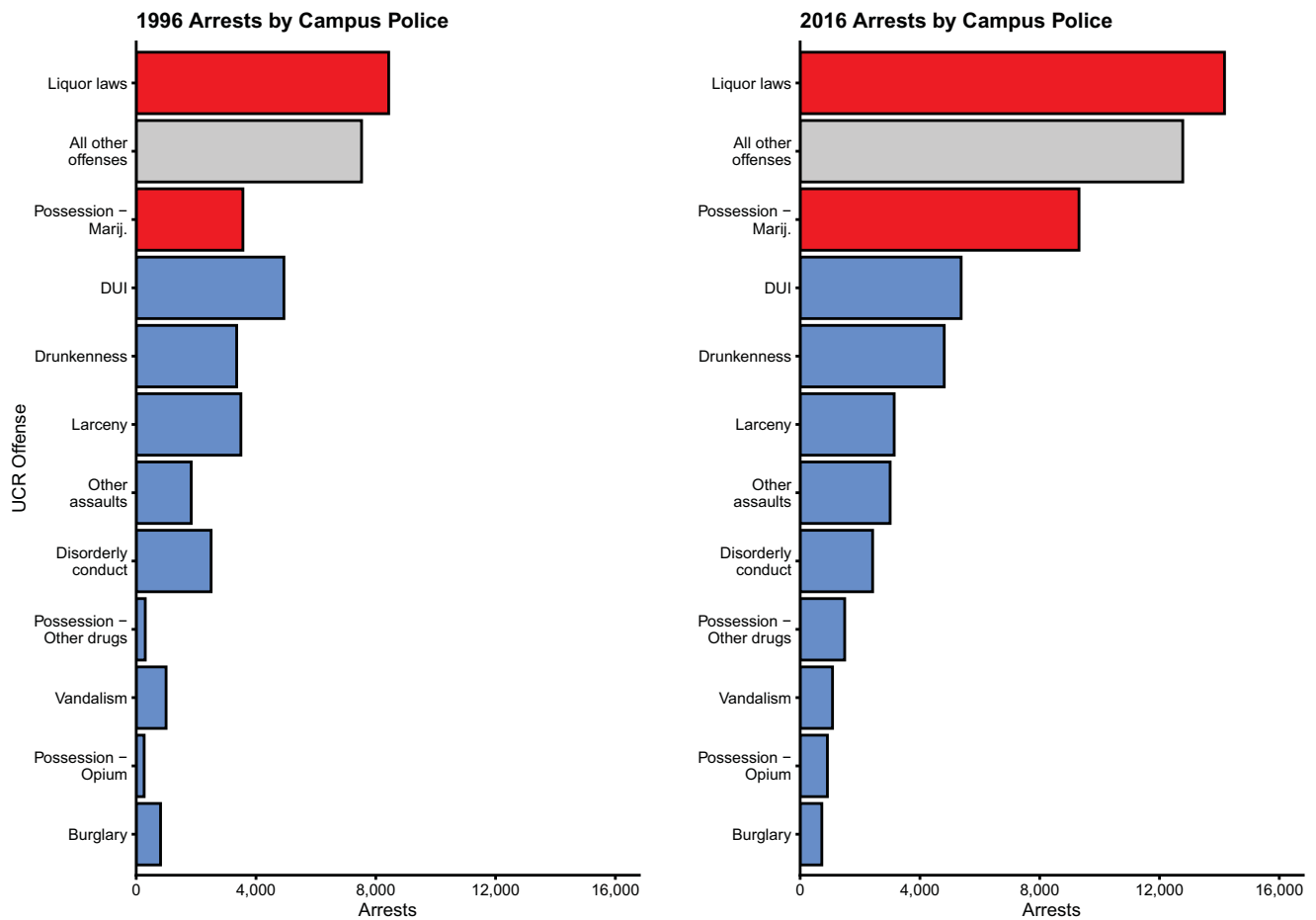
Arrests by Category

CPD arrests are focused on the areas that most of us would expect — the use of alcohol and drugs. Remember that these are arrests, which means they rise above the level of a warning. The tolerance between campuses is surely different in terms of the threshold required for some of these crimes, like liquor possession or drunkenness, to rise above the level of student discipline to result in an arrest. In Figure 8, we see the offense types with the highest volume of reported arrests in 2016, ordered by the volume of arrests made by all campus police in 2016. I have included 1996 for comparison.

Two notable changes between 1996 and 2016 jump out. First is the rise of marijuana possession arrests to be the third most common arrest made by campus police. In 2016 you were more likely to be arrested by a campus police department for possession of marijuana than for drunkenness, drunk driving, or a host of other criminal activity. Second, liquor law arrests remain the most common crime, and, with the increase in CPDs reporting over time, there were more than 12,000 arrests for liquor law violations in 2016.²¹

²⁰Until now we have been relying on IPEDS directory data to classify colleges by size, matching the approach taken by previous BJS studies. But to get an arrest rate per 1,000 students we need a precise enrollment figure for each institution which requires using a different IPEDS collection.

²¹The FBI defines liquor law violations as: “The violation of state or local laws or ordinances prohibiting the manufacture, sale, purchase, transportation, possession, or use of alcoholic beverages, not including driving under the influence and drunkenness. Federal violations are excluded.” This includes minor in possession of alcohol charges.



Left panel shows arrest counts for top 12 offense categories for 286 CPDs.
 Right panel shows arrest counts for top 12 offense categories for 473 CPDs.
 Offense categories with two largest increases highlighted in red.
 "All other offenses" is any violation of state or local law that is not identified in the other categories, but excludes traffic offenses.
 SOURCES: FBI Uniform Crime Report. Bureau of Justice Statistics Law Enforcement Crosswalk.

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Figure 8: Arrests by Offense Category for CPDs, 1996 and 2016

Trends by Category

Using the UCR we can do more than compare offense arrest patterns over two years, we can look at the entire arrest history of CPDs from 1980 to present. In this section, we will review the the rise and fall of particular offenses as the role played by CPDs has shifted. Here, we focus on CPDs as a whole, but at the end of the report we will show how these same trends are reflected at individual colleges across the country.

In Figure 8 we compared CPD arrests by category in 1996 to 2016. Now, let's take this a step further and look at the trends in CPD arrests by categories across time in the UCR. In Figure 9, we can see that the number of arrests for liquor law violations has changed dramatically over time, rising from the middle of the pack in the early 1980s to the most common offense – though it is now declining again. Marijuana possession has been on a steady rise too; it is now the third most common offense.²² Of interest is the rise in possession of other drugs, which is a category that includes dangerous nonnarcotic drugs like barbiturates and Benzedrine.

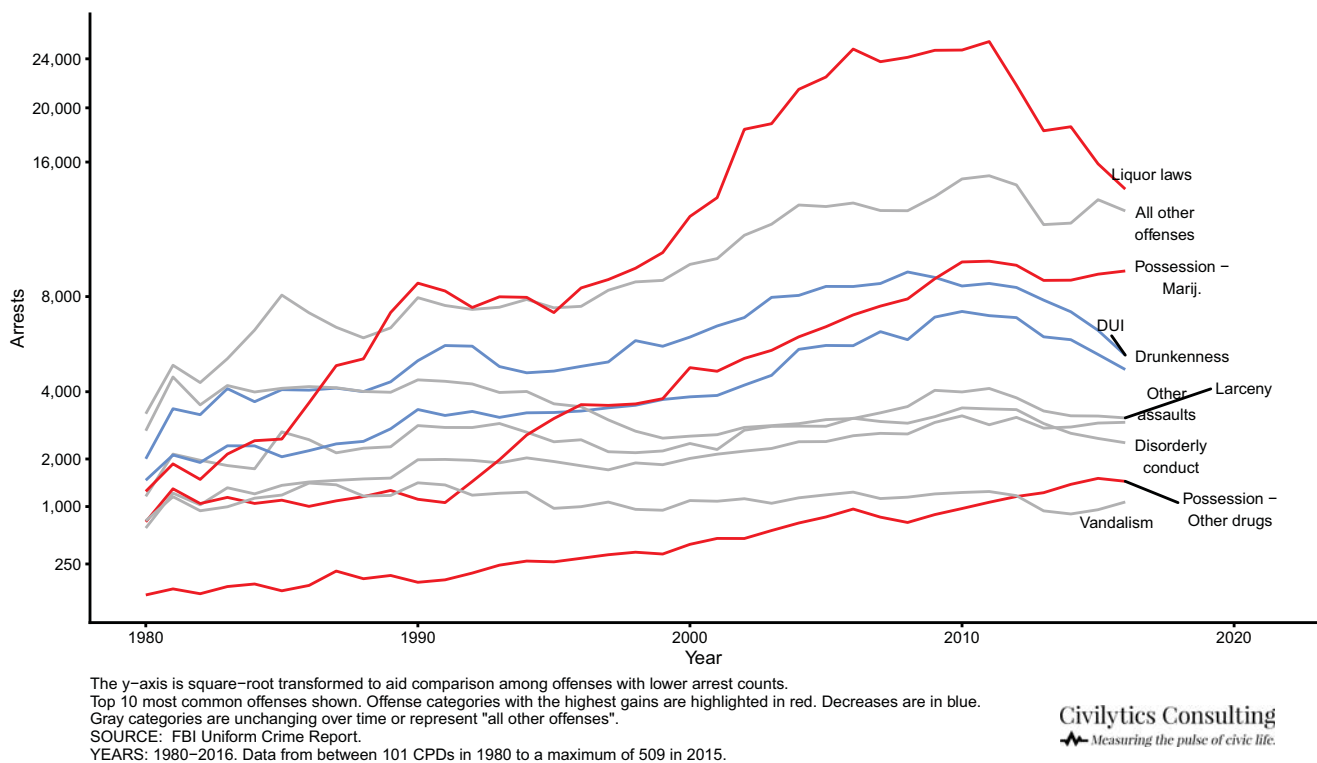
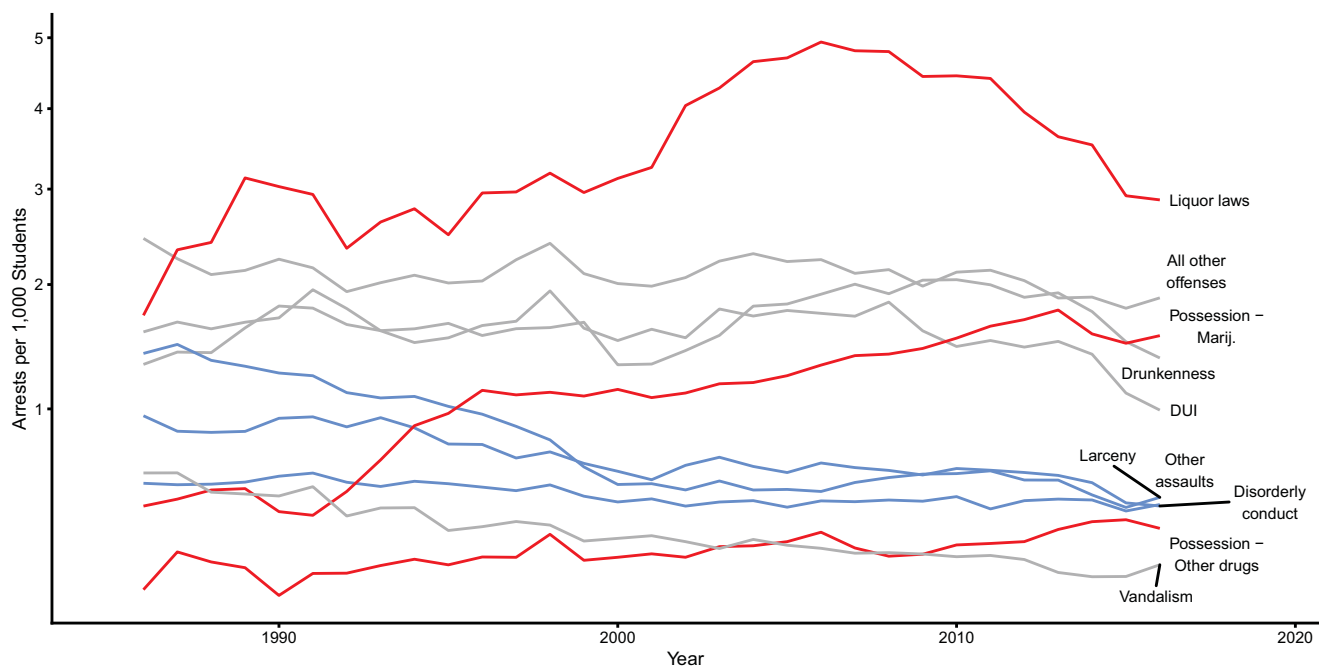


Figure 9: CPD Trends in Arrests by Offense Category

Trends in arrest numbers are somewhat limited in what they can tell us because of the growth in both the number of officers and the number of CPDs reporting to the FBI over this time. As before, we can standardize this to view the arrest rate per 1,000 students, shown in Figure 10. Using this metric we see a similar pattern – most crimes have held the same or slightly reduced arrest rates, except for two: marijuana possession and liquor law violations. In the last 20 years CPDs have emphasized marijuana and drug possession arrests more. However, in the past five years, arrests for alcohol-related offenses have sharply declined. These trends raise interesting questions about both the campus environment and the incentives and behaviors of the officers who police this environment.

²²The FBI defines "all other offenses" as any violation of state or local law that is not identified in the other categories, but excluding traffic offenses. This means it is all arrests that are not: homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, arson, other assaults, forgery, fraud, embezzlement, stolen property, vandalism, weapons, prostitution and criminalized vice, sex offenses, drug abuse violations, gambling, offenses against family and children, driving under the influence, liquor laws, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, curfew and loitering, runaways, suspicion (arrested and released with no formal charge)



The y-axis is square-root transformed to aid comparison among lower arrest rate offenses.
 Top 10 most common offenses shown. Offense categories with the highest gains are highlighted in red. Decreases are in blue.
 Gray categories are unchanging over time or represent "all other offenses".
 SOURCES: FBI Uniform Crime Report (arrests), U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System (enrollment).
 YEARS: 1980-2016. Data from between 191 CPDs in 1986 to 490 in 2015.

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Figure 10: CPD Trends in Arrests per 1,000 Students by Offense

But, while it is interesting to understand how the offenses of focus have changed on campuses over time, the UCR allows us to make another powerful comparison – comparing CPDs to municipal police departments (MPDs).

Comparing Campus to Municipal Police

College campuses are designed, in many ways, to be a self-contained community complete with housing, health care, and policing services. And, like any community, the services they provide is shaped both by the community members they serve and the leadership of that community. By comparing CPDs to police departments in towns and cities, we can see how the unique elements of the campus environment shape the behavior of police departments and the officers they employ. In this section, we continue looking at arrest patterns, but this time compare the arrest patterns in CPDs to those in the municipal police departments that report to the UCR.

Campus Police Have Different Arrest Priorities

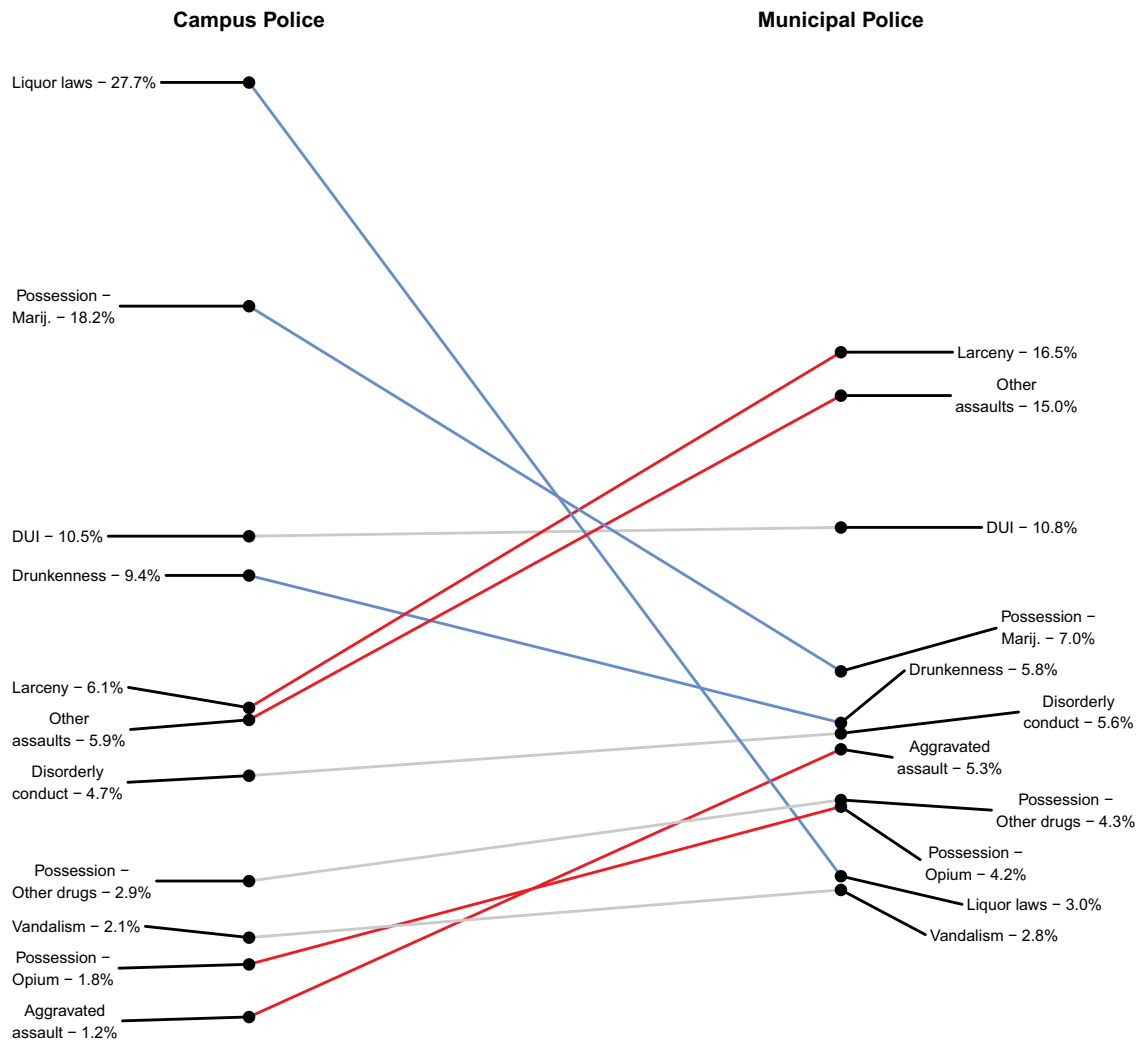
One argument for the creation of CPDs is that police based on campus will be able to better address the needs of their campuses than the police for the surrounding municipality. Additionally campus police could be tapped to fill specialized functions like traffic and parking enforcement, emergency services, and campus security (Reaves, 2015). This different mission coupled with the unique characteristics of the population served by campus police means we should expect CPDs to exhibit different behavior than their municipal counterparts. Using UCR data, we can directly compare the number and rates of arrests for CPDs to MPDs over time.

Let's begin by comparing the percentages of arrests by offense for campus police departments and municipal police departments. For this analysis, we will focus on the most recent year of data, 2016.²³

Figure 11 highlights the differences between CPDs and MPDs in the distribution of arrests by offense category. Among MPDs, arrests for liquor laws made up just 3% of arrests, but, for campus police, the figure was closer to 30%.

²³Municipal police departments include only law enforcement agencies operated by towns and cities. This excludes county sheriff's, state police, and special police forces like state capitol police. A comparison using 2015 data yields the same pattern. For a comparison of the counts of arrests for each department type, see the online Appendix B

CPDs had nearly 3x the proportion of arrests for marijuana possession compared to MPDs. Marijuana possession arrests are a time consuming activity for many CPDs; CPDs made over 9,000 marijuana possession arrests in 2016. In that year, for 49 CPDs, marijuana possession arrests represented 25% or more of all of their arrests. Municipal police, on the other hand, spent much more time dealing with larceny, simple and aggravated assaults, and opium possession. Both types of police departments had similar shares of arrests for offenses like DUIs, disorderly conduct, and vandalism. Taken together over 50% of CPD arrests in 2016 were for just three offenses: liquor law violations, marijuana possession, and DUI. MPDs were more diversified – it took five categories to account for over 50% of the arrest volume and those were: larceny, assaults, DUI, marijuana possession, and disorderly conduct.



CPD arrests are shown in the left panel for 417 campus police departments in 2016. MPD arrests are shown in the right panel for 8,352 municipal police departments in 2016. Large positive differences are in blue, large negative differences in red. Minor differences in gray. All offense categories that make up >1% of total arrests are shown except for the "all other offenses category." SOURCE: FBI Uniform Crime Report. YEAR: 2016.

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Figure 11: Comparison of Arrest Share by Offense for Campus and Municipal Police

CPDs and MPDs differ greatly in the demographics of the populations they serve. Further work is needed to properly investigate the true nature of these differences. In many cities CPDs have jurisdictions that reach far beyond the confines of the campus they serve, making the population policed by the CPD different from the student and

employee population. Likewise, while municipal police are often responsible for providing police services to an entire metropolitan unit like a city, the reality is often more complex with MPDs deploying patrols in specified areas based on perceived safety needs, sharing responsibility with county or special district police forces (like State Capitol police), or providing police protection to neighboring towns through service agreements negotiated between municipalities. While population differences certainly explain some of the varying arrest behavior between MPDs and CPDs, much more work needs to be done to measure the extent of this variation and explore its relationship to the demographic and social differences between the areas within department jurisdiction.

Whom Do Police Arrest?

The UCR allows us to look at broad demographic characteristics of those arrested. One category of interest is the race of the arrested individual, although the only reliable racial categories in the UCR arrest data are black and white.²⁴ The UCR also allows for tabulating arrests by the age of the arrested individual. For this report, age is collapsed into two categories – adults and juveniles.²⁵ Figure 12 shows the trends in arrest volume by race and age for campus police from 1980-2016. Since 2010, there has been a sharp decrease in arrests of adults, and white people, but for black individuals, arrests have been on a steady upward trend with a brief interruption in 2011. Arrests of juveniles have remained relatively unchanged over time.

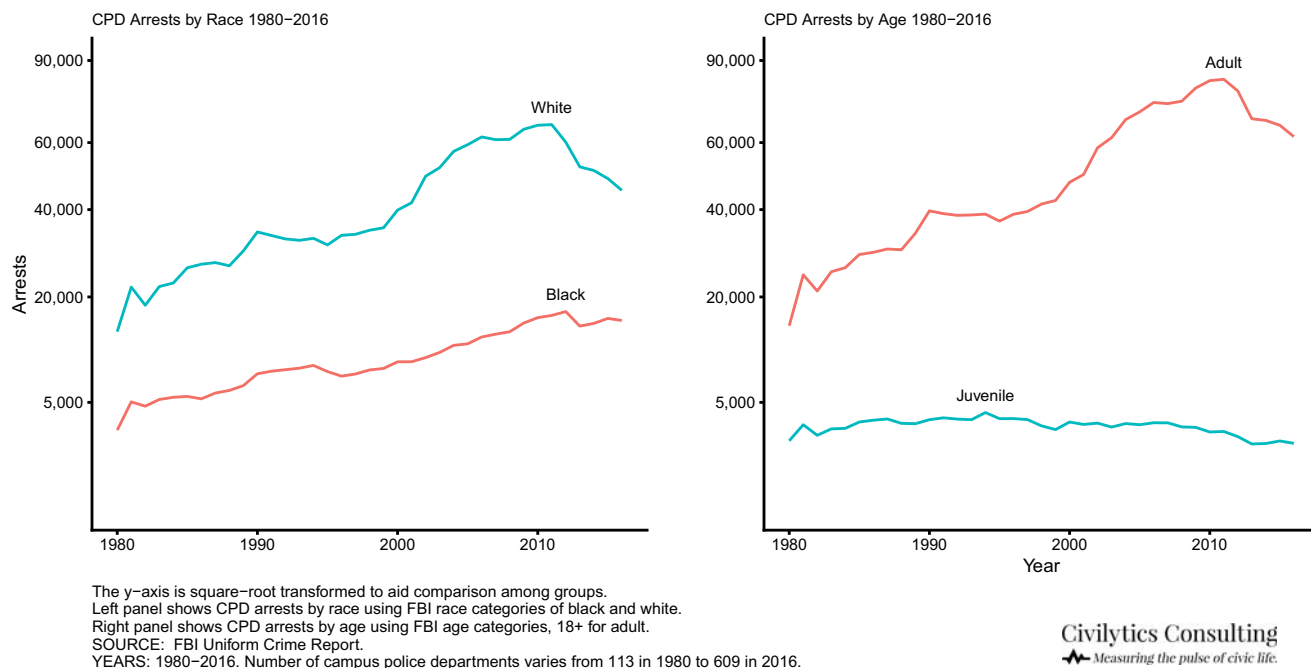


Figure 12: Trends in Arrests by Race and Age for CPDs

Using the UCR we can look more deeply into the trending increase in arrests of black individuals depicted in Figure 12 and look at how the race of individuals arrested has changed by offense category, over time. Figure 13 shows a comparison of the proportion of black individuals arrested in each category in both 1996 on the left panel and 2016 on the right panel. Almost all categories show a notable increase in the proportion of those arrested by CPDs who are black, with a notable exception of opium possession. In all cases there are also a greater volume of arrests of black individuals made by CPDs in 2016 than in 1996 as well (as shown by the height of the bars).

²⁴The FBI also collects data on ethnicity (Hispanic/non-Hispanic) and on the race category of “Asian” but these reports are unreliable, even within the same department. This is one of the largest drawbacks of the UCR, which is being addressed by the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS), a more comprehensive crime and arrest data collection system still being adopted nationally.

²⁵Here “juvenile” is defined as individuals under the age of 18 – though the age of juvenile offender status varies from state to state and even from case to case within states.

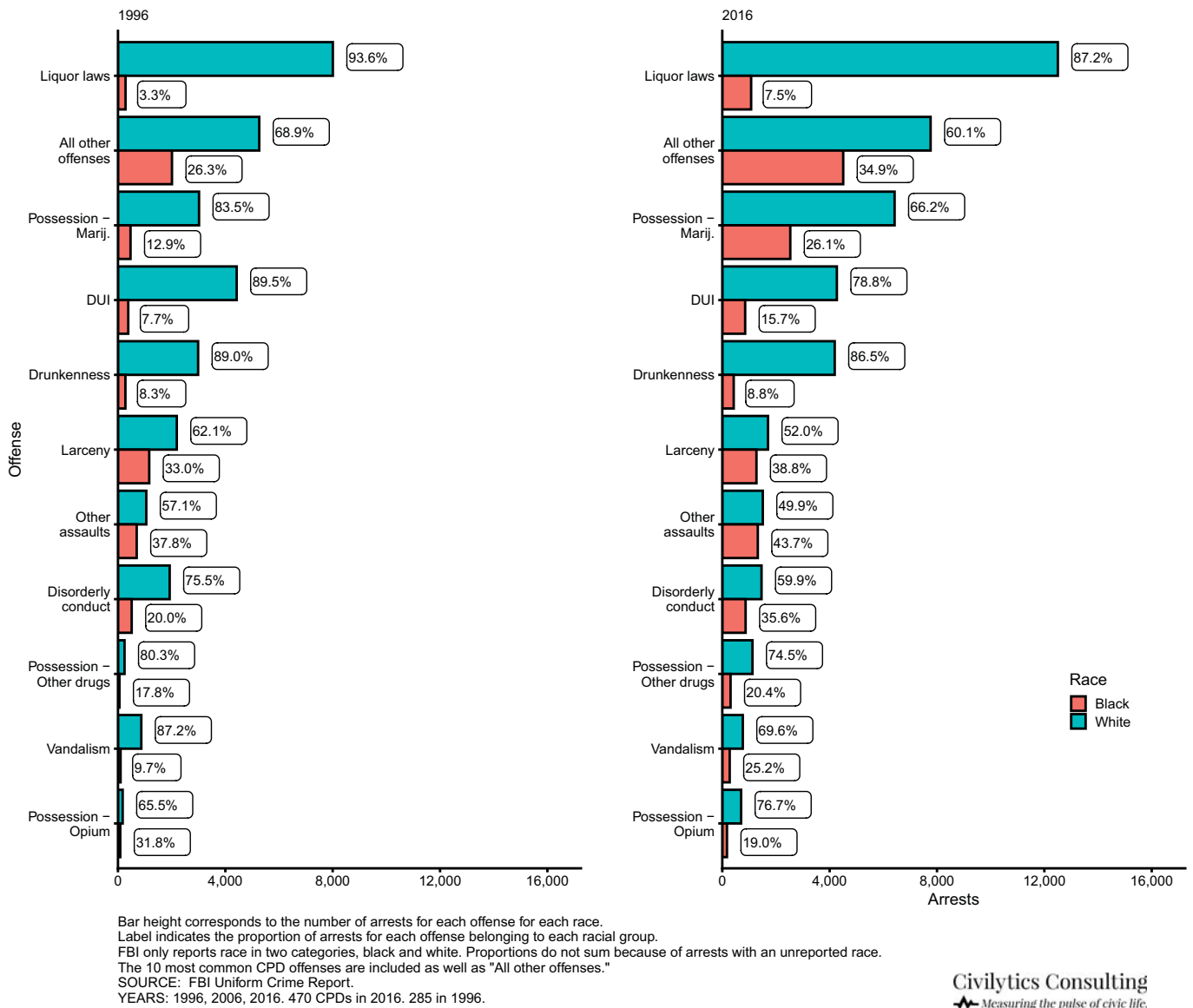
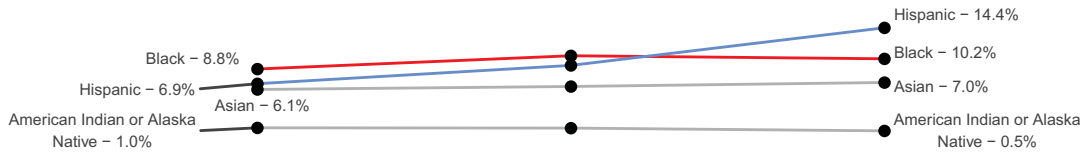
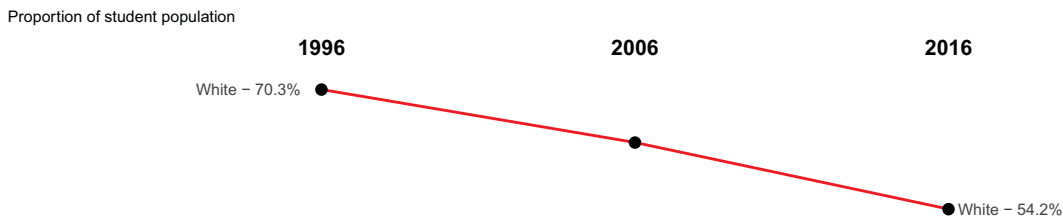
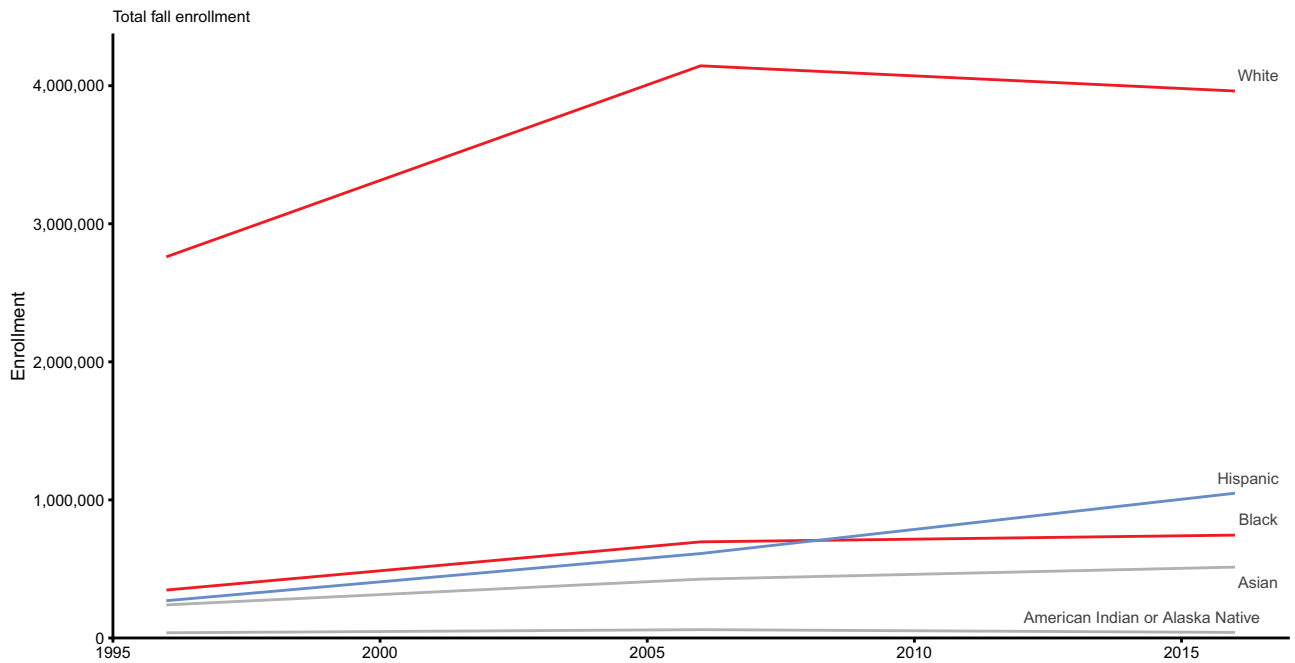


Figure 13: CPD Arrest Share by Race for Common Offenses, 1996 and 2016

We should avoid overinterpreting the patterns in Figure 13 without also understanding the racial makeup of the student populations that are being served by colleges with a CPD. It is a fact that student populations have both grown in size and become more racially diverse in the two decades since 1996. In Figure 14 we see that since 1996 more colleges have CPDs reporting to the UCR, those colleges cover a larger student population, and that student population is more racially diverse. Further analysis is needed to look at the racial makeup of individual campuses and the communities they are within to more fully describe the racial proportionality of arrests made by CPDs – for ideas on how to do this, see the Future Work section at the end of this report.



Lines referenced in the text are highlighted in blue and red.
 Colleges with arrest data in the UCR. 329 colleges reporting in 1996, 528 in 2006, and 555 in 2016.
 Excludes categories with fewer than 1% in any year: multiracial, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, unknown, other, and nonresident alien.
 SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System (IPEDS).
 YEARS: 1996, 2006, 2016.

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Figure 14: Count and Share of Students by Race at Colleges with CPD Arrests, 1996-2016

Sexual Assault

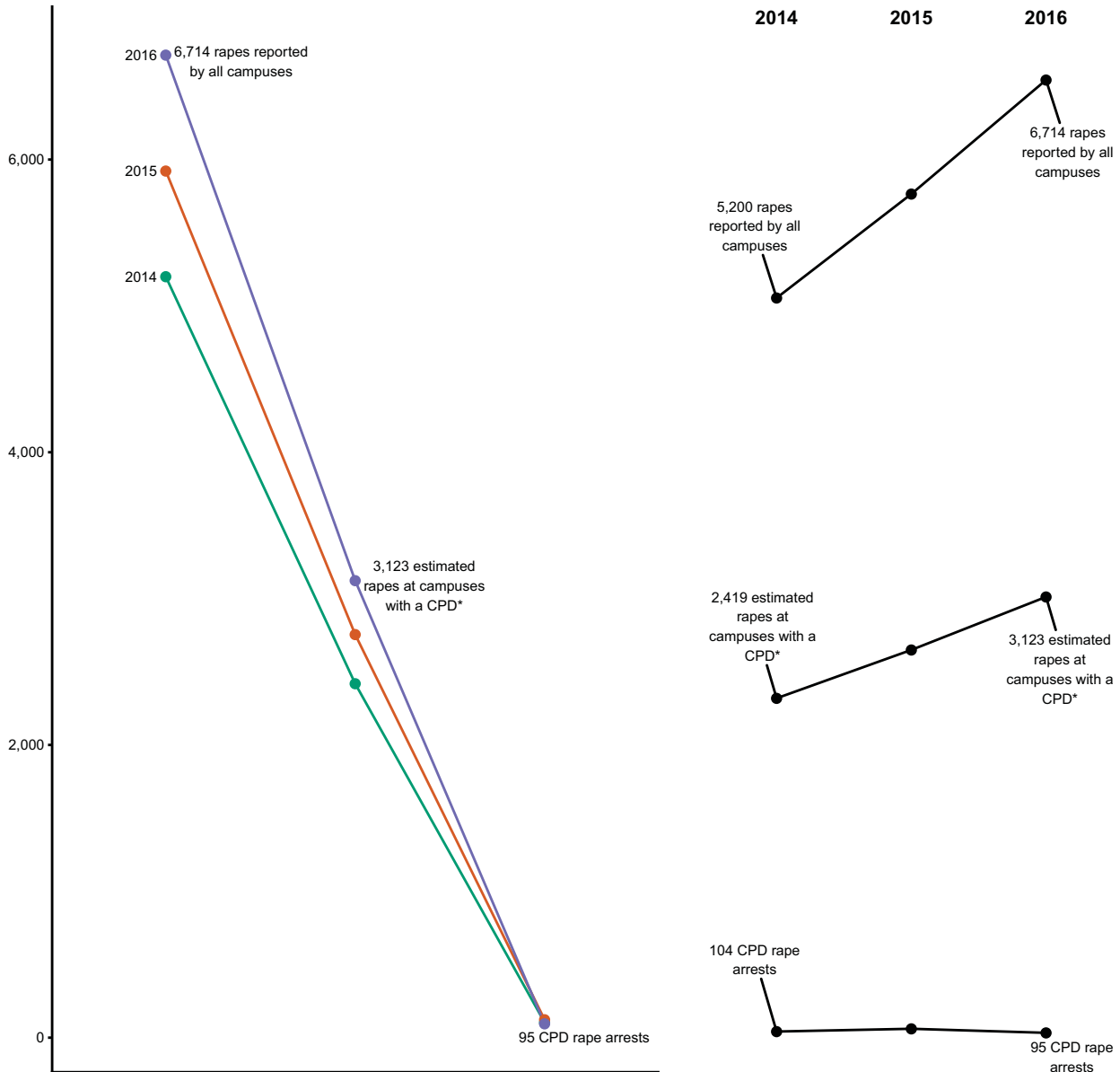
Another important topic to help us understand CPDs' role is sexual violence and assault. Sexual assault, rape, and other forms of sexual violence are crimes that all types of police departments struggle to adequately address. At colleges across the country students have demanded that their schools increase awareness about and efforts to prevent sexual assault and punish perpetrators. This student movement resulted in the passage of the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013 (VAWA), which, among other things, required colleges to keep and report better statistics on dating violence, domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking. Sexual violence has also been a high-profile story on many college campuses over the past 15 years. Scandals include the Jerry Sandusky serial rapes at Pennsylvania State University, Larry Nassar's serial sexual assaults at Michigan State University, and the rape of a Stanford student Chanel Miller by Brock Turner. These events are shocking, tragic, and frightening. Unfortunately, these events are not isolated to a few campuses: in 2016 across 6,339 colleges reporting there were 16,037 incidents of violence against women and 6,714 rapes reported under the definitions of the Clery Act.²⁶

These are serious crimes which demand the attention of law enforcement. In this report we use the definitions of rape and sexual assault the FBI and the U.S. Department of Education have aligned through administrative rules to explore the role of CPDs in this important issue of campus safety and law enforcement. For 2014-2016, the years of data available with aligned definitions, we have data on how many rapes were reported at colleges and how many arrests for rape were reported by CPDs. Using the share of fall enrollment for colleges with CPDs in the FBI UCR data, we can estimate the number of rapes that were reported at colleges with a CPD. In 2016 46.5% of students at all colleges attended a college with a campus police department. Using this we can make a conservative estimate that incidents of violence against women occurred proportionally at colleges with CPDs; the result is 16,037 multiplied by 46.5% which equals approximately 7,460 incidents of violence against women for college with CPDs.²⁷

All of this information is brought together in Figure 15. The left panel shows the number of rapes reported by all colleges in the top left, a line connects the data for each year to the estimated number of rapes reported at colleges with CPDs as described above, and finally the number of arrests reported by campus police departments in the UCR. Each year of data is represented by a separate line. We see clearly that the share of rapes reported at colleges that result in an arrest by a CPD is very small, less than 3.0% in 2016. The right panel illustrates the changes in these figures from 2014 to 2016. We can see that although the number of rapes reported on college campuses has increased by 29.1% from 2014-2016, the number of CPD arrests for rape has slightly decreased.

²⁶<https://ope.ed.gov/campussafety/Trend/public/#/answer/3/301/trend/-1/-1/-1/-1>

²⁷For detail on the alignment of definitions see: https://www.campussafetymagazine.com/news/dept_of_ed_announce_final_violence_against_women_act_rules/. The estimate of incidents of rape at college with CPDs is potentially an underestimate, since the CPD sample is weighted heavily toward public four-year colleges with large undergraduate enrollments.



* Estimate made by assigning rapes to CPD campuses proportional to their share of overall student enrollment. Campus population share estimated based on enrollment at 576 colleges with a CPD and arrest data in 2016. SOURCES: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Postsecondary Education, Campus Safety and Security (CSS) survey. FBI Uniform Crime Report. U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Education System (IPEDS). YEARS: 2014–2016.

Figure 15: Rape on Reported on College Campus and Rape Arrests by CPDs 2014-2016

The results in Figure 15 are not proof that rape is unpunished on college campuses or that CPDs are not involved. More study is needed to understand this pattern. For instance, this pattern may indicate that for a serious crime like rape, CPDs defer to city and county police with more resources to make arrests and build their cases for rape. This could also explain why above we also saw that CPDs have a lower share of their arrests for more serious crimes compared to MPDs. But, it could also be evidence that in many cases of reported rapes on college campuses, arrests are simply not made. A similar, but less stark, pattern occurs for a broader set of sex offenses — the analysis of these is included in the online Appendix B. For an in-depth look at evidence-based practices for campus police departments for specifically handling rape cases, see Sampson (2002).

Whatever the reasons for these patterns, this highlights an important fact about CPDs — their presence does not preclude the involvement of outside law enforcement agencies on college campuses. In cases of a serious crime like rape it appears that CPDs are not ultimately responsible for enforcing the law — that responsibility falls to other police agencies in the area. And, in the case of the high-profile scandals mentioned above — the arrests in the Sandusky case were made by the Pennsylvania state police, Larry Nassar was arrested by U.S. Marshals, and Brock Turner was arrested by the Stanford Department of Public Safety in coordination with the Santa Clara County Sheriff’s Office.

Remember that one of the justifications for creating CPDs was that they would have the specialized training needed to best serve their student populations. Sexual assault and violence against women are two of the most important safety issues on college campuses today, and yet for precisely these types of offenses the role of CPDs appears diminished and does not include responsibility for making arrests.

Looking at Individual Colleges

Until now, this report has focused on CPDs as a group. However, in our communities we are not impacted by CPDs as a whole, but instead by the priorities and policies of our local campus police department. This section of the report highlights trends and patterns at individual colleges in order to illustrate the great variation among CPDs.

The colleges highlighted in the following section were not chosen to make any broader points, but because they exemplify different patterns found among CPDs in the data. It is not appropriate for this report to draw conclusions about whether these patterns are “good” or “bad” for their communities — only community members can use their local experiences, values, and information to make such judgments. This section, instead, focuses on illustrating how useful comparison can be in surfacing important questions about policing at college.

Readers interested in learning more about their local campus police department should download the **Campus Policing Toolkit**. This companion to the report includes the most recent year of data for every campus police department covered in the report, as well as an interpretation guide, fact sheet, and more. The toolkit is designed to allow you to supplement your current understanding of policing in your community with relevant data and to give you strategies for interpreting and discussing that data as a community.

Finally, it must be noted that one of the most common objections to using data to understand the behavior and performance of government agencies is the simple declaration that the data reported are wrong. And, it is true that data errors are found in every administrative data collection and that the more granular the detail in those collections, like the UCR, the greater the chance of finding errors. We must acknowledge that errors may occur in individual CPD reports in certain years or for certain types of offenses. But, it is also true of administrative data that it is only through regular use that errors are discovered and corrected and reporting improves. It is hoped that through reports like this that the data reported by law enforcement agencies will become a more reliable foundation for local deliberation about the role police play in society. For more details on the steps taken to avoid errors and the methods used to identify and correct errors please see Appendix A.

Marijuana Possession

Marijuana possession arrest rates by CPDs have climbed steeply over the past 20 years, so this is where we begin our analysis of individual CPD arrest trends. Although rates of marijuana use before the age of 26 have increased in the past 20 years, public interest in criminalizing marijuana possession has sharply decreased at the same time (Cuellar, 2018).²⁸ And, of course, colleges have long been associated with marijuana usage. We can expect that on most campuses, on most days, if a campus police officer wanted to make an arrest for marijuana possession (and marijuana was illegal in their jurisdiction), they could. This makes marijuana arrests a particularly interesting lens through which to view CPD behavior and its variation between campuses. If students are using marijuana on all campuses, what leads some colleges to consistently enforce marijuana possession offenses with arrests and others to address marijuana possession through other means? Let’s look at some specific colleges to put these questions into sharp focus.

²⁸<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/26/facts-about-marijuana/>

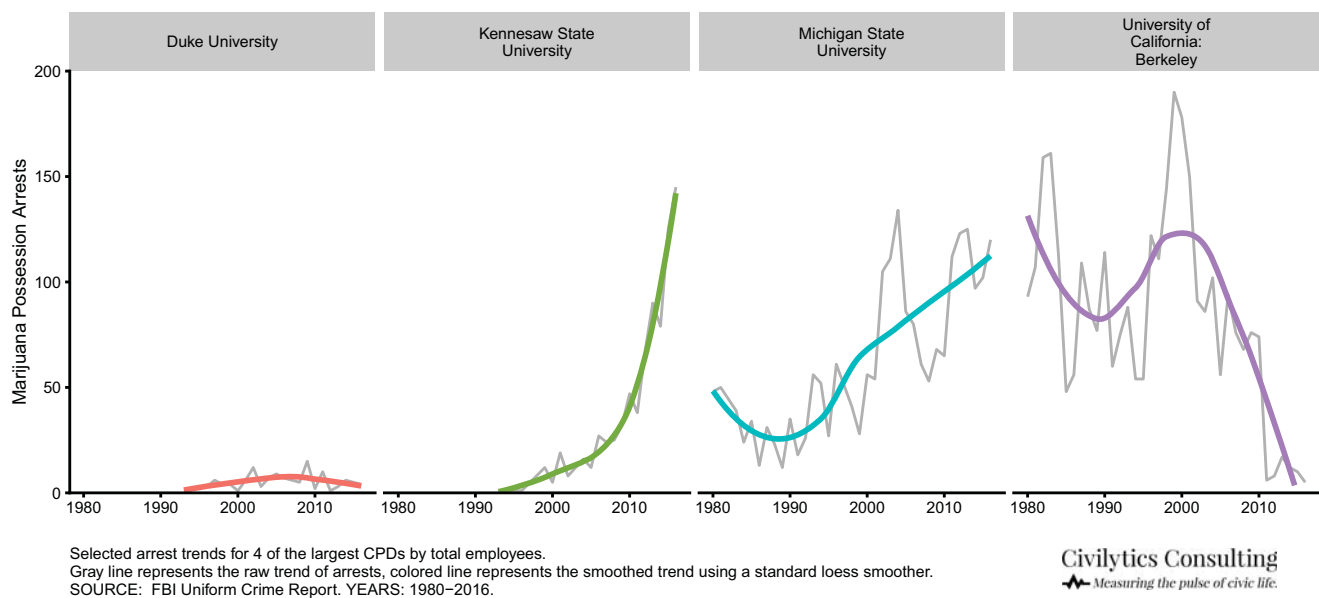


Figure 16: Marijuana Arrest Trends for Selected CPDs

Among the largest CPDs (by total number of employees), there is great variation in the number of marijuana arrests made. Figure 16 shows an example of four of the largest campus police departments that have great variation in their arrest trends for marijuana possession. Kennesaw State University has seen a recent sharp rise in marijuana possession arrests, while University of California: Berkeley has all but eliminated marijuana possession arrests since 2012. Michigan State University has shown a modest increase.²⁹ And, Duke University’s CPD has never put much emphasis into making marijuana possession arrests.

Another way to look at this information is to look at which colleges have reported the most marijuana possession arrests over the past 35 years. Figure 17 shows us that, among the colleges responsible for the most marijuana possession arrests, the trends also vary with some agencies seemingly increasing their enforcement of marijuana possession and other sharply cutting back on marijuana arrests.

This granular analysis gives us something that, to-date, survey-based studies of campus police departments have not — the power to ask questions of individual CPDs. Why is the Kennesaw State campus police department increasing its marijuana possession arrests each year? How would the police chiefs of Kennesaw State and Duke University characterize the reasons behind their sharply different approaches to marijuana possession arrests – with Duke consistently making close to 0 such arrests annually. What would the University of Colorado police say is the reason for 214 marijuana possession arrests in 2016, well after recreational marijuana was legalized in that state?

Arrest data provide us a window into the priorities and behaviors of police departments. The ability to look at arrest patterns over time and across colleges, and for specific categories of offenses, opens the doors to better understanding policing. The variation among departments shown above for marijuana possession could be attributable to many factors — different campus environments, changing student populations, cooperative agreements with municipal police, and much more. **But, importantly, as a public, we have a right to know what police departments are spending their time on, and, if needed, an explanation for why the department has chosen to make that investment of time.**

²⁹The online Appendix B contains a figure with marijuana arrest patterns for the largest campus police departments reporting more than 15 years of arrest data.

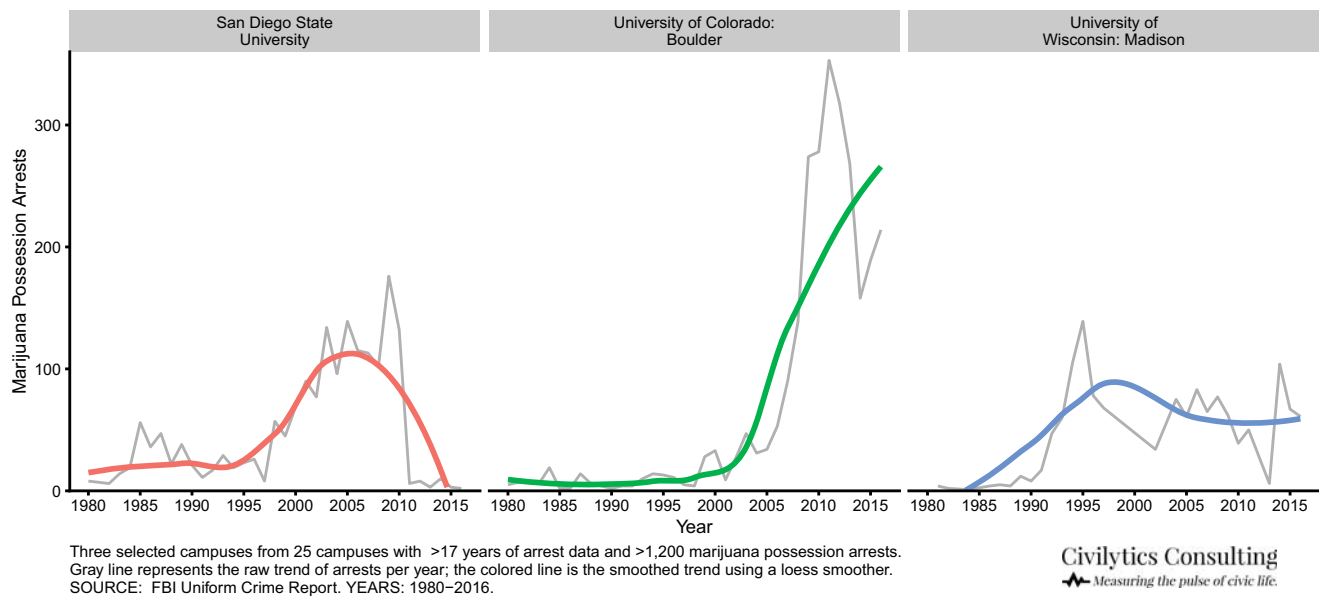


Figure 17: Marijuana Arrest Trends for Selected CPDs with the Most Cumulative Marijuana Arrests

Arrests of Black Individuals

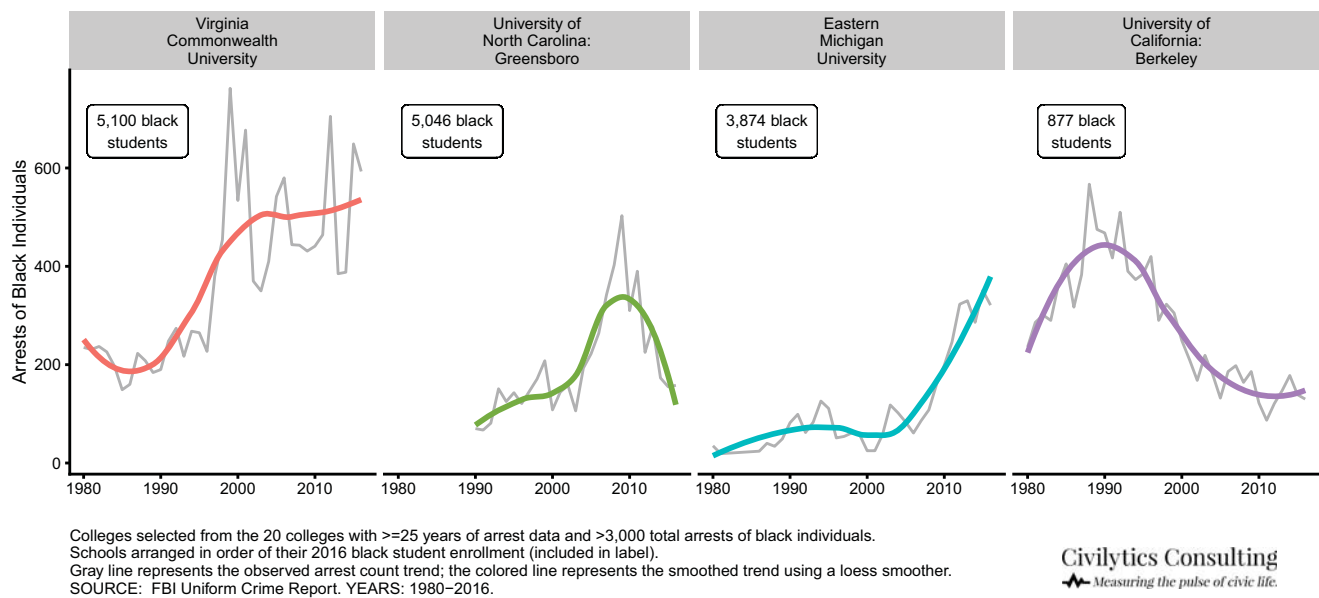


Figure 18: Arrest Trends for CPDs with the Most Arrests of Black Individuals

Much of the police accountability conversation is rightfully focused on the unequal treatment of black individuals by police. Using UCR data we can analyze the arrest patterns of CPDs for black and white individuals by college and by type of crime. In Figure 18 we look at arrest trends for black individuals by CPDs for a selection of colleges responsible for the greatest number of arrests of black individuals since 1980. We see distinctly different patterns over time. In the first panel, Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) made a high number of arrests of black individuals starting in the late 1990s, and has seen large swings in the number of arrests since that time, but never returned to the

lower arrest counts of the pre-1990s period. University of North Carolina Greensboro saw a peak of arrests of black individuals in the late 2000s, but has since seen a steady decline to its earlier, lower arrest numbers. Eastern Michigan University, with a smaller black student population, has seen a sharp rise in arrests of black individuals since the late 2000s, and now makes nearly as many arrests as VCU and more arrests than UNC Greensboro, both of which have much larger black student populations. Finally, U.C. Berkeley, which has a very small black student population, has seen its arrest rate of black individuals, which was very high prior to 1990, decline rapidly. However, even at the present day, U.C. Berkeley arrests over 100 black individuals a year while enrolling fewer than 1,000 black students. In the [online Appendix B](#) there is a larger version of this graphic showing trends for 25 colleges, which shows that among the CPDs with the most arrests of black individuals, there is less variation in trends more flat lines of steady high counts of arrests for black individuals.

Accountability

Taken together, these comparisons of data from specific universities over time demonstrate the power of the UCR for posing important questions about how and why CPDs police colleges the way they do. An important next step in understanding both CPDs and municipal police departments is using UCR data to describe the police departments as they are, compare them to one another, and begin to pose questions about why that may be. The difference among colleges shown in the figures above are just a beginning of the kinds of comparisons community members may wish to make in order to better understand the behavior of their local police force.

Future Work

This report has explored the nature of campus policing by linking administrative data from the FBI with administrative data on colleges from the Department of Education. This novel approach has a number of advantages over previous approaches to studying campus policing, specifically, it enables:

- Comparison of historical trends and context
- Comparison to municipal police departments
- Disaggregation of detailed arrest data
- Comparison among colleges
- Review and monitoring through annual updates

But this report is a beginning. A sample of ideas have been presented to demonstrate the possibilities for using data to ask questions about campus police departments.

The truth is that, in America today, the reliable public information available about police forces is woefully inadequate for understanding the work of policing and the role it plays in our lives. In order to put the control of what police officers do and how they do it back into the hands of our communities we need democratic tools of accountability — such as this report.

This work should be extended and carried forward. Here are a few promising directions for future work:

- Analyzing CPD Use-of-Force Data
- Combining UCR CPD data with data from the Office of Campus Safety and Security
- Measuring arrest rates for colleges with greater precision
- Analyzing CPDs compared to the other police agencies in their area
- Incorporating additional CPD data from the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS)
- Making CPD data open
- Analyzing implications for the broader criminal justice system

Use-of-Force Data

The FBI has recently published the first ever [National Use-of-Force Data Collection](#). Campus police departments, like other law enforcement agencies, are invited to participate. As this report detailed earlier, campus police officers have been responsible for deadly uses of force resulting in public scrutiny. The Use-of-Force data will provide the public with an important accounting of which campus police departments are participating and committed to transparency in this area, and with a better understanding of the frequency and nature of force used by the campus police departments that do participate.

Office of Campus Safety and Security Data

Colleges, and their CPDs, also submit a mandatory annual report to the [Department of Education's Office of Campus Safety and Security](#) (CSS). Some of this information was used above to understand the role that CPDs play in enforcing rape and sexual assault on college campuses. However, much more could be done to take advantage of the data available through CSS which includes college-level information on crime reports, housing fires, hate crimes, arrests and other disciplinary measures, and more. One promising avenue of future work is the ability to analyze the prevalence of arrests on- and off-campus reported by campus police departments. Knowing how common it is for campus police to make arrests within and beyond the boundaries of campus, and which offenses they make arrests for in each location, would open up new avenues for the public to understand how CPDs are spending their time.

Refined Arrest Rates and Racial Disproportionality

A related limitation of this report is the ambiguity over the proper denominator for arrest rates for CPDs, which hinders measurement of racial bias in policing. For municipal police departments the FBI provides a population for determining rates of events, but there is no corresponding population for CPDs. The student population is insufficient because it excludes employees, visitors, and residents of near-campus neighborhoods — all of whom often fall within the jurisdiction of CPDs. And, as we have also seen, there is likely to be a division of labor between CPDs and their municipal and county counterparts when it comes to different types of criminal offenses as well.

Further exploration not just of how to measure arrest and offense rates, but how to disaggregate those rates by race to understand issues of equity is critical. There are a number of promising potential solutions and the likely best answer is a triangulation of multiple measures to describe the problem thoroughly. Figure 19 shows the variation in arrests of black people by CPDs against the fall black student enrollment for a select number of colleges in 2016. The variation away from the trend line should be an avenue of future exploration — what explains colleges with higher or lower than expected arrests of black individuals given their campus population, and how does that influence how we measure arrest rates?

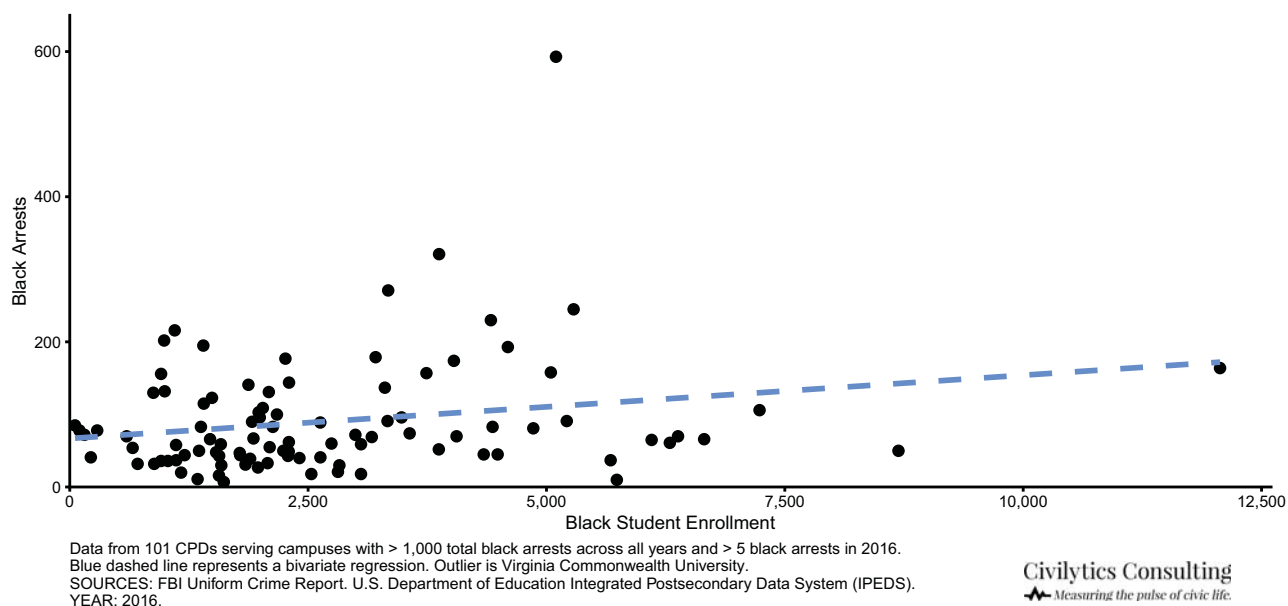


Figure 19: Relationship between Black Student Enrollment and CPD Arrests of Black People

Paired Analysis of Municipal and Campus Police

For this initial report, the focus has been on CPDs and MPDs as a group. But, as the latter sections of the report have shown, tremendous variation exists across CPDs. The same is true for [municipal police departments](#). With further analysis, campus and municipal police could be matched to their cities and analyzed in clusters to better understand the division of labor and investigate similarities and differences in their staffing and arrests.

NIBRS

As police departments transition to the newer and more detailed [National Incident Based Reporting System](#) (NIBRS) the detailed data available in this collection should be used to further understand CPDs. As always, this work should start with understanding the coverage of CPDs in the NIBRS collection, and then move onto investigating the types of incidents campus police officers are most involved with. As NIBRS includes information about incidents and arrests, victims and perpetrators, this approach has great potential for painting a clearer picture of the demands placed on CPDs, which will help us better understand the ways different CPDs respond in terms of staffing, arrests, and use-of-force.

Openness

This work should be done in the open. Tools should be set up to monitor these administrative data sources on an ongoing basis, to provide stakeholders with a steady flow of annual information about CPDs. These administrative records, compared and contrasted nationally, can then serve as a foundation for those interested to engage their local police departments in conversation about police activity in and around their campuses.

Criminal Justice System

An arrest is the beginning of a larger criminal justice process — the arrested enters into a complex system of rights, procedures, and administrative decisions that have profound impacts on their eventual punishment and the rest of their life ([Feeley, 1992](#)). Further study should be conducted to look at case dismissal rates, bail, cases resolved by a plea

agreement, probation, and jail sentence rates. [Measures for Justice](#) has developed an excellent set of example metrics for the criminal justice system which could be applied to cases originating with campus police departments to provide further accountability about the impact of the arrests made by campus police on the communities that are policed.

Conclusions

Description is a first step toward accountability. This report used available public data on police agencies to focus in on the composition, history, and behavior of CPDs. Campus police departments are a growing presence on America’s college campuses. Like all police forces, CPDs possess some of the most important powers of any government agency — powers of search and seizure, surveillance, and use-of-force. But, **unlike municipal or county police agencies, campus police are not directly accountable** either via election of their leader or with their leader appointed by a council or elected official.

To aid the public in keeping CPDs accountable, this report sought to use available evidence to describe their size and composition, arrest behavior, and trends over time. The report began with a description of the size and composition of campus police departments, as well as the priorities they make when enforcing laws on campuses. In doing so, we learned that campus police spend a considerable amount of their law enforcement effort on alcohol- and marijuana- related offenses — much more than their municipal police counterparts. We learned that arrest rates per student have remained relatively stable with the exception of growth in marijuana arrest rates and decline in liquor law arrests. And we learned that, among individual campuses, there is great variation in the amount of energy expended by campus police enforcing drug policy, but that most CPDs are not ultimately responsible for arrests in cases of sexual violence.

Finally, this report closed with a look at the tremendous variation in activity and behavior of CPDs when it comes to arrests for marijuana possession and arrests of black individuals. These comparisons were provided to demonstrate the importance of looking not just at CPDs in the aggregate, but focusing on the specific choices made by individual colleges in how they allocate their policing resources and how their officers spend their time. It is hoped that this descriptive approach using available evidence from the UCR can serve as a jumping-off point for local inquiries about the behavior of CPDs on different campuses across the country.

This report focused on describing the available data because all exercises in accountability of government agencies must begin with description. Where possible, this report demonstrated promising avenues of further analysis including comparison of CPDs to municipal police departments. The hope is that these facts spark questions: what would the arrest rates on campus be if municipal police patrolled campuses? Are campus police exhibiting racial bias or are they simply serving less white populations than before leading to an increase in arrests of black individuals? What causes some campuses to see an upward trend in marijuana possession arrests and others to make no arrests at all?

Understanding campus policing, and the variation among CPDs, empowers the public to start asking new questions. Hopefully, campus police will see the value in working together with their community, to look for answers.

Acknowledgements

Production of this report was made possible by Civilytics Consulting, which provided all funding in support of developing this report. For the author, this report was a labor of love. It was prepared in the spare hours — late nights, many weekends, airport layovers, and long flights. It was informed by conversations with many brilliant people who generously lent their time and expertise: Bill Clune, Mike Scott, Cassie Freeman, Geoff Ward, Susan Glisson. External reviews were provided by Natasha Haverty, Eben Dowell, and William Buchanan, to whom I am deeply grateful. And, finally, this work was made possible by the consistent encouragement of friends and family who urged me on when I doubted and showed interest when my energy began to fade — most of all my partner Hannah Miller. The reader is indebted to Hannah for her tireless efforts to shape and craft my prose into something resembling clarity and precision. All errors and mistakes that remain after much review and feedback by others, remain mine and mine alone.

Software

This report was written using the open-source statistical computing language R (R Core Team, 2019). The following R packages were used to make all tables, figures, and graphics:

- knitr (2014)
- rmarkdown (2018)
- kableExtra (2019)
- ggplot2 (2016)
- dplyr (2019)
- sf (2018)
- rticles (2019)
- ggalt (2017)
- gridExtra (2017)

The report was typeset using a custom L^AT_EX template based on the R Journal template in the rticles package.

Appendix A: Matching Police Departments with College Campuses, and UCR Reporting Patterns

Matching

The analysis in this report required linking police departments in the FBI's Uniform Crime Report with colleges in the Department of Education's Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). This linking was done by triangulating the identity of campus police departments and the colleges they serve through multiple sources and ultimately hand-matching over 900 records.

The initial universe for the study was drawn from four crosswalk data files published by the FBI that link police departments to their organizing governments and classifies departments according to their type (Lindgren and Zawitz, 2001). A liberal definition of "special jurisdiction" was chosen to capture as many departments as possible in each of the crosswalk years available: 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. At this point departments could appear up to four times in the data, once from each of the crosswalk files. Next, this universe was narrowed by eliminating special jurisdictions that were either miscoded or clearly did not represent a college, but rather some other special type of jurisdiction like a school district. Then, it was necessary to identify when agencies had reorganized but still retained the same or similar name. The process began with unifying inconsistent or modified agency identifier codes used by the FBI. This was done by manually inspecting reporting patterns for agencies with the same name, but different FBI identifiers (for example, Harvard University listed under two different identifier codes). This reduced the number of unique agencies to match and improved the continuity of data, as police forces changed names or were recoded by the FBI over the period of study.

The list of CPDs from the FBI data needed to be matched to the campuses they served. The IPEDS directory data was downloaded using the Education Data Explorer API published by the Urban Institute. This directory supplied a list of possible campuses served by each campus police department. A fuzzy-matching algorithm was run against all unique names of CPDs in the UCR and all institution names in IPEDS. For each police department, 15 to 20 candidate campuses were identified by name as potential colleges authorizing the campus police department. For each of the approximately 900 unique police agencies these potential matches were reviewed by hand using the Human Augmented Matching (HAM) tool developed by the author.³⁰

For approximately 100 CPDs the match to a campus was ambiguous. Over the period of study many colleges have changed their names or reorganized in ways that made matching CPDs reliably for all years difficult. For example, "SUNY: Buffalo" was an ambiguous identifying name for a campus police department that could match multiple IPEDS institutions over the period of study: "SUNY College at Buffalo," "SUNY at Buffalo," "University of Buffalo," "SUNY Buffalo State". These cases were further reviewed by hand, this time including contextual information about both the CPD and the potential matching college, including fall enrollment, institutional characteristics, the campus website, or the arrest and officer employment historical data from the UCR. These matches were then finalized and stored in a spreadsheet. Where ambiguity remained — for example, large university systems such as the Kent State system with multiple branches but a single police department — the police department was assigned to the largest or "flagship" campus.

Massachusetts police agencies were reassigned FBI identifier codes during the period of data available in this study. There are some years where data for the same agency is reported under two separate identifying numbers and the numbers reported are not identical. In these cases, the agencies were assigned their most recent identifier number and the highest value reported in each field (e.g. number of officers, number of arrests) was used in each year where duplication occurred. This is the most conservative approach to reconciling these inconsistencies in the record and rests on the assumption that when an agency's data was submitted twice, the larger values represent the most complete information for that agency in that year – as all of the data elements used in this report are cumulative counts of people and events.

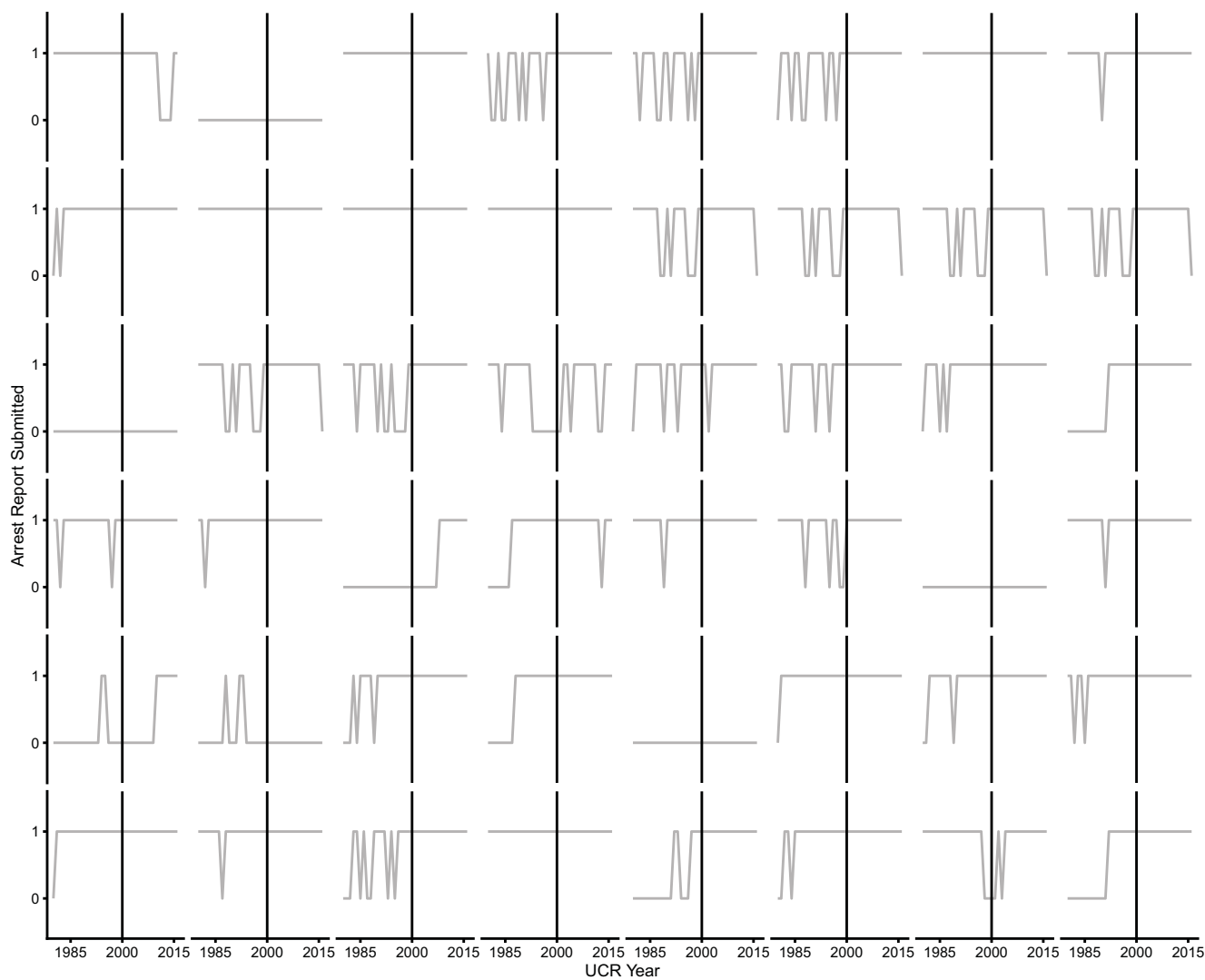
Any errors, omissions, or inconsistencies that result from these decisions are the full responsibility of the author.

³⁰HAM is an open-source package available for R developed by the author. www.github.com/jknowles/ham

UCR Reporting Patterns

The voluntary nature of the UCR raises questions about what factors may influence a CPD to report or not report its data to the FBI. While a full analysis of this is beyond the scope of the present report, it is helpful to look at the reporting patterns of some of the largest CPDs to identify whether reporting is consistent when it is done, or if there are interruptions in annual reporting associated with external factors such as changes in leadership, priorities, or data systems.

Figure 20 shows the reporting patterns for arrest data for individual campuses over time. For years where arrest data are present the line is at 1, and for years when there is no arrest data it takes the value of 0. From this, we can visualize trends for each campus showing consistency and interruptions in reporting over time. Two important details emerge: 1) interruptions in reporting were much more common prior to 2000 than after. 2) after 2000 almost all large CPDs reported arrest data in the UCR. From the UCR alone it is not possible to determine if these patterns are the result of a policy change around 2000 or an emergent pattern. One exception to this pattern is the abnormal number of non-reporting CPDs in 2016 (as illustrated by the downward slope at the end of many individual college plots in Figure 20).



Top 48 CPDs by Campus Enrollment in 2016. Each facet is one college.
 Reporting trend visualized with vertical line splitting the time series at year 2000.
 SOURCES: FBI Uniform Crime Report. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Data System (IPEDS).
 YEARS: 1980–2016



Figure 20: UCR Reporting Patterns for 48 Largest Colleges

Reporting patterns and their relationship to CPD size, CPD age, and the relationship that CPDs have with neighboring police departments is a topic that merits further follow-up. The historical record of the UCR is valuable for understanding how campus policing has changed over time and for understanding the ways the context of safety and law enforcement on campuses has changed since policymakers were last students. A next step is to establish when agencies were created, first reported to the UCR, and what, if any, explanations can be documented for interruptions in reporting. A good first place to start is to look for instances where CPDs submitted their data to another police department for reporting — a pattern known in the UCR as “being covered by” another agency, where the CPD’s numbers would be included in the totals reported by another agency such as the county or city police department. It is common for small specialized police departments to report to a larger department and be included in the totals reported for that larger department.

Totals and Reporting Inconsistencies

For its annual report *Crime in the United States* the FBI uses a variety of procedures to impute national and regional totals from individual police agency reports. In this report no attempt is made to replicate the FBI's national and regional estimation procedures or employ imputation methods suggested by others to fill in missing data (Lynch and Jarvis, 2008). Individual agency detailed arrest reports were used and each law enforcement agency was identified as a campus police department or not based on the procedure described in the matching section above.

There are two exceptions to this approach. The first is that annual arrest data for 2015 was unavailable at the time of writing this report. Monthly arrest data for 2015 was used and the FBI procedure for estimating annual arrest data from partial monthly totals was applied to estimate annual data for agencies with fewer than 12 months of reporting. The impact of this on the totals reported for campus police departments was minimal - but discrepancies may remain in trends or totals for individual agencies in 2015.

The second exception exception is for law enforcement agencies in Florida and Illinois. Both of these states have inconsistent participation in the UCR and for many of the years included in this study did not report annual agency-level arrest data to the FBI. In these cases, Civilytics gathered annual data files from the Justice Department in each state and aligned them with the FBI reporting definitions. In most cases this approach led to a loss of demographic details about those arrested by race or age. In other cases it precluded the finer disaggregation of crime categories for drug offenses, as the state may have only published data on all drug possession arrests or categorized drugs differently than the FBI.

Finally, inconsistencies in the data from individual agencies may remain due to reporting errors, differing interpretations of the categories being reported, or a propensity to under- and over-report certain types of arrests. These are among the known data quality issues with UCR data that have no definitive resolution (Nolan et al., 2011; Hickman and Rice, 2010; Maltz, 2006).

Data errors are found in every administrative data collection, but it is only through regular use that over time administrative data become more accurate and reliable. It is hoped that through the efforts of this report and similar reports the data reported by law enforcement agencies will become more accurate and serve as a more reliable foundation for local deliberation about the role police play in society.

Appendix B: Additional Figures

Appendix B is an online appendix providing additional tables and graphs with more detailed disaggregation of CPD data.

- Count of CPDs Reporting UCR Data by Campus Category and Size
- CPD Trends in Arrests per Officer by Offense
- Variance in CPD Arrests per Officer over Time
- Comparing Total Arrests by Offense for Campus and Municipal Police Departments in 2016
- Comparing Arrest Share of Offenses in 2016 between Campus and Municipal Police Departments
- Comparing Arrest Share of Offenses by Race (Black and White) for CPDs in 1996 and 2016
- Marijuana Possession Arrest Trends for 35 Largest CPDs
- Marijuana Possession Arrest Trends for 25 CPDs with Most Marijuana Possession Arrests
- Arrest Trends of Black People for 25 CPDs with Most Arrests of Black People since 1980
- Number of CPDs Making Arrests and Total Arrests by CPDs for Rape and Sex Offenses

Access the online appendix at: www.civilytics.com/publication/cpd-report

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