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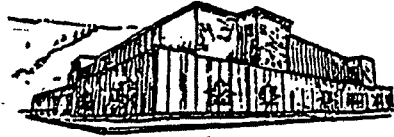
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**Applying a Durkheimian Thesis to a Small Town:
The Relationships Between Social Position,
Fear of Crime, and Attitudes Toward Police**

By

Justin T. Denney

B.S. Morningside College, 2000

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

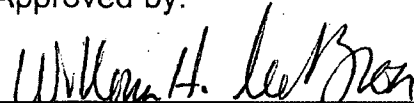
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The University of Montana

2002

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Title of Paper: Applying a Durkheimian Thesis to a Small Town: The Relationships Between Social Position, Fear of Crime, and Attitudes Toward Police

Chairperson: William H. McBroom, Professor *WAM*

ABSTRACT

The data analyzed here were derived from a study conducted for the Missoula, Montana Police Department. The goal of that study was to gain information from citizens on opinions toward the police department on a variety of topics. The questionnaire for the study was developed under consultation with the Missoula Police Department to specifically meet the needs and interests of the department. The analysis for the present research was secondary, thus, it came after the instrument was constructed and distributed.

The current research is concerned with the relationships between individuals' level of integration in the existing social structure and their fear of crime and attitudes toward police. Following a Durkheimian argument, it is hypothesized that individuals of the higher classes (more integrated) are 1) more fearful of crime because of the disruption crime can cause to the social order and 2) provide more support to the police because of the recognition that the police serve to protect the social order.

The methods used for the analysis were to investigate the statistical association between individuals' social position (level of integration) and their fear of crime and attitudes toward police. In order to investigate these relationships, cross-tabulations are developed to look at differences in how respondents of more or less integration in the community: 1) fear crime and 2) view the police. Finally, multiple regression was conducted with variables that might be predictive of the fear of crime. Results of the analysis are largely inconclusive. The analysis concludes with a discussion of the measurements used to construct indicators.

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Introduction

Sociologists have long been interested in analyzing the nature of social order. In order to explore the interactions of individuals and groups, the discipline must look directly at factors of the social environment that in some way influence these interactions.

Social norms are integrated into the social order. These norms are “extremely varied and extremely pervasive, that they are a peculiar feature of human society, and that they are an essential part of what we call social order” (Davis 1949: 79). The concerns associated with order and norms often include interests that are linked to one’s position in the social hierarchy.

“Human society . . . is in part organized and made possible by rules of behavior” (Blake and Davis 1964: 457). Individuals behave in ways that coincide with expectations placed on them by the very roles that they play in everyday life. These expectations (or rules) for behavior are created by the normative order that exists in social life. In a chapter contained in *Handbook of Modern Sociology* (1964), Judith Blake and Kingsley Davis expand on this notion:

If it be granted that social norms affect behavior, then the totality of norms, or at least of major norms, within a society can be expected to have some consistency, or order. Otherwise, the social system would not approximate a “system,” and the society would tend to fall to pieces and be absorbed by another one which was orderly. It follows that an important aspect of the study of social organization is the study of the “normative order” (458).

The normative order is defined and applied in different contexts according to what or whom is the object of study; nevertheless, norms are essential

components of social structure. "If there were no normative order there could be no human society . . ." (Davis 1949: 53).

There are also behaviors that individuals engage in that are inherently unexpected. These unexpected behaviors are contradictory to the normative order and, thus, produce disharmony. Additionally, the very existence of unexpected behaviors verifies that the normative order does, in fact, exist. Without a normative order, in which we place judgement on the just or unjustness of social behavior, we would have no basis for making decisions of what was right or wrong.

Important ideas from Emile Durkheim about the social order are found in *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893). Durkheim contended that individuals in society are integrated because if society were dominated solely by the pursuit of self-interest, it would result in a complete breakdown of order in society. Durkheim's notions of social rituals, which serve the purpose of integrating or bonding people together, are contained in his last work *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912).

Background

Following Collins' treatment of Durkheim (1992: 109), the argument is that crime is a normal, even a necessary, element in society. The rituals that come with the punishment of criminals are basic components of social structure. The logic is that crime serves a non-obvious purpose in our everyday lives. Members

in society are connected in a moral sense. When someone is wronged, individuals take comfort in being outraged that such an occurrence has taken place. Individuals want to see the offender punished but "It can be argued that the social purpose of these punishments is not to have a real effect upon the criminal, but to enact a ritual for the benefit of society" (Collins 1992: 109). The ritual itself brings people closer together. Being part of the ritual strengthens one's emotional bond to society. "It is this common emotional participation that draws the group together, and reestablishes it as a community" (Collins 1992: 111).

After the punishment ritual is performed, the public feels that the laws have been justified and notice is served that those laws are not to be violated. Thus, Durkheim argues metaphorically that society needs crime to survive; without crime there would be no punishment rituals, bonds to society would fade away, and the group would fall apart (Collins 1992: 112).

The argument is furthered in Collins (1992: 113) by stating that crime is mediated by social class: ". . . it is precisely those people who are least subject to crime who are most upset about the crime problem." The punishment rituals, therefore, appeal most to people who are already integrated into dominant groups (Collins 1992: 114). Referring to the higher classes of society, Durkheim proposes that individuals of higher social position are more integrated into society and, thus, more concerned with things which serve to disrupt the normative order of social life, such as crime. "Outrage about crime legitimates the social hierarchy" (Collins 1992: 114).

Members of society live and function partly through rules that broadly state that some things are simply not supposed to be done to other people. "People not only conform to rules themselves but, by means of their sanctioning of others behavior, motivate others to conform also" (Blake and Davis 1964: 465). Disruption occurs when these rules are violated or the boundaries are tested in some way. Extending Durkheim's thought to this notion, those who are the most integrated into the social order would favor the order more strongly and would be more affected by a dislocation of it.

Some Recent Literature

Much of the recent literature on fear of crime does not draw on Durkheim directly. Rather, much research is based on popular concerns about fear of crime and theoretical explanations dealing with victimization. This changes the focus from who fears crime to how people become fearful of the possibility of becoming victims.

The present research uses fear of crime as an indicator of the fear of social disruption. To stay consistent with Durkheim's ideas, it is imperative to distinguish this analysis of fear from the analysis of fear more commonly seen in the literature. The fear of crime, as seen in the recent literature, is best measured by asking respondents how "fearful" they are of being victims of certain crimes. Although this may be productive in research attempting to explain different components associated with the actual fear of individual crimes,

it is not the point here. In the present research, fear of crime is used to examine individuals' fears of the disruption of their social worlds. A key component in the disruption of one's world is imagining the possibility of crime and disorder.

Recent authors (Warr 1984; Warr and Stafford 1983; Ferraro and LaGrange 1987; Chiricos, Hogan, and Gertz 1997) have conceptualized the fear of crime as including a combination of one's perceived risk of being victimized and the perceived seriousness of the offenses by which they could become victims. This may allow for a insightful look into the proximal causes of the fear of crime, but it may not be indicative of the general fear that one feels when thinking about or considering criminal acts.

The research reported here combines a general fear of crime with individuals' perceptions of safety to arrive at a notion that taps an associated fear of social disruption. Thus, the present research is not concerned with the perceptions one has of becoming a victim of any particular crime. Rather, the interest is in the respondents' fear of crime as it applies to the disruption of the order of their lives. The value of having an overall indicator of the fear of crime is separate, and should be distinguished from the fear of being victimized as a function of the types of crimes considered (Ferraro and LaGrange 1987). In other words, a general fear of crime should not be applied to any explanations associated with the perceived risk of becoming a victim of specific crimes.

The fear of crime includes both anticipated fears and actual fears (Garofalo 1981). Accordingly, research often conceptualizes fear of crime as an individual being frightened when "walking alone at night" or an individual living in

a “high crime” neighborhood. Interestingly, Baker *et al.* (1983) report that recent actual victimization of an individual plays no part in a person’s reported fear of crime. Recent research also shows that older individuals, females, and highly educated people are more afraid of crime (Baker, Nienstedt, Everett, and McCleary 1983; Clemente and Kleiman 1977).

Baker *et al.* (1983) contend that education is far more important in predicting fear than the other factors, reporting that the well educated are more fearful of crime. Clemente and Kleiman (1977) assert that gender is the strongest predictor, with females being more afraid of crime than males. Some of the differences in the findings from these two studies may be due to differences in their samples. Baker *et al.* (1983) studied fear of crime as an impact of a recent media published crime wave in Phoenix, Arizona while Clemente and Kleiman (1977) used a national sample to look at fear of crime in the United States. These differences aside, the fact that the better educated are more fearful is consistent with the Durkheimian thesis: that those most integrated in a society are most concerned about threats to the social order.

More likely, the differences in the findings from these studies are due to measurement inconsistencies, as proposed by Ferraro (1995) and Ferraro and LaGrange (1987). “It appears that different measures of fear, or purported fear, of crime yield inconsistent empirical relationships” (Ferraro and LaGrange 1987:79). Clemente and Kleiman (1977) used a single item to measure respondents fear of crime and Baker *et al.* (1983) used two items to construct an additive index of fear but failed to report the reliability of that index. Although

there are some problems and concerns with how the fear of crime has been measured in past research, the differences in the findings from the past studies will be further considered later on in this paper. It seems simplistic to completely disregard conflicting findings due to measurement or methodological problems.

An interesting area of study in itself, attitudes toward police, has not been associated with fear of crime in the recent literature. These attitudes toward police are not directly related to Durkheim's work, but rather represent an extension of his ideas. Specifically, if individuals who are strongly integrated into society are more afraid of crime, then it would follow that those individuals would provide more support for police. Police departments are agencies that enforce the laws that maintain the status quo.

There is strong evidence that older individuals rate police more positively (Smith and Hawkins, 1973; Scaglione and Condon 1980; Albrecht and Green 1977; Pino 2000). Inconsistent with the hypothesis offered in the research reported here, Smith and Hawkins (1973) found that the background variables of education and occupation do not play significant roles in individuals' attitudes toward police. Smith and Hawkins further report that being a victim of a crime or the threat of victimization do not have significant effects on attitudes.

Albrecht and Green (1977) report that there are class differences in attitudes toward police, with the urban middle class responding more favorably to ratings of police than the urban lower class. In addition, Flanagan and Longmire (1996) report that not only are poorer individuals more likely to give negative ratings to police, but also the same is true for less educated people. This is

consistent with the Durkheimian thesis: those individuals who are the most integrated into society are the most supportive of the punishment rituals. The police serve as an important component of these rituals so the expectation is that individuals of the upper class and individuals with more education would give more support to the police.

Problem for Investigation

The purpose of the present research is twofold. First, I will examine the Durkheimian proposition that individuals who are well integrated into society are more fearful of social disruptions in the normative order. As stated earlier in this research, the fear of social disruption is indicated by the fear of crime. Second, I will look at the degree to which the relationship between social position and fear of crime corresponds with attitudes toward police. As implied by the Durkheimian position, I argue that not only will the individuals who are more integrated into society be more fearful of crime, but they will also have more positive feelings toward the police in such areas as confidence, performance, and evaluation of the police.

Applying the Durkheimian position to the research proposed here allows an opportunity to add confirmation to the theory and expand it further. This research will investigate a central Durkheimian tenet. Specifically, those who have high social position and/or are well integrated in the society not only benefit from the existing social order, but are also made anxious by dislocations in it. By

extension, such people should similarly have positive evaluation of police because the police serve importantly to support the existing social order.

Sample and Methods

The data analyzed here were derived from a study conducted for the Missoula, Montana Police Department. The goal of that study was to gain information from citizens on opinions toward the police department on a variety of topics. The present writer, along with two graduate students, developed the questionnaire used under the supervision of faculty in the Department of Sociology at The University of Montana. My role in the study, as the director, included questionnaire development, data analysis, interpretation and presentation of results, and consultation with the Missoula Police Department.

It is important to note that the questionnaire for the study was developed under consultation with the Missoula Police Department to specifically meet the needs and interests of the department. The analysis for the present research was secondary and for a different purpose; thus, it came after the instrument was constructed and distributed.

The Bureau of Business and Economic Research at The University of Montana conducted random-digit dialing telephone interviews, lasting less than 15 minutes each, between March 14 and April 9, 2001. The interview protocol included a screening question regarding residency in Missoula to ensure that the sample consisted only of those residing within the city limits. Of the 568

contacts, 134 refused participation and 16 failed to meet the screening requirement. This resulted in 418 completed interviews out of the 552 who were eligible, producing a response rate of seventy-six percent.

Questions included in the survey (see Appendix A for the full questionnaire) dealt with confidence in the abilities of the police, friendliness of police, fairness of police in dealing with people, and helpfulness of police. Questions were also included dealing specifically with respondents' fear of crime and opinions toward feelings of safety, including fear of crime in the city of Missoula, fear of crime in respondents' neighborhoods, safety of the city of Missoula, and safety in respondents' neighborhoods. Background variables such as education, occupation, age, and gender were also included. Frequencies and percentages for all variables are provided in Appendix A.

The methods used for the analysis were to investigate the statistical association between individuals' social position and their fear of crime and attitudes toward police. Social position is measured by the social position scale developed by Hollingshead (Hollingshead n.d.). This scale utilizes education and occupation of respondents, both of which are available in the data set. Also included in the data are measures of length of residence, home ownership, and property ownership which will be used to evaluate the ideas associated with social integration.

In order to investigate the relationships between social position, fear of crime, and attitudes toward police, cross-tabulations are developed to look at differences in how respondents of more or less integration in the community: 1)

fear crime and 2) view the police. The relationships are measured by gamma coefficients and significance is tested by chi-square statistics. Selected controls are applied in order to look at the possibility of multiple explanations to the phenomenon.

In addition to looking at the relationships between social position, fear of crime, and attitudes toward police, it is important to determine whether the relationships are stable in the face of controls. Two groups of controls have been identified and will be applied to all the relationships. The first group of controls includes age, gender, victimization, and contact with the police. The application of these controls is suggested by some of the past literature dealing with fear of crime and attitudes toward police. The second group of controls includes property ownership, whether the respondent rents or owns their home, and years the respondent has lived in Missoula. This group of controls are applied because of their conceptual relevance to respondent integration in the community.

Operational Specification

The major focus of the present research is a central Durkheimian tenant. Specifically, those who have high social position and/or are well integrated in society not only benefit from the existing social order, but will also be made anxious by dislocations in it. By extension, such people should similarly express a positive evaluation of police because the police serve the substantial function

of supporting the existing social order.

Hollingshead Class

The major independent variable, "involvement in the social system", was tapped with the Hollingshead two-factor index of social position (Hollingshead n.d.). The Hollingshead index was used for two reasons. First, the index has the reputation for accurately estimating the hierarchical positions individuals occupy in the status structure of our society, and, second, because the two essential variables used in the index, education and occupation, were both readily available in the data.

The two components for the index of social position, education and occupation, are each scored on a seven-point scale. Each respondent receives a score for their occupation from "1"; higher executives, proprietors of large concerns, and major professionals, to "7"; unskilled employees (see Appendix B for full description of the Hollingshead index). The score for occupation is multiplied by the factor weight of seven. The process is much the same for education. The respondent receives a score for education which ranges from "1"; graduate professional training, to "7"; less than seven years of school. The factor weight for education is four. The factor weights for the index were determined by Hollingshead and his colleagues using multiple correlation techniques and factor analysis. The score weights derived from the scale scores of occupation and education are added together to produce an index of social

position score for the respondent. The index ranges from "11" (high) to "77" (low).

In the original work done by Hollingshead, he argued that the scores could be collapsed into five social classes (I being high and V being low). The ranges for the five classes are; class I=11 to 17, class II=18 to 27, class III=28 to 43, class IV=44 to 60, and class V=61 to 77. Hollingshead and his colleagues intended the scale to represent five distinct classes (Hollingshead and Redlich 1958).

The observed range in the current sample is from "11" to "73", with a mean of 46.5, a standard deviation of 18.0, and skewness of -0.6. The distribution of the classes in this sample is: Class I = 7.1%, Class II = 12.8%, Class III = 17.7%, Class IV = 28.5%, Class V = 33.9%. In their study of New Haven, Hollingshead and Redlich (1958) reported having the following distribution of classes: Class I = 2%, Class II = 9%, Class III = 22%, Class IV = 49%, Class V = 18%.

Because of the scoring system, class V is made up of a large number of students and retirees in the current sample. The scale was obviously intended for individuals in the labor force. Although the scale provides for unemployed individuals, students and retirees, it can be argued, form distinctive groups. More discussion will be provided on this point as findings are presented.

Fear of Crime

Following Durkheim's argument, that those of the higher social positions are the most fearful of social disruption, it seems reasonable to use items dealing with fear of crime as indicators of this notion. Four variables: "fear of crime in Missoula", "fear of crime in respondent's neighborhood", "sense of safety in Missoula", and "sense of safety in the respondent's neighborhood" are used to indicate an individual's fear of crime (see Appendix A for distributions of these variables). The safety variables were coded in the following manner: 1 = very safe, 2 = somewhat safe, 3 = not safe at all and the fear variables were coded 1 = very fearful, 2 = somewhat fearful, 3 = not very fearful, 4 = not at all fearful. Given this coding, the variables were negatively related. The variables "fear of crime in the city of Missoula" and "fear of crime in the respondent's neighborhood" were re-coded to coincide with the order of categories present in "safety of Missoula" and "safety of respondent's neighborhood".

Variables like fear of crime in the city and fear of crime in one's neighborhood are analytically distinct. However, while sharing some variance they tap partially different dimensions. Accordingly, this analysis was enhanced by creating a variable out of related components.

Logically, this would involve demonstrating that the items are inter-related but not so strong as to suggest they measure the same thing. If this is the outcome, the next step is to submit the variables to a factor analysis to determine whether they form a single factor and to see how much variance is

accounted for by that factor. A single item scale could then be produced by simply adding the scale values on each separate variable to produce a new variable that taps a new dimension captured by the factor analysis. A final check is to submit this derived scale to reliability analysis to see if it meets conventional standards (a Cronbach alpha between 0.6 and 0.9).

After the re-coding of the fear variables, inter-item correlations were conducted which produced coefficients ranging from .28 to .55. All of the correlations are significant at or below the .05 level. Given the strength of the inter-item correlations, the next step was to perform a factor analysis with the four variables to see if, in fact, the items produce a single factor. As Table 1 (below) indicates, the four variables form a single factor, which accounts for approximately fifty-seven percent of the variance.

Table 1. Factor Loadings for Fear Variables.*

Questionnaire Item	Factor Loadings
Fear in neighborhood	.797
Fear in city	.762
Safety of neighborhood	.742
Safety of city	.721

*Principal Component Analysis

An analysis was undertaken to assess the scalability of the items in Table 1. Reliability analysis yielded an alpha of .74. Given these findings, the fear variables were used to construct a scale by adding across the items. This scale, now called "fear of social disruption", has a theoretical range of "4" to "14", with low scores indicating a low amount of fear and high scores indicating a high

amount of fear. The observed range was from "4" to "14", with a mean of 7.5, standard deviation of 2.1, and skewness of .04. For purposes of analysis, the scale was trichotomized into low, medium, and high amounts of fear. The categories have the following distribution: low = 34.9%, medium = 30.2%, and high = 34.9%.

Evaluation of Police/Confidence in the Police

In extending Durkheim's argument, it is reasonable to look at respondents' views toward police. The variables of interest here are "friendliness of police", "helpfulness of police", "fairness of police", "confidence in police to prevent crime", "confidence in police to protect one from crime", and "confidence in police to solve crime" (see Appendix A for distributions of these variables). Inter-item correlations were conducted on these six police variables and produced coefficients ranging from .21 to .57. All of the correlations are significant at or below the .05 level.

Table 2. Factor Loadings for Police Variables.*

Questionnaire Item	Factor Loadings	
	Component 1	Component 2
Friendliness of Police	.847	
Helpfulness of Police	.826	
Fairness of Police	.694	
Confidence to prevent		.807
Confidence to protect		.782
Confidence to solve		.637

*Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation

The same procedure used with the "fear" dimension was employed with these six variables. Table 2 (above) provides information on the results of factor analysis using varimax rotation. Two distinct factors accounting for approximately 63.5% of the variance were found. Reliability analysis was performed separately for the three items composing the two dimensions.

As can be seen from Table 2, one factor included "friendliness of police", "helpfulness of police", and "fairness of police". When subjected to reliability analysis these items produced an alpha of .74. The scale created from these three variables, "evaluation of police", was formed by adding across the items and has a possible range from "3" to "9", with a low score representing a low evaluation and a high score representing a high evaluation. The observed range was from "3" to "9", with a mean of 7.1 (indicating a high general evaluation of the police in the sample), standard deviation of 1.6, and skewness of -.46. For purposes of analysis, this scale was also trichotomized. This yielded the following distribution: low = 38.9%, medium = 33.8%, and high = 27.2%.

The second factor consists of "confidence to prevent crime", "confidence to protect one from crime", and "confidence to solve crime" and was treated in the same way as the first factor. Reliability analysis produced an alpha of .62. This scale, "confidence in the police", was constructed by adding across items. It also has a possible range from "3" to "9" and the observed range was "3" to "9". In this scale, a low score indicates a low amount of confidence and a high score means a high amount of confidence. The distribution of the trichotomy of this scale is low = 47.7%, medium = 27.9%, and high = 24.4%. The scale,

confidence in police, has a mean of 7.0 (indicating a high general confidence in the police in the sample), a standard deviation of 1.5, with a skewness of -.20.

Findings

Social Integration and Fear of Social Disruption

As stated earlier, this research is designed to examine the relationships between an individual's social position (integration) and the associated fear of crime, evaluation of police, and confidence in the police. The central thesis, drawn from Durkheim, is that those of the higher classes are more integrated into the social system and, thus, fear dislocations in it more than those of the lower classes. Crime serves as a major source of dislocation in society, so the fear of crime is used here as an indicator of the fear of dislocations in the social structure.

Table 3. Hollingshead Class and Fear of Crime (Percents).

Fear of Crime	Hollingshead Class					Total
	V (low)	IV	III	II	I (high)	
Low	31.5%	35.4%	38.6%	35.3%	41.4%	35.1%
Medium	33.8	27.4	31.4	25.5	31.0	30.3%
High	34.6	37.2	30.0	39.2	27.6	34.6%
Total (no. cases)	(130)	(113)	(70)	(51)	(29)	(393)

$\chi^2 = 3.7$, $df = 8$, $p < .90$; $\gamma = .05$

Findings bearing on the major thesis (social position and fear of crime) are presented above in Table 3. Contrary to the theoretical expectation, no pattern is found between class and fear of crime. Instead, it is those of the highest class who appear to be the least fearful of crime (41.4% of class I being "low" on fear compared to 31.5% of those in Class V). However, the differences in Table 3 are not significant at the .05 level and the gamma value (.05) shows that the relationship is negligible.

The data in Table 3 are for all cases. However, it may be recalled that there are many retirees and students in the sample who were coded as unemployed which is not fully in the spirit of the Hollingshead class. Hollingshead and his associates obviously intended the scale on social class to include individuals who are active in the labor force. Occupation is one of the two main components that make up the index. Although unemployed individuals are accounted for, the index does not provide for meaningful placement of students or retired individuals. Although students and retired individuals may work part-time jobs, the way in which they are most often identified in society is simply as a student or a retired individual and may therefore have decidedly different status within the status quo.

To see whether or not differences are detected by excluding these individuals, the analysis of the relationship between class and fear was run again. Table 4 (below) shows that when students and retirees are excluded, the relationship between class and fear is significant. However, as suggested by the

results for all cases, this relationship is the opposite of what has been hypothesized. Individuals of the highest social class are the least likely to report a high amount of fear. Accordingly, individuals in the lowest social class (V) are the most likely to report having a high amount of fear.

Table 4. Hollingshead Class and Fear of Crime, Excluding Students/Retirees(Percents).

Fear of Crime	Hollingshead Class					Total
	V (low)	IV	III	II	I (high)	
Low	5.7%	31.9%	38.6%	35.3%	41.4%	31.9%
Medium	45.7	27.8	31.4	25.5	31.0	31.1%
High	48.6	40.3	30.0	39.2	27.6	37.0%
Total (no. cases)	(35)	(72)	(70)	(51)	(29)	(257)

$\chi^2 = 15.8, df = 8, p < .05; \text{gamma} = .18$

Other controls were applied based on some of the more recent literature on fear of crime and attitudes toward police, (Clemente and Kleiman 1977; Baker, Nienstedt, Everett, and McCleary 1983) which found gender, age, victimization, and contact with police important for fear of crime. Neither these "age", "gender", "victimization", "contact with police" nor the alternative indicators of social integration (years lived in Missoula, property ownership, rent/own home) change the relationship between social position and fear of crime (data not shown). Thus, the analysis on the relationship between class and fear indicates that it is the lower classes that display the highest amounts of fear, and this does

not seem to be mediated by other factors.

Social Integration and Evaluation of Police/Confidence in Police

The central issue examined here is the Durkheimian tenet that those who are most integrated into society are precisely the individuals who fear disruptions in the social order the most. A theoretical extension of this idea is those who are well integrated into the society, apart from fear, will provide higher evaluations of the police and will have higher confidence in the police. Police departments work as agents that support the existing social order. Individuals who deviate from the social order are "brought to justice" by the police through various punishment practices. Therefore, individuals with the highest sense of belonging to the social system (well integrated) would benefit more from the services of police and should appreciate the police more.

Table 5. Hollingshead Class and Evaluation of Police (Percents).

Evaluation of Police	Hollingshead Class					Total
	V (low)	IV	III	II	I (high)	
Low	38.6%	38.7%	44.3%	33.3%	40.7%	39.1%
Medium	37.6	29.0	29.5	40.0	29.6	33.3%
High	23.8	32.3	26.2	26.7	29.6	27.5%
Total (no. cases)	(101)	(93)	(61)	(45)	(27)	(327)

$\chi^2 = 4.2$, $df = 8$, $p < .90$; $\gamma = -.02$

Table 5 (above) is a cross-tabulation with the Hollingshead class and evaluation of police. As can be seen, there is no statistically significant relationship between the two variables. Additionally, there is no clear pattern in the data. Individuals in class I are both among the most likely to give a low rating of police (40.7%) and also among the most likely to give a high rating of police (29.6%).

The other police variable, confidence in police, is shown in a cross-tabulation with class in Table 6 (below). The relationship between confidence in police and class is very similar to that of evaluation of police and class (Table 5). The relationships, in Table 5 and 6, are weak, indicated by the low gamma coefficients of -.02 and .05, respectively. However, as the level of confidence increases in Table 6 the percentage of class I respondents steadily declines.

Table 6. Hollingshead Class and Confidence in Police (Percents).

Confidence in Police	Hollingshead Class					Total
	V (low)	IV	III	II	I (high)	
Low	46.3%	45.5%	50.0%	54.2%	48.1%	47.9%
Medium	26.0	32.3	32.3	14.6	29.6	27.6%
High	27.6	22.2	17.7	31.3	22.2	24.5%
Total (no. cases)	(123)	(48)	(62)	(99)	(123)	(359)

$\chi^2 = 7.8$, $df = 8$, $p < .50$; $\gamma = .05$

Replicating the analysis performed on the fear variable, the relationships observed in Tables 5 and 6 were run again excluding students and retirees and

produced no difference in results (data not shown). This suggests that attitudes toward police are not affected by the measure for class even when excluding these two types of respondents, which provides no evidence for the proposed theoretical extension.

Additionally, controls for age, gender, victimization, contact with police, and integration were applied to the relationships between class and evaluation/confidence in police. The results show that contact with police has a significant effect on the relationship with class and evaluation of police.

Table 7. Evaluation of Police and Hollingshead Class, controlled on contact (Percents).

Contact with Police and Evaluation of Police	Hollingshead Class					Total
	V (low)	IV	III	II	I (high)	
<u>No</u>						
Low	44.3%	28.3%	38.1%	36.4%	[46.7%]	37.8%
Medium	34.4	35.8	38.1	18.2	[40.0]	33.7%
High	21.3	35.8	23.8	45.5	[13.3]	28.5%
Total (no. cases)	(61)	(53)	(21)	(22)	(15)	(172)
	$\chi^2 = 9.9, df = 8, p < .30; \text{gamma} = -.07$					
<u>Yes</u>						
Low	30.8%	52.5%	47.5%	30.4%	[33.3%]	40.9%
Medium	43.6	20.0	25.0	60.9	[16.7]	33.1%
High	25.6	27.5	27.5	8.7	[50.0]	26.0%
Total (no. cases)	(39)	(40)	(40)	(23)	(12)	(154)
	$\chi^2 = 19.4, df = 8, p < .05; \text{gamma} = .00$					

Note: Percentages in brackets are based on fewer than 20 cases.

Controlling for contact with the police, Table 7 (above), shows that individuals who have been in contact with the police in the last 12 months differ in their responses compared to individuals who have not. As can be seen in the table, individuals of the highest class (I) who had been in contact with the police were the most likely to give high evaluations of police. It must be noted that the type of contact with the police is not known because the survey question asked (question #26, see Appendix A) simply queried respondents on whether they had been in contact with the police in the last 12 months.

The chi-square for the partial table in the bottom panel of Table 7, is significant, but there is no discernible pattern ($\gamma = .00$). This evidence, along with the other evidence presented in this section, attests that there is no indication that individuals of the higher classes are more supportive of police. The inconclusive results are not affected by holding out students and retirees or by the introduction of controls (data not shown).

Fear of Social Disruption and Evaluation of Police/Confidence in Police

The findings thus far with regard to fear of crime and social class, have proved to be inconclusive. That is, there has been no evidence to support the claim that individuals of the higher classes fear crime more than individuals of the lower classes.

Despite this, it remains reasonable to look at a logical extension to the Durkheimian thesis: that individuals with a high degree of fear will have higher

evaluations of police and higher confidence in police. Recall that Durkheim purported that individuals who are well integrated are more fearful of crime, a proposition that has been tested and discussed in the first section of this Findings section. The logic of this extension to the relationship between integration and fear is that those individuals who have a high degree of fear should be more supportive of the institution that works to control crime and disruption. In the examination of this expansion of Durkheim's ideas, the focus independent variable switches from being social integration (class), to the fear effect of social disruption (crime) on attitudes toward police.

Table 8 (below) displays the results of a cross-tabulation between fear of crime and evaluation of police. There is no significant difference ($p < .90$) and a negligible relationship as measured by gamma (-.07).

Table 8. Fear of Crime and Evaluation of Police (Percents).

Evaluation of Police	Fear of Crime			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	37.9%	38.9%	41.2%	39.4%
Medium	31.9	33.7	35.3	33.6%
High	30.2	27.4	23.5	27.0%
Total (no. cases)	(116)	(95)	(119)	(330)

$\chi^2 = 1.3$, $df = 4$, $p < .90$; $\text{gamma} = -.07$

Table 9 (below) shows fear of crime with the second police variable, confidence in the police. The patterns between variables in Table 9 are nearly identical to those in Table 8 and are also not significant. However, the

relationship between fear of crime and confidence in police is considerably stronger (gamma = -.20) than that of evaluation of police. In either case, the patterns in Tables 8 and 9 are contradictory to the predicted relationship. The evidence suggests that individuals with a low evaluation of police or low confidence in police are the most likely to have high amounts of fear.

Table 9. Fear of Crime and Confidence in Police (Percents).

Confidence in Police	Fear of Crime			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	40.8%	45.3%	54.5%	47.2%
Medium	26.7	30.2	28.0	28.2%
High	32.5	24.5	17.4	24.6%
Total (no. cases)	(120)	(106)	(132)	(358)

$\chi^2 = 8.7$, $df = 4$, $p < .10$; gamma = -.20

When controls are applied to the relationships between fear and evaluation of police/confidence in the police, some interesting findings emerge with respect to fear of crime and confidence in the police. As can be seen below, those individuals with a low amount of fear are the most likely to have high confidence in the police, contingent upon them owning property in Missoula, owning their homes, or if they have lived in Missoula for over 12 years (years lived in Missoula was dichotomized for purposes of analysis). This information suggests that items dealing with integration in the community may be mediating the relationship between individuals fear of crime and their confidence in the police.

In Table 10 (below) the relationship displayed in the bottom partial table indicates that as fear of crime increases from low to high for property owners, they become less likely to have high confidence in the police. This is significant ($p < .05$) and is a relatively strong relationship ($\text{gamma} = -.40$).

Table 10. Fear of Crime and Confidence in Police, Controlling on Own Property (Percents).

Own Property and Confidence in Police	Fear of Crime			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
<u>No</u>				
Low	53.5%	50.0%	55.2%	53.0%
Medium	23.9	26.7	25.4	25.3%
High	22.5	23.3	19.4	21.7%
Total (no. cases)	(71)	(60)	(67)	(198)
	$\chi^2 = .52, df = 4, p < .99; \text{gamma} = -.03$			
<u>Yes</u>				
Low	22.9%	39.1%	53.1%	39.9%
Medium	31.3	34.8	31.3	32.3%
High	45.8	26.1	15.6	27.8%
Total (no. cases)	(48)	(46)	(64)	(158)
	$\chi^2 = 15.5, df = 4, p < .05; \text{gamma} = -.40$			

The relationship for home owners is exactly the same as it was for property owners. As indicated by the bottom panel in Table 11 (below), as fear of crime increases from low to high for home owners, they become less likely to have high confidence in the police. Additionally, the strength of this relationship is moderate with a gamma value of $-.39$.

Similar to the effects of property ownership and home ownership, the bottom panel of Table 12 (below) shows that for individuals who have lived in the city of Missoula the longest, as their fear increases they are less likely to have high levels of confidence in the police. This information provides yet another indication that the integrated individuals in the community are more fearful of disruption if they are not very confident in the police. The strength of the relationship in Table 12 is also similar to that of property and home ownership (gamma = -.29).

Table 11. Fear of Crime and Confidence in Police, Controlling on Own or Rent Home (Percents).

Own/Rent Home and Confidence in Police	Fear of Crime			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
<u>Rent</u>				
Low	53.1%	46.9%	56.9%	52.6%
Medium	26.6	28.6	25.9	26.9%
High	20.3	24.5	17.2	20.5%
Total (no. cases)	(64)	(49)	(58)	(171)
	$\chi^2 = 1.3, df = 4, p < .90; \text{gamma} = -.05$			
<u>Own</u>				
Low	22.0%	43.6%	52.1%	41.0%
Medium	28.0	30.9	30.1	29.8%
High	50.0	25.5	17.8	29.2%
Total (no. cases)	(50)	(55)	(73)	(178)
	$\chi^2 = 17.7, df = 4, p < .05; \text{gamma} = -.39$			

The control variables dealing with integration in the community (property ownership, home ownership, years lived in Missoula) are moderately related to the relationship between fear of crime and attitudes toward police. In fact, the gamma values associated with the integration controls are the strongest of any of the findings to this point, but the relationships are contrary to the hypothesis that individuals with high amounts of fear would have the highest levels of confidence in the police. Nevertheless, issues dealing with integration into the community are, to some extent, mediating the fear of crime.

Table 12. Fear of Crime and Confidence in Police, Controlling on Years Lived in City(Percents).

Years Lived and Confidence in Police	Fear of Crime			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
<u>0 to 11</u>				
Low	51.6%	48.1%	58.2%	52.6%
Medium	25.0	28.8	30.9	28.1%
High	23.4	23.1	10.9	19.3%
Total (no. cases)	(64)	(52)	(55)	(171)
	$\chi^2 = 3.9, df = 4, p < .50; \text{gamma} = -.12$			
<u>12 or more</u>				
Low	28.6%	42.6%	51.9%	42.2%
Medium	28.6	31.5	26.0	28.3%
High	42.9	25.9	22.1	29.4%
Total (no. cases)	(56)	(54)	(77)	(187)
	$\chi^2 = 9.6, df = 4, p < .05; \text{gamma} = -.29$			

Revisiting the Fear of Social Disruption

The analysis to this point has provided very little insight into the fear of crime, the main dependent variable of the central thesis. In fact, there has been little evidence to show that anything is strongly related to fear. There is a connection between fear of crime and confidence in police but only when controlling for property ownership, home ownership, and years lived in Missoula. If confidence in police is related to fear of crime only if certain integration variables are controlled for, the question remains: are indicators of integration in the community the best predictors of the fear of crime?

Table 13. Regression Results Predicting Fear of Crime.**

Prediction Variables	Coefficients		
	b	β	p
Hollingshead Class	.005	.049	n.s.
Own Property	-.301	-.073	n.s.
Rent/Own Home	-.638	-.155	n.s.
Length of Residence	.012	.096	n.s.
Evaluation of Police	.133	.104	n.s.
Confidence in Police	-.209	-.160	<.05
Contact with Police	.713	.173	<.05
Victim	1.03	.148	<.05
Gender	.496	.120	<.05
Age	.007	.060	n.s.
Adj. R ² (N)	(p)	.094	(292) (<.05)

** b and β refer to standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients, respectively.

To examine this question, multiple regression was conducted with

variables that might be predictive of the fear of crime. Table 13 provides the results of this analysis. It appears that the best predictors of the fear of crime are not items dealing with integration in the community. Rather, the table shows that gender, victimization, confidence in police, and contact with police are the strongest predictors of fear. This is evidenced by both the beta values (β) associated with these variables and their significance levels (p). However, the model as a whole is explaining only 9.4% of the total variance in fear of crime.

The predictive association of gender in Table 13 is consistent with some of the previous literature. The table shows that females are associated with high levels of fear, corresponding with findings from Clemente and Kleiman (1977) and others. The present data for gender are coded in the following manner: 1 = Male, 2 = Female. Although it seems that because of the growing independence and support groups of and for women the expectation of this association would become less and less standard, the consideration of various sex crimes continues to make sense of the relationship.

Individuals who responded that they had been victims of crime in the last 12 months were also more fearful of crime in Table 13. It is difficult to ascertain whether these individuals are more fearful of crime because they were actual victims of crime, because having been victims makes them think they could easily become victims again, or both. In any case, it appears that the personal exposure to a criminal act is related to a heightened sense of fear.

Additionally, the information in Table 13 indicates that individuals with high confidence in police are less fearful of crime. This finding, as suggested by the

relationship between fear and confidence when applying the integration control variables, seems, at first, contradictory to the logical extension of the Durkheimian thesis. Specifically, it was expected that individuals with a high fear of crime would have high confidence in the police.

However, an exploration into the Durkheimian thesis that those who are well integrated are more fearful of crime, has led to inconclusive findings. More consistent with the thesis is to consider not only the fear of crime but, also outrage about crime, something that was not measured in the present research. For example, a person does not have to be fearful of crime to be disgusted by criminal acts. Thus, if individuals have a high amount of confidence in the police's capabilities to successfully protect the order of their lives by preventing crime from occurring, then they will tend to worry less about crime.

Interestingly, the data in Table 13 show that individuals who have been in contact with the police in the last twelve months, are more fearful of crime. This finding provides further evidence that outrage about crime may be a strong indicator of the fear of social disruption. An individual who has come into contact with the police is likely interacting with the police because they have "experienced" crime in some way, possibly through reporting crime or being a victim of crime. Either reporting or being a victim of crime would lead to a heightened awareness and concern about criminal acts. Recall that individuals with high confidence in police have low fear of crime, perhaps because they do not have to worry about disruption. However, individuals who have had exposure to crime, through contact with the police, are more sensitive to the

disruption that crime can cause.

Finally, Table 13 displays a relationship between owning a home and fear of crime. Although the association is not significant, the weight of the coefficient cannot be ignored ($\beta = -.155$). It appears that individuals who own their homes have a higher level of fear. This finding provides some support for Durkheim's thoughts regarding fear and integration in the community. Home ownership is an obvious indicator of the integration of an individual into his/her community. Individuals who own their homes can certainly be seen as more integrated into the community when compared with a renter.

Even so, the data in Table 13 indicate that the strongest predictors of the fear of crime are not issues dealing with integration into the community. Gender and victimization are items that have inherently been associated with the fear of crime, but attitudes toward the police and contact with police have not.

Summary and Conclusions

The main task of this research has been to explore the relationship between an individual's level of integration and their corresponding fear of crime. This research, for the most part, has failed to support the relationship between class and fear, but it would be premature to dismiss 120 years of social thought without a great deal more evidence. Durkheim's thesis relies on a precise measure of integration in one's community. This measure of integration is a central component. In these data, social class may not be a good indicator for

integration. A better test of the ideas surrounding integration into the community is required to further consider this concept.

Inconclusive results inevitably bring forth questioning of the measurements used to construct indicators. As implied by Ferraro (1995), there are some problems with measuring the fear of crime. The current research uses a measure of the fear of crime to indicate fear of social disruption and then relate that variable with class and two police variables. If the measure of the fear of crime is not specific enough, then there may be a gap in extending it to the fear of social disruption. The measure used here is unique in that the literature available has not measured the fear of crime in the same way -- this research has attempted to use the fear of crime as an indicator of something else, an altogether divergent pursuit. Because of the difficulties in measuring the fear of crime itself, there are foreseeable problems with extending the fear of crime.

Certainly, the validity of a measure needs to have a certain level of confidence that it is, in fact, measuring what it is thought to be. However, the answer in this case is not that simple. Is the fear of crime always associated with the question: Will it happen to me? If so, then the research by Warr and Ferraro is on the right track. However, attempts to convince readers of that notion is not overwhelming. For instance, an individual can be fearful of crime, not for themselves, but for their families. An example of this is an individual who may not be fearful of rape but is fearful of a family member encountering a rapist. Are Ferraro and LaGrange (1987:82) accurate when they state that if we are truly interested in measuring fear of crime, our efforts will best be targeted toward

examining the world of everyday life; not hypothetical situations? This is one of the central questions that requires clarity before the research can be fruitfully advanced.

Appendix A: Questionnaire

Note: This is an exact copy of the instrument used to collect data. Frequencies and percentages are provided for all variables excluding questions similar to 2b. For questions similar to 2b the mean and standard deviation is provided for each component of the question.

Do you live within the Missoula City limits?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... yes	418	73.6
0 ... no – terminate call	16	2.8

First, I would like to ask you a few questions about life in Missoula.

1. How satisfied are you with the quality of life in your neighborhood? Would you say . . .

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very satisfied	173	41.4
2 ... Satisfied	216	51.6
3 ... Dissatisfied	23	5.5
4 ... Very dissatisfied	2	0.5
8 ... Don't Know / <u>ProCon</u>	2	0.5
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

2. How satisfied are you with the quality of life in the city of Missoula? Would you say . . .

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very satisfied	143	34.2
2 ... Satisfied	230	55.0
3 ... Dissatisfied	35	8.4
4 ... Very dissatisfied	3	0.7
8 ... Don't Know / <u>ProCon</u>	5	1.2
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

**2a. Generally, how would you rate the overall services the City currently provides to you?
(Would you say the services are . . .**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very Good	66	15.8
2 ... Good	208	49.8
3 ... Poor	27	6.5
4 ... Very Poor	8	1.9
8 ... Don't Know / <u>ProCon</u>	5	1.2
9 ... No Answer	104	24.8

2b. Would you say you are very Satisfied, Satisfied, Dissatisfied, or Very Dissatisfied with....

- 1 .. Fire protection and emergency medical services provided by the City of Missoula Fire Dept. mean = 2.6 s.d. = 2.5
- 2 ... Street maintenance and street sweeping services mean = 2.4 s.d. = 1.1
- 3 ... Parks and Recreation Department services, programs, and park maintenance mean = 2.1 s.d. = 1.7
- 4 The value of the services you receive from the City; in other words, getting your moneys worth from the City. mean = 2.3 s.d. = 1.5
- 5 ...The courtesy with which City employees treat you mean = 2.4 s.d. = 1.9

- 1 ... Very satisfied
- 2 ... Satisfied
- 3 ... Dissatisfied
- 4 ... Very dissatisfied
- 8 ... Don't Know / ProCon
- 9 ... No Answer

3. How involved in the community of Missoula would you say you are? Would you say ...

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very involved	35	8.4
2 ... Somewhat involved	242	57.9
3 ... Not involved	137	32.8
8 ... Don't Know	1	0.2
9 ... No Answer	3	0.7

3a. Are you aware of volunteer opportunities with the City's various advisory boards such as Board of Adjustment, Open Space Advisory Board, Bicycle/Pedestrian Advisory Board, Missoula Urban Transit Board?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	66	15.8
2 ... Somewhat	294	70.3
0 ... No	56	13.4
8 ... Don't Know	2	0.5
9 ... No Answer		

4. How fearful are you about crime in your neighborhood? Would you say very fearful, somewhat fearful, not very fearful, or not at all fearful?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very fearful	10	2.4
2 ... Somewhat fearful	128	30.6
3 ... Not very fearful	155	37.1
4 ... Not at all fearful	121	29.0
8 ... Don't Know	1	0.2
9 ... No Answer	3	0.7

4a. Over the last 12 months, have your fears increased, decreased, or stayed the same?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Increased	60	14.4
2 ... Decreased	16	3.8
3 ... Stayed the same	329	78.7
8 ... Don't Know	7	1.7
9 ... No Answer	6	1.4

5. How fearful are you about crime in the city of Missoula? Would you say you are . . .

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very fearful	25	6.0
2 ... Somewhat fearful	173	41.4
3 ... Not very fearful	151	36.1
4 ... Not at all fearful	61	14.6
8 ... Don't Know	6	1.4
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

5a. Over the last 12 months, have your fears increased, decreased, or stayed the same?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Increased	72	17.2
2 ... Decreased	7	1.7
3 ... Stayed the same	323	77.3
8 ... Don't Know	11	2.6
9 ... No Answer	5	1.2

6. With regard to crime, how safe do you think the city of Missoula is? Would you say . . .

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very safe	158	37.8
2 ... Somewhat safe	252	60.2
3 ... Not safe at all	4	1.0
8 ... Don't Know	2	0.5
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

7. And your neighborhood, how safe do you think your neighborhood is? Would you say . .

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very safe	240	57.4
2 ... Somewhat safe	162	38.8
3 ... Not safe at all	11	2.6
8 ... Don't Know	3	0.7
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

8. In your neighborhood do you and your neighbors look out for each other? Would you say

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very Much	166	39.7
2 ... Somewhat	194	46.4
3 ... Not at all	50	12.0
8 ... Don't Know	5	1.2
9 ... No Answer	3	0.7

9. What do you think the most important crime issue in Missoula is right now? (Open ended)

<u>Top Three Responses</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Drugs	95	23.2
Larceny	78	19.1
Vandalism	29	7.1

10. For each of the following examples would you say that in your neighborhood it is a serious problem, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem at all?

- a. Trash and litter lying around / Overgrown shrubs and trees. mean = 2.5 s.d. = 0.6
- b. Too much noise. mean = 2.6 s.d. = 0.6
- c. Public drinking. mean = 2.7 s.d. = 0.6
- d. People driving their cars too fast. mean = 2.1 s.d. = 0.7
- e. Disruption around schools; that is, youths hanging around making noise, vandalizing, fights, and smoking. mean = 2.8 s.d. = 0.5
- f. Vagrants and public begging. mean = 2.7 s.d. = 0.6
- g. Poor lighting. mean = 2.4 s.d. = 0.7
- h. Illegally parked cars: blocking traffic mean = 2.6 s.d. = 0.7
- i. Dogs running loose. mean = 2.5 s.d. = 0.7
- j. Bicyclists not following the rules of the road. mean = 2.6 s.d. = 0.7

- 1 ... Serious problem
- 2 ... Somewhat of a problem
- 3 ... Not a problem
- 8 ... Don't Know
- 9 ... No Answer

Changing topics, I would like to ask you about the police in Missoula.

11. How much confidence do you have in the ability of the Missoula City Police to protect you from crime? Would you say . . .

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... A great deal of confidence	206	49.3
2 ... Some confidence	188	45.0
3 ... No confidence	15	3.6
8 ... Don't Know	8	1.9
9 ... No Answer	1	0.2

12. How much confidence do you have in the ability of the Missoula City Police to solve crime? Would you say . . .

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... A great deal of confidence	138	33.0
2 ... Some confidence	224	53.6
3 ... No confidence	19	4.5
8 ... Don't Know	33	7.9
9 ... No Answer	4	1.0

13. How much confidence do you have in the ability of the Missoula City Police to prevent crime?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... A great deal of confidence	122	29.2
2 ... Some confidence	240	57.4
3 ... No confidence	35	8.4
8 ... Don't Know	19	4.5
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

Community policing involves police officers working with the community to address the causes of crime. This involves a team effort between the police and the citizens to reduce crime.

14. Based on this definition, do you think that the Missoula Police Department practices community policing?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	231	55.3
2 ... Somewhat	56	13.4
0 ... No	81	19.4
8 ... Don't Know	47	11.2
9 ... No Answer	3	0.7

15. Based on this definition, do you support a community policing approach?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	377	90.2
2 ... Somewhat	16	3.8
0 ... No	13	3.1
8 ... Don't Know	9	2.2
9 ... No Answer	3	0.7

Next, would you please rate the Missoula Police Department on the following aspects.

16. How about the friendliness of the Missoula Police Department? Would you say the police are ...

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very Friendly	162	38.8
2 ... Somewhat Friendly	186	44.5
3 ... Not Friendly	28	6.7
8 ... Don't Know	40	9.5
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

17. What about the fairness of the police in dealing with people? Would you say the police are ...

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very Fair	143	34.2
2 ... Somewhat Fair	189	45.2
3 ... Not Fair	32	7.7
8 ... Don't Know	47	11.2
9 ... No Answer	7	1.7

18. In general, how helpful do you find the Missoula Police Department?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Very helpful	196	46.9
2 ... Somewhat helpful	157	37.6
3 ... Not helpful	20	4.8
8 ... Don't Know	43	10.3
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

19. How much respect do you have for the Missoula Police Department?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... A great deal	233	55.7
2 ... Some	159	38.0
3 ... None	19	4.6
8 ... Don't Know	5	1.2
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

20. In some places in the nation there have been charges of police using too much force. In the City of Missoula would you say this is a serious problem, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem at all?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Serious problem	31	7.4
2 ... Somewhat of a problem	139	33.3
3 ... Not a problem	225	53.8
8 ... Don't Know	19	4.5
9 ... No Answer	4	1.0

21. How much work are police doing with the residents of your neighborhood to prevent crime and safety problems?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... A Lot	29	7.0
2 ... Some	138	33.0
3 ... Not at all	182	43.5
8 ... Don't Know	67	16.0
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

22. Would you feel more safe, less safe, or the same, if there were more officers patrolling the city in squad cars?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... More safe	168	40.2
2 ... Less safe	28	6.7
3 ... Same	203	48.6
8 ... Don't Know	16	3.8
9 ... No Answer	3	0.7

23. Would you feel more safe, less safe, or the same, if there were more officers patrolling the city on bicycles?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... More safe	196	46.9
2 ... Less safe	20	4.8
3 ... Same	180	43.1
8 ... Don't Know	21	5.0
9 ... No Answer	1	0.2

24. Would you feel more safe, less safe, or the same, if there were more officers patrolling the city on foot?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... More safe	190	45.5
2 ... Less safe	19	4.5
3 ... Same	192	45.9
8 ... Don't Know	17	4.1
9 ... No Answer		

Now, we are interested in any contact you've had with the Missoula Police Department?

25. In the past 12 months, have you been a victim of a crime in the city of Missoula without reporting it to the police?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	30	7.2
0 ... No	387	92.6
2... Somewhat, depends, etc...		
8 ... Don't Know / Can't Remember		
9 ... No Answer	1	0.2

26. In the past 12 months, have you been in contact with the Missoula Police Department for any reason? This may include reporting something to the police, having a conversation with an officer, being approached by an officer, etc.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	171	41.0
0 ... No (skip to 27)	245	58.6
2... Somewhat, depends, etc...		
8 ... Don't Know / Can't Remember	1	0.2
9 ... No Answer	1	0.2

IF Q26 = 1 OR 8

26a. How many times during the past 12 months have you been in contact with the Missoula City police in any of the following ways?

- _____ (1) Casual conversation with a police officer. mean = 2.0 s.d. = 2.2
- _____ (2) Officer responding to respondent's call for service. mean = 1.0 s.d. = 1.4
- _____ (3) Gave information to police about a crime or incident mean = 1.0 s.d. = 1.4
- _____ (4) Reported a crime to the police. mean = 0.8 s.d. = 1.4
- _____ (5) Participated in a survey given by the police department. mean = 0.1 s.d. = 0.3
- _____ (6) Asked the police for information or advice. mean = 0.7 s.d. = 1.2
- _____ (7) Participated in a community activity that involved the police (e.g. cleanup, social event or community meeting) mean = 0.4 s.d. = 1.0
- _____ (8) Traffic Violations / Traffic Accidents mean = 0.4 s.d. = 0.6
- _____ (9) Working with police to address specific problems. mean = 0.5 s.d. = 1.3

We are also interested in some of the specific contacts that you may have had in the last 12 months.

27. In the last 12 months, have you reported a crime, suspicious person or noise to the Missoula City Police?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	87	20.8
0 ... No	328	78.5
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...		
8 ... Don't Know		
9 ... No Answer	3	0.7

If yes, ask the following four questions:

27a. If an officer was sent in response to your report was the time the police took to arrive Excellent, Fair, or Poor?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Excellent	32	36.8
2 ... Fair	38	43.7
3 ... Poor	5	6.0
8 ... Don't Know	8	9.0
9 ... No Answer	4	0.5

27b. When you contacted the police, did they pay careful attention to what you had to say?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	72	8.0
0 ... No	7	82.8
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	6	6.9
8 ... Don't Know	2	2.3
9 ... No Answer		

27c. Did the police clearly explain what action they would take in response to your contact?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	52	59.8
0 ... No	25	28.7
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	7	8.0
8 ... Don't Know	3	3.5
9 ... No Answer		

27d. Were you generally satisfied with the police response to your contact?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	63	72.4
0 ... No	16	18.4
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	6	6.9
8 ... Don't Know	2	2.3
9 ... No Answer		

28. In the last 12 months, have you reported an accident or an emergency to the Missoula City police?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	52	12.4
0 ... No	364	87.1
8 ... Don't Know		
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

If yes, ask the following three questions:

28a. When you contacted the police, did they pay careful attention to what you had to say?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	42	80.8
0 ... No	7	13.5
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	3	5.8
8 ... Don't Know		
9 ... No Answer		

28b. Did the police clearly explain what action they would take in response to your contact?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	36	69.2
0 ... No	15	28.8
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...		
8 ... Don't Know		
9 ... No Answer	1	2.0

28c. Were you generally satisfied with the police response to your contact?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	42	80.8
0 ... No	5	9.5
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	3	5.7
8 ... Don't Know	1	2.0
9 ... No Answer	1	2.0

29. In the last 12 months, have you contacted the Missoula City police for advice, information, other concerns or problems?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	63	15.1
0 ... No	353	84.4
8 ... Don't Know		
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

If yes, ask the following three questions:

29a. When you contacted the police, did they pay careful attention to what you had to say?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	53	84.1
0 ... No	7	11.1
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	3	4.8
8 ... Don't Know		
9 ... No Answer		

29b. Did the police clearly explain what action they would take in response to your contact?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	43	68.3
0 ... No	17	27.0
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	2	3.2
8 ... Don't Know	1	1.6
9 ... No Answer		

29c. Were you generally satisfied with the police response to your contact?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	46	73.0
0 ... No	12	19.0
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	5	8.0
8 ... Don't Know		
9 ... No Answer		

30. In the last 12 months, has any Missoula City Police officer contacted you?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	60	14.4
0 ... No	356	85.2
8 ... Don't Know		
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

If yes, ask the following questions:

30a. Did the officer approach you in an appropriate and professional manner?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	54	90.0
0 ... No	4	6.7
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	1	1.7
8 ... Don't Know	1	1.7
9 ... No Answer		

30b. Did the officer clearly explain why he/she was making contact with you?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	55	91.7
0 ... No	2	3.3
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	3	5.0
8 ... Don't Know		
9 ... No Answer		

30c. In general, was the situation handled in an acceptable manner?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Yes	52	86.7
0 ... No	5	8.3
2 ... Somewhat, depends, etc...	2	3.3
8 ... Don't Know	1	1.7
9 ... No Answer		

31. How would you rate the Missoula Police Department's overall performance? Would you say ...

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 ... Excellent	87	20.8
2 ... Good	227	54.3
3 ... Fair	66	15.8
4 ... Poor	17	4.1
5 ... Very Poor	3	0.7
8 ... Don't Know	16	3.8
9 ... No Answer	2	0.5

Finally, we are interested in some demographic characteristics.

Age

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
18-23	83	19.9
24-29	61	14.6
30-44	92	22.0
45-65	112	26.8
66 and older	70	16.7

Gender

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Male	209	50.0
Female	209	50.0

Education

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Graduate/Professional Training	62	14.8
Standard College or University Graduation	108	25.8
Partial College Training	121	28.9
High School Graduate	110	26.3
Partial High School	3	0.7
Junior High School	12	2.9
Refused	2	0.5

Do you own or rent the home you live in?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Own	211	52.1
Rent	194	47.9

Do you own any property in Montana...?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	189	45.5
No	226	54.5

Using key words, tell me your present occupation. Please be specific. For example, "sales clerk at department store", "6th grade teacher", "currently unemployed", "private business owner", etc.

How many years have you lived in Missoula?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Less than 1 year	22	5.3
1 to 5 years	114	27.3
6 to 10 years	65	15.6
11 to 20 years	70	16.7
21 to 30 years	63	15.1
31 to 40 years	31	7.4
41 or more	53	12.7

Appendix B: Hollingshead Index of Social Position

I. Introduction

The Two Factor Index of Social Position was developed to meet the need for an objective, easily applicable procedure to estimate the positions individuals occupy in the status structure of our society. Its development was dependent both upon detailed knowledge of the social structure, and procedures social scientists have used to delineate class position. It is premised upon three assumptions: (1) the existence of a status structure in the society; (2) positions in this structure are determined mainly by a few commonly accepted symbolic characteristics; and (3) the characteristics symbolic of status may be scaled and combined by the use of statistical procedures so that researchers can quickly, reliably, and meaningfully stratify the population under study.

Occupation and education are the two factors utilized to determine social position.

Occupation is presumed to reflect the skill and power individuals possess as they perform the many maintenance functions in the society. Education is believed to reflect not only knowledge, but also cultural tastes. The proper combination of these factors by the use of statistical techniques enable a researcher to determine within approximate limits the social position an individual occupies in the status structure of our society.

II. The Scale Scores

To determine the social position of an individual two items are essential: (1) the precise occupational role a head of the household performs in the economy; and (2) the amount of formal schooling the individual has received. Each of these factors are then scaled according to the following system of scores: (1) Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Concerns, and Major Professionals, (2) Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium Sized Businesses, and Lesser Professionals, (3) Administrative Personnel, Small Independent Businesses and Minor Professionals, (4) Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses, (5) Skilled Manual Employees, (6) Machine Operators and Semi-Skilled Employees, and (7) Unskilled Employees.

The occupational scale is premised upon the assumption that occupations have different values attached to them by the members of our society. The hierarchy ranges from the low evaluation of unskilled physical labor toward the more prestigious use of skill, through the creative talents of ideas, and the manipulation of individuals. The ranking of occupational functions implies that some individuals exercise control over the occupation pursuits of other individuals. Normally, a person who possesses highly trained skills has control over several other people. This is exemplified in a highly developed form by an executive in a large business enterprise who may be responsible for decisions affecting thousands of employees.

The educational scale is premised upon the assumption that men and women who

possess similar educations will tend to have similar tastes and similar attitudes, and they will also tend to exhibit similar behavior patterns. The educational scale is divided into seven positions: (1) Graduate Professional Training, (2) Standard College or University Graduation, (3) Partial College Training, (4) High School Graduates, (5) Partial High School, (6) Junior High School, and (7) Less Than Seven Years of School.

III. Integration of Two Factors

The factors of Occupation and Education are combined by weighing the individual scores obtained from the scale positions. The weights for each factor were determined by multiple correlation techniques. The weight for each factor is:

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Factor Weight</u>
Occupation	7
Education	4

To calculate the Index of Social Position score for an individual the scale value for Occupation is multiplied by the factor weight for Occupation, and the scale value for Education is multiplied by the factor weight for Education. For example, John Smith is the manager of a chain supermarket. He completed high school and one year of business college. His Index of Social Position Score is computed as follows:

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Scale Score</u>	<u>Factor Weight</u>	<u>Score X Weight</u>
Occupation	3	7	21
Education	3	4	<u>12</u>
			Index of Social Position Score=33

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