Fear of Crime

Perceptions in Waterloo Region

Region of Waterloo

Waterloo Region
Crime Prevention Council
Together for a Safer Community

Fear of Crime: Perceptions in Waterloo Region

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Executive Summary

Research suggests a relationship between fear of crime and crime itself. However, currently there is no consensus about the nature of this relationship. One possibility is that fear of crime creates social disorder which, in turn, causes crime. It has also been suggested that social disorder causes incivilities and crime which initiates a fear of crime. Others have suggested that crime and disorder stem from neighbourhood characteristics such as poverty. Further complicating the issue, some academics argue that fear of crime and social disorder are actually the same concept.

This report seeks to provide an understanding of the nature of fear of crime within Waterloo Region, which can be used to influence policy decisions in local agencies and government.

This report also summarizes the results from the 2008 Waterloo Region Local Area Survey as they relate to fear of crime. It also draws comparisons to the 2007 Citizen Survey conducted by Waterloo Region Police Services. In doing so, the surveys show that fear of crime is highest in the downtown cores and parks at night. Fear is highest in these areas in the cities of Cambridge and Kitchener. Despite relatively low levels of fear when driving, residents are very concerned about drinking and driving and speeding. In contrast, respondents had low levels of concerns regarding prostitution.

Based upon these findings the Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council has made recommendations for future research and on how to address fear of crime within the region.

The Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council recommends that:

Recommendation 1:   Local government, Business Improvement Associations, community agencies and Waterloo Regional Police increase their focus on a multi-sector approach to address the unique needs of the local communities in Waterloo Region to reduce fear of crime.

Recommendation 2:   Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council, Waterloo Regional Police, Business Improvement Associations and Waterloo Region municipal governments employ strategies to address fear of crime that are based on evidence and are tailored to the needs of the local communities.

Recommendation 3:   Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council, Waterloo Regional Police, Business Improvement Associations and community agencies work to ensure that perceptions of crime reflect the reality of crime.

Recommendation 4:   Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council and Waterloo Regional Police collaborate on future surveys to continue to measure fear of crime in Waterloo Region.

Section One: Introduction

The Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council has the mandate to mobilize the community to reduce and prevent crime, victimization and fear of crime. An important part of this process is to understand the nature of victimization and fear of crime in Waterloo Region. The 2008 local area survey by the University of Waterloo Survey Research Centre provides a starting point for this research.

The Waterloo Region Area Survey is a cooperative project led by the Survey Research Centre at the University of Waterloo. Local government and community agencies buy space in the survey and University of Waterloo graduate students volunteer to assist with the survey in return for space in the survey. During the 2008 survey, the Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council purchased space in the survey to explore fear of crime and victimization in Waterloo Region. The total survey was 40 pages in length with questions specifically related to fear of crime and victimization utilizing three pages (See Appendix A).

Most of the subject matter related to fear of crime matched questions asked in the 2007 Citizen Survey conducted by the Waterloo Regional Police Services (WRPS). This Citizen Survey is used by Waterloo Regional Police to assist in strategic planning and covers a wide variety of topics including police visibility, performance, perceptions of crime, personal safety, victimization and community issues. Only a subset of the full citizen survey was re-asked as part of the Waterloo Region Area Survey.

The purpose of this report is:
1) to understand the theories of fear of crime,
2) to explore the concept of social disorder and its relationship to fear of crime,
3) to explore the nature of fear of crime within Waterloo Region, and
4) to use the findings to help make policy recommendations on how best to address crime, victimization and fear of crime in Waterloo Region

Section Two: Literature Review

Researchers understand that actual crime is a weak predictor of fear of victimization (Taylor & Hale, 1986, p. 188). For example, young males are the most likely group in society to be victimized yet they are generally less likely than any other group to experience fear of crime (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Perkins & Taylor, 1996; Maxfield, 1984). Based on this finding it is not surprising that age and gender make up two of the strongest predictors of fear of crime. Fear of crime tends to rise with age (Covington & Taylor, 1991) and females are significantly more fearful than males (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Ferraro, 1995). This section will present theories of fear of crime as well as discuss the debate surrounding the concepts of fear of crime and social disorder as they relate to crime.

Theories of Fear of Crime

Physical vulnerability theory. The theory of physical vulnerability states that "openness to attack, powerlessness to resist attack and exposure to traumatic physical (and probably emotional) consequences if attacked" (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981, p. 69) explains why individuals who are unlikely to experience a crime may be very fearful of one. This theory has been supported as studies have shown that women who see themselves as physically vulnerable have high levels of fear of crime and that fear is greater for personal victimization than for property offenses (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). Similarly, Wyant (2008) concluded that "those whose demographic characteristics would make it harder for them to resist a violent street crime or would make it more likely that they would encounter violent street crime report more fear" (p. 42). This theory, therefore, helps to explain gender differences in fear of crime. Ferraro (1996) showed that women are more afraid of crime because of their perception of the risk of victimization and their fear of rape. It is worth noting that females' heightened fear of rape is rational as women are more likely to be the victims of sexual assault (Ferraro, 1996).

Social vulnerability theory. As is suggested by the physical vulnerability theory, some individuals are afraid of crime because they are unable to defend themselves against it. However, some individuals are afraid of crime because they are more likely than others to experience victimization. In order to explain an increased likelihood of experiencing victimization the concept of social vulnerability must be introduced. Skogan and Maxfield (1981) suggest that "people are socially vulnerable to crime when they are frequently exposed to the threat of victimization because of who they are and when the social and economic consequences of victimization weigh more heavily upon them" (p. 73). Therefore, social vulnerability explains why social class and demographic characteristics are strong predictors of fear of crime (Taylor & Hale, 1986). It also explains why a number of American studies are able to demonstrate an impact of racial differences at both the individual and the aggregate level on fear of crime (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004; Covington & Taylor, 1991). The results of the social history of the United States make it highly likely that social vulnerability will be heavily influenced by race (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004).

Media. In addition to physical and social vulnerability the media, specifically the local media, are also thought to play an important role in explaining why people fear crime. For example, Chiricos, Padgett and Gertz (2000) suggest:

> Local and national news are related to fear of crime independent of the effects of the reality of crime and other controls. Local news effects are stronger, especially for people who live in high crime places or have recent victim experience. (p. 755)

The effects of the local media are seen as "most often significant for viewers who live in high-crime places, have recent victim experience, or who perceive news accounts of crime as realistic" (Chiricos, Padgett & Gertz, 2000, p. 780). Therefore, the local media can serve to exacerbate fear among communities and individuals. Recent victimization experiences can also act to increase fear of crime. According to Carvalho and Lewis, if fearful residents experience victimization it

can lead to a reinforcement of "the dangerous nature of the situations" thus increasing fear (Carvalho & Lewis, 2003, p. 806).

Incivility theory. While fear is a common response to crime, Carvalho and Lewis (2003) suggest that it is not the only response. They suggest that crime and perceptions of disorder primarily elicit one of three feelings: fear, safety or anger. However, they found that age, gender and social circumstances did little in their study to help explain why someone would exhibit feelings of fear, safety or anger towards crime. Instead, they found past exposure to crime and 'incivilities' to be the main factors that influence someone's feeling of safety in a high crime neighbourhood (Carvalho & Lewis, 2003).

The concept of incivilities as a factor causing fear of crime and crime itself has been around since 1978 when Hunter proposed his Model of Incivility. In this theory, social disorder causes incivility and crime, two correlated manifestations, which in turn cause fear of victimization (Hunter, 1978) (see figure 1). He is not entirely clear on the concept of incivilities, instead choosing to define it by exploring the cultural concept of civility, which he sees as existing in San Francisco because it is a city with a high tolerance for a diversity of behaviours. In addition, he also describes physical signs of incivility such as burnt out buildings or litter in the streets.

Hunter ultimately believes that the main cause of fear of crime is "a fear of social disorder that may come to threaten the individual" (Hunter, 1978, p. 9).

Figure #1: Hunter's Model of Incivility (Hunter, 1978.)
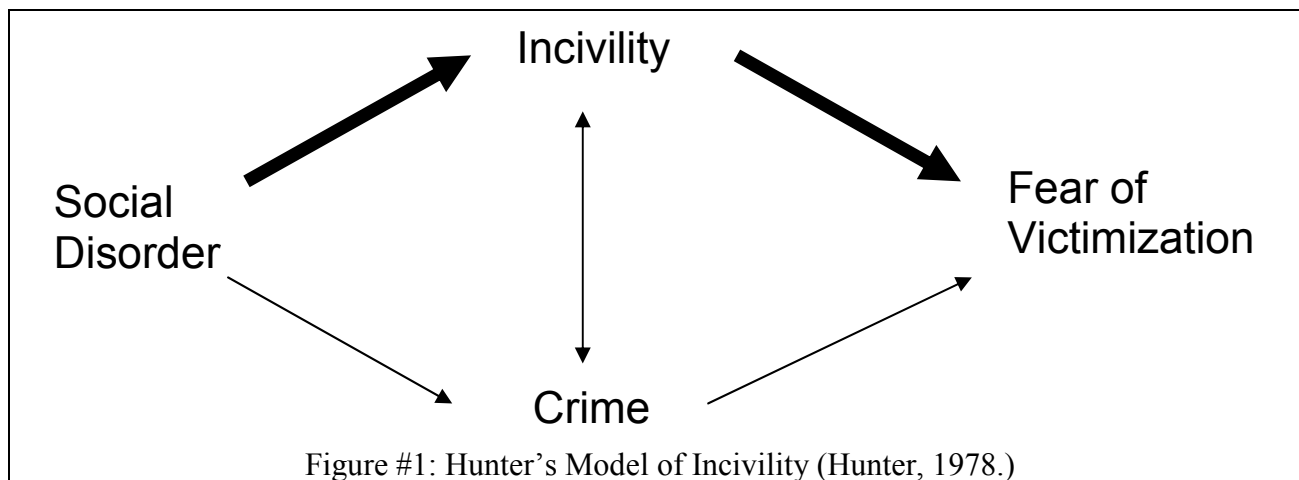
The flow in Hunter's theory from social disorder, to crime and incivility to fear of victimization is important to note as it is a slightly different order from broken windows theory. This distinction is important to note as broken windows theory, perhaps the most famous theory of fear, disorder and crime, suggests that social disorder causes fear of crime which causes crime (Wilson & Kelling, 1982; Gau & Pratt, 2008; Kahan, 1998; Innes, 2003; Perkins & Taylor, 1996).

Broken windows theory. In their influential work, Wilson and Kelling (1982) developed broken windows theory from previous studies that suggested that a broken window left in disrepair will soon lead to other windows in a building being broken. They felt this concept could be further generalized and argued that instead of social decay simply reinforcing social decay it could also create crime problems. This basic theory has a logical consistency to it which is supported by research in the field. For example, Keize, Lindenberg and Steg (2008) demonstrated that if one social norm is violated it will encourage individuals to violate other social norms. Particularly insightful is their sixth field experiment in which they showed that if a public space is filled with graffiti individuals are more likely to steal an envelope with money in it from a mail box (Keize, Lindenberg & Steg, 2008).

Partly because of this logical consistency the theory has been used to justify order maintenance police strategies in many cities. In Broken Windows Theory, Wilson and Kelling (1982) argue "that serious street crime flourishes in areas in which disorderly behavior goes unchecked" (p. 33). They focus on disorderly behaviour such as littering, loitering and public intoxication. In order to solve this problem of unchecked disorderly behaviour, they sought a method for the police to "strengthen the informal social-control mechanisms of natural communities in order to minimize fear in public places" (Wilson & Kelling, 1982, p. 35)   It is notable that one of the recommendations Wilson and Kelling (1982) propose is the "random but relentless maintenance of standards on buses" to create "conditions on buses that approximate the level of civility we now take for granted on airplanes" (p. 37).

In the early 1990s William Bratton, head of the New York transit Authority police, attempted to improve conditions on the New York Subway system by focusing upon the elimination of graffiti and catching turnstile jumpers. After the implementation of this order, maintenance style of policing arrests for misdemeanor offenses went up fivefold (Gladwell, 2000) and serious crime rates in the subway system dropped dramatically (Gau & Pratt, 2008; Kelling & Coles, 1996). Shortly thereafter, Bratton was appointed commissioner of the New York City Police Department where he introduced similar measures across all of New York City with resulting drops in crime. However, crime rate trends were showing a drop before Bratton's appointment as commissioner (Waller, 2006) and empirical research called into question the effectiveness of the strategy (Levitt, 2004; Innes, 2003).

Despite this evidence to the contrary, the order maintenance policing strategy was seen as extremely successful leading to its adoption in jurisdictions around the world. People believe that order maintenance policing works by signaling to offenders and the public that order will be maintained. By indicating to offenders that the risk of getting caught committing a crime is high it is believed they will be less likely to offend. However, it is doubtful that this will lower the crime rate. While signaling an increased likelihood of being caught may have an impact on property crimes and the minor offenses it is highly unlikely that violent crime rates will be impacted as numerous studies show that the perpetrators of violent crime act without considering the risk or consequence of being caught (Smith & Meyer, 1988; Doob & Cesaroni, 2004; Robinson & Darley, 2003).

Fear of Crime and Social Disorder

The strong relationship between social disorder and fear of crime has led some scholars to question if they are in fact two separate concepts. For example, Jackson (2004) wondered if "perhaps people are not 'fearful' of personally being victimized as often as we think; rather, they are expressing their social concerns through the symbolically dense concept of crime" (p. 963). Worrall (2006) explored this question by applying exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis techniques to a 1998 United States Bureau of Justice Statistics survey. In doing so he found some evidence that physical incivility is a different concept than perceived crime but he was not able to draw definite conclusions from the data. Similarly, in the article *Broken Windows or Window Dressing*, Gau and Pratt (2008) used similar techniques to Worrall and concluded that fear of crime and perceptions of social disorder are the same concept. This led them to call into question broken windows theory. Gau and Pratt (2008) argue "the broken window perspective explicitly specifies a cognitive process in which disorder should cause crime only when residents of the divorced community interpret signs of disorder to mean that the community is devoid of social control" (p. 165). In order to test if this theory is internally consistent, Gau and Pratt used confirmatory factor analytical models to test fear of crime survey data gathered in 2003 from eastern Washington state residents. The tests revealed a "high correlation between perceptions of disorder and crime" (Gau and Pratt, 2008, p. 163) demonstrating, according to Gau and Pratt, that broken windows theory is a flawed tautological argument since their findings suggest fear of crime and social disorder are the same concept.

Regardless of the academic debate surrounding the differentiation, or lack thereof, between the concept of fear of crime and social disorder it is clear that the concept(s) are related to crime. Kohm (2009) combined data from the 2004 General Social Survey with local interviews conducted in Winnipeg during 2007 to demonstrate this relationship holds even in high-crime communities. Kohm (2009) found that residents are most likely to be afraid of crime because of perceptions of social disorder and even when physical disorder is a concern it is usually accompanied by concerns of social disorder.

Similarly, in the Statistics Canada Crime and Research Series article *Fear of Crime and the Neighbourhood Context in Canadian Cities,* Fitzgerald (2008) used the 2004 Statistics Canada General Social Survey, and its full sample of 23,766 individuals throughout Canada, to examine the factors that increase the likelihood of an individual fearing crime. The results demonstrate that neighbourhood factors and individual perceptions both help to explain variations in fear among individuals. Fitzgerald used a question regarding feelings of safety while walking alone after dark in the respondent's neighbourhood to identify variables that influence fear of crime. She found that gender, age, household income, having less than a high school education, victimization in the past year, physical disorder and social disorder each have a statistically significant impact on fear of crime.

As can be seen from the literature, there are several theories that attempt to explain why some individuals experience fear of crime while others do not. By examining different factors that have

been found to be associated with a fear of crime, the current study hoped to determine who experiences fear of crime in the Waterloo Region in order to develop a baseline measurement. The following sections provide a detailed explanation of the methods used in the study followed by the results of the study and a discussion of the implications of the findings.

Section Three: Methodology

The Waterloo Region Area Survey was a mail survey conducted in November and December of 2008 using tax roll records, telephone directories and the Vernon City Directory. The sample was selected by a random draw stratified based upon the population of each city and township. In addition to a pre-contact letter, the survey was sent out three times and $5 was sent to each household whether they participated or not. For additional information on methodology please see Appendix B.

Throughout this report comparisons have been made to the 2007 Citizen Survey conducted by Waterloo Regional Police. The WRPS survey took place between May 25th and June 15th, 2007 by random digit telephone dialing. A total of 1600 households were contacted with 500 surveys completed (North, 2007). Some questions have also been compared to the results from the 2004 General Social Survey (GSS) conducted by Statistics Canada. This phone survey sampled 23,766 individuals from across Canada and explored victimization, fear of crime and perceptions of social disorder.

Section Four: Results

Response Rate

A total of 1,200 households were mailed a survey booklet for the Waterloo Region Area Survey. Fifty-three of these surveys were undeliverable, for a 96% contact rate. A total of 703 individuals who received surveys responded for a response rate of 61% .

Completes	703
Contact Rate	96%
Response Rate	61%

Demographic Data

The survey respondent demographic data exhibit results that do not reflect the actual population within Waterloo Region. While some variation is expected between the actual population and survey respondents in the Waterloo Region Area Survey the differences present concerns about the reliability of the data.

Age Distrubution

☐ Response Percentage ■ Population Percentage (2006)
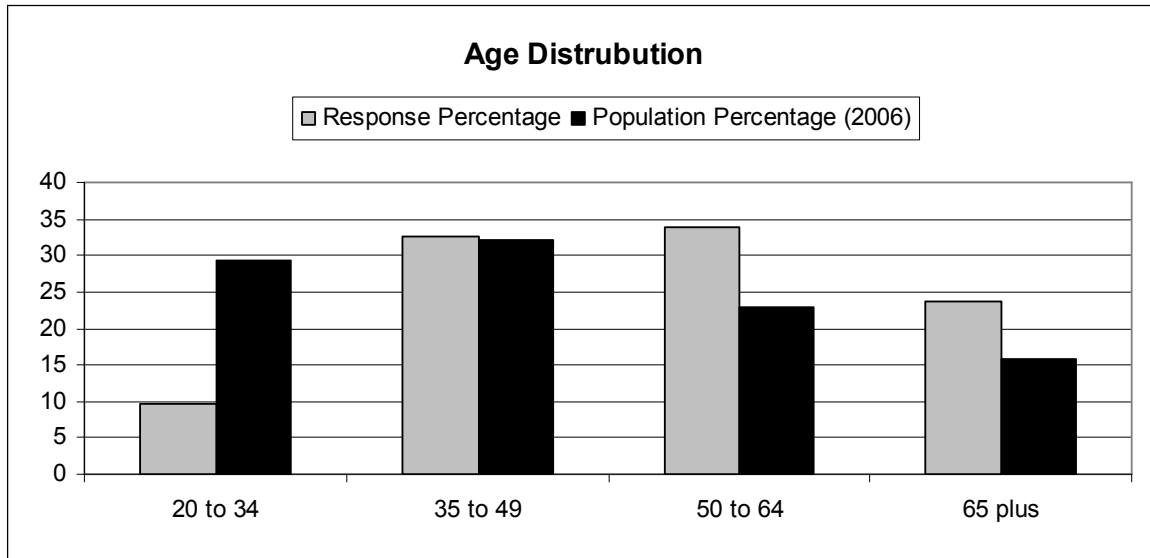
The first concern in the data is the differences found between the respondents' age and the adult population breakdown for the region. Only 10% of respondents stated they were between the age of 20 and 34; however, this age group represents 29% of the adult population for the Region of Waterloo ("2006 Census Bulletin 2"). This difference is of particular concern when interpreting the results as the 2004 Statistics Canada General Social Survey found that individuals 15 to 24 had the highest rate of violent victimization ("General Social", 2005).

The largest concern in the survey is the lack of respondents who indicated that they were renters. While 29% of Waterloo Region residents were estimated to be renters in the 2006 Census ("2006 Census Bulletin 4"), only 1.5% (10 respondents) of the Waterloo Region Area Survey respondents reported that they were renters.

In addition, the survey was also biased based upon housing type. In Waterloo Region, according to the 2006 census, 57% of residents reside in a detached house; however, 78% of survey respondents reported living in detached houses ("2006 Census Bulletin 4").

In contrast, the response rate of individuals who live in units that are typically associated with renting (i.e., townhouses, duplexes, triplexes and multi-unit apartments) was significantly lower than what would be expected considering the actual breakdown of residencies.

Where Did the Respondent Live Five Years Ago?
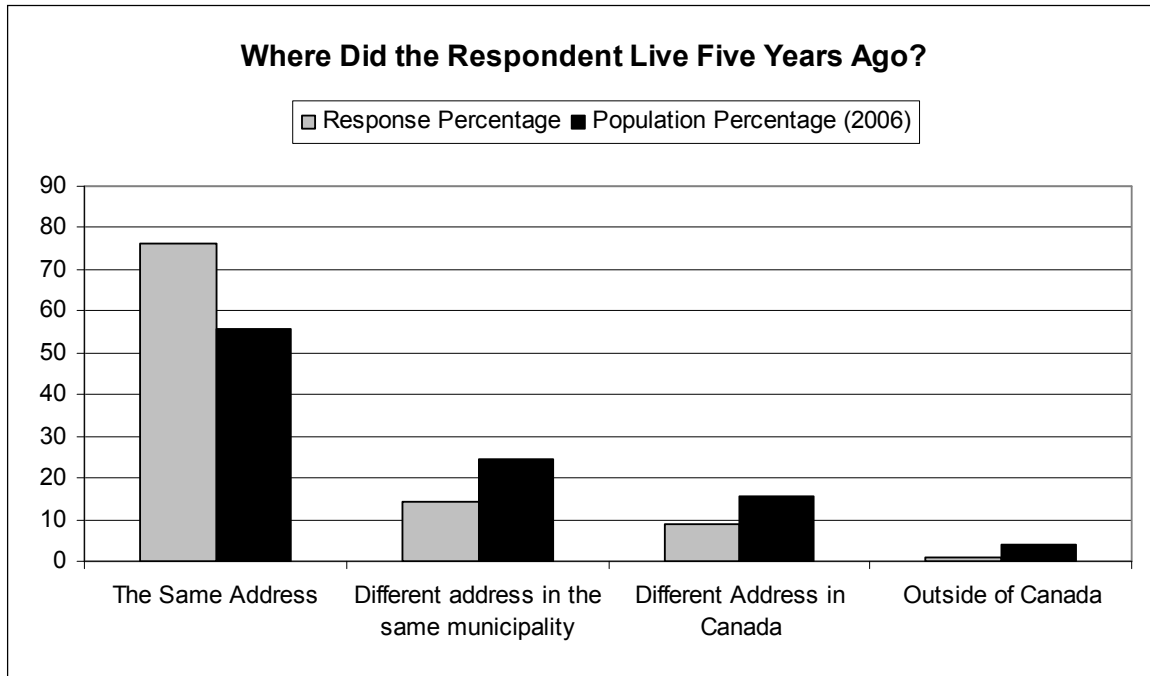
Not surprisingly, the survey sample was also less likely to have moved than the actual population. According to the 2006 census, 56% of individuals lived at the same address five years ago ("2006 Census Bulletin 4"). However, 76% of the survey respondents indicated that they still lived at the same address as five years ago (see graph).

Country of Birth
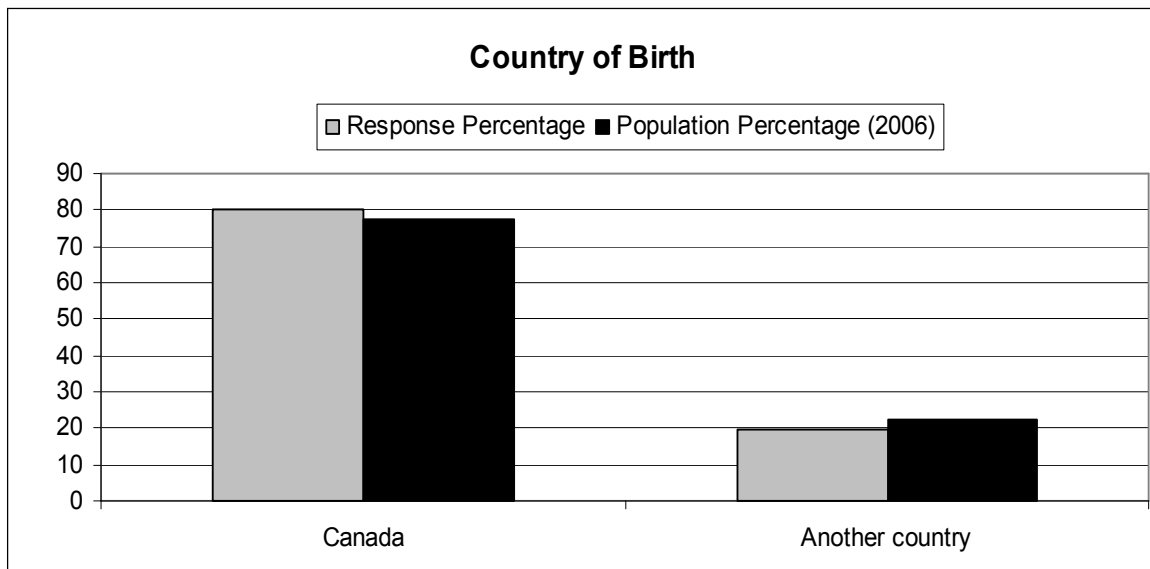
The gender breakdown of the study was 44.4% male and 55.6% female respondents. The actual population for the region is 49.3% male and 50.7% female ("2006 Census Bulletin 2"). Although some of the study demographics, such as gender and country of origin are comparable to the demographics of the actual population, the large discrepancies in other areas, such as percentage of renters and age, mean that these results should not be generalized to the population of the Region of Waterloo.
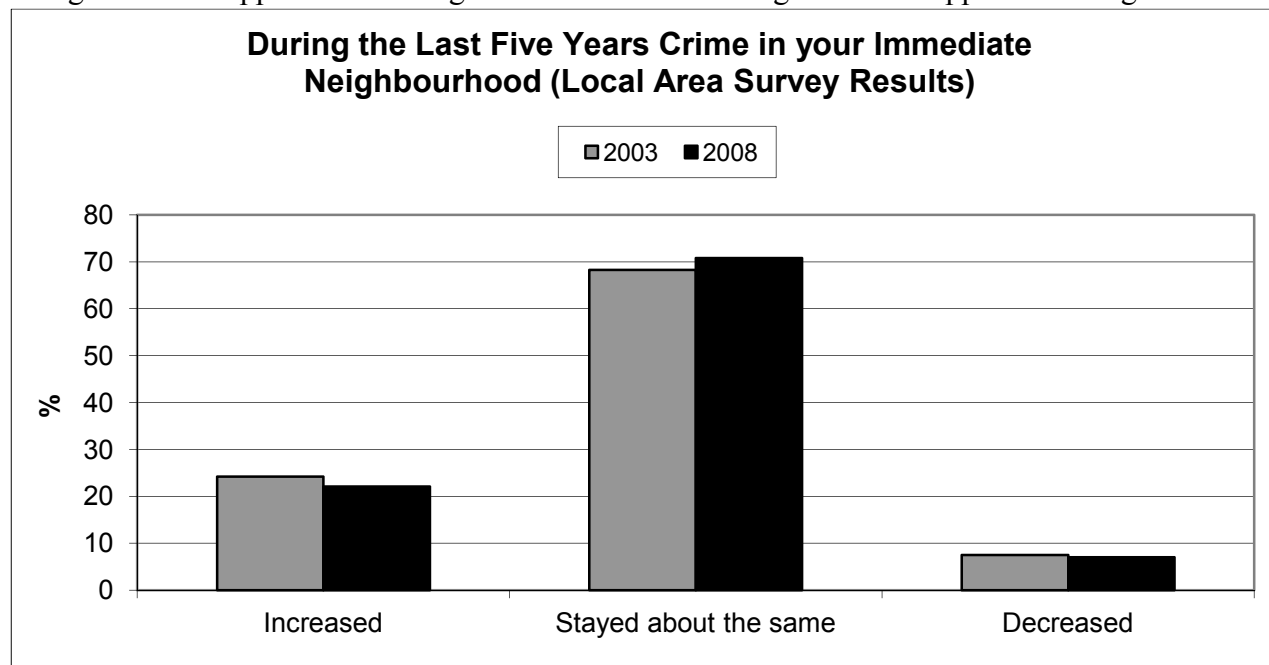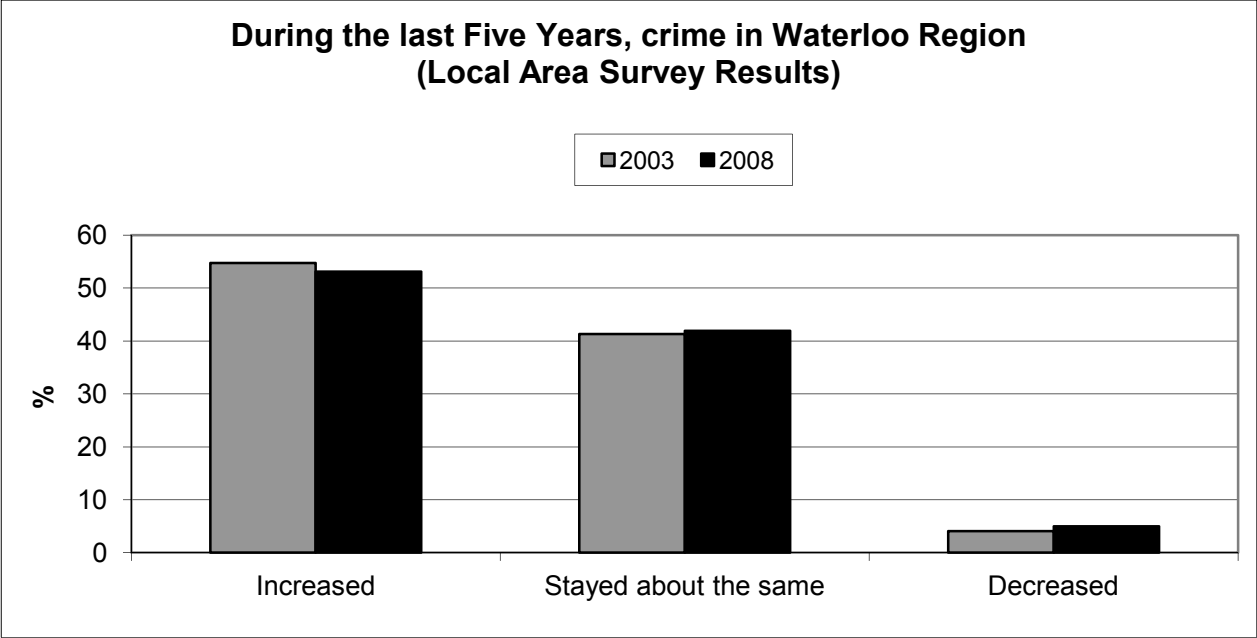
Victimization

The over sampling of females and of older Waterloo residents, considered in the context of the literature, suggests that fear of crime in these results will be higher than fear of crime in the actual Waterloo Region population. In addition, it can be expected that the survey results will have lower victimization rates than the actual Waterloo population. The survey results clearly display this as only 10 of the 703 respondents reported being a victim of a violent crime in the past two years. This is significantly lower than the violent victimization rate in the general population as the 2004 General Social Survey found that 106 per 1,000 people reported being a victim of a violent victimization in the past year (Brazeau & Brzozowksi, 2008). In addition, the General Social Survey found that 248 of 1,000 respondents across Canada were victims of a household crime in the past year ("Sectuirty," n.d.). In contrast, 20% of respondents to the Local Area Survey reported being a victim of *any* crime in the previous two years and 28% of the respondents to the Citizen Survey reported being a victim of *any* crime within the past five years.

Waterloo Region Perceptions of Crime

During the 2003 Local Area Survey respondents were asked if they thought crime in their neighbourhood and Waterloo Region as a whole had gone up, down or stayed the same. This question was replicated in the 2008 survey. The results are remarkably similar.

During the 2003 study, 24.2% had thought crime increased in their neighbourhood and 55% thought it had increased in the region. The 2008 study similarly found that 22% thought crime increased in their neighbourhood and 53% thought it increased in the region as a whole. Most residents did not think crime had dropped in the previous five years in 2003 or 2008. In 2003, 8% thought crime dropped in their neighbourhood and 4% thought crime dropped in the region.

During the Last Five Years Crime in your Immediate Neighbourhood (Local Area Survey Results)

During the last Five Years, crime in Waterloo Region (Local Area Survey Results)

Legend: 2003, 2008

A bar chart showing percentages for three categories:
- Increased: 2003 ~55%, 2008 ~53%
- Stayed about the same: 2003 ~41%, 2008 ~42%
- Decreased: 2003 ~4%, 2008 ~5%

Similarly, in the 2008 survey, 7% thought crime dropped in their neighbourhood and 5% thought crime dropped in the region (see neighbourhood graph).

A similar question was also asked in the 2007 WRPS Citizen Survey. Respondents were asked if they had felt crime had changed since 2004. The results were also very similar with 22% thinking crime had increased 74% thinking it stayed the same and 5% feeling it had decreased.

Waterloo Region Crime Rate

A line graph showing Rate per 100,000 from 1998 to 2008:
- 1998: ~6800
- 1999: ~6250
- 2000: ~5900
- 2001: ~5600
- 2002: ~5700
- 2003: ~5550
- 2004: ~5500
- 2005: ~5250
- 2006: ~5600
- 2007: ~5100
- 2008: ~5150
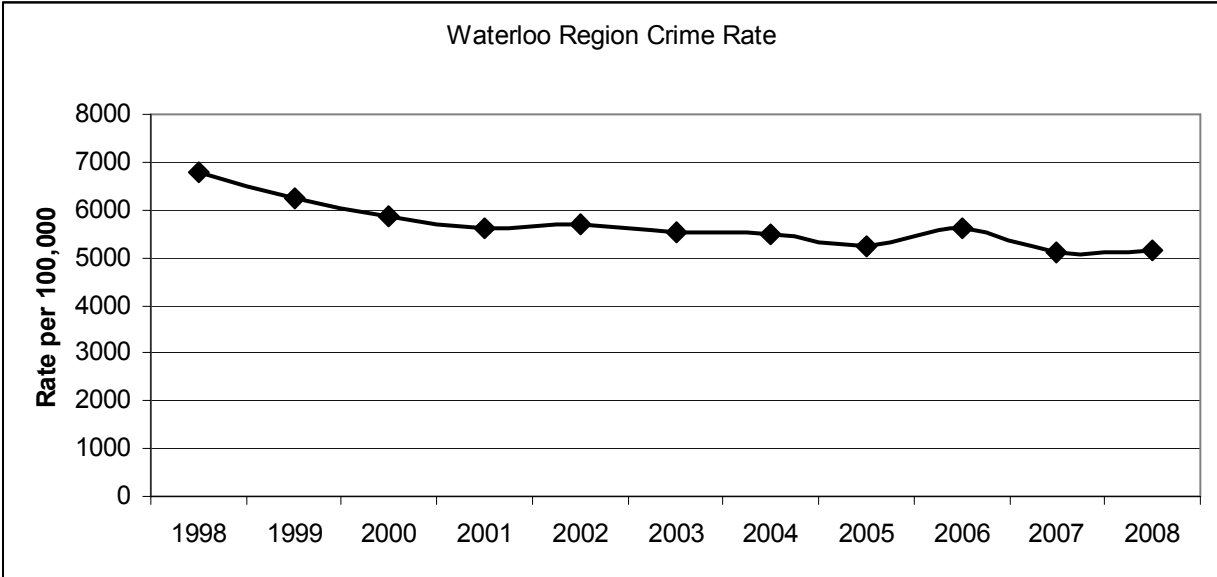
These results are in contrast to local crime statistics. According to the Statistics Canada Uniform Crime Reporting Survey the crime rate in Waterloo Region has been dropping over the past ten years. The rate was 7,392 per 100,000 in 1998, by 2003 it was 6,266 per 100,000 and it dropped further to 5,174 per 100,000 in 2008.

These results are also slightly different than the 2004 General Social Survey which asked respondents "During the last 5 years, do you think crime in your neighbourhood has increased, decreased, or remained about the same?" In this survey a higher number of respondents, 32%, felt crime had increased and 63% felt it stayed the same. Similar to the Waterloo Region results 6% of respondents felt crime in their neighbourhood had decreased.

Youth Criminal Justice Act

Respondents were asked how they felt about the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) after being given a short paragraph to read that was designed to explain the intent of the legislation.

> *The Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) is the legislation that regulates how we respond to youth crime. The YCJA provides for young offenders to receive protections and treatments that adults don't get because the legislation recognizes that youth are still learning and growing and need time to mature before they can be considered fully responsible for their actions in the same way adults are. In general, how positive or negative are you about this legislation. Please indicate where on the scale below you would place yourself by circling a number.*

Even with this prompt, most respondents expressed negative feelings about the YCJA (see graph below).
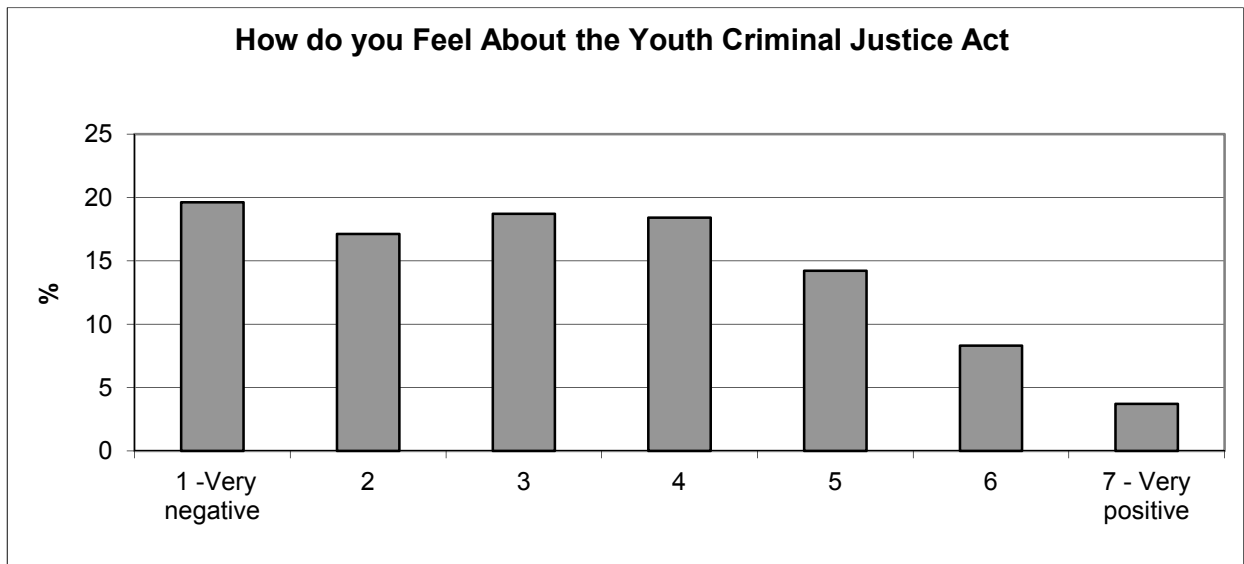
In a discussion with members of the Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council it was suggested that in future research some benefit may be derived by asking this question with an emphasis on the accountability aspect of the youth criminal justice act as it is possible that the frame may have led people to believe that a denunciation element is lacking in the YCJA. It would also be useful to ask this question in a survey without a preamble and compare the responses to other survey participants who are given a preamble. In addition, a question exploring individual knowledge levels regarding the Act may add valuable information.

Waterloo Region Fear of Crime

Seven questions examined fear of crime in different locations. These questions examined fear of crime during the day and at night. During the day, almost all of the residents felt safe in their own residence. During the day, fear of crime was highest in parks and in the downtown areas but a majority of respondents report feeling safe in response to these questions (see Table #1). These results are all relatively similar to the results from the 2007 WRPS Citizen Survey.

Table #1: Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day (Local Area Survey Results)							
	In your residence	In your local mall or plaza	In your downtown area	While driving	While walking in your neighbourhood	While walking in parks	While waiting for or using public transportation
1 – Very safe	80	57	33	51	30	32	25
2 – Somewhat safe	18	37	42	42	35	44	36
3 – Somewhat unsafe	1	4	18	5	4	15	8
4 – Very unsafe	0	1	4	1	1	5	1
5 – No opinion	0	2	2	2	0	4	30

Table #2: Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day 2007 Citizen Survey							
	In your residence	Mall / plaza	In your downtown area	Driving	neighbourhood	Walking in parks	Public transit
1 – Very safe	81	67	34	60	72	44	19
2 – Somewhat safe	17	27	39	29	24	36	13
3 – Somewhat unsafe	2	3	13	6	3	8	3
4 – Very unsafe	1	0	6	1	0	0	0
5 – No opinion	0	3	8	4	1	1	64

At night, fear of crime is higher in every category. In particular, just as in the daytime, fear in parks and in downtown areas stand out as the largest concerns (see Table #2).

Once again these results are relatively similar to the Citizen Survey. With these questions a few additional comparisons can also be made. The General Social Survey asked two similar questions. The first asked *How safe do you feel from crime walking ALONE in your area after dark?* With this question 41% of respondents felt very safe, 43% reasonably safe, 11% somewhat unsafe and 5% very unsafe. These results show a slightly higher propensity for respondents to feel safe while walking in your area at night compared to walking in your neighbourhood at night however there is no direct matching question asked in the local surveys.

The second General Social Survey question of note states *when alone in your home in the evening or at night how do you feel?* In this case 2% said very worried, 18% somewhat worried and 80% not at all worried about your safety from crime. This question closely matches the feeling of safety in your residence question on the Local Area Survey and the Citizen Survey but the scale of possible responses unfortunately does not match.

Table #3: Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night (Local Area Survey Results)						
	In your residence	In your local mall or plaza	In your downtown area	While driving	While walking in your neighbourhood	While walking in parks	While waiting for or using public transportation
1 – Very safe	68	34	16	41	28	11	11
2 – Somewhat safe	27	50	34	43	46	28	23
3 – Somewhat unsafe	4	12	30	12	20	31	24
4 – Very unsafe	1	1.	15	1	4	23	8
5 – No opinion	1	4	5	2	1	7	33

| Table #4: Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night 2007 Citizen Survey						
	In your residence	Mall / plaza	In your downtown area	Driving	neighbourhood	Walking in parks	Public transit
1 – Very safe	71	44	13	48	38	13	7
2 – Somewhat safe	25	37	32	36	32	38	14
3 – Somewhat unsafe	3	9	22	8	19	20	10
4 – Very unsafe	0	1	19	2	5	25	3
5 – No opinion	0	8	13	6	6	18	67

In order to explore fear of crime within the downtown cores cross tabulations were set up using each of the three municipalities and the townships as groupings[1]. These groupings were then compared to the expected counts for each of the results. The cross tabulations showed that residents in the townships were the least afraid of crime in the downtown areas. City of Waterloo residents were also less afraid of crime than predicted by the cross tabulation. Cambridge and Kitchener residents were more afraid than predicted in the downtown core (see graphs). This result was significant at the 0.01 level[2]. These results reflect the Citizen Survey results which found fear in the downtown highest in Kitchener, then Cambridge and lowest in Waterloo.



Township Downtown Fear

Waterloo Downtown Fear

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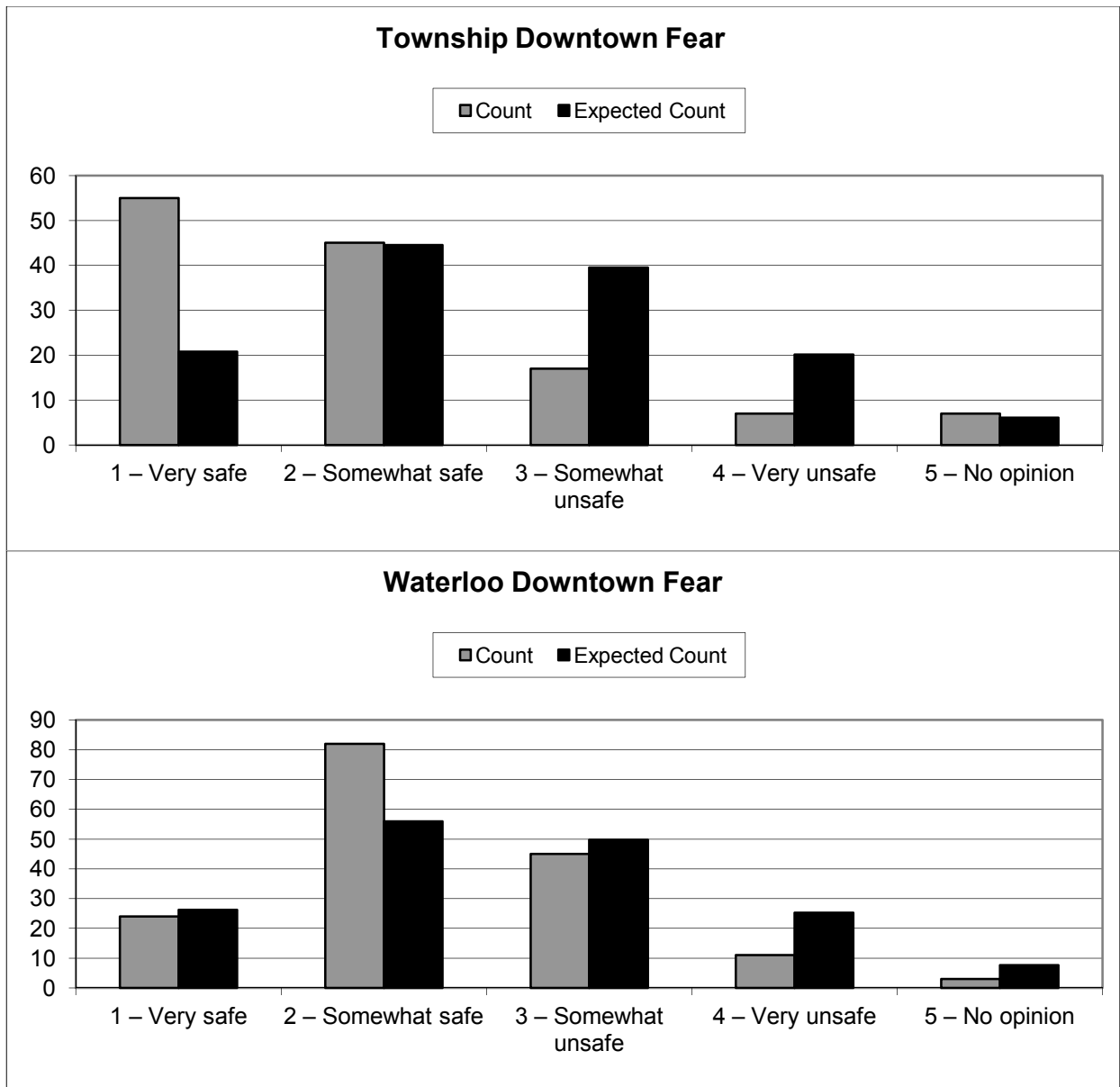
[1] The cross tabulations grouped respondents according to: 1) municipality and the response they gave to the fear of crime in the downtown core at night question and 2) municipality and the response they gave to the fear of crime in parks at night question. The expected count from the Local area survey was added to provide the number that would be generated if the responses were distributed randomly. These are the counts if the likelihood of each category coming up is equal.

[2] Significance at the 0.01 level indicates that these results are accurate 99 times out of 100.
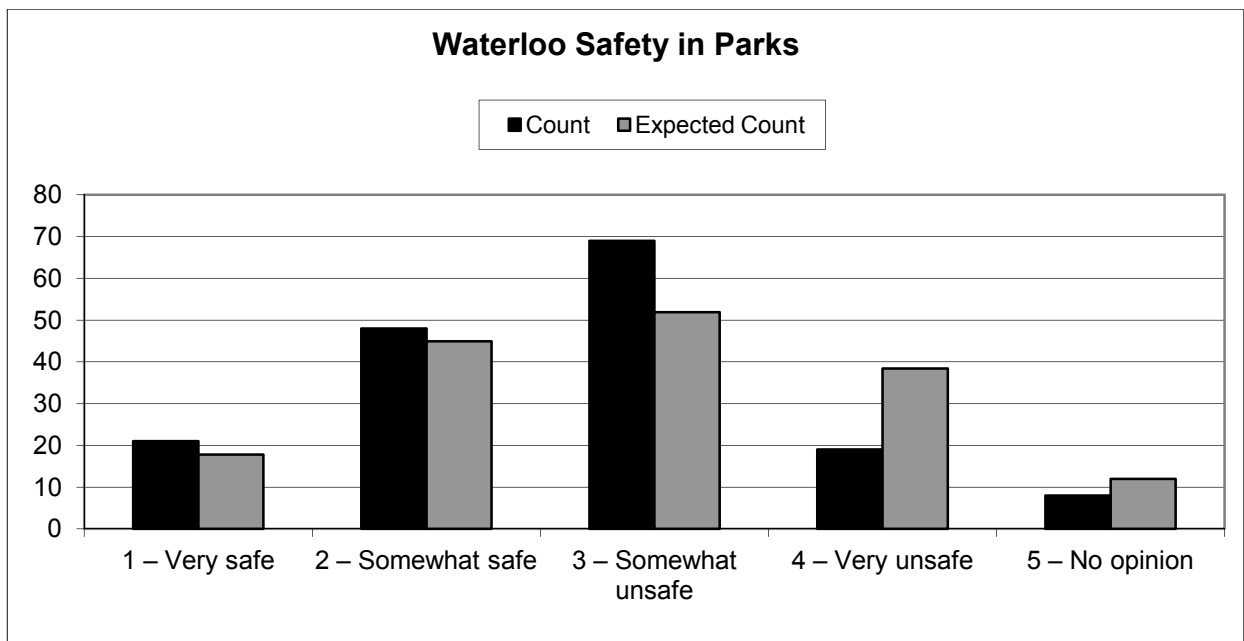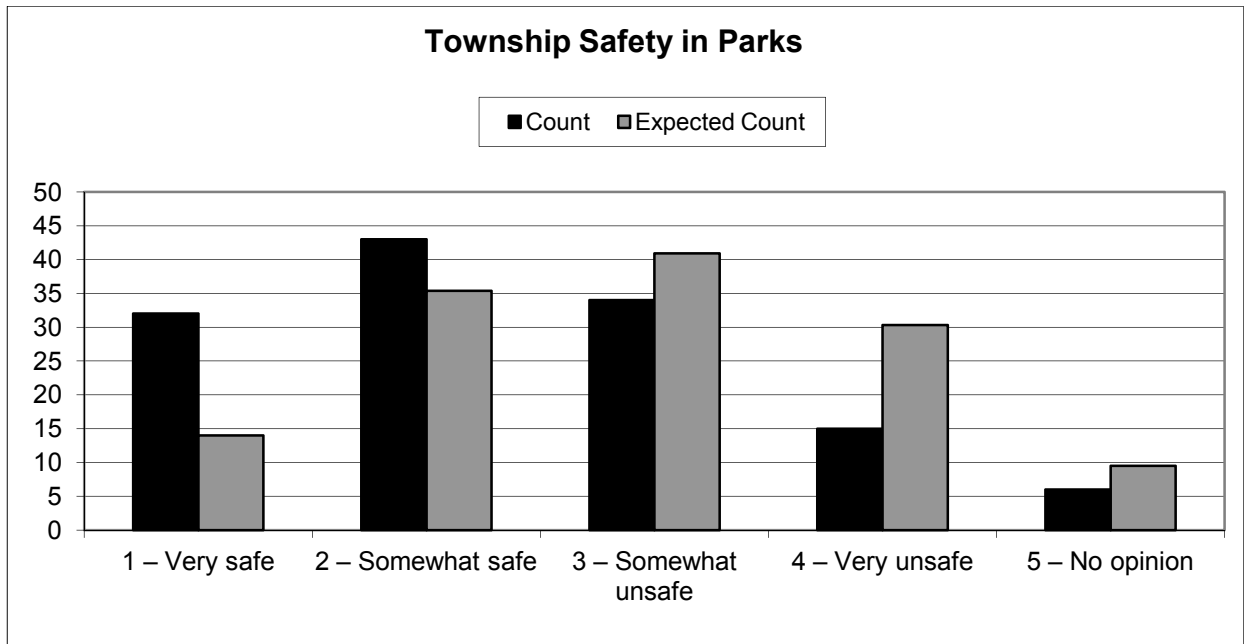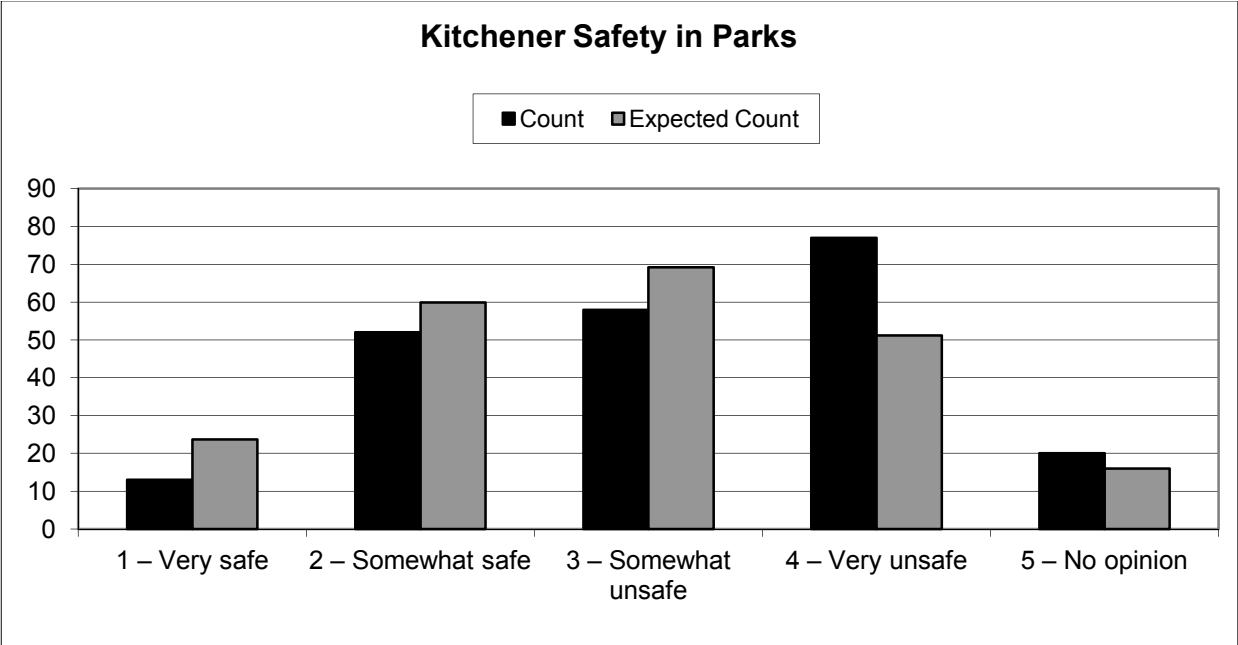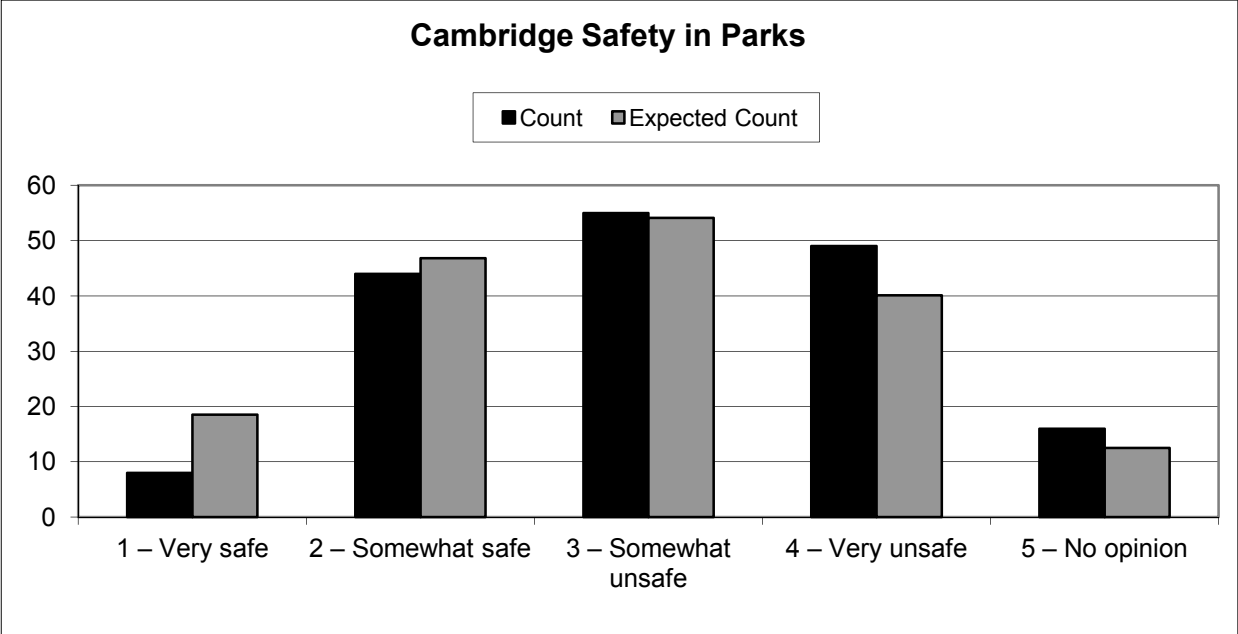
Cambridge Downtown Fear
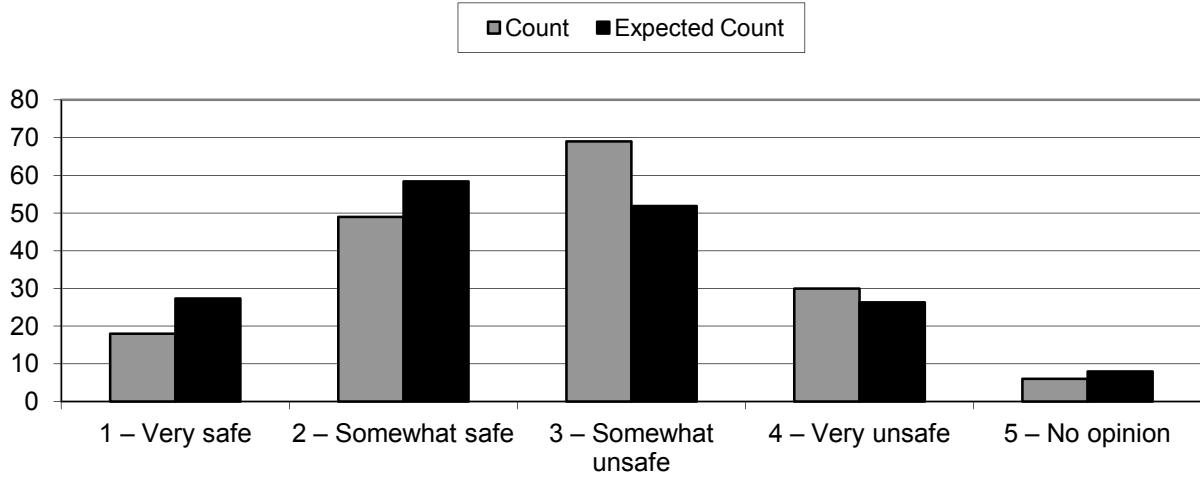
Kitchener Downtown Fear
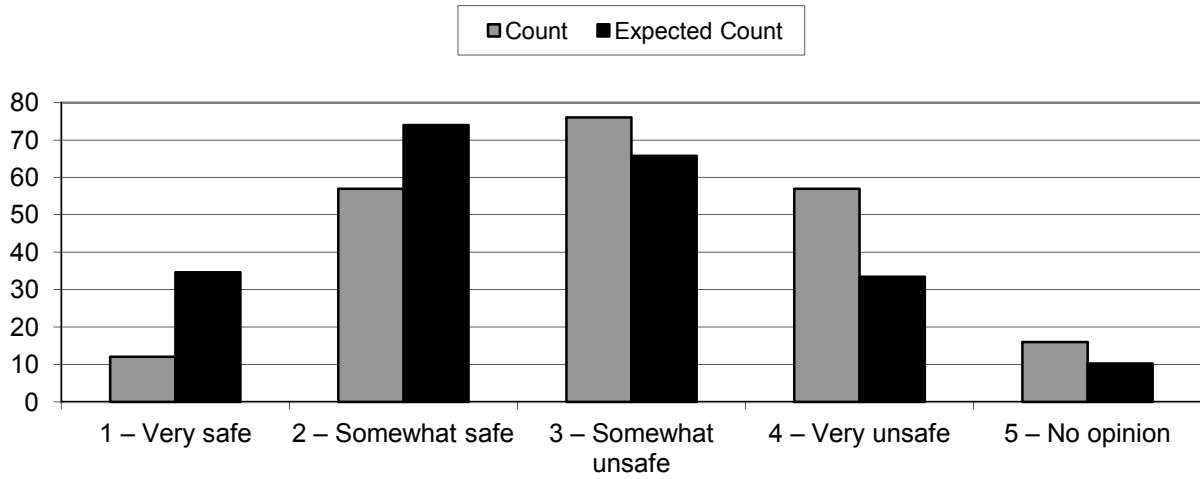
The results were very similar when looking at fear of crime in parks. Fear of crime in parks compared to city and township was also significant at the 0.01 level. Township residents felt the safest, with City of Waterloo residents close behind. Cambridge and Kitchener residents were more fearful than expected (see graphs). In particular, Kitchener and Cambridge residents are more likely to feel very unsafe in parks than expected. These results reflect the Citizen Survey results which found fear in parks highest in Kitchener, then Cambridge and noticeably lower in Waterloo.

Township Safety in Parks

■ Count ■ Expected Count

Category	Count	Expected Count
1 – Very safe	32	14
2 – Somewhat safe	43	35
3 – Somewhat unsafe	34	41
4 – Very unsafe	15	30
5 – No opinion	6	9.5

Waterloo Safety in Parks

■ Count ■ Expected Count

Category	Count	Expected Count
1 – Very safe	21	18
2 – Somewhat safe	48	45
3 – Somewhat unsafe	69	52
4 – Very unsafe	19	38
5 – No opinion	8	12

Cambridge Safety in Parks

■ Count ■ Expected Count

(bar chart)

| | 1 – Very safe | 2 – Somewhat safe | 3 – Somewhat unsafe | 4 – Very unsafe | 5 – No opinion |

Kitchener Safety in Parks

■ Count ■ Expected Count

(bar chart)

| | 1 – Very safe | 2 – Somewhat safe | 3 – Somewhat unsafe | 4 – Very unsafe | 5 – No opinion |

The question about fear of crime at night in parks was also examined by gender. When these results are compared men feel significantly safer than women in parks at night as is expected according to the literature review. This result is also significant at the 0.01 level.

Male Safety in Parks at Night

Female Safety in Parks at Night
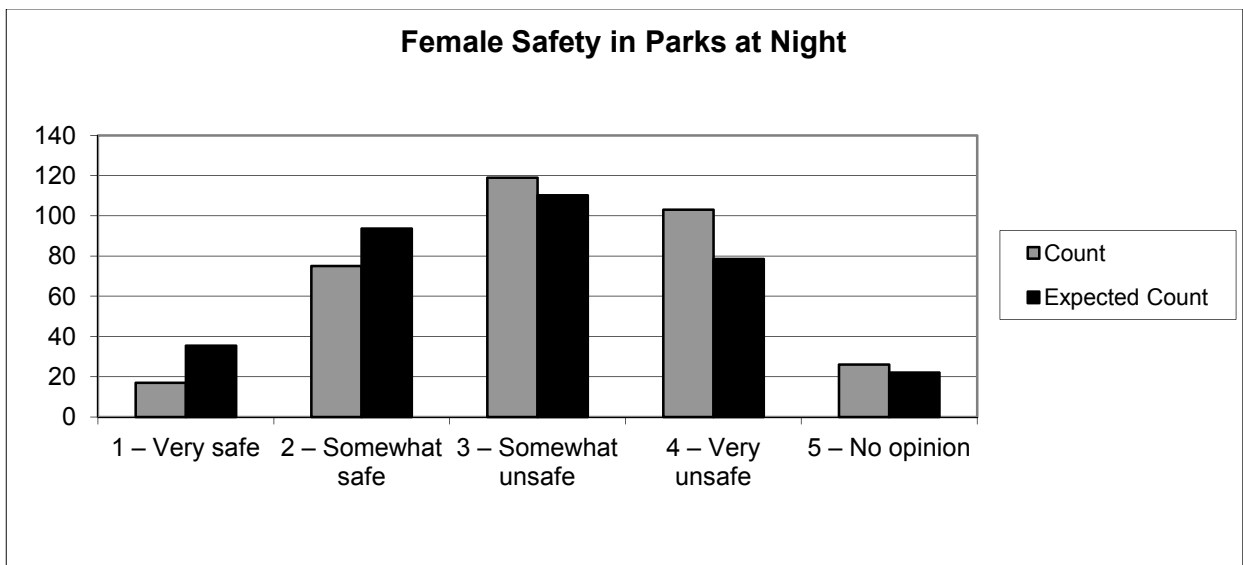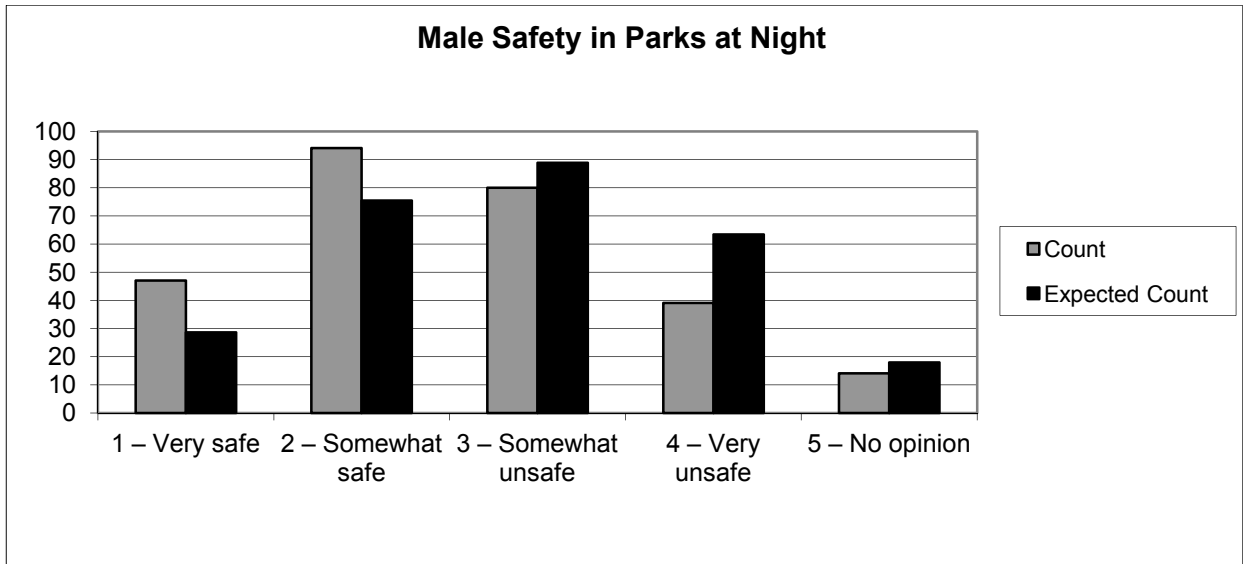
Safety in parks at night was also divided based upon age. When this is done an increase in fear of crime is seen as age increases. This is particularly true for individuals over 65. Like the previous cross tabulations this result was also significant at the 0.01 level. This relationship is predicted by the theories within the literature review

20 to 34 Safety in Parks at Night

35 to 49 Safety in Parks at Night

50 to 64 Safety in Parks at Night

65 plus Safety in Parks at Night
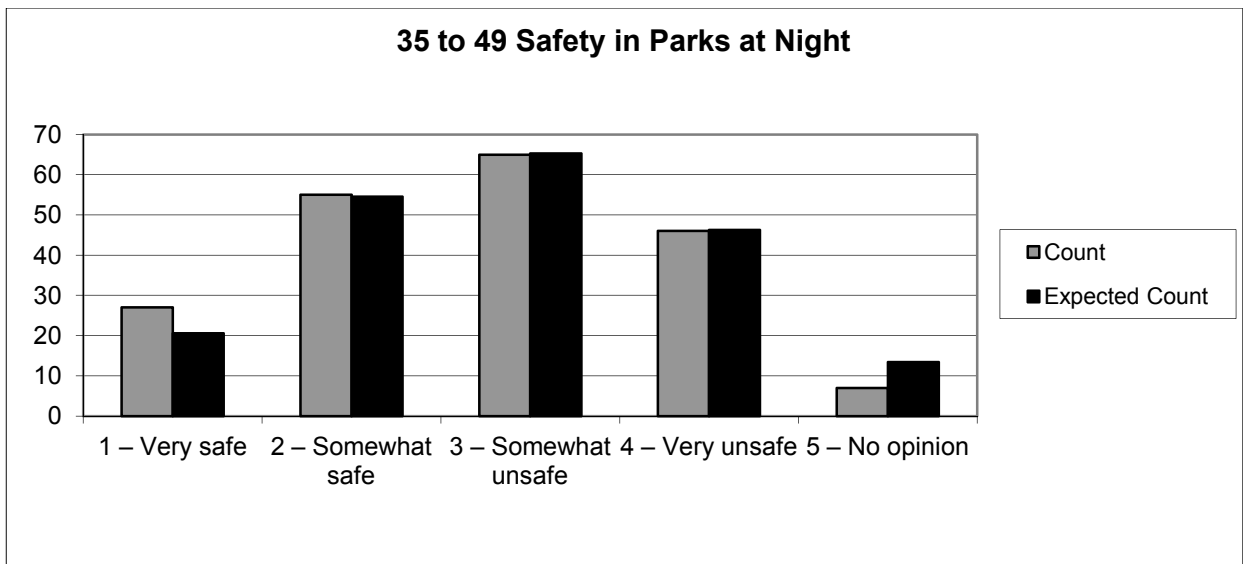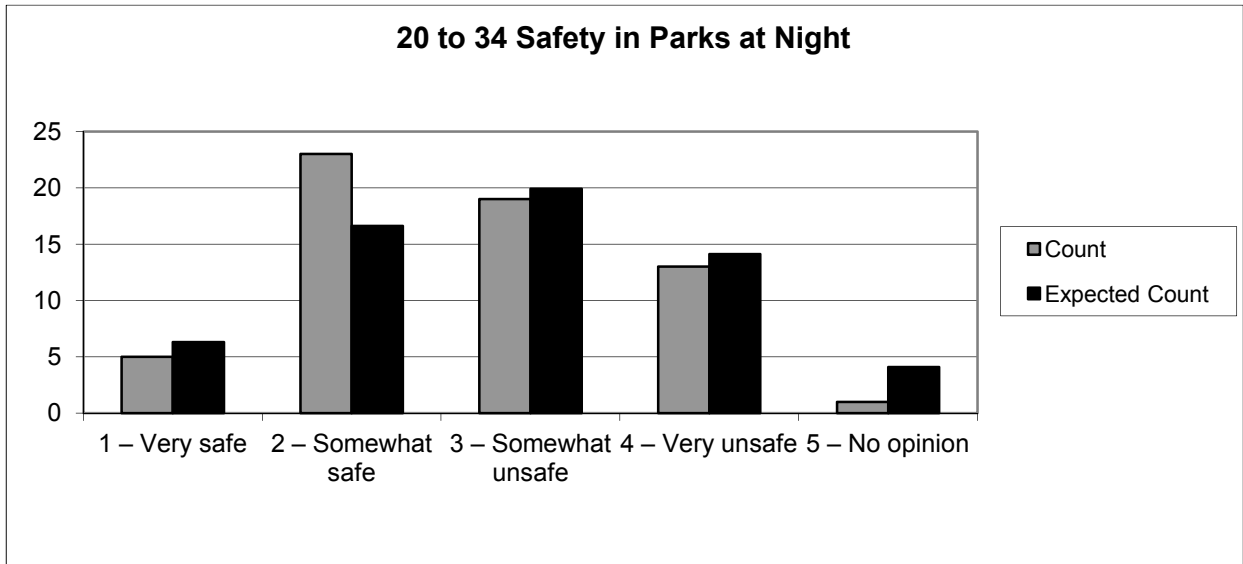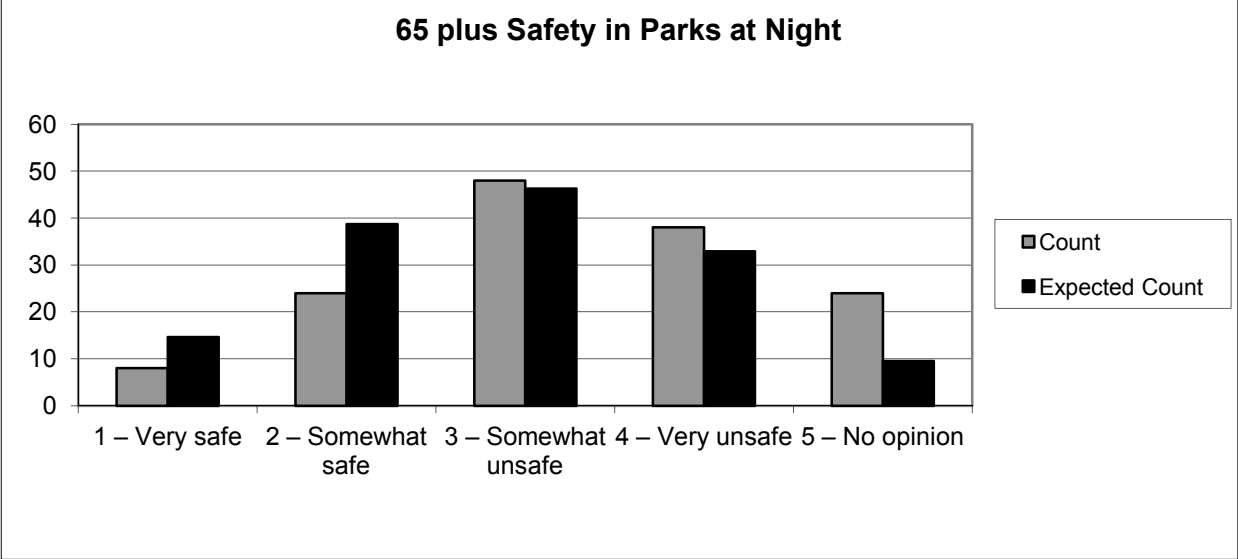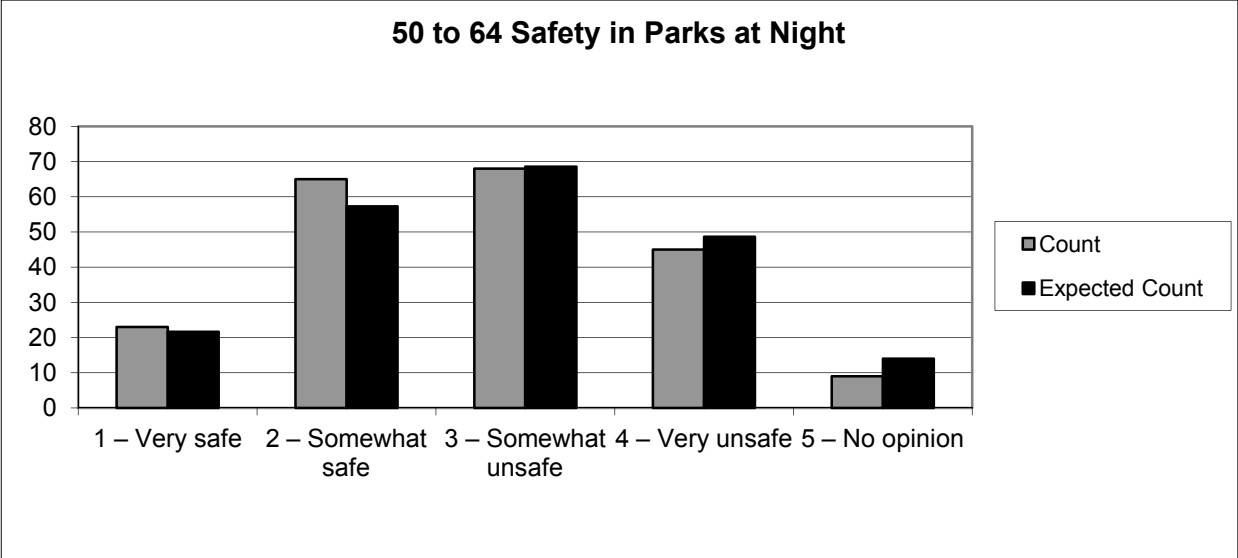
Although the Local Area survey did not ask a general question related to feelings of safety, both the General Social Survey and Citizen Survey explored this issue. The General Social Survey worded their question focusing on the negative, stating "*In general how often would you say that worry about crime keeps you from doing things you'd like to? Would you say very often, sometimes, not very often, never, don't know.*" Four percent of respondents stated very often, 18% sometimes, 41% not very often and 36% never and 1% didn't know.

In contrast, the Citizen Survey framed the questions in terms of satisfaction stating "*In general how satisfied are you with your personal safety from crime?*" This study found that 46% of respondents were very satisfied, 48% somewhat satisfied, 4% somewhat dissatisfied, 1% very dissatisfied and 1% had no opinion. Unfortunately, the wording of these questions does not match so comparisons are difficult.

Waterloo Region Crimes of Concern

Respondents also identified how concerned they were about specific crimes and other issues in the Local Area Survey. Drinking and driving had the most respondents identify it as a concern with residential break and enters coming in as a close second. Speeding and aggressive driving in general and robberies are the third and forth most commonly identified concerns respectively. Guns, gangs, other weapons, property damage/graffiti, assaults, sexual assaults, youth behaviour, domestic violence, motor vehicle collisions, motor vehicle thefts, other thefts and crime prevention in general are all near the same level of concern. Fraud, commercial break and enters and prostitution are noticeably lower levels of concern than all other categories (see table 5).

Table #5: Concern about Crime 2008 Local Area Survey

Rank	Crime	Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Aggregate Concern	Not Very Concerned	Not at All Concerned
1	Drinking & Driving	63	28	91	8	1
2	Residential break and enters	47	43	90	9	2
3	Speeding/Aggressive Driving	50	36	85	13	2
4	Robberies	39	45	84	14	2
5	Crime Prevention	39	44	82	15	3
6	Crime (in general)	33	49	82	16	2
7	Property damage/Graffiti	38	41	78	18	4
8	Sexual Assaults	36	41	77	17	6
9	Assaults	31	46	77	18	5
10	Youth behavior	30	46	76	21	3
11	Motor vehicle thefts	30	46	75	21	4
12	Motor vehicle collisions	25	50	75	21	4
13	Other weapons	40	33	73	20	7
14	Gangs	40	32	73	21	6
15	Other thefts	22	51	73	21	6
16	Domestic violence	33	40	72	18	10
17	Guns	42	28	71	22	8
18	Fraud/counterfeiting	29	38	66	26	8
19	Commercial break and enters	18	47	65	28	7
20	Prostitution	18	30	49	35	16

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These results from the 2007 Citizen Survey are relatively similar in terms of rank order, with four noticeable exceptions. Crime prevention, sexual assaults and assaults were significantly lower ranked in the 2007 Citizen Survey. In contrast, guns had a much higher ranking in the 2007 study. In terms of actual specific percentage of people ranking questions as very concerned or somewhat concerned there seems to be higher levels of concern in the 2008 Local Area Survey.

Table #6: Concern about Crime 2007 Citizen Survey Results

Rank	Crime	Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Aggregate Concern	Not Very Concerned	Not at All Concerned
1	Drinking & Driving	63	29	92	7	1
2	Speeding/Aggressive Driving	49	36	86	13	1
3	Drugs	51	31	82	13	3
4	Residential break and enters	32	47	80	16	3
5	Robberies	28	50	78	18	4
6	Crime (in general)	29	48	78	17	5
7	Motor vehicle collisions	26	51	76	20	3
8	Other weapons	37	36	73	21	5
9	Guns	42	30	72	20	7
10	Property damage/Graffiti	29	41	70	25	5
11	Crime Prevention	31	38	69	22	5
12	Motor vehicle thefts	24	44	68	24	6
13	Gangs	34	34	68	23	7
14	Youth behavior	24	44	68	26	5
15	Assaults	20	48	68	26	6
16	Sexual Assaults	24	43	67	25	6
17	Fraud/counterfeiting	27	38	65	25	7
18	Other thefts	18	45	63	28	7
19	Domestic violence	21	40	61	23	13
20	Commercial break and enters	14	40	54	14	10
21	Prostitution	19	27	45	36	15

Section Five: Conclusions

The main fear for respondents was the downtown cores and parks at night. This was particularly true in Cambridge and Kitchener. Interestingly over 80% of people felt safe while driving but respondents were very likely to identify drinking and driving and speeding as a concern. Only prostitution had less than 50% of respondents identify it as a concern, with 49% in the Local Area Survey and 45% in the Citizen Survey saying they were somewhat or very concerned. This is particularly note-worthy as some literature suggests that measuring acts of social disorder, like prostitution, is really measuring the same concept as fear of crime (Gau and Pratt, 2008).

The Local Area Survey and the Citizen Survey face some response issues. For example, the Local Area Survey respondents were almost exclusively home owners and two-thirds of the Citizen Survey respondents were female. However, despite these limitations the studies feature sample sizes of 703 for the Local Area Survey and 500 for the Citizen Survey and two different data collection methods which, given the consistency of the data, provides some triangulation of the fear of crime issues affecting Waterloo Region. These results can therefore be used as a basis for further study and a baseline to judge how effective the community is at addressing fear of crime. These results should therefore be used as a starting point and efforts should continue to track fear of crime locally as a first step in ensuring that fear of crime is reduced.

In future studies in order to build on these surveys some key opportunities arise. Future surveys of Waterloo Region residents should explore the possibility of asking more questions related to victimization. Since studies have shown that police data do not capture all violence and property crimes (Doob, Sprott & Webster, 2008) asking more questions related to these areas will help better understand the actual crime and victimization rates within Waterloo Region. The questions on the General Social Survey conducted by Statistics Canada provide good examples of victimization questions that may be appropriate. In addition, it may also be useful to match some fear of crime questions to the General Social Survey as this would allow Waterloo Region survey results to be compared to national data. Finally, serious consideration should be given to increasing the sample size of these surveys as a large sample will allow a greater degree of confidence in the overall results and in the results when the data is disaggregated into smaller components. Finally, consideration could also be given to asking some questions related to the concept of social disorder.

The results of the 2008 Waterloo Region Area Survey provide direction for further research. The survey also suggests where the community is most afraid of crime and what the main crime concerns of local residents are. In the past addressing these fear concerns would primarily take place through the adoption of Broken Windows Theory and associated order maintenance police tactics.

This widespread adoption and emphasis on order maintenance policing strategies has had unfortunate consequences. For example, in a policy paper exploring the impact of broken

windows theory, Skogan (2008) points out that "discussion of policy alternatives by criminologists has revolved around 'disorder policing'…[however] most criminologists and many sophisticated practitioners would agree that enforcement-oriented policing is not always the most effective strategy for addressing common crimes" (p. 197-198).   Since criminologists have firmly established a relationship between fear of crime and social disorder (even if the direction and nature of that relationship is not entirely clear) it is important for public policy to address fear of crime and to explore methods of dealing with disorder. The solution to disorder that Skogan (2008) suggests is logical and highly applicable to Waterloo Region:

> Disorder is addressable by the same kitbag of policy tools that crime experts have lauded. Besides enforcement, the toolbox includes the involvement of organized interagency coordination; regulatory leverage created by civil statutes; and the involvement of organized community residents, nonprofit service providers, and the commercial security sector. (p. 198)

This approach is in keeping with the community philosophy of crime prevention in Waterloo Region. These efforts therefore must continue in order to build a community that is safe and where individuals feel safe without fear of crime.

The Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council recommends THAT:

Recommendation 1:   Local government, Business Improvement Associations, community agencies and Waterloo Regional Police increase their focus on a multi-sector approach to address the unique needs of the local communities in the Waterloo Region to reduce fear of crime.

Recommendation 2:   Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council, Waterloo Regional Police, Business Improvement Associations and Waterloo Region municipal governments employ strategies to address fear of crime that are based on evidence and are tailored to the needs of the local communities.

Recommendation 3:   Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council, Waterloo Regional Police, Business Improvement Associations and community agencies work to ensure that perceptions of crime reflect the reality of crime.

Recommendation 4:   Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council and Waterloo Regional Police collaborate on future surveys to continue to measure fear of crime in the Waterloo Region.

Appendix A: Local Area Survey Questions

D1) During the last five years, do you think that crime in your immediate neighborhood has increased, stayed about the same or decreased?
- o Increased
- o Stayed about the same
- o Decreased

D2) What about the wider region? During the last five years, do you think that crime in Waterloo Region has increased, stayed about the same or decreased?
- o Increased
- o Stayed about the same
- o Decreased

D3) Are there types of crimes that concern you because you feel they are increasing? If so, please indicate in the space below what types of crimes these are.

D4) In the past two years, have you, yourself, been a victim of crime – something like a car theft, break in or some other type of crime?
- o Yes → Were the police involved? Yes No
- o No

D5) Now we would like to ask you a more specific question related to violent crime. In the past two years, have you, yourself, been a victim of violence such as a physical assault, a threat of assault with a weapon, or a sexual assault?
- o Yes →Were the police involved? Yes No
- o No

D6) The Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) is the legislation that regulates how we respond to youth crime. The YCJA provides for young offenders to receive protections and treatments that adults don't get because the legislation recognizes that youth are still learning and growing and need time to mature before they can be considered fully responsible for their actions in the same way that adults are.

In general, how positive or negative are you about this legislation? Please indicate where on the scale below you would place yourself by circling a number.

Very Negative   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Very Positive

The next few questions concern policing in the community. *Please note – in this section, we are asking specifically about the Waterloo Regional Police Service and NOT other police services or the OPP.*

Unless otherwise indicated, the following questions are specific to "your neighbourhood," meaning the area within a fifteen minute walk of your home or residence.

D7) In thinking about your feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day, please indicate whether you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe <u>during daylight hours </u>for each of the following:

	Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	No Opinion
a) In your residence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) In your local mall or plaza	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) In your downtown area	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) While driving	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) While walking in your neighbourhood	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) While walking in parks	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) While waiting for or using public transportation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D8) In thinking about your feelings of safety in your neighbourhood at night, please indicate whether you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe <u>during nighttime hours </u>for each of the following:

	Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	No Opinion
a) In your residence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) In your local mall or plaza	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) In your downtown area	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) While driving	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) While walking in your neighbourhood	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) While walking in parks	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) While waiting for or using public transportation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D9) Using the same scale, overall, how safe do you feel the following types of schools are in the <u>Region of Waterloo as a whole </u>during daytime school hours?

	Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	No Opinion
a) Elementary schools	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) High schools	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Colleges and Universities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D10) In general, how often would you say that worry about crime keeps you from doing things you'd like to do? Would you say :
- o Very Often
- o Sometimes
- o Not Very Often
- o Never

D11) With regard to the Region of Waterloo, are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not very concerned, or not at all concerned about the following issues.

	Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not very concerned	Not at all concerned
a) Assaults	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Sexual assaults	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Domestic Violence	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Robberies	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) Residential break and enters	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) Commercial break and enters	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) Motor vehicle thefts	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) Other thefts	☐	☐	☐	☐
i) Property damage / graffiti	☐	☐	☐	☐
j) Fraud / counterfeiting	☐	☐	☐	☐
k) Gangs	☐	☐	☐	☐
l) Prostitution	☐	☐	☐	☐
m) Guns	☐	☐	☐	☐
n) Other weapons	☐	☐	☐	☐
o) Motor vehicle collisions	☐	☐	☐	☐
p) Speeding / aggressive driving	☐	☐	☐	☐
q) Drinking and driving	☐	☐	☐	☐
r) Youth behaviour (e.g. loitering, noise)	☐	☐	☐	☐
s) Crime prevention	☐	☐	☐	☐
t) Crime (in general)	☐	☐	☐	☐
u) Other_____	☐	☐	☐	☐

D12) Using the list of issues above in Question 11, please indicate, in your opinion what are the three most important policing issues in your neighbourhood? *Note: "Your neighbourhood" means the area within a fifteen minute walk of your home.*

  1._____
  2._____
  3._____

D13) Once again using the list of issues above from Question 11 above, please indicate, in your opinion what are the three most important policing issues in the Region of Waterloo as a whole?

  1._____
  2._____
  3._____

D14) Thinking about the number of police you see in your neighbourhood, would you say there are
  o Too many
  o Too Few
  o About Right
  o Don't know/Unable to assess

Appendix B: Methodology

Sample

The sample used in Waterloo Region Area Survey was obtained through access to tax roll records in each of the seven municipal clerk's offices. Names were drawn randomly from each city/township's set of records, based on a stratification of the sample by proportional representation within the Region.

Before the sampling was complete, access to the tax roll information was discontinued. All records except Woolwich Township had been collected at that point. Legitimate use of the sample was contested by all clerks' offices. Therefore, records in the sample had to be verified through public sources, including the telephone directory and the Vernon City Directory. In order to maintain correct proportional representation in the sample, a supplemental list was purchased, focusing primarily on the township listings. The Woolwich Township sample was randomly selected from the telephone directory.

The representation within the sample was as follows:

City or Township	Frequency	Percent
Cambridge	316	26.3
Kitchener	403	33.6
North Dumfries	44	3.7
Waterloo	275	22.9
Wellesley	41	3.4
Wilmot	53	4.4
Woolwich	68	5.7
Total	1200	100.0

Household Selection

The use of tax roll information allowed for random selection of participants among all listed adults within each household. However, with the supplemental sample, the selection within the household was based on a request in the cover letter that the person with the next birthday be the one who filled out the survey.

Survey Fieldwork

Data was collected for the 2008 Waterloo Region Area Survey between November and December 2008. A pre-contact letter was mailed to all households in the sample in order to determine the invalid addresses prior to mailing the full package. Approximately one week later, the first full packages, containing the survey, cover letter, FAQ sheet and a five dollar bill were mailed to all known valid addresses (1,200 in total). A postcard reminder was sent

shortly after, followed by two more full packages, without the financial incentive. The table below shows the contact dates for each type of mailing.

Type of Contact	Date
Pre-contact letter	Nov. 6th to 10th
First full package	Nov. 13th to 17th
Postcard reminder	Nov. 24th
Second full package	Dec. 1st
Third full package	Dec. 12th

Contact Attempts

The following table looks at the number of contacts needed to reach 703 completed surveys. On average, it required 2.1 attempts to receive a completed survey via mail or web. The pre-contact letter is not included in this table.

# Contact Attempts	Number of completes	% of Total Completes	Cumulative %
1	249	35	35
2	206	29	64
3	165	24	88
4	83	12	100
total	703	100	
average	2.1		

Appendix C: Cross Tabulations

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day in your residence
(n = 684, χ^2 =28.57, df=12, Pearson $p < .01$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	124	44	1	2	1
Kitchener	166	47	4	0	1
Waterloo	144	17	0	0	0
The Townships	114	18	0	1	0

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day in your local mall
(n = 682, χ^2 =36.30, df=12, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	79	78	9	2	3
Kitchener	122	84	11	1	1
Waterloo	103	56	2	0	0
The Townships	83	38	2	1	7

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day in your downtown area
(n = 678, χ^2 =114.1, df=12, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	40	85	33	9	2
Kitchener	35	96	64	17	6
Waterloo	69	73	16	1	1
The Townships	80	34	11	3	3

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while driving
(n = 676, χ^2 =12.01, df=12, $p = .445$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	84	70	12	1	3
Kitchener	99	103	8	1	5
Waterloo	87	64	7	0	2
The Townships	74	46	5	2	3

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while walking in your neighbourhood
(n = 680, χ^2 =36.61, df=12, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	84	76	9	1	1
Kitchener	115	87	13	3	0
Waterloo	109	48	3	0	0
The Townships	98	29	2	1	1

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while walking in parks
(n = 676, χ^2 =61.48, df=12, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	33	83	33	13	9
Kitchener	56	95	43	13	9
Waterloo	62	77	18	1	2
The Townships	68	44	9	4	4

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while waiting for or using public transportation
(n = 657 χ^2 =21.61, df=12, $p < .05$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	35	65	18	4	47
Kitchener	46	79	19	3	64
Waterloo	40	66	9	0	42
The Townships	39	28	8	1	44

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day in your residence
(n = 608 χ^2 =3.05, df=4, $p = .384$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	227	47	1	0	0
Female	268	59	4	2	0

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day in your local mall or plaza
(n = 609 χ^2 =8.91, df=4, $p < .10$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	171	88	13	0	3
Female	185	132	8	3	6

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day in your downtown area
(n = 605 χ^2 =6.26, df=4, p = .181)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	104	117	36	13	4
Female	105	139	66	14	7

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while driving
(n = 604 χ^2 =3.18, df=4, p = .529)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	140	118	13	1	2
Female	173	132	15	2	8

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while walking in your neighbourhood
(n = 606 χ^2 =4.56, df=4, p = .331)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	176	90	9	0	0
Female	197	115	15	3	1

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while walking in parks
(n = 602 χ^2 =16.56, df=4, p < .01)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	111	115	32	7	8
Female	88	152	60	18	11

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while waiting for or using public transportation
(n = 590 χ^2 =7.20, df=4, p = .126)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	78	89	18	5	76
Female	69	119	32	3	101

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day in your residence
(n = 607 χ^2 =16.92, df=12, *p* < .10)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	50	8	2	0	0
35 to 49	168	29	1	0	0
50 to 64	170	34	1	2	0
65 plus	105	36	1	0	0

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day in your local mall or plaza
(n = 608 χ^2 =16.30, df=12, *p* = .178)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	36	24	0	0	0
35 to 49	121	66	9	0	2
50 to 64	121	76	4	3	3
65 plus	77	54	8	0	4

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day in your downtown area
(n = 604 χ^2 =18.83, df=12, *p* < .10)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	24	22	10	4	0
35 to 49	72	80	38	6	2
50 to 64	72	95	27	8	3
65 plus	40	56	29	9	7

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while driving
(n = 602 χ^2 =18.66, df=12, *p* < .10)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	34	24	1	0	1
35 to 49	119	65	10	1	2
50 to 64	101	92	10	1	2
65 plus	57	69	7	1	5

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while walking in your neighbourhood
(n = 605 χ^2 =20.56, df=12, $p < .10$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	41	16	3	0	0
35 to 49	130	60	7	1	0
50 to 64	123	80	3	1	0
65 plus	74	52	12	1	1

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while walking in parks
(n = 604 χ^2 =56.44, df=12, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	23	26	7	4	0
35 to 49	73	94	24	5	2
50 to 64	69	100	28	7	3
65 plus	31	47	33	10	15

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the day while waiting for or using public transportation
(n = 589 χ^2 =18.64, df=12, $p < .10$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	22	16	3	1	17
35 to 49	56	74	17	2	46
50 to 64	47	75	15	3	62
65 plus	22	44	16	2	49

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night in your residence
(n = 694, χ^2 =15.31, df=12, $p = .225$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	110	50	9	2	1
Kitchener	142	67	10	1	3
Waterloo	122	40	3	0	0
The Townships	100	30	3	1	0

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night in your local mall
(n = 689, χ^2 =39.82, df=12, *p* < .001)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	40	97	22	4	9
Kitchener	66	107	38	5	6
Waterloo	63	83	18	0	1
The Townships	60	54	7	1	8

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night in your downtown area
(n = 686, χ^2 =152.9, df=12, *p* < .001)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	18	49	69	30	6
Kitchener	12	57	76	57	16
Waterloo	24	82	45	11	3
The Townships	55	45	17	7	7

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while driving
(n = 671, χ^2 =25.86, df=12, *p* < .05)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	62	76	24	3	4
Kitchener	71	105	31	1	5
Waterloo	70	68	18	1	2
The Townships	73	43	8	3	3

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while walking in your neighbourhood
(n = 688, χ^2 =72.30, df=12, *p* < .001)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	31	88	43	9	1
Kitchener	46	93	62	15	4
Waterloo	50	88	21	4	1
The Townships	68	47	13	2	2

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while walking in parks
(n = 687, χ^2 =83.26, df=12, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	8	44	55	49	16
Kitchener	13	52	58	77	20
Waterloo	21	48	69	19	8
The Townships	32	43	34	15	6

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while waiting for or using public transportation
(n = 669 χ^2 =40.13, df=12, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Cambridge	16	40	44	21	50
Kitchener	14	51	58	22	70
Waterloo	19	48	41	7	47
The Townships	26	17	21	6	51

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night in your residence
(n = 620 χ^2 =2.53, df=4, $p = .640$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	201	64	8	1	1
Female	233	96	14	1	1

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night in your local mall or plaza
(n = 617 χ^2 =12.28, df=4, $p < .05$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	110	125	32	3	5
Female	96	182	43	5	16

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night in your downtown area
(n = 613 χ^2 =20.64, df=4, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	57	105	70	29	11
Female	40	106	116	64	15

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while driving
(n = 603 χ^2 =8.78, df=4, $p < .10$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	120	121	24	3	2
Female	128	144	49	3	9

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while walking in your neighbourhood
(n = 615 χ^2 =36.48, df=4, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	104	125	37	5	2
Female	69	158	89	22	4

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while walking in parks
(n = 614 χ^2 =49.78, df=4, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	47	94	80	39	14
Female	17	75	119	103	26

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while waiting for or using public transportation
(n = 603 χ^2 =36.50, df=4, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
Male	50	65	56	15	80
Female	16	73	92	39	117

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night in your residence
(n = 619 χ^2 =17.43, df=12, $p = .134$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	45	13	3	0	0
35 to 49	149	44	8	0	0
50 to 64	146	55	9	1	0
65 plus	92	49	2	1	2

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night in your local mall or plaza (n = 616 χ^2 =22.00, df=12, $p < .05$)					
	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	24	31	6	0	0
35 to 49	63	101	31	3	3
50 to 64	73	108	17	5	8
65 plus	44	67	22	0	10

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night in your downtown area (n = 612 χ^2 =23.63, df=12, $p < .05$)					
	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	7	23	20	11	0
35 to 49	33	73	61	30	4
50 to 64	36	74	62	28	8
65 plus	21	37	44	25	15

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while driving (n = 600 χ^2 =21.89, df=12, $p < .05$)					
	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	23	32	5	0	1
35 to 49	99	75	22	2	2
50 to 64	81	97	24	3	2
65 plus	41	62	22	1	6

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while walking in your neighbourhood (n = 614 χ^2 =21.65, df=12, $p < .05$)					
	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	17	27	14	3	0
35 to 49	58	100	34	8	1
50 to 64	65	96	38	10	0
65 plus	31	61	39	7	5

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while walking in parks
(n = 613 χ^2 =45.03, df=12, $p < .001$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	5	23	19	13	1
35 to 49	27	55	65	46	7
50 to 64	23	65	68	45	9
65 plus	8	24	48	38	24

Feelings of safety in your neighbourhood during the night while waiting for or using public transportation
(n = 602 χ^2 =17.04, df=12, $p = .148$)

	1 – Very safe	2 – Somewhat safe	3 – Somewhat unsafe	4 – Very unsafe	5 – No opinion
20 to 34	7	14	19	4	16
35 to 49	28	51	45	19	56
50 to 64	21	52	51	16	67
65 plus	10	20	34	16	56

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