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Social Status, Opportunity And Repeat Victimization: The Unequal Distribution Of Safety

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SOCIAL STATUS, OPPORTUNITY AND REPEAT VICTIMIZATION: THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAFETY

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my dissertation to my family who has supported me unconditionally during my time at Wayne State University. Both my parents and in-laws have been supportive throughout the entire process.

A special thanks to my adviser, Dr. David Merolla, who has always made himself available no matter what day or time I email, phone or text him. It should be noted that Dr. Merolla had to engage in international travel with me on multiple occasions to make this happen.

Lastly, my wife Anahid has been supportive from when I first mentioned the idea of even going back to graduate school and remains supportive as we move our family and entire life to Indiana, Pennsylvania where I will be accepting my first job as an Assistant Professor. Ana you have helped me make my educational and career aspirations a reality.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 2012, the magazine *Good Housekeeping* related the story of Mary Clemons. Like many abused women, Mary suffered repeated abuse from her husband during fifteen years of marriage. In her account, Mary recalls a grotesque laundry list of crimes including; being gagged, tied up, beaten, stripped naked in the woods, chased with a car, and threatened with knives and guns multiple times (Erdely, 2012). This story illustrates repeat victimization, the pattern of one individual being victim of numerous crimes. Research indicates that repeat victimization is prevalent and a small number of individuals represent a large share of all victimization incidences. It is hard to imagine Mary's unequal status as a woman did not play a role in her abuse. As a minimum wage cashier, Mary notes the lack of income made the prospect of beginning a new life apart from her husband seem untenable. However, the bulk of research on repeat victimization does not consider how social inequalities of race, class, gender and sexuality may structure repeat victimization. The current research project seeks to explore the connection between repeat victimization and social status characteristics and to investigate how the effects of social status are mediated by lifestyle and opportunity. In order to add further nuance to the causes of victimization this research will focus on the relationship between social status, opportunity and repeat victimization simultaneously.

Repeat victimization refers a pattern whereby the same person, household, or place is victimized more than once. Because of the prevalence of repeat victimization, a small proportion of victims represent a disproportionate amount of victimization (Farrel and Pease 2001, Perreault et. al 2009; Nazaretian and Merolla 2013). For example, in

Canada, just 13.5 percent of victims represent 54 percent of all victimization (Gabor and Mata 2004). Repeat victimization has been of particular interest to crime prevention researchers and criminal justice practitioners since the 1970s, and gained greater exposure in the 1980s as a result of the Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project in the United Kingdom. Kirkholt is a public housing community in England that suffered from rates of burglary, far higher than the national average. The study focused on individuals who had already suffered from burglary, finding that repeat victimization was more probable than first time victimization. The crime prevention project implemented crime reduction techniques based on reducing the opportunity for crime to occur. This study demonstrated that cost-effective methods of crime prevention could be developed by focusing on those individuals, households and places that are most likely to become repeat victims (Forrester, Chatterton and Pease 1988). As well as aiding in developing crime prevention efforts, research on repeat victimization has also helped researchers predict more accurate rates of crime and affected the way victimization surveys are conducted (Laycock 2001, Nazaretian and Merrolla 2013, Lauritsen et. al. 2012). Research on the rates of crime that include repeat victimization demonstrate victimization surveys underreport crime, specifically they underreport violent crime more than property crime (Nazaretian and Merolla, 2013).

Repeat victimization is an appealing area of research because it offers those interested in crime prevention policy an avenue to receive an exponential return from investments in crime prevention. If crime prevention policy aimed at preventing repeat victimization succeeds, then a significant amount of crime can be stopped by focusing on a smaller segment of victims. Research shows that repeat victimization is most

prominent for the most serious violent crimes such as sexual assault and assault (Farrell 2005; Pease 1993). Thus, policy focusing on repeat victimization can help focus crime prevention efforts on the most serious crimes in society. To date, the bulk of theory testing for repeat victimization involves repeat property crime and few studies have sought to determine whether theories that predict general victimization can also explain repeat victimization.

Previous research on the causes of repeat victimization are framed around opportunity theories that focus on the environment in which a crime occurs as the most important influence on crime prevalence (Felson 2002, Tiley and Laycock, 2002). Although criminologists target multiple aspects of the criminal environment, the most prominent theory used in studies of repeat victimization is routine activities theory (herein RAT). RAT dictates the most significant cause of crime is the opportunity for it to occur, defined by three factors. For a crime to occur there must be a lack of capable guardianship, a motivated offender, and a suitable target (Cohen and Felson, 1979). The last situational factor “a suitable target” has also been operationalized as the lifestyle of the victims, with the logic being that some individuals are more likely to be suitable targets than others. For instance, individuals who are victimized repeatedly might frequent dangerous areas or otherwise engage in specific behavior that increases their risk of criminal victimization. Meithe and Stafford (1985) explain that RAT incorporates lifestyle theory and is a more complete explanation of victimization because it considers both the lifestyle of the victim and the environment of victimization.

The prevalence of repeat victimization is cited as support for RAT. Individuals who are repeatedly victimized are seen as evidence that criminal victimization is based

on opportunities because these individuals have specific attributes that make them a consistent target for criminal offenders (Tseloni et. al. 2004, Farrell et. al. 1995). However there is limited research on how opportunity shapes repeat victimization and even less work that looks at opportunity, social status and repeat victimization simultaneously. This research will focus on both lifestyle and environment and seek to understand the role socials status has on these opportunities factors.

Repeat victimization research is focused on police presence in high crime areas, the physical characteristics of high crime areas and how the mapping of crime patterns can be used to focus police efforts on “hot spots” where a large amount of crime occurs (Farrell and Sousa 2001, Farrell et. al. 1995, Johnson et. al. 1997,Menard and Huizinga 2001, Polvi et. al. 1991, Ratcliffe and McCullagh 1998, Tseloni and Pease 2003). Research focused on how to reduce repeat victimization often utilizes experimental methods that alter the opportunity for a crime occur by manipulating the physical environment. This research has generally shown that when the opportunity to commit crime is manipulated, a reduction results (Short and Brantingham, 2010). For example numerous studies have looked at parking lots that suffer from repeated car theft. The studies indicate that by increasing surveillance in the parking lots, changing the physical characteristics of the lots design (e.g., entrance and exits) can lead to a reduction in car theft from the specific parking lot. Additionally, there is little evidence of displacement, or criminal offenders simply choosing new parking lots because there was no significant increase in car theft in nearby areas (Clarke, 2010). This example of repeat victimization research also showcases two related trends in the field. First, the research in this area tends to focus on property crime; second, a focus on property crimes leads

to a lack of focus on how social status can affect the opportunity for crime to occur. The present study will focus on both opportunity and social status to see if the same theoretical framework that is often used to explain victimization will be successful in explaining repeat victimization. Additionally, property crime will not be the only focus of this research which will also include an analysis of violent crime. Research shows that victims of sexual assault and assault are the segment of victims that suffer the highest level of repeat victimization (Farrell et al. 2005). An international pattern for repeat victimization is that the levels of repeat victimization rise alongside with the seriousness of the crime. For instance, Pease (1993) argues that the pattern of repeat victims being subject to violent crimes is so pronounced that he suspects that if one were to look into murder victims they would suffer from the highest level of repeat victimization leading up until the murder. In general violent crimes against the individual are more likely to be repeat crimes than crimes against property (Pease, 1993).

This project will focus on the gap left by previous researchers in this field who have failed to fully explicate how and why social status is related to repeat victimization. Specifically, this research will address the following three research questions. First, how are race, socio-economic status, gender, and sexuality related to the probability that an individual suffers from repeat criminal victimizations? Second, do lifestyle and opportunity differences explain social status differences in repeat victimization? Third, I will determine whether social status characteristics moderate the effects of routine activities theory on victimization. I argue that lifestyle characteristics likely have a disproportionate impact on disadvantaged social groups. Finally, I will examine the implications of my findings on current crime prevention policy aimed at dealing with

repeat victimization. If social status characteristics are the more distal cause of repeat victimization, then crime prevention policies based on RAT alone may be inefficient at aiding those individuals that are likely to be repeatedly victimized in Canadian society. This research is of particular importance to the Canadian population because Canada suffers from high rates of repeat victimization. For instance, in 2004, just 10% of crime victims represented 60% of all criminal incidents. In addition to the skewed amount of crime repeat victims represent, this effect is exaggerated for the most serious crime types; just two percent of the Canadian population accounted for 60% of all violent crime victimizations (Perreault et. al 2009). Given the degree to which repeat victimization plagues Canada, further research is needed to contribute to a field of knowledge that is used to inform those interested in carrying out crime prevention measures.

My research will be based on the 2004 and 2009 General Social Survey (GSS) Victimization survey – the only nationally representative victimization survey conducted in Canada. The research will test how variation in repeat victimization is explained by routine activity theory, race, class, gender and sexuality. It is my hypothesis that routine activity theory variables are mediated by social status differences rather than a proximate cause of victimization. Race, class, gender and sexual orientation shape one's interaction in their environments, more than the environment predicts risk of victimization.

Race, Class, Gender, Sexuality and Victimization

In the current climate of criminological research, there has been a move to focus on crime prevention policy and evidence based criminology (Clear, 2009). I argue that although this trend has been efficacious for crime prevention, it has also led to the erosion of the discipline's sensitivity to core sociological issues that raise concerns about the life chances afforded to individual based on race, class, gender, and sexuality. I suggest that victimization research in its current state is not sensitive to these key sociological variables and thus policy arising from it has the potential to ignore how differences in social status shape differences in the chances of being victimized. Abundant evidence indicates that individuals in distressed poor environments suffer more victimization (Thantcher 2004, Nilsson et. al. 2006, Tricket et. al. 1995, Sampson 1985). Here, I examine how inequality shapes individuals' chances of living in and interacting in a risky environment which then leads to variation in victimization propensities. The connection between race and victimization is well-documented. Despite the attempts of the media to stress that white people should be fearful of minorities victimizing them, non- whites suffer a disproportionate amount of criminal victimization (Ratner, Halim and Amodio, 2012). For instance, in the United States Native Americans experience the highest levels of sexual victimization followed by African-Americans (Dugen and Apel 2003). Data covering victimization from 1993 to 2000 shows that whites experience comparable rates of victimization to Hispanic populations. However a greater share of victimization in the Hispanic community could go underreported because of large groups of unprotected undocumented workers (Dugen and Apel 2003, Rennison 2001). This same pattern is present for nonsexual

violent victimization. The Department of Justice reports that African-Americans are at higher risk of victimization than both white and Hispanic Americans for violent victimization (Rennison, 2001).

While Canadian patterns in victimization are different from American patterns regarding the context of race, there are still connections between race and victimization. Visible minority status in Canada has a rather strict definition as it relates to employment equity laws. Visible minority status in Canada defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour". The visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Arab, West Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Latin American, Japanese and Korean. For the victimization survey unless one has access to the restricted data set they cannot look at the individual categories or race (Perreault and Brennan 2010). .

Looking at all visible minorities as one category does not yield any significant difference in victimization rates between visible and non-visible minorities (98 versus 107 per 1,000 population) (Perreault and Brennan 2010). However, aboriginal Canadians were the victims of just over three times the crime when compared with the Canadian population (Gannon and Mihorean, 2005). Most government reports treat all visible minorities as one group in victimization statistics in Canada, but by using the secure data set the victimization of different visible minority groups can be viewed, as will be the case with this study.

As well as race, inequality in victimization experienced by gender will also be examined. While men are more commonly victimized than women, previous research illustrates that women are more likely to be victimized for certain crimes (Johnson and Sacco 1995, Fox et. al. 2009). Past research has shown women are more likely to be abused by their spouses, and be the victims of violent sexual victimization than men. In Canada for example women experience rates of sexual victimization five times higher than their male counterparts (35 per 1,000 women versus 7 per 1,000 men) (Gannon and Mihorean, 2005). It has been theorized that women experience higher rates of victimization in these areas based on their unequal status in society (Straus 1976, Crenshaw 1991, Johnson 1995, Heise 1998). Because these two crime types most predominately show the pattern of repeat victimization, looking at gendered repeat victimization should be a fruitful method of testing how inequality and opportunity shape victimization. Based on the repeat victimization literature, opportunity measures of victimization should be a greater predictor of victimization than gender.

Another integral axis that will be explored in its connection to repeat victimization and opportunity theories of crime is socio-economic status (SES). SES, like gender and race, has also been linked to the unequal distribution of victimization. Poor individuals experience all forms of criminal victimization at higher levels than their more affluent counterparts (Britt Patterson 1991, Mayby and Walklate, 1994, Nilsson and Estrada 2006). In Canada, a link between class and victimization has been found in all of the GSS Victimization Surveys dating back to 1983. Individuals earning less than $15,000 a year were at a significantly higher risk of both personal and household victimization (Gannon and Mihorean, 2004). Daly, Wilson and Vasdev (2001), looking at both the

homicide rates for Canada and the United States, show that in both countries, those who earned less were more likely to be the victims of homicide.

The last axis that will be explored in its relationship to victimizations is sexuality. Does someone's sexual orientation affect the chances that they will be victimized repeatedly? Statistics Canada reports that those who identify as non-heterosexual are more likely to be victimized than their heterosexual counterparts (Perreault and Brennan, 2010). The link between victimization and sexuality has been studied as hate crimes. For instance, Berill (1990) hypothesized that as AIDs awareness grew in the United States so did purposeful attacks against gay men. Balsam et. al. (2005) showed that, lesbian, gay and bisexual participants reported more childhood sexual abuse, more childhood psychological/ physical abuse by parents or caretakers, more partners psychological and physical victimization in adulthood, and more sexual assault experiences in adulthood. Furthermore the researchers found the significant effect of sexuality on victimization was stronger for males than females. My research looking at the LGBT community is unique, unlike most studies my research utilizes a nationally representative random sample (Statistics Canada 2004; 2009). Having access to this sample and subsample will allow me to look at the victimization of the LGBT population in Canada.

The relationship between race, class, gender, sexuality, opportunity and victimization is not a straightforward one. While the initial hypothesis is that race, class, gender and sexuality will moderate the setting that makes victimization more likely to happen, it seems that theorizing on the relationship between opportunity, inequality and

victimization may require separate theoretical frameworks for female and male victimization. For instance, Like-Haislip and Miofsky (2011) found that race and class had different effects on victimization for male and female victims. Specifically, class had more of an effect on victimization for men while lifestyle had a greater effect for female victimization. Their research also found significant differences between races when looking at each gender separately. This research unlike Like-Haislip and Miofsky will include a non-binary measure of victimization. Previous research on victimization has not included the use of varying degrees of victimization. If previous models have accurately predicted victimization than the use of an ordinal measure of victimization versus a binary measure should show a more robust effect. In addition, if previous research on victimization and opportunity is correct, then that connection should be even stronger when using repeat victimization as a measure. Previous constraints in victimization survey methodology that limited researchers to using a binary measure of victimization are no longer present in both the Canadian Victimization Survey and the NCVS and therefore it is not only now possible but important to retest the effect of opportunity versus social status on victimization (Laurentien et. al. 2013, Nazaretian and Merolla 2013).

This dissertation will look at the intersection of race, class, gender, sexuality and opportunity for crime. This research is important because it has the potential to highlight how policies designed to redress social inequalities can also reduce the incidence of crime that some groups experience at higher rates than others. I argue that the opportunities for victimization are shaped by race, class, gender and sexuality. How does one's chances of living in and interacting in a risky criminal environment relate to

victimization and inequality simultaneously? A review of the literature in this field will demonstrate two things. First, research on repeat victimization has not included an analysis of how social status characteristics are related to multiple victimizations. Secondly, research examining opportunity theories of crime versus inequality have not utilized repeat victimization as the dependent variable. This research will attempt to explore how varying degrees of victimization are affected by both inequality and opportunity theories.

CHAPTER 2: THE IMPORTANCE OF REPEAT VICTIMIZATION

Choosing repeat victimization as the dependent variable for this research is a relatively new possibility based on changes in victimization survey methodology. In addition, this variable allows researchers to not only compare victims and non-victims, but also differentiate victims from other victims and thus possibly provide a better test of some popular current theories. That is, if routine activity theory explains bimodal victimization, then the theory should also be able to explain increasing degrees of victimization. The variables or constructs that explain victimization one would assume would only become more important predictors of victimization as levels of victimization increase. For example the number of evenings one spends outside the home predicts victimization (Statistics Canada, 2004). Here I ask whether this factor may also differentiate individuals who are the victims of multiple crimes compared with individuals that are victimized only once. While the effect of the amount of evening activity has been show with a dichotomous representation of victimization it has not been illustrated with varying degrees of victimization (Statisitcs Canada, 2004). Thus by studying repeat victimization in contrast to victimization expressed in binary, we are able to see if previously tested variables continue to increase/ decrease in their association to increasing rates of victimization. If previously tested explanations of victimization do not perform in this expected fashion when repeat victimization measures are included, then there may be some adjustment needed for the theoretical explanations of victimization. Furthermore being able to differentiate connections between varying degrees of victimization and associated variables may produce a more nuanced view on the causes of victimization.

While it is a new possibility to look at varying degrees of victimization within major governmental victimization surveys, the phenomenon of repeat victimization is not new. Research on repeat victimization shows that repeat victimization is evident in nearly all major victimization surveys such as those conducted in the United States, the United Kingdom and the UN sponsored International Crime Victimization Survey.

Repeat Victimization in the United States

Looking at repeat victimization research in the United States is the most problematic when compared to the other named surveys. In the United States most victimization data come from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Research on this data set by multiple researchers indicates the level of repeat victimization in the United States is similar to that seen in international surveys (Farrell and et. al. 2005). Repeat victimization in the NCVS is referred to as a series incident, and unfortunately for research purposes, the exact number of repeat offenses is not recorded (Skogan 1980, 1986). Recently the Bureau of Justice Statistics responsible for conducting this survey has announced that future iterations of this survey will include more precise accounts of repeat victimization based on multiple studies showing the intense amount of victimization that is repeat. Miller et. al. (1996) is one of the best examples of research that shows the amount of victims who suffer repeat victimization. With their inclusion of series incidents the researchers suggest that 22.8% of sexual victims, 26 % of assault victims and 19.8% of robbery victims suffer from repeat incidents (Miller et. al. 1996). These numbers are considered to be low estimates that suffer from methodological issues of the NCVS (Farrell et. al. 2005, Ybarra and Lohr 2002).

Repeat Victimization in the United Kingdom

The large-scale governmental survey in the United Kingdom the British Crime Survey (BCS) has consistently shown that repeat victimization rates fluctuate by crime type indicating there must be a cause behind that change which is not evenly related to all crime types (Chaplan et. al. 2012). The BCS data shows that domestic abuse victims suffer from the highest rates of repeat victimization and that repeat victimization accounted for 73% of all domestic abuse (Chaplan et. al. 2012). The BCS findings show the next most common repeated offense to domestic abuse was vandalism where over 50% of the incidents were repeated offenses. For the 2011 survey period the victims of stranger violence fell from the previous year of 31% to 19%. Interestingly, the United Kingdom is the focal point for much crime prevention research centering on repeat victimization and the 2011 BCS repeat victimization rates are the lowest they have recorded since 1981; this pattern may signal that when efforts are aimed at repeat victims a decline in crime results.

Repeat Victimization in the ICVS

One of the best data sets and most accurate to cite repeat victimization rates comes from the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS). What makes this data an excellent source for information on repeat victimization is the survey has been administered across multiple nations with the same methodological considerations. For example all the crime types studied across the countries share the same standards and definitions. Also the time window the survey covers is universal at one year. Based on this universal design the ICVS data also has demonstrated similar patterns for multiple

years of results, unlike national studies which have fluctuating rates of repeat victimization (Plantry and Strom 2007).

Research by Farrell et. al. (2005) on the 2000 ICVS shows stable patterns across multiple countries and stands in contrast to the NCVS. For all 11 crime types across 17 industrialized nations 40% of crime was repeat incidents. The highest rates of repeat victimization were found to be in the United Kingdom with 52%, the Netherlands with 48% and in the United States with 47% of all crime being repeat incidents (Farrell et. al. 2005). Based on the ICVS data, victims of sexual victimization had the highest rates of repeat victimization followed by victims of assault and then car vandalism. It was also found there was the least amount of cross national variation in repeat victimization for the crime types that had the highest rates of repeat victimization. While the ICVS may yield fluctuating rates of repeat victimizations for motorcycle theft (which has the lowest rate of repeat victimization) rates across countries were stable for sexual victimization (highest amount of repeat victimization).

Repeat Victimization in Canada

In Canada repeat victimization follows suit with the ICVS data and patterns, whereby 10% of the population represented 60% of all criminal incidents. Specifically looking at violent crimes 2% of the population accounted for 60% of all the violent victimization in 2004 (Perreault et. al. 2004). Of the total sample of Canadians who reported being the victims of crime, 38% of those victims were victimized more than once. Half of the repeat victims were victimized 2 times and the other half was victimized 3 or more times (Perreault et. al. 2004). Five percent of Canadians reported

being the victims of violent crime and of that group 33% were repeat victims compared with 25% repeat victims for property crime. For women in the sample, those who were the victims of sexual assault were the most likely to be repeatedly victimized over any other crime type. For assault, men were more likely than women to be repeat victims with 12 men per 1000 being repeat victims versus 6 women out of 1000 (Perreault et. al. 2004). Perreault et. al. (2004) show statistical evidence to suggest that several victim characteristics, such as race, age and evening activities makes one more likely to victimized, however the authors of this report could not identify any one factor that distinguished repeat victims from single victim incidents. The greatest indicator of repeat victimization was initial victimization more so than any other victim characteristic or socioeconomic indicator (Perreault et. al. 2004).

Although research by Statistics Canada could not show any significant difference using a logistic regression between repeat and non-repeat victims of violent crime, there was a difference for property crime. There were several significant indicators of repeat property victimization. These factors were an urban environment, high proportion of low income homes and a high proportion of single parent homes. When looking at all victims of crime there were some difference between repeat and non-repeat victims. Repeat victims were more likely to show higher level of fear, have a negative outlook on police, engage in crime prevention strategies, and have poorer health than individuals victimized once (Perreault et. al. 2004).

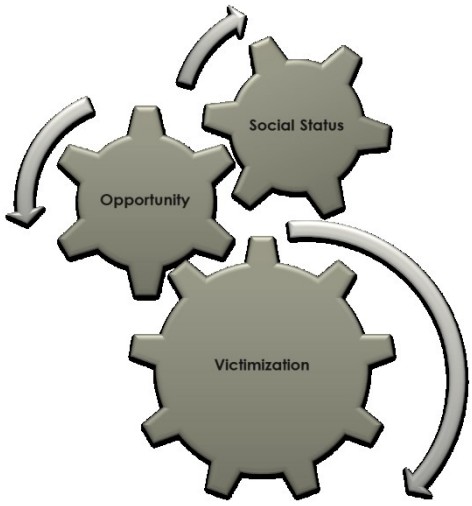
The above mentioned governmental studies are a great example of the bulk of research on repeat victimization. The majority of research in this field is descriptive in nature, either describing levels of repeat victimization or those who are repeat victims.

A minority of research in this field looks at possible causal factors in repeat victimization. In addition, the plethora of theoretically based research only compares victims to non-victims. Few efforts have been made to apply major criminological theories of victimization to repeat victimization. This is where the present body of research hopes to be successful, in simultaneously testing the effects of opportunity and social status on repeat victims when compared to non-repeat victims.

CHAPTER 3: BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Sociological researchers recognize the role of inequality in shaping both the structures of society and the life chances offered to individuals. However, inequality has not always been accepted as a causal variable in a growing body of criminological research, which I refer to as opportunity theories of crime (OTC). This vein of research has been gaining momentum since 1979, when Cohen and Felson described routine activity theory in the *American Sociological Review* (Cohen and Felson, 1979). The shift signaled a move away from an analysis of crime that favors the role of inequality and towards one that favors opportunity models of crime as standalone theories. I propose that OTCs do not offer complete explanations of victimization but instead explain how crime is affected by inequality through its effect on opportunity (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Theoretical view of Victimization



This dissertation will critically analyze the role social status plays in victimization. A review of the literature on OTCs demonstrates that traditionally, inequality variables are not part of the lexicon of this theoretical framework in criminology. Unlike OTCs, urban sociology has at many points in its theoretical past linked opportunity to inequality. I argue the field of urban sociology is correct in identifying the link between disadvantaged neighborhoods, inequality and crime as presented in urban ecology theory (Park and Burgess 1925) and social disorganization theory (Shaw and McKay 1942, Sampson and Groves 1989, Sampson and Sharkey 2008). Within the framework of social disorganization, opportunity for crime arises in the physical environment, but at the same time socioeconomic inequality drives this rise in opportunity. In opposition to a large body of research supporting OTCs, I argue that rather than serving as a root cause of crime, opportunity is more likely a mediator of multiple axes of social inequality.

Opportunity Theories of Crime

When discussing OTC, it is important to outline what specific theories are included in this field and show that inequality is not their focal point. OTCs, no matter how advanced they have become, rely on rational choice behavioral models. The underlying premise of rational choice models are that humans are rational actors and able to weigh the cost/ benefit of most situations. Thus when a crime is committed, rational choice theory argues the criminal perpetrator acted based on a cost-benefit analysis and decided the risk of being apprehended and sanctioned was worth the reward (Seigle 1992, Felson 1994). The rational criminal is where society draws its most basic justification for punishment as deterrence. Rational choice models posit that

if punishments are severe enough, the potential benefit of the crime will not be worth the cost for potential criminal perpetrators and the incidence of crime will decline (Groenewegen, 2002). While this reasoning sounds logical, it has been repeatedly shown that harsh prison sentences do not have the desired deterrent effect on crime rates (Walker, 2008; Merolla 2008). Despite the many shortcomings of this economic rational choice approach, opportunity theories continue to make headway, and modern iterations ignore the causes of criminal inclination to favor reducing the opportunity for crime to occur. OTCs are still the foundation for the majority of criminal justice crime prevention initiatives in the United States such as the war on drugs realized through lengthier prison sentences (Walker, 2008). This assumption of rational behavior in crime prevention is not restricted to the United States and can also been seen recently in Canada. Canada has moved to adopt the American model of crime prevention and "get tough on crime" as initiated by the conservative Harper Government (Toronto Star, 2013).

More relevant to this body of research than rational choice, is Routine Activity Theory (RAT) as proposed by Cohen and Felson in 1979. This theory, drawing on rational choice assumptions, describes variation in the formation of crime more completely. RAT explains there are three variables which determine whether a crime will occur. First, the existences of a motivated offender, second a lack of a capable guardian, and finally the presence of a suitable target (Cohen and Felson, 1979). All the described opportunity theories in this paper spend a significant amount of time addressing the issue of a suitable target and how if possible to make the target "less suitable" whether the target is a person or property. RAT explores how one's

movement through the environment puts them at risk to victimization by making them suitable targets. Cohen and Felson (1979) propose that economic inequality is not a powerful predictor of crime. Instead of using measures of social status to explain one's risk of victimization, the theory outlines that one's lifestyle and environment are the main causal predictors. RAT, through its successful substantiation in the academic arena, has opened the doors for theories of crime that focus less on inequality and criminal drives and more on the environment to explain the phenomenon of crime (Mustaine et. al. 1999). This research will move away from that focus and look at social status and opportunity simultaneously.

Numerous researchers from the urban tradition have critiqued RAT's lack of account for inequality, and in addition to looking at opportunity variables also look at issues of inequality, informal guardianship and collective efficacy. For instance, Morenoff et. al. (2001) incorporates the study of neighborhood violence from the vantage point of opportunity and inequality. This research has shown in distressed communities opportunity for crime to occur can be mediated by high levels of collective efficacy. Collective efficacy is a neighborhood characteristic that describes a high-level of group cohesion, cooperation and awareness which enables the community to work together against social problems (Sampson, 1997). Informal guardianship is similar to collective efficacy and informal social control, but applies uniquely to a neighborhoods capacity to police or deter crime; for example neighborhood watch programs (Silver and Miller, 2004).

Research by Jensen and Brownfield (1986) also attempts to move beyond RAT and investigate whether RAT explains victimization when they control for gender effects.

These authors find that even when accounting for opportunity, gender was still a significant variable in predicting victimization. Finally the work of Smith et. al. (2000) also tries to integrate social disorganization caused by inequality and RAT. The authors were successfully in linking crime, RAT and social disorganization by showing the significant effects of motivated offenders, suitable targets, and capable guardians were mediated by other neighborhood characteristics. For example individual's movement outside of their home did not put them at greater risk to be victimized in communities that did not have social disorganization. Each of the three studies described above, look at crime rates versus victimization and do not specifically account for repeat victimization. In addition to testing RAT there is also a significant body of research that looks at individual parts of RAT (Motivated Offender, Capable Guardian, Suitable Target).

Life-style theories of victimization draw on the concepts of RAT and dictate the opportunity for crime to occur is the most significant reason for victimization (Maxfield, 1987). The theory declares that different lifestyles are more likely to lead to victimization than others and effectively measures the suitability of targets (Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987). In turn, the theory has been unfavorably received based on the notion there is an assumption that people are choosing to engage in certain lifestyles and thus are in part to blame for their own victimization. Accordingly, most quantitative research in this area ignores the association between inequality and lifestyle (Like-Haislip and Miofsky, 2011). While this trend has changed of late the theory is often treated as a relative of victim precipitation theory that solely places blame for victimization in the victim's hands and thus is undesirable for researchers interested

in social justice and inequality (Miethe,1985). Lifestyle theories of victimization are essentially measuring the third factor for crime to occur, the “presence of a suitable target”. Past research demonstrates the effect one’s lifestyle can have on the risk of victimization. For instance, research suggests the amount of time people spend traveling and working at night is associated with victimization (Forde 1993, Kennedy and Forde 1990). Simply being active outside of the home at night time is not the only lifestyle attribute that makes one a suitable target, evidence also shows that those who drink alcohol more often are more likely to be victimized (Abbey 2002). Traveling alone at night for work and drinking are not the only indicators of victimization, doing more evening activities and spending more time outside the home regardless of activity type, puts individuals at risk for increased rates of victimization (Mieth et. al. 1987; Piquero and Hickman, 2003). Research that compares the lifestyle of married and non-married people also indicates lifestyle is connected to victimization. Non-married people are still mate seeking which has the potential to put one outside the home and thus at an increased risk of victimization (Averdiik, 2011). Lifestyle and risk are also different in an urban versus rural setting. The urban arena for that reason has been the focus of most crime research and has also been shown internationally in the work of Gibbs (1979) who demonstrates that crime goes up with urban density. The premise behind most lifestyle research is that some people are interacting in dangerous environments more than others. Thus one would think those who interact in illegal environments would be at the highest risk of victimization. One-way to look at this, is compare arrest history to victimization. Research by Miller and Schwartz shows that female sex workers, who have not only come in contact with the criminal justice system but also work in

dangerous environments, are highly victimized. Mustaine et. al. (2000) demonstrates the similarities of victims and offenders created in the same communities and tests if RAT can predict both who will become a victim and an offender. The research showed a high correlation between the variables that predict victimization and criminality. Thus it seems reasonable to look at the relationship between previous arrests and victimization when measuring the third construct of RAT the suitable target. Felson and Cohen (1979) proposed that an increased amount of time spent outside the home put one at greater risk to being victimized than measures of social status. Research on women in the workplace also supports this hypothesis. For instance, Gartner et al (1990) showed the homicide gap between men and women is narrowing as women spend more time outside the home and represent a larger percentage of the workforce. The researchers argue that as women leave the home and spend more time in public places they become more suitable targets to would be offenders. Research by Tewksbury and Mustaine in three different studies (2001, 2002 and 2008) addressing the sexual assault of both men and women found that RAT explained sexual victimization better than indicators of social status like socio-economic status or race. The researchers repeatedly found a strong positive association between sexual assault and life-style patterns putting the victim outside the home and did not find socioeconomic variables to explain as much variance in sexual assault.

However, the aforementioned studies do not specifically detail how different types of inequality foster the rise of opportunity or how safety may be unequally distributed. That is, how do social status characteristics shape women's movement outside the home? Carroll and Jackson (1983) demonstrate how social disorganization

or an ecology approach is a more complete account than opportunity theories of crime by specifically looking at how inequality affects opportunity for crime. These researchers question the main causal variables proposed by Felson and Cohen (1979), and argue that Felson and Cohen's variables measuring individuals' time outside the home is flawed because activity outside the home is dependent on one's socioeconomic status. Controlling for SES, the researchers demonstrated that being outside the home puts you at greater risk to being targeted for crime, but the amount of time spent outside the home was strongly related to socioeconomic status. Thus, the researchers argue that while lifestyle is an important indicator for victimization, lifestyle itself is endogenous to social status. Unlike opportunity theories of crime, social disorganization and ecology theories accept there is heightened risk for those in places with more opportunity for crime, but further explain why some environments may have increased opportunity for crime to occur. Theorists in this tradition explain this difference in the amount of opportunity for crime as contingent on inequality suffered by the neighborhood or specific geographic area. In this research, I follow this line of argument and also explore how lifestyle may mediate the link between SES and repeat victimization.

Further evidence that supports RAT can be found in the field of environmental criminology, another opportunity based theory of crime. Environmental criminology is the study of crime in both the physical setting and how individuals interact with their setting. Some settings or environments have the capacity to foster more opportunity for crime based on the physical landscape. For instance, research on street lighting shows the significant effect the environment can have on opportunity. Farrington et. al. (2002) conducted a meta-analysis of street lighting research and found that in certain

communities adequate street lighting lowered the crime rates. Environmental criminologists propose that crime can be drastically reduced based on the design of a home, public housing, community park or city. If these structures are designed in a way which lessens the opportunity for crime, then fewer crimes will occur. This crime prevention strategy, while tempting, is often questioned by those who study penology. Every feature of a prison is putatively designed to discourage crime, and yet more crime takes place in prison than in the community (Trainor, 2002). The obvious answer is that criminals cause crime despite the design of these environments. If these techniques are not successful in prison, then why should we expect different results in society? In fact, prison studies have demonstrated that the design of a prison has less of an impact on crime, when compared to the items in the commissary. Studies suggest that prisons that have commissaries with more expensive goods are more likely to suffer from higher rates of institutional violence (Trainor 2002, Walker 2008).

Broadly all of these theories (Rational Choice, RAT, Lifestyle and Environmental Criminology) analyze how the opportunity for crime to occur weighs on the offender's choice to commit a crime. While these opportunity theories identify the importance of the criminal (as in RAT with identifying a motivated offender) these theories do not focus on why individuals commit crime outside opportunity. With OTC's there is the underlying assumption that we cannot stop criminal inclination in people, thus ignore it, and focus on the suitable targets and increasing capable guardianship (Felson and Clarke, 1998). OTCs promote the idea that opportunity for a crime to occur is the single most important and preventable attribute of all crime. If one can remove opportunity to commit a crime then it does not matter if there are potential criminals roaming our

neighborhoods because without an opportunity these individuals are unlikely to commit criminal acts as Felson and Clarke (1998, p.1) note:

> Since crime opportunities are necessary conditions for crime to occur, this makes them causes in a strong sense of the word…To be sure, no single cause of crime is sufficient to guarantee its occurrence; yet opportunity above all others is necessary and therefore has as much or more claim to being a "root cause."

While the link between opportunity theories of crime, urban ecology and disorganization theories is pronounced (as in the example of environmental criminology) I argue there is a major divide. Urban ecology and social disorganization theories are more concerned with how inequality impacts the environments that individuals encounter. Yet, this theme is not prevalent in empirical studies of OTCs, and reducing inequality is rarely a feature of crime prevention policy. Instead, opportunity theorists ignore the inequality that crafts our physical landscape and simply look for ways to mitigate criminal opportunity within the existing environmental contexts. We can see examples of this in the crime prevention techniques based on OTCs.

There are several crime prevention strategies that are based on the opportunity theories and have been supported through academic research. The most notable of these crime prevention techniques are; Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED), Problem Oriented Policing (POP) and Situational Crime Prevention (SCP). In each case, elements of rational choice, RAT and environmental criminology are the theoretical underpinnings of these strategies and in each of these crime prevention strategies no effort is aimed at decreasing inequality in crime stricken areas.

CPTED is the crime prevention technique of sending a criminologist, urban planner or architect into the field to assess the design features of a community, parking lot, community park, etc., to determine if the physical environment encourages or discourages crime. The goals of those trying to carry out these measures are to increase both formal and informal social control. It is widely accepted that emphasis in CPTED should be focused on informal social control through creating natural surveillance, natural access control and natural territorial enforcement (Robinson 1996, O'Grady 2011). POP and SCP are not very that different from CPTED. Instead of only focusing on the physical environment, a more holistic approach to reducing opportunity is applied. In both POP and SCP local crime problems are looked at individually and solutions are developed based on a pragmatic approach. Unlike CPTED, POP and SCP include environmental changes to the landscape but also police patrol and strategy changes (such as community based policing initiatives, crime mapping and civilian involvement) (Clarke, 1995).

CPTED, POP and SCP are crime prevention strategies that are based on theories that attempt to reduce the opportunity for crime. Questioning CPTED, POP and SCP is problematic based on literature that shows these crime prevention strategies as highly successful (Shearining and Stenning 1984, Ekbloom 1988, Matthews 1990, Webb and Laycock 1992, Clarke 1995). Rational Choice, RAT, and environmental criminology form the basis and justification for these crime prevention strategies. None of these strategies or theories specifically aims to reduce inequality for those living in communities that are suffering from crime, or can be classified as opportunity ridden. How does suffering from economic inequality change the

opportunity for crime to occur? If opportunity for crime is most influenced by inequality, then instead of trying to reduce opportunity we could instill measures that increase equality. For example, in an impoverished urban environment, is it more effective to line the streets with extra police to reduce opportunity for crime or to change the economic situation of the people, thus changing the structure of the community? Both of these approaches could theoretically lessen crime; however the latter would also lead to a more desirable community for citizens.

Urban Social Disorganization and Ecological Theories

Shaw and McKay's work on crime and delinquency has been repeatedly heralded as having a profound impact and influence in criminology (Morris 1970, Short, 1969). In *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas* (1969) Shaw and McKay claim that three structural factors – residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity and economic status – can have a demonstrative effect on community social organization. Shaw and McKay explain that when a breakdown in community social organization occurs, crime and delinquency will ensue. Social disorganization refers to the inability of the community to enact common values and thus social control (Sampson and Groves, 1989). I argue that this breakdown in social control is what raises the number of opportunities available for crime to occur. Social disorganization theory purports that opportunity for crime is not some inorganic reality, but is instead the result of a break down in social structure. The lack of a breakdown in social structure is why those living in better communities do not have to engage in the same opportunity reducing techniques as those living in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Felson and Clarke (1998) are mistaken in their claim that opportunity makes the thief.

> Recent “opportunity” theories of crime have emphasized principles which are close to the real world, easy to explain and teach, and ready to put into practice. They include the routine activity approach, the rational choice perspective, and crime pattern theory. These theories build on the old saying that “opportunity makes the thief.” (Felson and Clarke, 1998 p.4)

It is not opportunity that makes the thief but instead a breakdown in community that fosters both increased opportunities for crime and an increase in potential thieves. This breakdown in community, as explained by social disorganization theory, is the result of communities suffering from measurable forms of inequality. Additional research on how inequality leads to the breakdown of community and increases crime helps further this point. For instance, Grattet (2009) tests the effect of social disorganization on hate crimes. Grattet finds that social disorganization theory is able to explain the ecology of hate crime. This crime type seems challenging to explain through opportunity based models because the theories do not allow for the inclusion of inequality in their analysis which forms the basis of hate crime.

Shihadeh and Steffensmeir (1994) also add support to the social disorganization model of crime over the opportunity model. Specifically, these authors find evidence to contradict the large body of work that devalues the relationship between economic inequality and crime. The authors find that both social stratification and social disorganization simultaneously effect crime.

> …these findings help to explain the anomalous finding in the criminological literature that economic inequality has small or trivial effects on aggregate crime rates. The anomaly apparently stems from

> the failure of prior researchers both to racially disaggregate the data and to consider indirect as well as direct effects, thus confounding the true relationships between inequality and crime.
> (Shihadeh and Steffensmeir, 1994 p.745)

While the authors of this study are comparing different units of measurement than the Carroll and Jackson (1983), they share a commonalty. Both articles presuppose that past research has failed to fully consider how social inequality as a significant positive indicator of crime because inequality was not conceptualized as a distal cause of victimization that may be mediated or moderated by lifestyle and opportunity variables. Research by Krivo and Peterson (1996) analyze the effect of extremely disadvantaged communities and urban crime. The authors propose that the environment does have an effect on crime, but not outside severe inequality. The authors explain that opportunity structures for crime do exist but do not make reference to them as root causes like Felson and Clarke (1998). My research, while not formally testing urban disorganization and related theories, will test the claim that opportunity is the root cause of crime, and thus will move victimization research towards sensitivity to understanding how social status shapes communities and criminal victimization. By illustrating the interconnectedness of social status and opportunity I hope to add greater depth to RAT in terms of our understanding of victimization. Instead of arguing that opportunity is the root cause I hope to show how opportunity and social status are gears in a machine that produce victimization, whether that is through social disorganization or other means. The emphasis of this research it to not propose an alternative theory to RAT or even support social disorganization theories; instead, the research will examine

the role opportunity and the social status have on criminal victimization so those interested in victimization will see how both etiological causes of crime have a place in crime prevention.

Problems with Ignoring the Inequality of Crime

It has been demonstrated that opportunities theories do not place an emphasis on the role that inequality has on crime. Specifically those who argue in favor of opportunity based policy do not always account for different types of inequality faced by communities with crime problems, specifically in the repeat victimization literature. Victimization research focusing on RAT has incorporated analysis of social status but that leap has not been made in research that looks at varying degrees of victimization. There are several concerns that arise from this line of reasoning. The first and foremost is an issue of causal ordering. There is an abundance of research that is ecological in nature but also questions the effect inequality has on crime. I argue that opportunity theories and social disorganization approaches are complimentary explanations of criminal victimization. What has been missing from some of the research on opportunity theories has been an examination of how opportunity and lifestyle measures are associated with social status characteristics and are better seen as mediators or moderators of social inequality rather than proximate causes of criminal victimization.

Beyond unanswered questions concerning causal ordering there are several other problems that could arise from relying on OTCs. Opportunity theories have the potential to incite social control and blaming the victims of crime. All OTCs promote the idea that if we can change the environment we can stop all unwanted behavior. Based on the RAT principle that our movement outside the home or lifestyle is what puts us at

risk to victimization, it follows that if the movement of people is severely restricted than crime would be substantially reduced. The idea that individual decisions, such as people navigating risky opportunistic environments, is what causes us to become the victims of crime implies that the victim has some culpability in their own victimization. This idea is comparable to blaming a rape victim for wearing certain types of clothing that entices their would-be attacker, or blaming an abused women for marrying the wrong person

Another danger posed by OTC is policies based on this approach could subject disadvantaged individuals to other forms of inequality in the name of crime prevention. Imagine those already living in an impoverished community. Opportunity theories suggest that imposing a curfew, increasing surveillance in the streets, restricting community gatherings, and deploying a massive police presence would substantially reduce criminal incidence. However, a more critical analysis of this solution would suggest that these new conditions are repressive. There are examples of communities that rely solely on opportunity theories to reduce crime. One such environment is jail or prison, where in an attempt to reduce the opportunity for crime to occur the individuals' movement throughout their environment is heavily restricted and surveilled.

Despite the risks in seeking out opportunity based crime prevention practices they can and should be used as harm reduction techniques. If we can rule out opportunity as a root cause of crime it seems sufficient to say that as parties attempt to seek social justice and create a more egalitarian society, at the same time criminal justice practitioners should use CPTED, POP SCP. The criminal justice community

should use these crime prevention techniques to diminish the opportunity to commit crime that comes from social disorganization in stratified communities.

There is evidence that demonstrates that both OTC and inequality can explain some of the variance in crime rates. This evidence is problematic for OTC because they discount the effects of inequality on crime. However, social disorganization theories that explain crime can incorporate opportunity. In these theories, opportunities play a major role in the formation of crime as a mechanism of social status differences. I argue OTCs need to be re-enveloped by social disorganization theorists and be used to explain how crime occurs after disorganization takes place. OTC as a criminological sub-theory poses far less of a threat to society (victim blaming and formal social control) because there is no abandonment in the fight against inequality when it is part of social disorganization discourse.

Repeat Victimization Research Missing Inequality

The crime pattern referred to as repeat victimization has been documented as a global phenomenon. Every victimization survey, whether it is the Canadian Victimization Survey, British Crime Survey, National Crime Victimization Survey (USA) or the International Crime Victimization Survey all show a pattern whereby a small proportion of victims represent a larger proportion of crime. The pattern of repeat victimization is sometimes referenced in support of opportunity theories of crime. The assertion is that the opportunity surrounding certain victims is so great that they are victimized time and time again. Thus victimization can be attributed to their lifestyle, the environment they live in, or some combination of the two. People who are victimized time and time again are presented as either easy victims or appealing victims. While the

connection between OTC and repeat victimization seems obvious, little has been done to explore the connection between the relationship of social inequality and repeat victimization.

Repeat victimization literature can be broken down into three categories of research (methodological, prevention/policy, and theoretical). There is plethora of research arguing that repeat victimization is an important methodical concern for victimization surveys. The research in this area while proving repeat victimization should be accounted for in victimization survey methodology does not make any inferences about the theoretical connections of repeat victimization to inequality or opportunity theories. The literature in this field does however emphasize the importance of repeat victimization for victimization research as it demonstrates how a small number of individuals account for a large proportion of all victims of crime. For example, Plantry and Strom (2007) show that if repeat victimization is included in the NCVS crime rates increase by as little as 62% in 2000 to as much as 174% in 1996. This difference in rates can lead to major differences in conclusions about the prevalence of crime in US society. The authors point out that in 1996 only 9,969,943 crimes were reported by the government using the NCVS, however, when repeat victimization is including, the number of crimes is closer to 25,546,326. Similar findings have been shown using data from Canada (Nazaretian and Merolla, 2013) and the UK (Farrell and Pease, 2009). Given the effect that repeat victimization can have on crime rates, it is important for scholars to understand the etiology of repeat victimization.

The increases in crime rates found when accounting for repeat victimization is not distributed evenly across all crime types. Instead, research on repeat victimization

clearly demonstrates that the more serious crime types in society are more heavily influenced by repeat victimization. The ICVS which includes 16 countries in its survey demonstrates that violent victimization is more prone to repeat victimization than property crime. Based on analysis of victimization across the 16 nation 43% of victims of sexual assault and 39% of assault victims suffer from repeated victimization while only 15.7% of personal theft and 9.3% of car theft victims were repeat victims (Farrell et. al. 2005).

The field of repeat victimization research while excelling in crime prevention and measurement has lacked in theoretical development. Farrell, Phillips and Pease (1995) clearly outline how repeat victimization effect's on crime prevention policy has "outpaced" the theoretical understanding. The lack of theoretical development of repeat victimization comes with some surprise being that is has such a strong effect on crime rates (see Johnson et al. 1973; Zeigenhagen 1976; Sparks et al. 1977; Hindelang et al. 1978; Feinberg 1980; Reiss 1980; Gottfredson 1984, Farrell and Pease 2009; Nazaretian and Merolla 2013). The theoretical link between repeat victimization and opportunity theories has more often been assumed rather than tested because of the logical link between opportunity and repeat victimization. Research on the repeat victimization of women in the form of spousal assaults demonstrated this point. Research on repeat spousal assaults posits that women are repeatedly victimized because they meet the three criteria proposed under RAT and most notably the concept of a "suitable target". Research supporting the link between repeat victimization, spousal assaults and opportunity theories is lacking in its understanding of how inequality contributes to the repeatedly victimized spouse being a "suitable target" and

why there is a lack of “capable guardianship” for women who find themselves in an abusive relationship. The research in this area while demonstrating that all three of the criteria for RAT are present in spousal assault, assume that opportunity for crime to occur is the single most significant factor for crime to be committed. These analyses seem insensitive to the unequal power women share in society and in the home (Dobash and Dobash 1979; Hanmer 1991; Sheptycki 1993; Sherman and Berk 1984; Sherman et al. 1991, 1992; Sherman 1992). Women being the primary target of this type of victimization is also supported by Johnson and Sacco (1995) and Fox et. al. (2009) who show that women’s’ unequal status puts them at greater risk to be victimized. The conditions for spousal assault in the home equally exist for both sexes but spousal abuse is much more commonly a crime committed against women. This relationship is also prevelant outside of spousal assault and documented in studies on the sexual victimization of women (Fox et. al. 2009).

Research on crimes against property supports opportunity models. Again in this field while the researchers have outlined a sound argument for why repeat victimization occurs in relation to opportunity theories of crime, they have failed to fully explicate the relationship between inequality and crime. For instance, research on repeated burglary has clearly demonstrated that opportunity for crime is a powerful indicator in burglary. The research in this area fails to question how inequality fosters the opportunity present in economically distressed physical settings and neighborhoods (Forrester et al. 1988, 1990, Polvi et al. 1990 1991, Tilley 1993, Shapland Skogan 1990). As mentioned before in the theoretical discussion surrounding urban social disorganization theories it seems relevant that places suffering from socioeconomic inequality will suffer from more

property crime because there is more opportunity for crime because of higher levels inequality. While this distinction might seem semantic, it can have important implications for crime prevention efforts. Based on an opportunity model of crime prevention, opportunity would be curbed, versus a social welfare model which aims to curb inequality. So for example in the community that suffers from repeat burglary, if one were using the opportunity model we might see an increase in police presence, possibly a change in the physical landscape such as installing CCTV cameras throughout the community. Some could see this as intrusive and an increase in social control. If those interested in reducing burglary in these neighborhoods were to favor model of crime reduction through inequality reduction, we would see efforts made to increase the economic standing of those living in the distressed area. While it may seem obvious that a combination of the two crime preventions models would be ideal, the current literature demonstrates that inequality is not a concern of repeat victimization researchers. If inequality reduction does not stay at the forefront of criminological research (as seems to be the current trend) than we see our research modeling a crime control model versus a due process model as proposed by Packer (1966). While research on repeat victimization lacks sensitivity to inequality, there is ample research that supports the idea social status is related to victimization. The connection to income and victimization demonstrated by Gannon and Mihroen (2004) and Daly et. al. (2001) demonstrates that as one's income drops they are more likely to be the victims of violent crime. The effect of social status on victimization is not limited to financial inequality but is also for racial and sexual minorities, and immigrants. Within Canada governmental research by Perreault and Brennan (2010) demonstrated that

Aboriginals experience high rates of victimization and also have a low social status in the country. This like between the social status of aboriginals and victimization is also discussed be Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie (2005) who discuss that challenges aboriginal victims experience as unequal members of Canadian society

Opportunity Research Missing Repeat Victimization

While research focused on repeat victimization has ignored social inequality in its explanation for crime, there is opportunity theory research that includes inequality in its analysis. The majority of research in this area comes from life-style theory research but is also seen in more formal tests of RAT (Felson and Cohen, 1979). Research in this area has looked at the connection to inequality and lifestyle. Cohen et. al. (1981) in their earlier work specifically looked at the connection between social inequality and predatory victimization. While they found some connection between inequality and victimization it seems that their work hinted towards the use of a path analysis to explain crime. For instance, the researchers found that people in their study were racially and economically segregated and thus those who live in poor neighborhoods were both more likely to be a poor minority and victimized. However when they controlled for life style and proximity to poor urban areas they found that income, race and gender did not have direct partial effects on the risk of assault (Cohen et. al. 1981). I hope that by using a tiered measure of victimization, unlike the Cohen study, that I may be able to uncover the direct effect or the partial effect of inequality on victimization when controlling for lifestyle. Other older research on the topic while not directly looking for the effect of inequality on victimization (but controlling for it) also placed opportunity above inequality in explaining crime (Jensen et. al. 1986, Mieth 1987). One important study on the

connection between opportunity theories of crime and inequality is by Cau and Maume (1993). In their research they found that lifestyle and urbanization were strong predictors of robbery. However they also found that inequality's influence on robbery was mediated by lifestyle. They suggest that urbanization and lifestyle are not so much causal elements of victimization but much like I hypothesize are mechanisms of the effects of social inequality. They use their work to suggest a call for further research on the connection between said variables is important and at the time underdeveloped. In all of the cited research looking at the connection between opportunity theories of crime and inequality, the variable used to measure victimization was dichotomous. By using a non-dichotomous measure of victimization and somewhat recreating the said studies with a Canadian sample, I can explore how multiple levels of victimization are affected by inequality and opportunity. While inequality is not the missing variable in lifestyle theory victimization research, the above mentioned studies lack testing that includes repeat victimization. The majority of the work cited is American and the NCVS until recently did not have an easily accessible measure of repeat victimization because multiple victimization were recorded as series incidents and the exact number was not recorded. Research in the field of repeat victimization has been met with enough acclaim the US Census Bureau has been swayed to collect data in a different way to better measure exact levels of repeat victimization (Lauritsen et. al. 2012). Thus all of the work in this area could not use victimization as a variable with scale. In my work I hope to not only expand on the work of previous repeat victimization research but also in lifestyle theory research by adding the variable of; multiple victimization.

One existing study accounts for all three of the criteria I will be looking at being; inequality, opportunity theory and repeat victimization. Tseloni et. al.(2004) study residential burglary across three nations being England and Wales, the United States and the Netherlands. Their research uses a continuous variable for victimization. The study also tested for opportunity theories of crime while controlling for some variables measuring inequality. One difference in the cited work in and my own were the control variables. The race variables they used indicated only whether one was white or not white. In addition to the race variable being vague economic status of the participants was insufficient. Instead of measuring the exact income or bracket of the participants their employment status was used and indicated; no, part-time, or full-time work (Tseloni et. al. 2004). As well as the measures of income being too broad, they used employment status as a proxy to indicate the time individuals spent traveling to and from work (making it an opportunity variable. The researchers found that opportunity was a much stronger predictor that socioeconomic status when predicting repeat victimization. The purpose of the study was to test RAT and Lifestyle theory and thus was not built to test the effects inequality has on victimization, and I argue their controls for social status were weak.

CHAPTER 4: DIFFERENCES IN AMERICAN AND CANADIAN VICTIMIZATION

To aid in the theoretical findings of this work being applied outside Canada and in the United States it is important to highlight some of the differences between the two nations' crime and victimization problems. While there are many similarities between the two nations from a crime, victimization and justice standpoint (i.e. both have a similar common law system) there are some striking differences in crime and victimization, the demographics of the nations and the wellbeing of residents in the two countries. Before even looking at victimizations differences one can note major demographic differences between the two countries. While there is a lot of debate on how to measure poverty in a nation, using the available international measures indicated that Canada has a better standard of living for its residents and less poverty. Looking at the 22 highest ranked countries using the Human Poverty Index (HPI-2), the United States ranks 17th and Canada ranks 8th (Human Development Report, 2008). The United States has almost ten times the population of Canada; however, both countries share a similar urban rural mix. Both Canada and the United States share the same urban, rural split with roughly 80% of Americans and Canadians living in urban environments (United States Census Bureau 2014, Statistics Canada 2014). In the United States the population is roughly 66% white, 14% Hispanic, 12% black, 4% Asian and 1% Native American (US Census Bureau, 2011). In Canada there is less racial diversity with 84 % of the population being white 7 % Asian, 2.5% Black and 4% Aboriginal (Statistics Canada, 2006). The main demographic differences in Canada are that there are far less Hispanic and Black people and significantly more Aboriginals. Despite the predominantly white population Canada has an over representation of minorities in its prison population as seen in the

United States (Sapers, 2013). Based on recent government reports four out of ten Canadian prisoners are visible minorities and 25% of the prison population is comprised of Aboriginals (Sapers, 2013). The over representation of prison population by race is comparable to victimization statistics, in Canada Aboriginals are three times more likely to be victimized then the general population. For other visible minorities however there was no significant difference in victimization when compared with white Canadians (Gannon and Mihoren, 2004). In the United States we see the only racially over represented group being victimized is African-Americans, Hispanic Americas have roughly the same levels of victimization as White Americans (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010). In both countries we see that men slightly outnumber women as the victims of violent crime (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2010, Statistics Canada, 2009).

Comparing governmental reports on the exact differences between victimization rates is not possible due to completely different reporting/survey systems. The American NCVS is done annually with a six month victimizations window, the Canadian one is done every five years and has a yearlong victimization window. The most appropriate data for comparing victimization between Canada and the United States is the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS). The most recent ICVS data, from 2004 to 2005 compiled by the United Nations, collects data using the same survey methodology from numerous nations (Dijk and Kestern, 2007).

When looking at the highest overall victimization rates for ten different types of crime across the top 15 countries included in the survey the United States ranked 12th and Canada was just one position behind at 13th. When looking at burglary again we see the United States ranking 8th and Canada close behind at 11th out of 30 countries.

When looking at more serious crimes, referred to as contact crimes by the ICVS which include robbery, sexual offences and assaults there is more distance between the two countries. The robbery rate for Canada was 800 people per every 100,000 while in the United States the robbery rate was 600 people per 100,000. Looking at sexual assault against women the rates again flip, with the United States ranking number one out of thirty with a rate of 1400 women victimized per every 100,000 women and Canada ranks 10th with a rate of 800 women per every 100,000. This pattern is consistent with assaults or the threat of assault with the United States ranking 7th out of 30 with a rate of 4,300 victims per every 100,000 compared to Canada which 14th with 3,000 victims per every 100,000. When looking at the overall crime in a country through the ICVS which counts crimes like consumer fraud, we see Canada and the United States suffering from similar rates of victimization, however when we look at violent crime, the United States generally suffer from more of this crime type.

CHAPTER 5: DATA AND METHODS

Sample

In this chapter, I discuss how the sample was obtained and describe the Canadian Victimization Survey. The data used in this research is a secondary data source, thus I also present a brief history of the survey and its present and past focuses as well the justification for combining two survey samples while excluding others. Beyond describing the sample a description and justification of the different inferential statistics used.

The sample for this research comes from the Canadian Victimization Survey which is completed every five years in Canada. The survey was first completed in Canada in 1988 and until 1999 was referred to as the Personal Risk Survey. It wasn't until the 1999 cycle the survey was referred to as the Victimization survey. It was also at this point the survey changed to become more static and thus comparable across different survey years. Before this change was implemented, the survey was supposed to have a special focus unique to the survey year and was sponsored by a particular government agency but was not necessarily planed for longitudinal comparisons. For example in 1988 the survey was sponsored by the Department of Justice and the focus content pertained to services available to victims. This is different to the 1993 survey, which focused on the use and alcohol and drugs and their relation to accidents and victimization. In 1999 the Solicitor General funded questions on the public perception towards alternatives to incarceration; as well the Interdepartmental Working Group on Family Violence who sponsored a section on senior abuse. Beginning with the 2004 survey any new sections added would become permanent versus sponsored annual

topics. In 2004 new questions were added that focused on stalking and social disorder. Finally in the most recent survey (2009) no new questions were introduced but the territories were included in the sample. As well as increasing the geographic size of the sample the survey also employed new data collection referred to as the CAPI method in the territories. The CAPI method is a survey that is conducted in person rather than over the phone and uses a computer based questionnaire to aid the interviewees (Gannon and Mihorean, 2010).

For this research I will be combing the samples from the 2004 and 2009 survey periods. These two survey periods are the only two of the five surveys which are identical (Gannon and Mihorean, 2010). It was important to merge two identical data sets to not lose any variables or combine samples who had answered two different sets of questions in a different order thus potentially creating response bias.

The purpose of the General Social Survey (Victimization Surveys are a segment of this) in Canada is to collect longitudinal data on trends as they relate the living conditions and well-being of Canadians. In addition to monitoring these changes amongst the population Statistics Canada also claims the survey gathers information that is supposed to be directly used for social policies of current or emerging interests (Statistics Canada, 2013). For the segment of the GSS referred to as the Victimization Survey the specific purpose of this section, is to better understand both how victims experience crime and how the general population perceives crime and the criminal justice system. Thus the survey does not only collect information on victims of crime but also the opinions of those interviewed that did not experience any crime. In short, Statistics Canada conducts this survey with the belief that police departments, victims

and social services, community groups, university researchers and all levels of government can understand the nature of crime in Canada and effect policy to lower it or better help the victims of crime (Statistics Canada, 2013).

Until 1998, the scope of the Victimization Survey included approximately 10,000 people. In 1999 Statistics Canada changed the scope of the survey significantly and increased it to 25,000 respondents. In doing this the survey provides results that are both nationally and provincially representative. As well as increasing the sample size to be nationally representative the survey also provides information on special populations groups such as senior and disabled people (Statistics Canada, 2013). The target population of the survey are members of the Canadian population aged fifteen and over who do not live in institutional settings. The target population of the Victimization Survey is thus almost identical with the target population of the larger GSS. Two differences in the population sample between the GSS and the Victimization survey is that the GSS includes Armed Forces personnel not living in barracks and people living on reservations. This is an area of concern for the victimization survey and my research given that previous data demonstrates that aboriginal Canadians are an at risk population and are over represented as victims of crime (Gannon and Mihorean, 2010).

The questionnaire used for the survey in both the 2004 and 2009 survey was designed using qualitative testing that utilized focus groups. In addition to focus groups a pilot test was conducted that also included debriefing of the interviewers for feedback (Statistics Canada, 2013). Sampling for the survey was completed using a cross-sectional design. In the provinces (not the territories) houses were selected to be surveyed through Random Digit Dialing (RDD). The numbers selected for the survey

were done so using an Elimination of Non-Working Banks system. All ten provinces were divided into strata which are comparable but larger geographic areas than the American Census tracks. In addition to provinces being divided into strata the major metropolitan areas were also given their own strata coding. In total there are 27 strata in the survey formed by either combining smaller like cities or from individual rural and urban areas. In the territories unlike the provinces the information was gathered in person using CATI and CAPI. Again the territories were only part of the 2009 survey sample. The data collection for this sample took place in January 2004 – December 2004 for the 2004 survey and February 2009 –December 2009 for the 2009 survey. All of the surveys conducted in the provinces were by telephone and it was estimated that 0.09% of households did not have telephones and were excluded. Also, it was estimated that approximately 8% of households has cellular service only and excluded (Statistics Canada 2004 and 2009). For the 2004 survey 23,766 interviewees were included in the sample. For the 2009 survey there was 19,422 interviewed individuals included in the sample. The total combined sample is made up of 43,188 individuals. The 2009 survey did not have that same response rate at the 2004 survey. The 2004 survey had a response rate of 75% while the 2009 survey had a response rate of 61.6%. It was also shown that for the 2009 survey the greatest non response rate came from low income households and thus the sample under-represents low-income households. Statistics Canada states that nothing is known about the non-response cases (Statistics Canada, 2009). Types of non-responses listed by Statistics Canada were those who refused to participate, could not be reached, and did not speak either French or English. Statistics Canada indicates the sample represented communities

that represented over 90% of the population. Two weighting factors were used for both survey years one being a per-household weight while the other was an individual level weight.

The survey consists of two main questioning banks, and is saved as two separate data files known as the main file and incident file. The main file contains general information on all of the people included in the survey. The incident file consists of information gathered by the interviewer that related directly to the specifics of the crime and allows a maximum of 20 incident reports per respondent (Statistics Canada 2004, 2009). The survey consists of 14 sections listed below.

- Section 1: Perceptions, History and Risk
- Section 2: Criminal Victimization Screening Section
- Sections 3 and 4: Abuse by Current or Previous Spouse / Partner
- Sections 5 and 6: Abuse Reports
- Section 7: Stalking of Respondent
- Section 8: Crime Incident Reports
- Section 9: Other Crime Events
- Sections 10, 11 and 12: Main Activity and Education
- Section 13: Housing Characteristics of Respondent
- Section 14: Other Characteristics

Sections 3 through 7 were not utilized for this research and all spousal assault rates were excluded from the data analysis so that the levels of repeat victimization in the research were not attributed to spousal abuse where repeat victimization is a well-documented feature of the crime (Robinson, 2006). Excluding spousal incidents the

survey gathered information on the following eight crime types listed below with their definitions.

Violent Victimization:

1. Sexual Assault: Forced activity, an attempt at forces sexual activity, or unwanted sexual touching, grabbing, kissing or fondling.
2. Robbery: Theft or attempted theft in which the perpetrator had a weapon or there was violence against the victim.
3. Physical Assault: An attack (victims hit, slapped, grabbed, knocked down, or beaten), a face-to-face threat of physical harm, or an incident with a weapon present.

Property Victimization:

4. Break and Enter: Illegal entry or attempted entry into a residence or other building on the victim's property
5. Motor vehicle/parts theft: Theft or attempted theft of a car, truck, van, motorcycle, moped or other vehicle or part of a motor vehicle.
6. Theft of Household Property: Theft or attempted theft of household property such as liquor, bicycles, electronic equipment, tools or appliances.
7. Vandalism: Willful damage of personal or household property.
8. Theft of Personal Property: Theft or attempted theft of personal property such as money, credit cards, clothing, jeweler, a purse or a wallet (unlike robbery, the perpetrator does not confront the victim).

Statistics Canada Limitations

To work with the data sets one must gain access to Statistics Canada's Research Data Centers. The statistical analysis conducted for this research was done onsite at Statistics Canada's research data center housed at the University of Windsor. Because the data set is considered to cover sensitive information there is an extra set of rules one must follow when using the data, beyond acquiring the appropriate security clearances. In addition to the initial approval process to work with the data, once an analyst has completed their work, the data outputs must be vetted by a panel of Statistics Canada Researchers. The samples described in this research have all been rounded to the nearest fifty. In addition to rounding sample sizes, the minimum cell count for a cross tabular comparison between all of the dichotomous independent and dependent variables must meet the minimum count of 20 to be used in regressions. For example, when analyzing the subpopulation of Aboriginals, statistical analysis comparing LGBT aboriginals to different levels of victimization was prohibited due to their being fewer than 20 LGBT aboriginals who had been victims of high levels of repeat victimization. Thus some of the subpopulation logistic regressions do not share all the same independent variables. In addition to the minimum cell count restrictions Statistics Canada also does not release ranges any of its variables from the restricted data sets. While the ranges are not reported with this research, the ranges were used and available during the analysis to double check for any errors with outliers and other frequency issues.

CHAPTER 6: MEASURES

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this study is victimization. Several specifications of this variable will be included in the multivariate analyses. In the GSS, the variable *total incidents* is the rawest measure victimization. The original variable continuously measured the total amount of times an individual in the sample reported being victimized either for a violent or property victimization. Thus this measure represents the total number of crime incidents reported by respondent in the total survey (Statistics Canada, 2009). The range for this variable was 0-132 victimizations. The mean number of victimization for the total sample was .63 with a standard deviation of 3.11. A small number of individuals reported high levels of victimization, this pattern leads to a variable that is positively skewed and is inappropriate for continuous variable linear modeling techniques (e.g., OLS regression). Moreover, the primary focus of this study was to investigate the relationship of the independent variables to low and high levels of victimization. Therefore eliminating outliers from the sample in order to use an OLS regression would have eliminated a focal point for this study. Thus victimization was investigated through four specifications of the victimization measure. Three dichotomous specification of victimization are used with logistic regressions and one categorical specification modeled using multinomial logistic regression. Victimization in this study consisted of the combination of the following crime types.

Any Victimization vs. No Victimization

The first dependent dichotomous variable used in this study was *any victimization*. For this variable 0 represented no victimization and 1 represented all

degrees of victimization. For the total sample 27.1% of respondents indicated being victimized.

Repeat Victimization vs. One Victimization

The dependent variable *repeat victimization* was also dichotomous and again utilized in logistic regression models for the entire sample and five subsamples. The variable was coded as either 0 or 1. 0 represented one victimization and 1 represented anyone being victimized more than once in the given survey period. This variable made it possible to directly compare singular victims of crime to repeat victims. 38.8 percent of the victimized sample indicated that they had been the victim of more than one crime.

High Repeat Victimization vs. Repeat Victimization

High Repeat Victimization was the third and final dependent variable used in the logistic regression models. The variable is dichotomous with 0 indicating the individual had been victimized twice within the survey period and 1 indicating that the individual had been victimized three or more times. This variable compared repeat victims of crime to those who suffered high levels of repeat victimization. The cutoff of three victimizations for high repeat status was chosen because the Canadian government currently caps all victimization counts at three for use in calculation of official governmental statistics (Nazaretian and Merolla 2013, Statistics Canada 2009). Thus if differences are found between these two categories of victims a case may be made that Statistics Canada should reconsiders its capping level. Of all repeat victims, 11.3% indicated that they had been victimized three or more times.

Crime Type Victimization

Additional models were also with the dependent variables being not only split by the level of victimization but also crime type. Victimization, Repeat Victimization and High Repeat Victimization were also broken down by violent crime and property crime. While looking at separate crime types would have been the ideal way on analyzing how victimization rates changed due to opportunity or social status collating the crime reports in this fashion was not possible. The closet manipulation that would allow us to look at crime types was dividing victimization by those who experienced any violent crime and those who did not. This division however is imperfect because we were only able to divide victimization reports by those who had experienced no violent victimization (household incidents) versus those that had, however those that had experienced violent victimization incidents may have also been the victim of household incidents. The categories were portioned to be mutually exclusive so no individual victim was in both groups. The limitation of this breakdown by crime is mitigated by the plethora or research that showed as repeat victimization increased so does the seriousness. Therefore those who were the victims of high level of repeat victimization sample were most likely suffering from violent crime that household even though some house hold incidents were included in their count.

Tiered Victimization

Separate to the logistic regressions that were run for each different variation of the dependent variables measuring varying degrees of victimization a multinomial logistic regression was initially used to look for differences across the victimization groups, when compared to the reference group no victimization.. For specification, the

dependent variable is expressed in four mutually exclusive categories. With the dependent variable divided in mutual exclusive categories we see the frequency distribution differently with those being victimized once at 16.6%, repeat victims 7.5% and high repeat victimization at 3.1%, with non-victims being the reference category representing 72.9% of the sample.

Independent Variables

The independent variables used in this research are comprised of control variables, variables used to operationalize Routine activity theory, variables that are used to measure lifestyle theory, and variables that indicate social status. The control variables accounted for in this research are; age, urban indicator, education, and family composition. The variables that are used to measure social status are; household income, respondent's gender, race, sexuality, and if they are foreign born. The other independent variables are used to operationalize both Routine activity theory and Lifestyle theory quantify; the presence of capable guardians in a community, the presence of motivated offenders in a community, marital status, previous criminal history of the victim, number of evening activities one engages in, the number of night one works per month, the amount of night traveling respondents do and the level of alcohol consumption.

Control Variables

Age. Age is measured as an interval-ratio variable and respondent's answers with exact year of age at the time of the survey. The average age for the sample was 44.53 years of age with a standard deviation of 18.18. Age has been demonstrated to

be both a strong predictor for not only victimization but also offending (Lauritsen et. al. 1992, Sampson and Laub 2003). Age was used as a control across all subgroups.

High School Graduate. Education is controlled for using a dichotomous variable where 0 indicated not graduating from high school and 1 represented that one did graduate from high school. 73.5% of the sample had graduated from high school. Previous research on education has demonstrated that there is a link between high school graduation and crime. Research by Lochner (2004), Moretti (2004) and Machin et. al. (2011) demonstrates the link between education and criminal offending. Knowing that criminals and victims share many dynamic risk factors is seems plausible that a lack of education could also be linked to victimization (Singer, 1981). Statistics Canada also finds a connection between educational outcomes and victimization (Perreault and Brennan, 2010).

Social Status Variables

Household Income. Household income is measured as an ordinal variable ranging from 1 to 13. 1 indicates that an individual had no income and 13 indicates that an individual made $150,000 or more per year. A regression based imputation was used to substitute for missing data. Age, college education, race, years spent in current home, marital status, and gender were all used to predict income based off the sample for the missing answers. The average income for respondents in this sample was for the range $50,000 to $59,999. The mean for income was 9.3 with a standard deviation of 2.32. Previous research on the relation between income and victimization has demonstrated a significant relationship between the two variables (Gannon and Mihroen

2004; Daly, Wilson and Vasdev 2001). Individuals with a lower income are more likely to be victimized for both property and personal offences.

Female. Gender was measured using a dichotomous variable with 0 indicating male and 1 indicating female. The percent of the sample that was female was 50.7% and 49.3% of the sample was male. Gender was an important control for this research being that there is a precarious relationship between criminal victimization and gender. Research indicates that the majority of victims of personal victimization are men, but majority victimization is not consistent across all crime types (Gannon and Mihroen, 2004). For example the bulk of violent victimization in Canada is assault where males represent the majority; however women represent the majority of victims of spousal assault and sexual victimization (Johnson and Sacco 1995, Fox et. al. 2009).

Race. Race was specified with three different dichotomous variables; white, visible minority and aboriginal. The sample population was 82.1% white, 16.0% visible minority and 1.9% aboriginal. For all of the logistic regression minority was the reference category and then visible minorities in Canada we looked at as a sub sample, as well as aboriginals. Race was therefore utilized and inspected at both a variable across the models but also a subsample hopefully drawing out important interaction by noting the differences between the subsamples. Minority status was not initially significant in earlier variations of the models and thus white and aboriginal were chosen as previously measured at risk groups to be victimized at higher rates than the general sample (Perreault and Brennan, 2010).

Sexuality. Sexuality was expressed as a dichotomous variable in this study. 0 indicates that a respondent is heterosexual and a 1 indicates that the respondent is

LGBTT. The original variable that was modified for this research gave allowed for separate responses indicating if one was heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual or transsexual. The non-heterosexual categories were combined into one category of people who potentially suffer higher rates of victimization due to their unequal sexual status (Herek, 1990). For both the 2004 and 2009 survey years previous research has shown that those who do not identify as heterosexual experience higher rates of victimization (Perreault and Brennan, 2010). For combined survey years of 2004 and 2009 1.7% of the sample identifies as being not heterosexual.

Nativity. Nativity was also dichotomous with 0 representing Canadian born and 1 representing foreign born. The sample comprised of 21.9% of respondents who reported being foreign born. Research in Canada shows that foreign born individuals experiences below average rates of victimization despite being considered economically disadvantaged and the focus of institutional practices and policies that reduce the protection immigrants should receive from governmental agencies (Perreault and Brennan 2010,Reitz and Banerjee 2007).

Routine Activity theory and Lifestyle theory Variables

Routine activity theory and Lifestyle theory were measured through the combination of two composite variables and seven other variables. The two composite variables are used to measure two of the three conditions that need to present for crime based on RAT. The two composite variables measure *Capable Guardianship* and the presence of a *Motivated Offender*. The last condition of RAT that must be present for a crime to occur, a Suitable Target is measured in tandem with Lifestyle variables (Felson and Cohen, 1979). The linking of these two theories is not a new practice and is first

discussed in the research of Miethe and Stafford (1987). These variables are; marital status, previous arrest, engages in crime prevention, number of evening activities outside of home, number of evenings working outside of home, the amount of night traveling one does and the amount of alcohol one drinks. This last set of variables not only measures whether one is a suitable target for RAT but also what are the indicators of one's lifestyle.

The combination of RAT and Lifestyle being measured with the independent variables should effectively describe the opportunity structure surrounding the victimization of our sample at multiple levels of criminal incidents. One would expect that if RAT and Lifestyle accurately predict crime, then the variables measuring them should also have stronger effects as the level of victimization increases. I hypothesize that although these variables predict crime, the social status variables are also strong predictor of criminal victimization and thus inequality faced by those in society should not be ignored in crime prevention literature and research for the pursuit of purely opportunity based model of victimization. Furthermore opportunity structure is directly related to social status.

Capable Guardianship

Capable Guardianship was measured in our sample by creating composite variable out of the section of the survey that looks at respondents' perception of police. The responses for the following five questions were used to measure the level of police presence and effectiveness in the respondents' community.

1. Do you think your local police force does a good job, an average job or a poor job: ... of enforcing the laws?

2. Do you think your local police force does a good job, an average job or a poor job: ... of promptly responding to calls?
3. Do you think your local police force does a good job, an average job or a poor job: ... of being approachable and easy to talk to?
4. Do you think your local police force does a good job, an average job or a poor job: ... of supplying information to the public on ways to reduce crime?
5. Do you think your local police force does a good job, an average job or a poor job: ... of ensuring the safety of the citizens in your area?
6. Do you think your local police force does a good job, an average job or a poor job: ... of treating people fairly?

(Statistics Canada, 2009)

Respondents could answer these questions with; poor, average or good. The variable was coded so the higher score indicating more satisfaction with police indicating the presence of a capable guardianship. While capable guardianship does not only come from official governmental agencies, and may for example come from the community working together, the survey did not contain the appropriate questions to gage the efficacy of the respondents' neighborhoods. The closet line of questioning in this area focused on asking neighbors for favors or socializing with them and did not seem to get at the heart of being guardians for one another (Statistics Canada, 2004 and 2010). Other research on RAT typically accepts the police presence in a neighborhood as representative of capable guardianship, while informal/nongovernmental systems representing capable guardianship have remained more elusive in research (Ratcliffe 2002, Felson and Clarke 1998). The mean response

for Capable Guardianship was 2.56 with a standard deviation of .40. The respondents were more likely than not to indicate that the police response/presence in their community was good/capable.

Informal Guardianship:

The variable Informal Guardianship is a composite variable composed of questions that looked at the strength of the community through relations of the individual to neighbors and their neighborhood. The following set of questions were adopted and combined from the CVS to create Informal Guardianship which had an average score of .52 with a standard deviation of .38.

1. How long have you lived in this dwelling?
2. Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your more immediate neighbourhood. Would you say that you know: (most of the people in your neighbourhood? ... many of the people in your neighbourhood? ... a few of the people in your neighbourhood? ... nobody else in your neighbourhood?)
3. In the past month, have you done a favour for a neighbour? (Examples of favours are: picking up the mail, watering plants, shoveling, lending tools or garden equipment, carrying things upstairs, feeding pets when neighbours go on holiday, and shopping)
4. In the past month, have any of your neighbours done a favour for you?
5. Does your neighborhood have a Community Watch?
6. In an emergency would you go to your neighbour's home for help?

(Statistics Canada, 2009)

Presence of a Motivated Offender

The second condition of RAT that must be present for a crime to occur is the presence of a motivated offender for victimization to occur. Even with a lack of capable guardianship and a suitable target, without would be criminals than a crime would not occur. The presence of a motivated offender was measured for this research using a composite variable. The composite variable was comprised of question asking respondents about how much of a visible problems was things like vagrancy, graffiti and loud partying in their neighborhoods (Statistics Canada 2004, 2009). The responses to the following eight questions were used to make the composite variable Motivated Offender and were taken from the social disorder section of the survey (Statistics Canada 2004, 2009).

1. How much of a problem are: ... noisy neighbours or loud parties?
2. How much of a problem are: ... people hanging around on the streets?
3. How much of a problem are ... people sleeping on the streets or in other public places?
4. How much of a problem is: ... garbage or litter lying around?
5. How much of a problem is: ... vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property or vehicles?
6. How much of a problem are: ... people using or dealing drugs?
7. How much of a problem are: ... people being drunk or rowdy in public places?
8. How much of a problem is: ... prostitution?

Unlike Capable Guardianship the variables making up Motivated Offender were comprised of 4 possible responses; A very big problem, A fairly big problem, Not a very big problem, Not a problem at al. The variable was coded so that the higher the number

the more of a problems the issues identified were, thus as the score goes up for Motivated Offender so does the likelihood of Motivated Offenders being present. The mean score for Motivated Offender was 1.27 with a standard deviation of .40. The mean score indicates that most people did not find that the above mentioned issues were problems in their community. Research on Broken Windows theory and public ordinance enforcement illustrates that neighborhood that suffer from the above mentioned problems have higher rates of crime and the presence of motivated offenders (Harcourt 1998, Sampson and Raunderbush 2004).

Suitable Targets / Lifestyle theory

Urbanicity. The urbanicity of each respondent's residential setting is measured using an ordinal likert scale with 1 indicating a rural setting and 5 indicating the most urban setting a respondent could live in. Urbanicity is assigned by Statistics Canada based on of the respondent's physical address as Rural Area, Secondary Urban Core, Urban outside of metropolitan area, Urban Fringe, and Urban Core (Statistics Canada, 2007). The average score for respondents was 3.94 indicating that respondents were more likely to live in an urban setting than a rural setting. Research on the residential setting of crime internationally has shown that as population density goes up so does crime rates (Gibbs, 1979). Furthermore urbanicity was an integral part of Felson and Cohen's (1979) initial study proposing RAT where the urban environments were the focal point and proposed as the victimization arena.

Married. The marital status of the sample respondents was one of the variables used to gage the lifestyle of the respondents. Past research has that those who are married are less likely to be victimized in Canada than those who are not (Perreault and

Brennan 2010). Research by Cohen et. al. (1981) and Averdijk (2011) support the idea that those who are married live less risky lifestyles than those who are not. The premise is that mate seeking increases our engagement in public spaces which in turn increases risk of victimization. This increase is seen in all victimization and doesn't look at different kinds of victimization separately. Specifically the above mentioned research doesn't appropriately hash out the risk women face as domestic assault victims in marriage versus not marital relationships. Some research does indicate that women who cohabitate versus marry do experience high rates of victimization (Magdol et. al. 1998). Interestingly marriage is a significant cause in desisting from crime amongst males, and offenders and victims share the identifiable traits meaning the average victim resembles the average offender (Sampson and Laub, 1998). The percent of our sample indicating that they were presently married was 50.9 %, the remainder of the sample indicated that they were either; single, divorced, separated or widowed.

Previous Arrest. Whether or not the interviewee had been arrested or not in the past was used as a lifestyle measure. The logic being that those who engage in crime are at greater risk to be victimized themselves. Research has shown that women who engage in paid sex work are both likely to have an arrest record and to experience high rates of victimization (Miller and Schwartz, 1995). The variable was a dichotomous measure with 0 representing no previous arrest and 1 representing that the respondent did have a previous arrest. 0.6% of the sampled population indicated that they had been arrested in the past.

Engaging in Crime Prevention. This variable was measured dichotomously with 0 indicating a person did not engaged in crime preventative efforts and 1 indicating that

they have engaged in crime preventative efforts. Respondents could answer yet to multiple options and for this research a yes in any category initiated their classification of 1. The question reads as follows: Have you ever done any of the following things to protect yourself or your property from crime? Have you ever...changed your routine, activities, or avoided certain people or places? (Statistics Canada, 2004 and 2009) There were other variables that asked respondent if they have ever purchased a gun, dog, new locks and when these questions were made into a composite variable and correlated with the above mentioned variable there was a .78 correlation and thus just the above mentioned variable was chosen to indicate if respondents engaged in crime prevention. 35.5% of the population indicated that they had engaged in crime prevention efforts to modify the opportunity to commit crime against them.

Number of Evening Activities. The amount of evening activities respondents engaged in were used to measure lifestyle. The assumption was that if RAT and Lifestyle theory were correct those who spent a lot of time outside of the home i.e. evening activities are more likely to be victimized. Research by Mieth, Stafford and Long (1987) supports the idea that the amount of time spent away from the home does (as well as RAT) significantly predict victimization. For this sample respondents indicated that on average they had 25.09 of evening activities per month with a standard deviation of 35.06 indicating a lot of variability in this variables. For those who answered that they engaged in more evening activities per month than there are days in a month the assumptions was that they did multiple evening activities per singular evening. Activities for this variable included; restaurants, movies, theater, bars, pubs, sporting activities, recreational activities, exercise, shop, visit relatives, visit friends, and

casinos. Respondents could answer up to 31 occurrences for 6 different categories which covered all of the above mentioned activities, meaning that the max score hypothetically could have been 186 evening activities (Statistics Canada, 2004 and 2009). Previous research on time spent outside of the home or interacting in public spaces seems to indicate that risk of victimization should go up with activity levels as postulated in the original theory and defence of RAT (Felson and Cohen, 1979).

Number of Evenings Spent Working per Month. Another measure of engaging in a risky lifestyle or becoming a more suitable target was measured by the number of evening one spent at work. Research by Kennedy and Forde (1990) illustrated that Canadian who work at night were more likely to report victimizations. Gottfredson (1984) also supports this idea more generally by claiming that all night activity increases risk. Research by Lynch (1987) also indicates that night workers have higher rates of victimization but contends that it is industry specific and that there is a selection bias, that more victimization prone individuals are also more likely to work in risky evening environments like bartending. The sample for this research reported on average that they spend 8.69 evenings per month at work with a standard deviation of 16.73.

Night Travel per Month. The respondents' evening travel habits were expressed as a composite variable being composed of the following two survey questions.

1. How often do you walk alone in your area after dark?
2. How often do you use public transportation alone after dark?

Respondents could answer the following ways; at least once a week, at least once a month, less than once a month and never. The composite variable was coded to indicate that an increase in the response rate meant that one travelled more at night

time either using public transit or by walking alone. Again based on the original defence and proposal of RAT one would expect as night travel goes up does victimization (Cohen and Felson, 1979). Research on this topic in Canada indicates that the public agrees with this premise and fear of crime is heightened by walking alone at night (Forde, 1993). Gottfredson (1984) directly support the idea that an increase in night travel will cause an increase in victimization. Respondents in the survey indicated that on average they answered 2.27 with a standard deviation of 1.01. Respondents' average response coincided with the ordinal category of less than once a month.

Alcohol Consumption. The last variable that was used to measure whether one was a suitable target or engaged in a lifestyle that may be more prone to victimization was the amount of alcohol one consumed per month. This variable was ordinal seven different categories one could choose from being; everyday, 4-6 times a week, 2-3 times a week, once a month, one or twice in past month, not in past month, never drinks. As the score for this variable rises so does the frequency of alcohol consumption. The mean score for the sample was 3.31 with a standard deviation of 1.74 indicating that on average the sample drinks once or twice per month. Earlier research from the 1970's has outlined the relationship between victimization and alcohol and more recent gendered research has shown the relationship between women who consume alcohol and victimization (Gerson and Preston 1979 and Abbey 2002). In both cases as the amount of alcohol consumed increased so did the significant chance that one would be victimized.

CHAPTER 7: ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Baron and Kenny (1986) outline three necessary empirical relationship required to show a relationship of mediation. First, there must be a significant association between the independent variable and the dependent variable. In this case, this requirement means that the social status variables must be associated with victimization. These relationships are tested by investigating victimization propensities across the subsamples. Essentially, this first step sets up the relationships between social status variables and victimization that may be mediated by lifestyle and opportunity variables. The second requirement is that of a significant association between the mediators and the dependent variable. In this case, this requires a significant association between routine activities and victimization.

Finally, to show mediation, the initial association between the independent and dependent variable should be reduced when controlling for the mediators. This final step will show either full mediation when the association in step 1 is reduced to non-significance or partial mediation when the initial association is reduced in size, but remains a significant independent predictor. This part of the mediation analysis is tested via logistic regression models. First a model is estimated without the lifestyle variables:

$$y_i = \log\left(\frac{p(y=1)}{1-p(y=1)}\right) = \beta_1 Gender + B_2 Race + \beta_3 SES + \beta_4 Sexuality + \beta_5 \mathbf{CONTROL} \quad (1)$$

Here the dependent variable of victimization is modeled as a logistic regression. The term $\log\left(\frac{p}{p-1}\right)$ is the logit link function which is used to model the binary outcome measure with a linear model (Futing Liao 1994). The βs are the coefficients which

describe the effects of each predictor variable on the logit, or log odds, of victimization compared to the reference category. Note that the bold face term **CONTROLS** refers to the vector of control variables whereas the plain type face variables refer to scalars or individual variables. Because the logit coefficients are difficult to interpret, I will utilize odds ratios computed as e^B or the exponenialized logit to aid in interpretation of the logistic regression models. After the baseline model in (1) is estimated .the vector of lifestyle variables are added.

$$y_i = \log(\frac{p(y=1)}{1-p(y=1)}) = \beta_1 Gender + B_2 Race + \beta_3 SES + \beta_4 Sexuality + \beta_5 \mathbf{LIFESTYLE} + \beta_6 \mathbf{CONTROL} \quad (2)$$

The key determination of the presence and degree of mediation will be judged by comparing the significance tests and effect sizes of the coefficients for gender, race, SES and sexuality from model 1 to model 2. Baron and Kenny (1986) argue that partial mediation is observed when the coefficients are reduced in size after the mediators are included whereas full mediation is observed when the coefficients are reduced to non-significance. Models 1 and 2 will be estimated using each of the specifications of victimization described above.

To determine whether social status characteristics are moderators of lifestyle, I employ subgroup models which estimate:

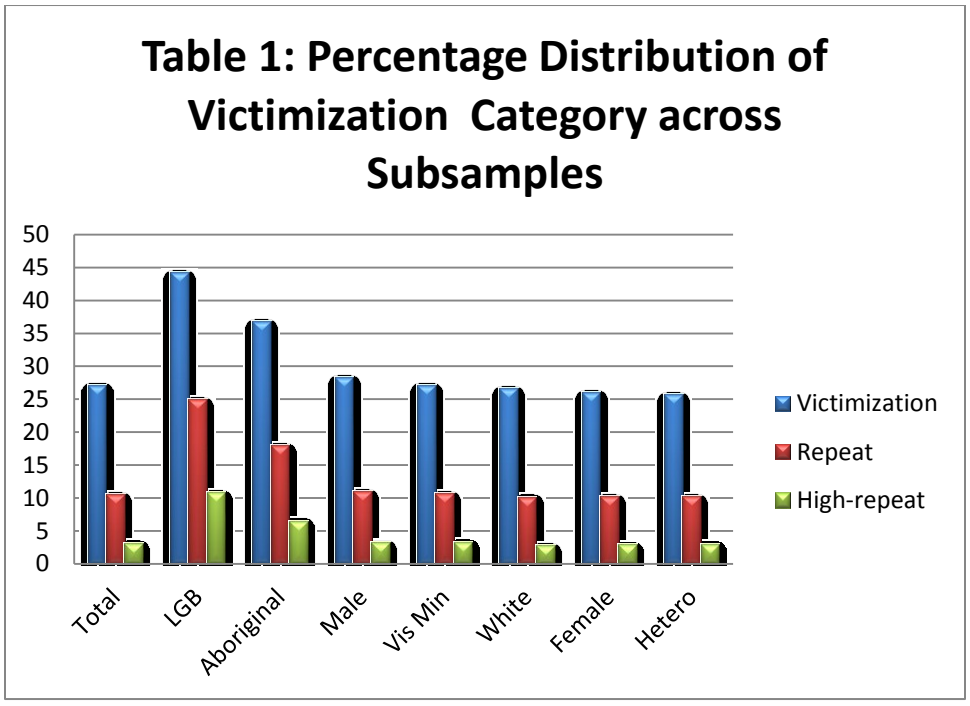
$$y_i = \log(\frac{p(y=1)}{1-p(y=1)}) = \beta_1 \mathbf{SOCIALSTATUS} + \beta_2 \mathbf{LIFESTYLE} + \beta_3 \mathbf{CONTROL} \quad (3)$$

within each subgroup (female, racial minority, low SES, racial minority) including the other relevant SES variables. Here, the key comparisons are whether the effects of the lifestyle variables in β_2 are equivalent across the subgroup models.

CHAPTER 8: FINDINGS

Descriptive Statistics

The average rate of victimization in the entire population is .63 per person with 27% of the polled sample reporting victimization. Of those polled there were significant rates of both repeat victimization and high-repeat victimization. 10.5% of the population suffered from repeat victimization while 3% suffered from high-repeat victimization. The highest rates of victimization were recorded by LGBT followed by Aboriginals and the lowest rates were seen in heterosexuals and females. The LGBT community suffered from a rate of victimization at just over 44% with 25% of the community being repeatedly victimized and 10.8% of the community being high-repeat victims.



The descriptive summaries, with means testing, for the total sample and subgroups shows significant differences for victimization across all groups within the sample. The sample had a reported average income of approximately $50,000 to

59,000. The lowest average income was reported by Aboriginal Canadians followed by, visible minorities, LGBT, women and then men reporting the highest income. The average age for the population was 44.5 years with visible minorities reporting the youngest average age at 38.9 years. The oldest group in the sample was heterosexuals who reported an average age of 47.23. The sample across all subgroups was consistently divided evenly between males and females. The LGBT portion of the population was 1.7% with the highest LGBT subpopulation being in the Aboriginal community and the smallest proportion was in the visible minority subpopulation. The final social status variables was nativity and the largest group of foreign born Canadians was in the visible minority category with 73.3% of the population being foreign born compared to a national rate percent of 21.9. This indicated that the majority of visible minority Canadians are in fact immigrants. Looking at the opportunity variables also highlighted some differences across subsamples. LGBT community was more often than not the group reporting the highest percentages or scores for the opportunity variables. For example the LGBT community had the lowest approval of the guardianship of their communities by police, the highest alcohol consumption, the most evening activities and most night travel.

Means testing between groups also indicated several social status and opportunity differences between subsamples (Table 1). For example the LGBT group experienced significantly more victimization at all levels. The LGBT group was also significantly younger, more likely to graduate high school, be born in Canada, and make less money. Looking at RAT differences, the LGBT community was significantly more

likely to live in an urban environment, report a lack of capable guardianship, increased motivated offenders, not be married and engage in evening activities.

Means testing also illustrated significant sample differences between aboriginals Canadians when compared to white and visible minority Canadians (Table 2). Aboriginals were more likely to be victimized at all levels except for high repeat victimization. There were several social status differences as well, Aboriginals made significantly less money, and were less likely to graduate high school. Aboriginals also reported higher levels of LGBT status. There was also RAT differences between Aboriginals and then the rest of the sample. Aboriginals were more likely to live in an urban environment and work/travel at night.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics Table for Total Sample, Male, Female, Non-Heterosexual and Heterosexuals

	Total Sample N=43,200		Male N=21,297		Females N=21,903		LGBT N=734		Heterosexual N=42,466	
	Mean /%	SD	Mean /%	SD	Mean /%	SD	Mean /%	SD	Mean /%	SD
Total Incidents	.63	3.11	.65*	3.07	.62*	3.157	1.41*	5.19	.62*	
Victimization	27.1		28.3*		26.0		44.2*		25.7*	
Repeat Victimization	10.5		10.9*		10.2		24.9*		10.2	
High Repeat Vic	3.1		3.2*		2.9		10.8*		3.0	
Control / Social Status										
Income	9.04	2.33	9.42*	2.21	8.66*	2.37	8.63	2.43	9.2	2.30
Age	44.53	18.18	43.77*	17.76	45.26*	18.54	39.03*	15.47	47.23*	19.20
Female	50.7		0		100		50.2		50.3*	
High school	73.5		72.4*		74.5*		80.2*		72.8*	
White	82.1		82.2		82.0*		83.9		82.0	
Aboriginal	1.9		1.9		1.9*		2.5*		1.7*	
Non-Heterosexual	1.7		1.7*		1.7*		100		0	
Nativity	21.9		22*		21.8*		17.4*		22.4*	
RAT and Lifestyle										
Urban	3.94	1.66	3.92*	1.67	3.96*	1.65	4.28*	1.43	3.85*	1.77
Capable Guardianship	2.56	.39	2.55*	.410	2.57*	.38	2.45*	.45	2.58*	.37
Informal Guardianship	.51	.38	.52	.39	.50	.39	.51*	.36	.51*	.39
Motivated Offender	1.27	.40	1.26*	.39	1.28*	.41	1.54*	.59	1.25*	.388
Married	50.9		53.1*		48.8*		15.8*		51.5*	
Previous Arrest	5.6		6.2*		5.0*		5.6		5.6	
Crime Prevention	35.5		30.8*		40.1*		50.5*		33.3*	
Evening Activities	25.09	35.06	27.43*	36.25	22.82*	33.72	29.13*	21.65	23.78	36.11
Night Work	8.69	16.73	9.49*	17.14	7.92*	16.29	9.08	13.75	8.1	17.05
Night Travel	2.27	1.01	2.51*	.94	2.03*	1.01	2.75*	1.16	2.25*	.99
Alcohol Consumption	3.31	1.74	3.65*	1.78	2.98*	1.64	3.65	1.77	3.15	1.73

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24

* P <.05

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics Table for Total Sample, White, Visible Minority and Aboriginals

	Total Sample N=43,200		White N=35,467		Visible Minority N=10,152		Aboriginal N=820	
	Mean /%	SD	Mean /%	SD	Mean /%	SD	Mean /%	SD
Total Incidents	.63	3.11	.62*	3.01	.69	3.75	1.01*	3.08
Victimization	27.1		26.6		27.1		36.8*	
Repeat Victimization	10.5		10.1		10.7		17.9*	
High Repeat Vic	3.1		2.8		3.3		6.5	
Control / Social Status								
Income	9.04	2.33	9.09*		8.58	2.33	8.19*	2.44
Age	44.53	18.18	45.23	18.02	38.92	16.14	40.22	15.59
Female	50.7		50.9		51.0		51.6	
High school	73.5		74.01		74.2		57.6*	
White	82.1		100.0		0.0		0.0	
Aboriginal	1.9		0.0		0.0		100.0	
Non-Heterosexual	1.7		1.9		1.4		2.2*	
Nativity	21.9		19.3		73.3*		5.9	
RAT and Lifestyle								
Urban	3.94	1.66	3.45	1.72	3.11	1.89	4.63*	1.09
Capable Guardianship	2.56	.39	2.77	.23	2.42*	.50	2.51	.41
Informal Guardianship	.51	.38	.55	.32	.53	.31	.54	.33
Motivated Offender	1.27	.40	1.15	.38	1.37*	.49	1.30	.47
Married	50.9		51.4		46.5*		52.6	
Previous Arrest	5.6		5.5		9.8*		4.0	
Crime Prevention	35.5		34.1		44.2*		34.0	
Evening Activities	25.09	35.06	24.03	37.01	28.1*	45.15	26.49	51.21
Night Work	8.69	16.73	8.52	15.43	8.77	17.3	9.44*	17.90
Night Travel	2.27	1.01	2.33	1.21	2.3	.91	2.58*	1.19
Alcohol Consumption	3.31	1.74	3.30*	1.72	2.90	1.70	2.54	1.54

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24

* P <.05

Total Population

When looking at variation in victimization across the entire sample there were notable effects at all levels of victimization based on changes in social status and opportunity. The first way the effects of social status and opportunity were analyzed in relation to victimization was through a multinomial logistic regression with the reference category being no victimization. Table 4 shows the results from these models comparing three levels of victimization when compared to non-victims of crime. There were several variables that were not only significant across the model but also had increasing odds-ratios denoting that there is an increasing tendency for the variable to increase the chances of victimization. Of the social status variables the variables that were significant and had a consistent directional effect across the model were age, aboriginal status, LGBT and nativity. As age went up individuals were less likely to be the victims of crime and the effect got stronger as the level of victimization went up. As age went up individual were almost 12% less likely to be the victims of one crime, 13% of two crimes and 14% of three crimes or more. Respondents who identified being Aboriginal Canadians were 36% more likely to victims of one crime, 65% more likely for two crimes and 70% more likely to be the victims of three or more crime, even when controlling for social status and lifestyle. Aboriginal Canadians were not the most at risk group of being victimized in Canada. Although previous governmental studies identify Aboriginals as the most victimized minority, non-heterosexual individuals were the most victimized. LGBT Canadians were no more likely to be the victim of singular crime incidents however were 50% more likely to be the victims of two crimes and 139% more likely to be victims of three or more crimes. There were also several minority groups

that were less likely to be the victims of repeat crime, being women and non-Canadian born residents. Immigrants to Canada were 10% less likely to be the victims of singular crime, 13% for two crimes and 28% less likely to be victimized three times or more. For women, who in past studies have been shown to be more victimized than men (sexual victimization), were in fact less likely than males to be victimized when looking at both property and violent crime. Specifically women were almost 8% less likely to be victimized once and 16% less likely to be victimized three or more times. Lastly income also had a small effect of victimization- as one's income rose they were more likely to be the victims of crime. This first regression included both personal and property crime.

Beyond the social status characteristics of the victims there were several opportunity variables that predicted victimization. Individuals who experienced victimization were much more likely to indicate that there was a presence of motivated offenders in their community. Victims of one crime were 1.4 times more likely to indicate this, while victims of two crimes were two more times more likely to cite potential offenders in their community as a problem. Individuals who experienced victimization three or more times were 2.4 times more likely to identify motivated offenders in their community than those who were not victimized.

The second strongest relationship from the multinomial logistic regression was the connection between victimization and previous arrests. Individuals who had been arrested in the past were much more likely to be victimized than those who had not been previously arrested. Those who had been victimized once were 1.4 times more likely to have been previously arrested. For those who had been victimized twice they were 1.8 times more likely to have been previously arrested and finally for those who

had been victimized three or more times they were 2.7 times more likely to have been arrested than non-victims of crime. The last variable that was significant and consistent across all levels of victimization was the composite variable of crime prevention. Individuals who were victimized once were 1.6 times more likely to engage in crime prevention strategies than non-victims. For those who were victimized twice they were 2.5 times more likely and finally those were victimized three or more times were 4.5 times more likely to engage in crime prevention. Initially the use of the crime prevention variable was assumed to measure some sort of opportunity reducing techniques by individuals, which would thus have a negative relationship with victimization. However based on the strength of the relationship and the directions crime prevention strategies are most likely to be initiated after victimization.

Table 4: Multinomial-Logistic Regression Total Sample Reference Group Non-Victims

	Victims Exp (B)		Repeat Victims Exp (B)		High Repeat Victims Exp (B)	
Income	1.054	**	1.093	**	1.054	**
Female	.925	**	.946		.840	**
Age	.982	**	.976	**	.964	**
High School	1.096	**	.966		.783	**
White	1.101	*	1.098		1.022	
Aboriginal	1.365	**	1.648	**	1.708	**
LGBT	1.161		1.502	**	2.393	*
Nativity	.907	*	.774	**	.716	**
Urban	1.081	**	1.114	**	1.087	**
Capable Guard	.679	**	.447	**	.265	**
Informal Guard	.985		1.125	*	1.150	
Motivated Offender	1.474	**	2.043	**	2.463	**
Married	.966		.810	**	.815	**
Previous Arrest	1.490	**	1.828	**	2.742	**
Crime Prevention	1.686	**	2.563	**	4.501	**
Evening Activities	1.001		1.002	**	1.003	**
Night Work	1.002	*	1.005	**	1.005	**
Night Travel	1.039	**	1.085	**	1.045	
Alcohol Consump	1.032	**	1.019		1.071	*

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 43,200
** .01
* .05
Reference Category 0= No Victimization

Table 5 shows the differences between just victims and non-victims can be observed but this time, we can compare the difference between violent and property crime in relationship to social status and opportunity. In this table we can see that there is some significant variation in variables that are linked to violent versus property offences. In general fewer variables in the model are significantly linked to property crime as opposed to violent crime. The only variable that uniquely was related to property crime versus violent crime was income. However those with higher income were only at slightly higher risk (6.1%) to being victims of property crime. Females were less likely to be the victims of both types of crime but a larger gender gap was shown for violent offences. When looking at other minority groups, immigrants to Canada experienced less violent crime and more equal rates of property crime. For Aboriginal Canadians they a great inequality in victimization for property crimes despite being significantly related to both crime types. LGBT Canadians on the other hand were only 16% more likely to experience property crime (also significantly more likely to live in an urban setting) while they were 43% more likely to experience violent victimization.

Each opportunity variable was statistically linked to violent crime, whereas fewer were linked to property crimes. It's also interesting to note the effects of marriage on victimization by crime type. Marriage was a negatively significant indicator of victimization while not a significant indicator for property crime. Married people were 38% less likely to experience violent crime and there was no difference for property crime. Finally both night work and night travel had significant effects of violent victimization and were not significant indicators of property victimization.

Table 5: Logistic Regression Victimization by Crime Type

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	1.014		1.061	**
Female	.771	**	.928	**
Age	.966	**	.980	**
High School	.875	*	1.061	
White	.903		1.066	
Aboriginal	1.285	*	1.416	**
LGBT	1.434	**	1.166	
Nativity	.765	**	.913	*
Urban	1.032	*	1.095	**
Capable Guard	.409	**	.576	**
Informal Guard	1.147	*	1.000	
Motivated Offender	1.880	**	1.710	**
Married	.628	**	1.012	
Previous Arrest	2.324	**	1.504	**
Crime Prevention	3.059	**	1.921	**
Evening Activities	1.002	**	1.002	**
Night Work	1.004	**	1.001	
Night Travel	1.159	**	1.018	
Alcohol Consump	1.042	**	1.021	**

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 43,200
** .01
* .05

In Table 6 victims of crime are compared against repeat victims by crime type. Using this statistical operation versus a multinomial logistic regression will make it possible to compare varying degrees of victims to each other versus just non-victims of crime. When comparing the victim of one crime to repeat victims there is almost complete symmetry in variables that are significant except for income and urbanity. Looking at the odds ratios however shows stronger significant effects for the variables and their relationship to violent crime except for the presence of a motivated offender. Repeat victims of property crime are 58% more likely to indicate a presence of motivated offenders compared to 32% of violent victims. Overall there is much less

variation between different victimization levels versus victim and non-victims. The bulk of variation amongst victims and repeat victims seem to be related to opportunity (RAT and lifestyle) versus social status.

Table 6: Logistic Regression Repeat Victimization by Crime Type

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	1.057	**	1.013	
Female	1.149		1.006	
Age	.984	**	.995	**
High School	.905		.890	
White	.777		.975	
Aboriginal	1.121		1.260	
LGBT	.999		1.197	
Nativity	.891		.881	
Urban	1.023		1.048	**
Capable Guard	.561	**	.582	**
Informal Guard	1.035		1.128	
Motivated Offender	1.320	**	1.578	**
Married	.930		.963	
Previous Arrest	1.511	**	1.278	**
Crime Prevention	1.870	**	1.495	**
Evening Activities	1.012	**	1.002	**
Night Work	.999		1.003	
Night Travel	1.001		1.006	
Alcohol Consump	.971		.975	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 11,707
** .01
* .05

The next table looks at the entire population of victims comparing repeat victims to high-repeat victims. This table again is comparing groups of victims versus victims to non-victims. While this table has the least amount of significant indicators predicting victimization there is a discernible pattern. For violent crime none of the social status variables predict victimization but for property crime both income and white decrease

the chances of being high-repeat victims. The relationship of income to victimization switches at this level and for the first time being white is significant. At the most extreme level of victimization being white decreases your chances of being victimized by 31%. The other significant variables for both categories are somewhat similar except for the Capable Guardianship category. Those who are high-repeat victims of violent crime are 25% less likely to indicate positive sentiments about policing in their community compared to 37% of high-repeat property victims.

Table 7: Logistic Regression High-Repeat Victimization by Crime Type

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	.987		.956	*
Female	1.118		.862	
Age	.992		.998	
High School	.950		.936	
White	.932		.688	*
Aboriginal	.977		.763	
LGBT	1.442		.820	
Nativity	.995		.847	
Urban	1.003		.977	
Capable Guard	.746	**	.631	**
Informal Guard	1.147		.875	
Motivated Offender	1.207		1.380	**
Married	1.171		.886	
Previous Arrest	1.560	**	1.576	**
Crime Prevention	1.454	**	1.592	**
Evening Activities	1.006	*	1.005	*
Night Work	.993		.999	
Night Travel	.914		.950	
Alcohol Consump	1.050		.993	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 4,536
** .01
* .05

In tables 8 through 10 the control / social status variables are run independently to the opportunity variables (RAT and lifestyle) across both crime types to demonstrate the mediating effect of opportunity on social status. In table 5 while almost all of the variables predict victimization in both models when comparing the social status variables in model 1 and 2 generally speaking you can see the mediated effect on social status by including opportunity. For example the effect of education is completely mediated and for all of the minority groups in the model there is a diminished effect. When opportunity is introduced into the model the effect of being LGBT, aboriginal and nativity is reduced but not completely explained away. In table 6 this same effect is seen when comparing victims to repeat victims, as opportunity is introduced into the model social status has less of an effect of victimization and for the case of aboriginals is completely explained away. While the effects of social status are reduced by opportunity for some categories when looking at LGBT designation for example you see opportunity decreasing the likelihood LGBT victimization from 92% to 42%. Thus even when controlling for opportunity variables, the LGBT community is still 42% more likely to be repeat victims than the general population.

In table 10, less variables predict victimization differences between repeat and high repeat victims but for those significant variables there is a mediated effect on social status by opportunity. The effects of income, aboriginal and nativity are completely mediated by opportunity. A reduction in the effect of social status is shown for age and LGBT status and the effect becomes more pronounced for completion of high school. Even when accounting for opportunity LGBT status still makes one 1.6 times more likely to be a high repeat victim versus repeat victim of crime.

Table 8: Logistic Regression Victimization Nationally Representative Sample

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	1.043	**	1.063	**
Female	.942	**	.925	**
Age	.971	**	.979	**
High School	1.117	**	1.017	
White	1.072		1.090	*
Aboriginal	1.726	**	1.472	**
LGBT	1.861	**	1.401	**
Nativity	.763	**	.856	**
Urban			1.090	*
Capable Guard			.544	**
Informal Guard			1.034	
Motivated Offender			1.730	*
Married			.910	**
Previous Arrest			1.684	*
Crime Prevention			2.052	*
Evening Activities			1.001	*
Night Work			1.003	*
Night Travel			1.051	**
Alcohol Consump			1.031	*

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 43,200
** .01
* .05

Table 9: Logistic Regression of Repeat Victimization Nationally Representative Sample

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	1.000		1.027	**
Female	1.036		1.028	
Age	.982	**	.992	**
High School	.883	**	.832	**
White	.931		.978	
Aboriginal	1.391	*	1.248	
LGBT	1.921	**	1.428	**
Nativity	.778	**	.876	*
Urban			1.034	*
Capable Guard			.569	**
Informal Guard			1.196	*
Motivated Offender			1.579	**
Married			.852	**
Previous Arrest			1.403	**
Crime Prevention			1.755	**
Evening Activities			1.006	**
Night Work			1.002	
Night Travel			1.031	
Alcohol Consump			1.001	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 11,707
** .01
* .05

Table 10: Logistic Regression of High Repeat Victimization Nationally Representative Sample:

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	.967	*	.991	
Female	.969		.932	
Age	.976	**	.984	**
High School	.825	**	.753	**
White	.879		.940	
Aboriginal	1.407	*	1.202	
LGBT	2.410	**	1.694	**
Nativity	.755	*	.888	
Urban			1.008	
Capable Guard			.465	**
Informal Guard			1.173	*
Motivated Offender			1.554	**
Married			.911	
Previous Arrest			1.740	**
Crime Prevention			2.309	**
Evening Activities			1.007	**
Night Work			1.001	
Night Travel			.993	
Alcohol Consump			1.042	*

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 4,536
** .01
* .0

Female Victimization

Table 11 shows victimization by gender and by crime type, comparing all victimization to non-victims. While there is no clear pattern when comparing social status to opportunity variables in their relation to victimization of women, there are some notable differences. First more of the variables in the model were related to violent crime than property crime. Almost all of the variables in the model had a more extreme odds-ratio for violent crime except for income, urban and aboriginal status. Also the relationship for high school attainment had opposite relationships to both crime types. Those women who completed high school were 22% less likely to be victims of violent crime and 14% more likely to be the victims of property crime. Female LGBT individuals are 84% more likely to be the victims of violent crime while only 47% more likely to be the victims of property offences. Women who were married were also less likely to be the victims of violent crime, with a 39% less of a chance of being violently victimized than their single counterparts. Women who had been the previously arrested were also 2.2 times more likely to violently victimized and 1.5 times more likely to experience property victimization.

Table 11: Logistic Regression Victimization by Crime Type for Female

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	1.009		1.056	**
Age	.967	**	.980	**
High school	.783	**	1.137	**
White	.963		.998	
Aboriginal	1.361		1.514	**
LGBT	1.840	**	1.470	*
Nativity	.767	*	.919	
Urban	1.012		1.100	**
Capable Guard	.421	**	.584	**
Informal Guard	1.209	*	1.026	
Motivated Offender	1.888	**	1.675	**
Married	.612	**	1.061	
Previous Arrest	2.277	**	1.499	**
Crime Prevention	3.181	**	1.895	**
Evening Activities	1.001	*	1.002	**
Night Work	1.002		1.002	*
Night Travel	1.127	**	.994	
Alcohol Consump	1.035	*	1.033	**

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=21,903
** .01
* .05

Table 12 compares female victims to female repeat victims by crime type. Like the model that looks at the entire sample (Table 3) fewer variables predict differences between female victims and repeat victims. Looking at the social status of women, white women are 35% less likely to be repeat victims than non-white women, which was only significant for violent crime, there was no racial effect for property crime. Again, both violent and property crime is predicted by the age of the respondent and as people got older they were less likely to be repeat victims. Repeat female victims were also much less likely to describe quality police services in their neighborhoods

Table 12: Logistic Regression Repeat Victimization by Crime Type for Female

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	1.051		1.017	
Age	.980	**	.993	**
High school	1.093		.973	
White	.652	*	1.029	
Aboriginal	.801		1.244	
LGBT	1.615		1.422	
Nativity	.841		.906	
Urban	1.003		1.032	
Capable Guard	.665	**	.664	**
Informal Guard	1.065		1.109	
Motivated Offender	1.223		1.741	**
Married	.863		.890	
Previous Arrest	1.494	*	1.361	**
Crime Prevention	2.306	**	1.453	**
Evening Activities	1.012	**	1.002	
Night Work	1.000		1.005	*
Night Travel	.991		.976	
Alcohol Consump	.933		.963	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=5,694
** .01
* .05

Comparing female repeat victims to high-repeat victims show even fewer predictor than the last table differentiating female victims. When comparing female repeat victims to high-repeat victims on two social status variables are significant, and are only significant for violent crime. As women got older they were 11% less likely to be high-repeat victims. Also, the relationship between nativity differs in this model to any other model in the research. Foreign born Canadian women are 1.7 times more likely to be high-repeat victims than repeat victims. Again, as seen in other models being previously arrested and engaging in crime prevention increased the odds of being high-repeat victims. Another surprising finding in this model was the significance of

informal guardianship, where by women who have stronger community ties are more likely to be victimized.

Table 13: Logistic Regression High Repeat Victimization by Crime Type for Female

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	.976		.995	
Age	.987	*	.994	
High school	1.017		.827	
White	1.281		.915	
Aboriginal	1.296		1.264	
LGBT	1.581		.716	
Nativity	1.690	*	.962	
Urban	.995		.985	
Capable Guard	.694		.690	*
Informal Guard	1.514	*	.756	
Motivated Offender	1.133		1.404	*
Married	.926		.635	**
Previous Arrest	1.582	*	1.577	*
Crime Prevention	1.497	*	1.360	*
Evening Activities	1.002		1.004	
Night Work	.991		1.000	
Night Travel	.954		.929	
Alcohol Consump	1.038		.952	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=2,234
** .01
* .05

The next three tables look at female victimization and do not differentiate by crime types. Tables 14,15,16 can be used to show the mediating effects of opportunity on the social status variables. Again, in all three models either partial or total mediation is seen for social status when the opportunity variables are introduced into the model. While less variables show differentiation amongst victims as victimization increases, social status predicts less difference in victims as opposed to opportunity, meaning that RAT and lifestyle predict difference amongst victims more than social status. The

exceptions to this finding are LGBT status and age. Devoid of lifestyle, LGBT females in Canada are at an increased risk of being victimized as victimization increases

Table 14: Logistic Regression of Victimization Women:

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	1.043	**	1.066	**
Age	.972	**	.981	**
High School	1.195	**	1.070	
White	1.006		1.016	
Aboriginal	1.806	**	1.591	**
LGBT	2.193	**	1.752	**
Nativity	.738	**	.854	**
Urban			1.093	**
Capable Guard			.554	**
Informal Guard			1.086	
Motivated Offender			1.687	**
Married			.926	**
Previous Arrest			1.582	**
Crime Prevention			2.046	**
Evening Activities			1.001	**
Night Work			1.004	**
Night Travel			1.042	**
Alcohol Consump			1.030	**

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=21,903
** .01
* .05

Table 15: Logistic Regression of Repeat Victimization Women:

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	.988		1.021	
Age	.978	**	.989	**
High School	.967		.933	
White	.955		.966	
Aboriginal	1.138		1.033	
LGBT	1.817	**	1.466	**
Nativity	.793	**	.947	
Urban			1.009	
Capable Guard			.660	**
Informal Guard			1.183	**
Motivated Offender			1.643	**
Married			.776	**
Previous Arrest			1.425	**
Crime Prevention			1.790	**
Evening Activities			1.008	**
Night Work			1.003	**
Night Travel			.967	
Alcohol Consump			.982	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=5,694
** .01
* .05

Table 16: Logistic Regression of High Repeat Victimization Women:

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	.957	*	1.008	
Age	.969	**	.983	**
High School	.771	*	.720	**
White	1.056		1.124	
Aboriginal	1.664	*	1.595	
LGBT	1.854	**	1.432	
Nativity	.803		1.014	
Urban			.978	
Capable Guard			.517	**
Informal Guard			1.137	
Motivated Offender			1.399	**
Married			.600	**
Previous Arrest			1.972	**
Crime Prevention			2.506	**
Evening Activities			1.007	**
Night Work			.999	
Night Travel			1.005	
Alcohol Consump			.983	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS
Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=2,234
** .01
* .05

Male Victimization

Table 17 shows the differences between male victims and non-victims by crime types. When looking at males as a separate group victimization was less dependent on social status and more dependent on opportunity variables. Much like the female sample as individuals get older they were less likely to be victimized for both property and violent offences. Other than age the on social status variables that had a significant effect of victimization was nativity, non-Canadian born males were less likely to be violently victimized than their Canadian born counterparts. Also the odds ratios again had high extremes for the violent victimization versus property, meaning that the variables chosen to measure victimization seem to do a better job explaining violent versus property crime.

Table 17: Logistic Regression Victimization by Crime Type for Male

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	1.020		1.066	*
Age	.965	**	.981	**
High school	.967		.994	
White	.845		1.146	
Aboriginal	1.211		1.275	
LGBT	1.126		.883	
Nativity	.757	*	.908	
Urban	1.046	*	1.090	**
Capable Guard	.400	**	.567	**
Informal Guard	1.081		.970	
Motivated Offender	1.883	**	1.766	**
Married	.648	**	.958	
Previous Arrest	2.371	**	1.508	**
Crime Prevention	3.009	**	1.951	**
Evening Activities	1.002	**	1.001	**
Night Work	1.006	**	1.000	
Night Travel	1.209	**	1.052	*
Alcohol Consump	1.050	*	1.011	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=21,297
** .01
* .05

Comparing male victims of crime to male repeat victimization tells a similar story. Repeat males victims are more likely younger, have not completed high school, do not see an effective police force in their area, and are more likely to describe a high presence of motivated offenders in their neighborhood. For victims of violent crime they are also 55% more likely to have a previous arrest in their past. Surprisingly the racial and sexual status of male victims does not statistically differ between singular victimization and repeat victims of both violent and property crime.

Table 18: Logistic Regression Repeat Victimization by Crime Type for Male

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	1.067	*	1.009	
Age	.989	*	.998	
High school	.743	*	.815	*
White	.920		.910	
Aboriginal	1.595		1.225	
LGBT	.645		.967	
Nativity	.997		.844	
Urban	1.048		1.067	**
Capable Guard	.471	**	.508	**
Informal Guard	.999		1.137	
Motivated Offender	1.483	**	1.408	**
Married	.976		1.044	
Previous Arrest	1.556	*	1.188	
Crime Prevention	1.581	**	1.510	**
Evening Activities	1.012	**	1.003	*
Night Work	.999		.999	
Night Travel	.994		1.041	
Alcohol Consump	1.003		.983	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=6,027
** .01
* .05

Table 19 looks exclusively at male victimization comparing repeat male victimization to high repeat male victimization by both property and violent crime. In this model there is very little symmetry in significant predictor of violent and property crime. In the high repeat female model being *white* significantly reduces the chances of being a high-repeat victim versus a repeat. White males are 37% less likely than minorities to be the victims of three plus crimes. Not only was race a significant predictor of victimization but so was nativity. Non-native born Canadians were 45% less likely to be victimized three or more times than Canadian born individuals. Again while there are fewer variables that predict differences between levels of victimization when compared

to the non-victim models it would still seem they are not a still not a homogeneous group.

Table 19: Logistic Regression High Repeat Victimization by Crime Type for Male

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	1.011		.913	**
Age	.996		1.000	
High school	.905		1.042	
White	.629	*	.485	**
Aboriginal	.661		.357	**
LGBT	1.223		1.019	
Nativity	.545	*	.674	
Urban	1.020		.961	
Capable Guard	.812		.566	**
Informal Guard	.846		1.018	
Motivated Offender	1.344		1.383	*
Married	1.458		1.233	
Previous Arrest	1.477		1.574	*
Crime Prevention	1.422	*	1.823	**
Evening Activities	1.013	**	1.007	
Night Work	.995		.996	
Night Travel	.820	*	.960	
Alcohol Consump	1.042		1.030	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 2,321
** .01
* .05

In tables 20, 21 and 22 the mediating effect of opportunity on social status for men can be seen. Unlike the female and the total sample models that look at combined crime types, there is no clear mediating effect for males. For all levels of male victimization some social status variables are moderated like LGBT status while others are not like income. Interestingly even when lifestyle is controlled for LGBT men are still more than two times more likely to be victimized than heterosexual men. Also for men the protective effect of being married flips in table 19. Again, these models include both

crime types and property crime constitutes the bulk of crime in Canada and thus may be affecting the results because in the crime type model marriage is not significant.

Table 20: Logistic Regression of Victimization Men:

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	1.041	**	1.059	**
Age	.970	**	.977	**
High School	1.055		.973	
White	1.140	*	1.165	**
Aboriginal	1.635	*	1.342	*
LGBT	1.583	*	1.113	
Nativity	.792	*	.860	**
Urban			1.086	**
Capable Guard			.534	**
Informal Guard			1.375	**
Motivated Offender			1.794	**
Married			.903	*
Previous Arrest			1.771	**
Crime Prevention			2.076	**
Evening Activities			1.002	*
Night Work			1.002	
Night Travel			1.064	
Alcohol Consump			1.033	**

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=21,297
** .01
* .05

Table 21: Logistic Regression of Repeat Victimization Men:

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	1.014		1.038	**
Age	.987	**	.994	**
High School	.825	**	.758	**
White	.913		.976	
Aboriginal	1.739	**	1.462	
LGBT	2.057	**	1.459	*
Nativity	.762	**	.808	*
Urban			1.049	*
Capable Guard			.504	*
Informal Guard			1.988	
Motivated Offender			1.514	*
Married			.939	
Previous Arrest			1.384	*
Crime Prevention			1.714	*
Evening Activities			1.006	*
Night Work			1.001	
Night Travel			1.102	
Alcohol Consump			1.018	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=6,027
** .01
* .05

Table 22: Logistic Regression of High Repeat Victimization Men:

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	.980		.981	**
Age	.983	**	.983	**
High School	.861		.760	*
White	.740	*	.757	
Aboriginal	1.208		.854	**
LGBT	3.141	**	2.080	*
Nativity	.705	**	.731	
Urban			1.030	**
Capable Guard			.423	
Informal Guard			1.206	**
Motivated Offender			1.738	*
Married			1.323	**
Previous Arrest			1.623	**
Crime Prevention			2.148	**
Evening Activities			1.008	
Night Work			1.002	
Night Travel			.983	*
Alcohol Consump			1.092	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 2,321
** .01
* .05

Minority Victimization

Minority victimization in this research is viewed by separately looking at minority Canadians, and aboriginals. Based on the racial breakdown of the country and the over representation of aboriginals in the criminal justice system a separately analysis was not only was logical but in line with other research in Canada that often looks at aboriginal status separately to other visible minority groups.

Visible Minorities

Table 23 compares victims to non-victims within the visible minority sub-sample. When comparing it to Table 5 which looks at the entire population there are several points of diversion. When compared to the general population the effects of being female, the victims' age, high school attainment and nativity are much stronger predictor of violent victimization. Also the relationship between victimization and urbanicity is completely reversed and still significant within the visible minority community. The opportunity predictors of crime show that visible minority violence victims in Canada report very negative policing services and surprisingly do not cite motivated offenders as a problem in their community unlike the general population in Table 2. Also the effect of being married, and having a previous arrest are much more pronounced for visible minorities. Visible minorities who are married are 40% less likely to be violently victimized and those who have a previous are three times more likely to be victimized. Also alcohol consumption is more associated with violent minority victimization than in the general population.

Table 23: Logistic Regression Victimization by Crime Type for Minority

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	1.006		1.032	
Female	.664	**	.963	
Age	.974	**	.982	**
High school	.644	**	1.024	
LGBT	1.371		1.167	
Nativity	.587	**	.708	**
Urban	.832	**	1.041	
Capable Guard	.334	**	.503	**
Informal Guard	.597	**	.940	
Motivated Offender	1.258		1.416	**
Married	.596	**	1.007	
Previous Arrest	3.075	**	1.702	**
Crime Prevention	3.889	**	2.010	**
Evening activities	1.001		1.001	
Night Work	1.004		1.001	
Night Travel	1.145	*	.949	
Alcohol Consump	1.135	**	1.037	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 10,152
** .01
* .05

Table 24 compares the differences between minority single victimization and repeat victimization. The model seems to be less effective at showing differences between minority victims and repeats than in the general population. Unexpectedly repeat minority victims are more likely to be connected to their communities or be in areas where there are higher levels of informal guardianship present. Also repeat minority victims report 66% lower police serves or capable guardianship than those victims who were victimized once.

Table 24: Logistic Regression Repeat Victimization by Crime Type for Minority

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	1.057		1.001	
Female	1.570		.928	
Age	.999		1.003	
High school	.879		.685	*
LGBT	3.250		.800	
Nativity	.862		.731	*
Urban	1.020		1.003	
Capable Guard	.340	**	.494	**
Informal Guard	2.117	*	1.312	
Motivated Offender	1.693	*	1.417	**
Married	1.038		.915	
Previous Arrest	1.506		1.299	
Crime Prevention	1.133		1.478	**
Evening activities	1.012	*	1.001	
Night Work	.995		1.008	*
Night Travel	1.074		.946	
Alcohol Consump	1.174		1.101	*

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 2,751
** .01
* .05

Comparing repeat minority victims to high repeat victims does not show any consistent pattern in difference between repeat victims and high repeats (Table 25). Violent high repeat victims are 19% less likely to have a higher income than those who are repeat victims, as in Table 24 informal guardianship is significant and high repeat victims are 2.4 times more likely to have a previous arrest than repeat victims.

Table 25: Logistic Regression High Repeat Victimization by Crime Type for Minority

	Violent Exp(B)		Property Exp(B)	
Income	.811	**	.955	
Female	1.093		.679	
Age	.999		.989	
High school	.608		.799	
LGBT	1.358		1.175	
Nativity	1.507		.739	
Urban	.947		1.015	
Capable Guard	.804		.449	**
Informal Guard	2.860	*	1.077	
Motivated Offender	1.125		.835	
Married	1.155		.813	
Previous Arrest	2.415	*	1.150	
Crime Prevention	1.489		1.452	
Evening activities	1.015	*	1.011	
Night Work	.986		.988	
Night Travel	1.013		1.005	
Alcohol Consump	1.059		1.126	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 1,086
** .01
* .05

The mediating effect of opportunity on social status for minority victims can be seen in tables 26 through 28. Victimization at all levels is either completely or partially moderated. The moderating effect is especially present when comparing varying degrees of victimization in tables 27 and 28. Before opportunity variables are introduced into the model LGBT status, nativity and age all predict victimization of visible minorities. After opportunity variables are introduced into the model there is total mediation for age and LGBT status and while nativity remain significant, the odds ratio moves closer to one specifically for repeat versus non repeats it drops 42% to 26% that foreign born Canadians are less likely to be victimized. For the high-repeat versus

repeat model that number drops from 38% to 17%. Interestingly, the one social status variable that does not become mediated and in fact become more pronounced in its effect of victimization is whether or not an individual has completed high school. After introducing opportunity into the model, when comparing repeat versus non-repeats, high school completion changes from 24% to 30% more likely to be victimized when one does not have a diploma.

Table 26: Logistic Regression of Victimization Visible Minority

	Model 1 Exp(		Model 1 Exp(	
Income	1.02		1.04	*
Female	.969		.941	
Age	.975	*	.983	*
High	1.08		1.02	
LGBT	1.43		1.31	
Nativity	.517	*	.599	*
Urban			1.01	
Capabl			.505	*
Inform			.886	
Motivat			1.42	*
Marrie			.939	
Previou			1.79	*
Crime			2.13	*
Evening			1.00	
Night			1.00	
Night			.996	
Alcohol			1.02	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=10,152
** .01
* .05

Table 27: Logistic Regression of Repeat Victimization Visible Minority

	Model 1 Exp(		Model 2 Exp(	
Income	.991		1.00	
Female	1.04		1.19	
Age	.992	*	1.00	
High	.766	*	.695	*
LGBT	1.95	*	1.38	
Nativity	.579	*	.739	*
Urban			.964	
Capabl			.573	*
Inform			1.51	*
Motivat			1.40	*
Marrie			.823	
Previou			1.72	*
Crime			1.64	*
Evening			1.00	*
Night			1.00	*
Night			1.11	*
Alcohol			1.12	*

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 2,751
** .01
* .05

Table 28: Logistic Regression of High Repeat Victimization Visible Minority

	Model 1 Exp(		Model 2 Exp(	
Income	.948		.972	
Female	.814		.993	
Age	.981	*	.997	
High	.614	*	.542	*
LGBT	1.61	*	1.82	
Nativity	.618	*	.824	*
Urban			.873	*
Capabl			.504	*
Inform			1.97	*
Motivat			1.27	
Marrie			.749	
Previou			1.91	*
Crime			1.71	*
Evening			1.01	*
Night			.994	
Night			1.16	*
Alcohol			1.12	*

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=1,086
** .01
* .05

Aboriginal Victimization

The last racial / ethnic minority group that is viewed separately in this research was Aboriginal Canadians. The sample size for this group is significantly smaller than the other groups viewed up until this point with a sample size of 820. While this number may seem significant, the distribution of victimization is so skewed that the sample of aboriginals who had been victimized multiple times by crime type were so small they could not be used in this analysis. Thus unlike the other groups looked at in this research there are no by crime type models for aboriginals. In addition to this exclusion, restrictions by Statistics Canada also excluded some variables from being introduced into the models due to low cross tabular sample sizes. For example it was not possible to use the LGBT variable in the Aboriginal models.

Unlike the other models there was no clear mediating effect on social status by opportunity. However it does seem that for aboriginal victimization there are more significant opportunity predictors than social status predictors at all levels of victimization. The strongest and most consistent variable that predicts aboriginal victimization is the crime prevention variable. Due to the direction of this variable in all of the models it seems that engaging in crime prevention efforts comes most commonly after being victimized, as opposed to before and reducing the likelihood of victimization. For the aboriginal population in Canada they are very likely to engage in crime prevention as victimization goes up. For example aboriginals who are the victims of a crime 2.7 times more likely to engage in crime preventions than those who are not victimized. For high-repeat victims the likelihood goes up and they are 6.2 times more likely to engage in crime prevention than repeat victims.

Table 29: Logistic Regression of Victimization Aboriginal

	Model 1 Exp(		Model 2 Exp(	
Income	1.00		1.03	
Female	1.10		1.23	
Age	.981	*	.987	*
High	1.22		1.03	
Nativity	.529	*	.382	*
Urban			1.14	*
Capable			.660	*
Informa			1.13	
Motivat			2.03	*
Married			1.00	
Previou			1.08	
Crime			2.69	*
Evening			1.00	
Night			.995	
Night			1.25	*
Alcohol			.960	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 820
** .01
* .05

Table 30: Logistic Regression of Repeat Victimization Aboriginal

	Model Exp(	Model 2 Exp(	
House	.963	1.01	
Female	.674	.668	
Age	.993	.997	
High	1.00	.931	
Urban		.979	
Capable		.727	*
Informal		1.46	
Motivat		1.47	
Married		.654	
Previous		2.00	
Crime		2.52	*
Evening		.995	
Night		1.00	
Night		1.22	
Alcohol		1.03	

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 301
** .01
* .05

Table 31: Logistic Regression of High Repeat Victimization Aboriginal

	Model 1 Exp(		Model 2 Exp(	
Income	1.17	*	1.21	*
Female	1.28		1.75	
Age	.981		.980	
High	.662		.506	
Urban			1.06	
Capable			.453	*
Informal			1.01	
Motivat			1.04	
Married			1.04	
Previous			1.87	
Crime			6.25	*
Evening			1.00	*
Night			.997	
Night			1.30	
Alcohol			1.23	*

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 146
** .01
* .05

Lesbian, Gay and Bi-sexual Victimization

As demonstrated with the Aboriginal sample, the LGBT sample was too small to run models that are broken down by crime type (n=734). Instead the models that were run were the ones used to show the moderating effects of opportunity on social status by victimization level. These models allow us to look within this sample to see the differences between victimized and non-victimized LGBT individuals. The LGBT variable in the other models, within the entire population and within the subsamples, rather consistently showed a statistically significant relationship between LGBT status and victimization despite controlling for opportunity. The mediating effect of opportunity on LGBT status is present in tables 27 through 30. The effect of several social status variables is mediated by opportunity and life-style variables. The one social status variable that remains significant, albeit mediated, throughout the three models is age and just as in the general population as one gets older they are less likely to be victims of crime at all levels of victimization. Of the opportunity variables none of the variables remains significant in all three tables except of the amount of evening activated one engages.

One unexpected finding was the pattern for income for high-repeat versus repeat victims. Table 33 indicated that as income goes up individuals are more likely to be victimized. In addition to income being positively associated to victimization, the effect of income is also not mediated by lifestyle and actually increases in its effect after opportunity is introduced into the model. Specifically LGBT individuals who have a higher income are 17% more likely to be the victims of high-repeat victimization and when opportunity variables are introduced they become 21% more likely.

Table 32: Logistic Regression of Victimization LGBT:

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	1.017		1.033	
Female	1.272		1.396	
Age	.956	**	.967	**
High School	1.168		1.175	
White	1.462		1.291	
Nativity	.647		.841	
Urban			1.076	
Capable Guard			.398	**
Informal Guard			1.303	
Motivated Offender			1.826	*
Married			.941	
Previous Arrest			2.065	
Crime			2.492	*
Prevention			1.016	*
Evening Activities			.996	
Night Work			.905	
Night Travel			1.032	
Alcohol Consump				

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=734
** .01
* .05

Table 33: Logistic Regression of Repeat Victimization LGBT:

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	.941		.909	
Female	.853		.843	
Age	.978	*	.979	
High School	.550		.679	
White	.752		.704	
Nativity	.310	**	.350	
Urban			1.107	
Capable Guard			1.107	
Informal Guard			1.599	
Motivated Offender			1.812	*
Married			1.922	
Previous Arrest			2.876	*
Crime			1.363	
Prevention			1.014	*
Evening Activities			.985	
Night Work			.789	
Night Travel			.974	
Alcohol Consump				

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N=322
** .01
* .05

Table 34: Logistic Regression of High Repeat Victimization LGBT:

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Income	.934		.922	
Female	.529	*	.568	
Age	.948	**	.949	**
High School	.559		.832	
Urban			.986	
Capable			.325	*
Informal Guard			.828	
Motivated Offender			1.416	
Married			2.059	
Previous Arrest			3.054	*
Crime			2.759	*
Prevention			1.018	*
Evening Activities			.985	
Night Work			.840	
Nigh Travel			.977	
Alcohol Consump				

Source: Statistics Canada, GSS Victimization Survey Cycles 18 and 24
N= 182
** .01
* .05

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION

There are two primary findings based on this research. First, generally when talking about all victims of crime, lifestyle either partially or completely mediates the effects social status. Second, even with the mediating effect of lifestyle on social status two social status variables, age and LGBT status remain fairly consistent predictors of victimization throughout the total population models and the sub-group models.

Age was a consistent predictor of victimization even after social status was introduced. As age went up the chances of being victimized went down. While age was being used as a social status and control variable, in retrospect age may have been best operationalized as a lifestyle variable. Age, was originally used as a social status and control variables based on the research that demonstrates that as age goes up so does socio-economic status (Green et. al. 1996, Hedstrom and Ringen 1987). In the United States this relationship is also present, where the highest earning age bracket was between 55 and 64 with a median income of $66,411. The lowest earning age bracket was the youngest, covering those aged 15 to 24 with $30,604 (DeNavas-Walt et. al. 2013). Despite this strong relationship between age and income and thus socioeconomic status, there is also evidence that shows young people have vastly different lifestyles than older people which place them at risk to be victimized. Both research by Sampson and Wooldredge (1987) and Finkelhor and Asdigian (1996) demonstrate the link between age, lifestyle and victimization. For example research by Lasley (1989) specifically looked at the lifestyle differences between the young and the old. Lasley found that the drinking differences between the young and the old partially explained the variance in victimization.

These findings are contrary my findings on income and alcohol. In the majority of the models income did not predict victimization (in the few situations when it was significant increased income predicted victimization). Also alcohol consumption was also rarely a significant predictor of victimization. Thus the relationship between age, socio-economic status and lifestyle remains unexplained. What is it about age that predicts victimization its association to lifestyle or socioeconomic status? Further research is needed on the lifestyle differences between the young and the old in Canada to help further explain victimization. While the findings are not applicable to the general population Wooldredge (1998) has done research comparing the lifestyle difference between young and old inmates. Wooldredge's research focuses on the victimization of inmates and found a connection between age, lifestyle and victimization in a prison setting (Wooldredge, 1998). Young people in correctional institutions engaged in more active lifestyles than their older counterparts and were significantly more likely to be victimized.

Another confusing finding already alluded to was the apparent lack of effect on victimization due to alcohol consumption. The models consistently showed the effect of lifestyle on crime, however that lifestyle effect did not include alcohol consumption. This finding exists in contradiction to a large body of research that clearly outlines the connection between alcohol consumption and an increased rate of victimization (Parks and Fals-Steward 2014, Shorey and Rhatigan 2011, Testa and Parks 1996). Is it possible that simply using alcohol doesn't predict victimization as much at the setting in which one consumes it in? It is also possible that the relation to alcohol consumption

and victimization is somehow different in Canada and the United States where the other studies took place.

The other social status variable that consistently remained significant throughout the models was LGBT status, which was not completely mediated by lifestyle and within the subsample models had very few indicators of victimization. The victimization of LGBT people can be explained through two possibilities. First, it is possible that the models and variables used to test victimization of the LGBT victims are insufficient and there are factors that are either suppressing the variables in this study or explain it themselves that are not accounted for. The second possibility is, nothing consistently predicts LGBT victimization because they are being victimized based on their sexual identity. If lifestyle and social status do not predict LGBT victimization, then this group may be the target of a significant amount of hate crime. Research on the LGBT community is often framed this way, as demonstrated by Garnets et. al. (1990) who researched the mental health consequences the LGBT community faces as the victims of high levels of hate crime. In the mid-nineties there was a considerable amount of research done on the high rates of victimization in the LGBT community and hate crime (Berill 1990, Hershberger et. al. 1995, Pilkington 1995). Katz-Wise and Hyde (2012) for example through a meta-analysis demonstrate that the LGBT community experiences not only high rates of victimization but high rates of hate crimes. One issue which could not be clarified in this research was how gay spousal violence was counted. It is possible that surveyors may have made errors in coding gay spousal violence of non-married couples and thus gay spousal assault would be included in this survey when other types of spousal assault have not been included. There does seem to be a

plethora of research however that demonstrates high rates of LGBT victimization and is not referring to spousal assault. More research needs to be conducted on the victimization and repeat victimization of LGBT individuals. In addition crime prevention policy in Canada may need to adapt to account for victimization that is based on the discrimination of a group and is geared towards reducing the opportunity surrounding hate crimes.

There were several variables that after the analysis can be questioned in regards to measurement validity. Specifically the variables, capable guardianship, motivated offender and crime prevention. All three of these variables could suffer from that same problem of potential endogeneity; that is, these measures do not predict victimization but are influenced by victimization. Due to the strong connection between these variables and crime it seems valid to question the causal ordering of the relationship. The cause of this suspicion is mostly drawn from the effect of crime prevention on victimization. This variable was highly significant throughout the models, as crime prevention measures rose so did victimization. This relationship is positive which was not initially expected. One would think that when someone engages in many different forms of crime prevention they would experience less victimization, and instead the opposite is true. It seems that as someone becomes more victimized they then experiment with more forms of crime prevention. Victimization is thus affecting crime prevention scores not the other way around. If this is possible, I have to question what other variables in the models could be affected this same way. The two other variables that could be affected this way are two integral measures, motivated offender and capable guardianship. Those who experienced high levels of victimization were much

more likely to report low levels of capable guardianship and high levels of motivated offenders. It is possible that those who are highly victimized report less of a belief in capable police services and higher crime in their neighborhoods. While this cannot be verified, further analysis of the two composite variables would be best suited in conjunction with census tract information of police services and crime in different neighborhoods. With the use of the census tract I would be able to tell if people devoid of victimization report similar levels of motivated offenders and capable guardianship in the same neighborhoods. In future research using this sample this will have to be an element that is controlled for. There is research that calls into question ones' ability to rate the risk of victimization they face. Research on fear of crime shows that those who are the least likely to be victimized, the elderly are the most fearful of crime and those that are the most likely to be victimized, young males are also the least fearful of crime. Older research by Riger and Skogan (1978) highlighted many of these apparent paradoxes in perception of crime and actual risk of criminal victimization.

The variable informal guardianship also poses several problems. The variable was supposed to measure the communities' ability to regulate or discourage crime through non police services. If a community has strong collective efficacy or strong neighborhood associations and groups, like a neighborhood watch program, it would be expected that the guardianship exerted by these groups could deter crime even. While the composition of this variable is admittedly weak, it yielded very few significant results. While this variable more appropriately measured neighborhood stability, friendliness and cohesion, it is unlikely these attributes would not be present in communities that have informal guardianship and is not present in those that don't. Sampson et. al.

(1997) found the effect of social cohesion among neighbors and their willingness to intervene on the behalf of the common good was linked to a direct reduction in crime. In addition, Sampson also found that even in areas that suffered from high levels of residential instability and concentrated disadvantage, that collective efficacy still mediated crime. In addition to the variable informal guardianship's current composition some introduction of an organized group response to crime would be valuable to help operationalize informal guardianship. It could also be argued that some of the attributes included in the composition of the crime prevention variable could be part of informal guardianship in a community, such as those respondents who indicated they had changed the lighting, or installed CCTV cameras that affect public spaces.

One of the strongest predictors of criminal victimization throughout the models was *previous arrests*. If an individual had been previously arrested than the likelihood of them being victimized also went up. Those who engage in criminal lifestyles in Canada are also more likely to be victimized, which may cause problems in ushering public support to help those in our society who suffer from the highest levels of repeat victimization. Although this finding has the potential to decrease public empathy for victims of crime, it does have some other strong crime prevention policy implications. Based on the idea that a large proportion of victims have criminal backgrounds it seems that prisons, probation and parole services in Canada need to be tasked with helping deter victimization seeing as they have a captive audience. Currently Corrections Canada offers a wide variety of programs (anger management, sober living, and addiction services) for those in various stages of their supervision, but none of those services deal with future victimization concerns (Bonta 1989, Walters and McDonough

1998). Those interested in seeing Canadian probationers and parolees successfully completing their sentences, have to shift to or include services for victims of crime. One of the critiques of lifestyle theory was that it is comparable to victim precipitation theory which can be seen as victim blaming (Miethe, 1985). While the results of this research don't help further this line of reasoning, it is challenging to dismiss the effect of criminality on victimization. Although victim blaming seems highly illogical for certain kinds of crime (specifically crimes against women like spousal assault) for others it may bear some truth. Victim precipitation research for murder dates back to Wolfgang (1957) who found murder victims were highly likely to be engaged in criminal enterprise. More recent research by Muftic and Hunt (2013) also supports the notion that a large percentage of murder victims also have criminal records. As distasteful as the idea of victim precipitation is the present findings suggest that further researcher is needed on victim precipitation for certain types of crime and to properly engage in crime prevention strategies.

Crime Prevention Policy in Canada

The federal government of Canada introduced the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) in 1998 (Public Safety Canada, 2014). The program is administered and managed by Public Safety Canada's National Crime Prevention Center (NCPC) who works in collaboration with provinces and the territories. The goal of the NCPC is to provide a policy framework for initiating crime prevention practices. The NCPC state their mission is to "provide national leadership on effective and cost-efficient ways to both prevent and reduce crime by addressing known risk factors in high-risk populations and places."(Public Safety Canada, 2007) The government of Canada has committed

significant financial resources to crime prevention. In 2008 the federal government of Canada allotted an additional $30,000,000 in funding to this program (Public Safety Canada, 2014). The program now receives $63,000,000 annually to further crime prevention strategies in Canada (Public Safety Canada, 2014). Although the idea of a well-funded government crime prevention agency whose strategies are based on evidence based research is appealing, none of their efforts include targeting the opportunity surrounding repeat victimization.

The NCPC aims it efforts in three areas which all deal with offenders and do not focus on victimization. The first area they target their resources towards is preventing crime amongst vulnerable groups. Research is conducted on the risk factors associated with offending, identifying those who are various stages of becoming offenders and linking interventions to risk factors (Public Safety Canada, 2014). The second area the NCPC focuses on is targeting criminogenic risk factors and have identified multiple psychological and community based traits that are linked to criminality, such as sensation seeking or poor school performance. Again, the program is aimed at offenders not victims of crime. The final area where the NCPC focuses its effort on are those who are at most risk to commit crime devoid of criminal inclination. So for example they focus their efforts in particular urban neighborhoods and certain age brackets. While it is hard distinguish tangible differences between the three areas of focus by the NCPC it is clear little to no attention is paid to the victims of crime and the opportunity that surrounds them. Although international examples exist, that show how focusing on the victims of crime can help prevent crime (Kirkholt Burglary Experiment), the Canadian government focuses its efforts on potential or actual

offenders. Based on this research the NCPC strategy is not without merit. One of the strongest predictors of victimization was having a previous arrest. So by focusing on offenders the crime prevention strategies in Canada may also be dealing victims of crime. However until the individuals targeted by the NCPC are treated dually as potential victims and offenders than the prevention programs may lack the breadth and understanding needed to address all of the factors these individuals face.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION

Three research questions were proposed about repeat victimization in Canada. First, how are race, socio-economic status, gender, and sexuality related to the probability that an individual suffers from repeat criminal victimizations? All of the social status variables were related to victimization, with the strongest relation being between sexuality and victimization. These findings are similar to research on binary measures of victimization in Canada and were in line with Statistics Canada's findings (Perreault et. al. 2004). However when the RAT variables were introduced into the models, all of the social status variables were mediated either partially or fully. One of the greatest dilemmas for this research was in order to measure repeat victimization, looking at specific crime types was not possible due to limitations with the data base and the original Statistics Canada coding choices. Although looking at repeat victimization was the focus of this research future research aimed at specific crime types could yield a stronger relationship between the social status variables and victimization. When just looking at violent crime in Canada the sheer volume of assaults may be suppressing the link between social status and other violent crimes like sexual assault which is included in the same category.

The second research question was: do lifestyle and opportunity differences explain social status differences in repeat victimization? Looking at all of the subsamples models (which highlight social status) the RAT variables were more likely to predict victimization. The exception to this finding was for the Aboriginal and LGBT samples. For both of these groups the opportunity differences were not reliable predictors of victimization.

The last research question was; do social status characteristics mediate the effects of routine activities theory on victimization. Overall very few of the social status characteristics would remain significant when the RAT variables were introduced into the models. The social status variables that remained significant in the models after the RAT variables were introduced have also been discussed as not being social status variables. For example age may have been a variable that best measured lifestyle of the old versus the young. However when looking within the subsample populations RAT variables did not affect victimization identically, meaning that RAT's effect on victimization was different based on the social status characteristics of specific groups. Again this finding was most pronounced for LGBT and aboriginals. While individually based social status characteristics did not have a prominent effect on victimization, like household income, major social status identifiers like ethnicity and sexuality did. For individuals suffering from repeat victimization one's group affiliation and the status of that group was more important than their particular place within the group.

It was originally hypothesized that as repeat victimization got worse the social status variables would become more significant predictors of victimization when compared to RAT variables. In over thirty different models looking at the relationship between social status, opportunity and victimization, no such link between social status and high levels of victimization was found. The opposite of the original hypothesis was found. As victimization increased social status variables became less significant or not significant at all, in predicting victimization. When comparing social status to opportunity, opportunity was a better predictor of victimization. One piece of this research that lacked development was the connection between social status and one's

lifestyle. Based on the means testing between groups it was found that LGBT individuals on average were statistically significantly more likely to engage in more evening activities than heterosexuals. Within group this effect was not seen between various levels of victimization. However, overall the different groups we looked at had different lifestyles, and different social status characteristics. It is challenging to know if opportunity is causing victimization or if opportunity is really reminiscent of group identification. For the Aboriginals and LGBT individuals it would seem that opportunity predicts group identification and that is why within group differences were not illustrated. If opportunity predicts victimization in the population it should be able to also predict victimization within sub populations. This was not found, opportunity did not consistently predict victimization within the most victimized groups in Canada. Were the opportunity differences predicting victimization or were they predicting subgroup identification?

Overall, opportunity predicted victimization for the total sample, men, women, and visible minorities. Those who had more active lifestyles in places that were lacking guardianship and had high levels of motivated offenders were more likely to be victimized. For the LGBT population and Aboriginals varying degrees of victimization were not explained by lifestyle. While it was shown that LGBT and Aboriginals live in more opportunistic environments for victimization, that opportunity did not explain their increased rates of victimization within the groups. This was not true for the rest of the population who lived in less opportunistic environments, when opportunity increased so did their victimization.

APPENDIX

Syntax for Models:

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WEIGHT BY weight3.

DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES cvs_tot_incidents houseincome AGE
capableguardianship motivatedoffender urbanlikert eveningact nightwork nighttravel
drinkalc.

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES victimization repeatvic highrepeat2 female highschool
white aboriginal gaybi immigrant collecteffc married dummyarrest prevention1 .

filter by male.
EXECUTE.

DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES cvs_tot_incidents houseincome AGE
capableguardianship motivatedoffender urbanlikert eveningact nightwork nighttravel
drinkalc.

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES victimization repeatvic highrepeat2 female highschool
white aboriginal gaybi immigrant collecteffc married dummyarrest prevention1 .

filter off.
EXECUTE.

filter by female.
EXECUTE.

DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES cvs_tot_incidents houseincome AGE
capableguardianship motivatedoffender urbanlikert eveningact nightwork nighttravel
drinkalc.

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES victimization repeatvic highrepeat2 female highschool
white aboriginal gaybi immigrant collecteffc married dummyarrest prevention1 .

filter off.
EXECUTE.

filter by aboriginal.
EXECUTE.

DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES cvs_tot_incidents houseincome AGE
capableguardianship motivatedoffender urbanlikert eveningact nightwork nighttravel
drinkalc.
```

```
FREQUENCIES VARIABLES victimization repeatvic highrepeat2 female highschool
white aboriginal gaybi immigrant collecteffc married dummyarrest prevention1 .

filter off.
EXECUTE.

filter by vismin.
EXECUTE.

DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES cvs_tot_incidents houseincome AGE
capableguardianship motivatedoffender urbanlikert eveningact nightwork nighttravel
drinkalc.

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES victimization repeatvic highrepeat2 female highschool
white aboriginal gaybi immigrant collecteffc married dummyarrest prevention1 .

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EXECUTE.

filter by gaybi.
EXECUTE.

DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES cvs_tot_incidents houseincome AGE
capableguardianship motivatedoffender urbanlikert eveningact nightwork nighttravel
drinkalc.

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES victimization repeatvic highrepeat2 female highschool
white aboriginal gaybi immigrant collecteffc married dummyarrest prevention1 .

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EXECUTE.




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  /CELLS=COUNT COLUMN
  /COUNT ROUND CELL.


CROSSTABS
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  /FORMAT=AVALUE TABLES
  /CELLS=COUNT COLUMN
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  /COUNT ROUND CELL.

descriptives VARIABLES capableguardianship motivatedoffender nightwork nighttravel
  eveningact drinkalc.


NOMREG viccat (BASE=0)  WITH  houseincome female AGE highschool white
aboriginal gaybi immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc
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collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married  dummyarrest prevention1 eveningact
nightwork nighttravel
 drinkalc
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/PRINT=PARAMETER SUMMARY LRT CPS STEP MFI.

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  /CELLS=COUNT COLUMN
  /COUNT ROUND CELL.



LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
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capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

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eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

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  /COUNT ROUND CELL.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat2
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eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

CROSSTABS
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prevention1 BY highrepeat2
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  /COUNT ROUND CELL.
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LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
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urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
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urbanlikert.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi immigrant
urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat2
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urbanlikert.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat2
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collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.



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filter by female.
EXECUTE.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
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urbanlikert.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
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capableguardianship motivatedoffender married dummyarrest prevention1 eveningact
nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
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urbanlikert.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
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collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat2
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urbanlikert.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat2
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi immigrant
collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.


filter off.
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EXECUTE.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
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LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
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eveningact nightwork nighttravel
 drinkalc collecteffc.

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LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
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eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc collecteffc .

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LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat2
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eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.



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EXECUTE.

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EXECUTE.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
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LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
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capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
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LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
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urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat2
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LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat2
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool immigrant collecteffc
urbanlikert
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eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.
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EXECUTE.

filter by gaybi.
EXECUTE.

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES viccat.

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urbanlikert
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eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
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LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
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LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white immigrant collecteffc
urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert prevention1 eveningact
nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat2
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LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat2
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capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

filter off.

WEIGHT off.


**********DECEMBER 17 2013 ADDITIONS***************

***TTESTS DESCRIPTIVES AND RELIABILITIES******

****MEAN DIFFERENCES***

T-TEST
```

```
groups=female (0 1)
/VARIABLES houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi immigrant
collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

FREQUENCIES race.

RECODE race (1=1) (2,3,4,5,6=2) (7=3) into race2.

FREQUENCIES race2.

ONEWAY
houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi immigrant collecteffc
urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc
by race2
/STATISTICS=DESCRIPTIVES
/POSTHOC lsd.

T-TEST
groups=gaybi (0 1)
/VARIABLES houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi immigrant
collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

ONEWAY
houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi immigrant collecteffc
urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc
by crimetype
/STATISTICS=DESCRIPTIVES
/POSTHOC=lsd.

****ALPHA RELIABILITIES***

RELIABILITY
VARIABLES sdq_q110b sdq_q120b sdq_q130b sdq_q140b sdq_q150b sdq_q160b
sdq_q170b sdq_q180b sdq_q190b
/METHOD=COVARIANCE.


RELIABILITY
```

```
VARIABLES PHR_210a PHR_220a PHR_230a PHR_240a PHR_250a PHR_260a
/METHOD=COVARIANCE.


RELIABILITY
VARIABLES knowneigh helpneigh favorneigh
/METHOD=COVARIANCE.

*****************************************


****CRIMETYPE MODELS****

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
```

```
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

filter by female.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
```

```
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.


filter off.


filter by male.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
```

```
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

filter off.

filter by aboriginal.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.
```

```
TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

filter off.

filter by gaybi.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
```

```
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

filter off.

filter by vismin.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
```

```
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION victimization
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION repeatvic
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=1) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

TEMPORARY.
SELECT IF (crimetype=2) or (crimetype=3).
LOGISTIC REGRESSION highrepeat
/METHOD = ENTER houseincome female AGE highschool white aboriginal gaybi
immigrant collecteffc urbanlikert
capableguardianship motivatedoffender married urbanlikert dummyarrest prevention1
eveningact nightwork nighttravel drinkalc.

filter off.
```

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL STATUS, OPPORTUNITY AND REPEAT VICTIMIZATION: THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAFETY

by

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This research examines the relationship between victimization, social status and opportunity. More specifically, the effects of social status and opportunity on repeat victimization are examined. How does social status and opportunity simultaneously effect repeat victimization? This report consists of a secondary data analysis of the 2004 and 2009 Canadian Victimization Survey with a combined sample size of 43,200 people who were interviewed by telephone. Opportunity either partially or completely mediated the effects of social status on repeat victimization; however for certain subsamples neither opportunity nor social status explained repeat victimization. Additionally, the groups whose victimization was not explained by opportunity or social status also reported the highest rates of victimization amongst all of the subsamples. LGBT individuals in Canada experience the highest rates of victimization followed by Aboriginals and neither social status nor opportunity predicted their victimization.

AUTOBIOLGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Zavin Nazaretian was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he completed both high school and his undergraduate studies. Zavin earned his BA from Saint Mary's University in 2003 and completed an honors certificate in 2006. After traveling and volunteering abroad, Zavin moved to the United Kingdom where he complete his MS in Criminology and Criminal Justice at Loughborough University. His thesis adviser while at Loughborough University was Dr. Graham Farrell. After meeting his wife Zavin moved to the United States where he worked as a clinical counselor at Phoenix Houses of America. At Phoenix House, Zavin worked with those who were suffering from substance abuse and were in some stage of the State of Florida correctional system. After working with this group for a year Zavin realized he had further unanswered academic questions and applied to graduate school at Wayne State University. During his time at Wayne State Zavin attended classes, taught classes and completed research on repeat victimization. While completing his dissertation Zavin worked under the guidance of Dr. David Merolla who not only mentored him throughout his graduate studies but also co-published with him in the Canadian Journal of criminology. Since completing his PhD at Wayne State University, Zavin has accepted a tenure track faculty position at the Indiana University of Pennsylvania in criminology department and starts in Fall 2014.