

A CANADIAN STUDY ON THE FEAR OF CRIME MODELS ACROSS GENDER

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By

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## ABSTRACT

Over the past several decades, crime rates have dropped worldwide. However, in contrast to the decreasing real crime rates, people's fear of crime has hardly changed over the years. The discrepancy between the real crime rates and people's fear of crime has aroused the strong interest of researchers. Three theoretical models have been used to explain people's fear of crime, which are the vulnerability model, the integration model, and the disorder model. Although the mainstream studies have introduced gender as one predictor of fear, the fear models and theories are predominately male-centred and lack the female perspective. The tendency to marginalize the female gaze on fear of crime models means there is a gap in information on the female perspective in this context. This study aims to evaluate the mainstream perspectives of the fear of crime through theoretical models separating male and female samples to identify which model and what predictors of fear can better indicate the variance across genders.

To examine the effectiveness of fear of crime models in different gender groups, a quantitative method is adopted. I used the 2014 Canadian General Social Survey – Victimization (GSS) as my data source and three ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression models were constructed and analyzed by STATA. The results showed that the vulnerability model displayed the most variance based on gender, while the disorder model showed the least gender variance. Moreover, in the vulnerability model, Aboriginal status, income, and previous victimization displayed a significant gender gap. While in the social integration model, the predictor 'know each other,' which indicated an individual's level of social integration by how many people does he or she know in the neighbourhood, showed a significant gender difference on fear level; however, it was a less effective predictor than the sense of belonging as a predictor in both

gender groups. In the disorder model, strangers ‘hanging around’ in the surroundings reached a significant level of gender variance.

The results suggest that the research method of studying fear of crime in a whole population concealed the gender differences. Men and women are physically, psychologically, and socially different, so it is necessary to use a gender-based view to re-examine the patriarchal tradition in the fear of crime field. This is necessary in order to uncover women's voices to improve gender equality, implement policies to protect women and other vulnerable populations from crime, and properly educate those in criminological studies on fear of crime.

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## **List of Variables**

### **Dependent Variable**

Fear of crime

### **Independent Variable**

Race - Minority status; Aboriginal status

Socioeconomic Status - Income

Previous Victimization

Education

Age

Sense of belonging

Know each other

Physical incivilities – Noise, Garbage/Litter, and Vandalism/Damage

Social incivilities – Hanging around, Drug use, and Drunk/Rowdy

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Fear of crime is not only a very prevalent issue today, but also a distinctly important indicator of individuals' wellbeing. For the past several decades, many researchers found that the fear of crime highly relates to people's health outcomes. This is easy to understand, since long-term exposure to negative emotions will affect psychological health and even further affect individuals' physical health. Moreover, society comprises individuals, when more people under the negative influence of fear of crime, the public health system will bear a lot of additional expenses and the overall wellbeing of society will decrease as well. Obviously, whether it is for individuals or society, decrease the influence of fear of crime increases well-being.

As we know, fear is an emotion under the influence of individuals' subjective interpretation of the surroundings. Therefore, it may not precisely reflect the objective facts in the actual world. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, on a global level, homicide rates have declined since the early 1990s (Lappi-Seppälä & Lehti, 2019). This report using homicide rates as the indicator of crime rate, and further suggested that a drop has been observed in Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand, and Asia, especially in Europe, the rates decreased nearly by two-thirds (Lappi-Seppälä & Lehti, 2019). According to Statistics Canada, Canada's overall police-reported crime rate has been falling for over 20 years (Boyce & Perreault, 2014). Despite this fact, people have an increased fear of crime in our society today. Although it is very common to find that most individuals experience little or no crime still have an unnecessary fearful of their potential risks of crime. It is undeniable that various media news sources have considerable responsibility for this phenomenon. Every day crime is reported in the news and transmitted to the public, which has increased exponentially with the usage and

accessibility of social media and technological advancements. Today, anyone can record and publicly display a criminal act. In addition, most media news sources exploit violent and high-profile cases to the point where everyone across the globe is informed of the most heinous acts of criminal behaviour.

Aside from media reports, the individual's fear of crime is under the influence of multiple factors from different levels. For example, both the individual's demographic characteristics and the surroundings influence an individual's fear of crime. To some extent, an individual's fear of crime is a dynamic consequence of many variables, such as income level, educational level, and gender. Moreover, we need to be aware that the fear of crime is not a static feeling but can change over time and the environment. That is why for the government and policymakers, it is feasible to decrease individual's fear of crime by making a change in our society. As the superstructure of society, government policies can affect all aspects of society, and further affect everyone in society. There is a dynamic interaction between individuals and society. Therefore, by decreasing individuals' fear of crime, we can improve the wellbeing of our society and make our society be a more pleasant place for everyone.

## **1.1 The Current Study**

For improving the well-being of individuals and society, fear of crime as a serious social problem has been studied for almost half a century. However, the researchers still did not reach a consensus about the definitions. For instance, there are currently three ways to define the fear of crime: affectively, cognitively, and behaviourally. The divergence of these definitions has led to an unstructured methodological practice in fear-based studies of crime. Moreover, the reasons behind the risk-fear paradoxes in the field of fear of crime are also unsolved. For example, women and older adults are less likely to be victims, but they report a higher fear of crime than

their counterparts. The reasons and mechanisms behind the fear of crime are unclarified as well., There are three fear models used to explain the fear of crime: vulnerability model, social integration model, and disorder model. Actually, these three models just use different perspectives to explain the cause of fear of crime. The factors in those three models express some extent of interplay instead of being mutually exclusive. For example, social integration could decrease social member's social vulnerability, and further decrease their fear of crime. Therefore, the main concern for those three models currently is not to pick up the best one, but to combine and improve the current models. Although the study on fear of crime does not have a long history, quite a lot of research has provided a theoretical basis in the field. However, there are still many knowledge gaps that need to fill. The knowledge gap in gender variance is one of the aspects of fear of crime that needs to be studied more to understand the female perspective.

## **1.2 The Needs of Gender Analysis in Fear of Crime**

Since the long patriarchal history of contemporary society, academia is a place where a large number of ideologies of gender inequality have accumulated. The field of criminology is not an exception. Traditional criminology puts most attention on offenders, and most crimes are made by males, so male offenders are the most common research object in the field (Eichler, 1980; Heidensohn, 1989; Naffine, 2015). In other words, criminology, as a subject, is mainly constructed from the perspective of men to study on men. The role of women is marginalized to a great extent, whether as offenders or victims (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016, Reckdenwald & Parker, 2008; Stef-fensmeier & Allan, 1996). Although both offenders and victims are important parts of crime, research on victimization is less focused in the field (Morgan, 1986; Rock, 2010). Too much attention has been placed on the offenders, for instance, why they committed the crime, how they should be tried by the judicial system, how to prevent them from

committing crimes again, and how to reintegrate them into society. The concern for the offenders in the field implies a lack of attention to victims, particularly women. The victims seem to only exist when the crime occurs, and after the over sensationalization of the crime has died down, the victims tend to be forgotten.

When happens to the victims' lives after they experience a crime? Offenders only occupy a small percentage of those involved in a crime, and there are always more victims than criminals; since on average, every offender not only commits one crime, they tend to have more than one victim in a crime. For such a large number of victims who experience harm from a crime, is it not worth paying more attention to them? Every member of society could be a potential victim and face victimization at any time; therefore, this makes the fear of crime to be a problem for the entire society. Because of this, we need to put more attention on victimization and try to decrease the public's fear of crime. What is gratifying is that in recent years, our society has gradually turned more attention to victims and women. This trend not only improves gender equality but also helps us to learn how to face and manage victimization in our society and improve societal well-being.

The point of using gender analysis in the fear of crime is to fill the knowledge gap of the gender differences in fear of crime. The study of the fear of crime is largely influenced by the patriarchal framework of traditional criminology. Although studies on the fear of crime focus on victimization, they do not put enough attention to the role of gender in it. Most of the time, gender is only be treated as a regular vulnerable factor as other demographic characteristics. Obviously, this is not enough to differentiate the situation across genders when studying the fear of crime. Being a woman not only indicates the physical and social vulnerabilities but also indicates that they suffer a different type of risk of victimization than men. For example, rape

and sexual assaults far more often happen on women (Crowell & Burgess, 1996); and compared to other types of victimization, the victims of rape and sexual assaults not only are more likely to suffer physical harm but are also more likely to suffer social stigma as well.

Victims often have to bear the shame when a sexual related crime is committed. This situation rarely happens to the victims of other types of crime. To some extent, the fear of crime in the female group not only contains the universal fear of crime but also implies the fear of the stigma that accompanies sexual-related victimization. Therefore, treating gender as a simple demographic indicator in the studies will conceal the deeper gender differences in the real world. Women and men have different feelings and reactions to crime since they face different risks (Crowell & Burgess, 1996). The biological, psychological, and social variances across gender jointly form the gender gap in fear of crime. In this context, the gender-based analysis highlights women's voice in understand the fear of crime. This further promotes gender-power imbalance in academia and the entire society. Making change and pushing for gender equality in real life is the ultimate goal of using gender-based analysis in the field.

### **1.3 The Reasons to Choose Canada as the Research Site**

In this section, I will explain that the three main reasons to choose Canada as the research site are generality, specificity, and accessibility. Firstly, Canada is considered as a traditional western country that inherits the long patriarchal tradition in Christian culture. Moreover, it is also a capitalist country that has a patriarchal ideology. Although Canada is a multicultural country, the dominant hegemony is still patriarchal in nature. The patriarchal culture in Canadian society provides a good chance for using gender-based analysis. These characteristics mean that Canada has the universality of the western capitalist world. In other words, Canadian research results can be easily applied to other Western capitalist countries. Although the results may not



fully valid to be generalized, they are also a good comparison sample based on the same cultural and language background.

Secondly, Canada has its specificity as a research site of fear studies. The most notable point is the overrepresentation of incarceration and victimization of Aboriginals. Canada is located in the North American continent, which means before the arrival of western people, it was the land of Aboriginals. However, with the process of colonization, the Aboriginal population has decreased significantly, and they have lost most of their land and become marginalized groups in society. They were born and grown up in this land, but they even face more problems and discrimination than new immigrants. This vulnerable situation cannot be separated from the history of colonization. In that dark time, not only were their tribes destroyed, their culture, language, and social structure was also destroyed. This has brought huge generational trauma to their communities.

The Canadian government is engaging with reconciliatory action to rectify their past mistakes by investing in compensation and helping Aboriginal groups rebuild their culture and communities. However, for Aboriginals as a marginal group in society, the reconstruction of their culture and social structure are arduous. The unfunctional community environment and intergenerational trauma caused many Aboriginals to have trouble integrating well into society. For instance, according to the data released by Statistics Canada in 2016, although Aboriginal adults represent only about 3% of the adult population of Canada, they accounted for 26% of admissions in 2015/2016 (Department of Justice, 2019). Moreover, in the federal correctional services, 31% of female offenders are Indigenous and 23% of male offenders are Indigenous (Department of Justice, 2019). The disproportionately high imprisonment rate of Aboriginal

groups illustrates their difficulties of social integration, and of course, the injustice of the judicial system may also account for part of the overrepresentation of Aboriginals in Canadian prisons.

Aboriginal groups were not only overrepresented in the Canadian prisons as offenders but also experienced a high victimization rate, especially for Aboriginal women. The statistics confirm that Aboriginals are disproportionately represented as victims in Canada, and compared to non-Aboriginal people, Aboriginals were three times more likely to have been victimized (Scrim, 2010). For Aboriginal women, research reveals that they are dramatically more likely to be victims of violent crimes than non-Aboriginal women (Scrim, 2010). Moreover, the reported sexual assault rate of Indigenous women is 115 incidents per 1,000 population, while for non-Indigenous women, this number is 35 per 1,000 (Perreault, 2015). The sexual-related victimization rate of Indigenous women is about three times more than non-Indigenous women. It shows that Aboriginal women are more likely to be the targets of crimes. It implies an ignorance of Indigenous groups in Canadian society, especially the neglect of Indigenous women. Offenders of crime tend to choose individuals with more vulnerabilities and less social attention as their targets since it will decrease the chances of being caught by police. If a person's victimization or disappearance does not cause anyone's concern, then in the eyes of the offender, he or she is the perfect silent lamb who can be slaughtered.

According to the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC), from 2000 to 2008, Indigenous women make up 10% of all female homicide victims, while they are only occupied 3% of the female population (NWAC, 2010). Moreover, in the murder cases involved female victims, 16.5% of offenders are strangers with no prior connection to the Aboriginal women or girl, while this number for non-Aboriginal women or girls is 6% based on the data of Statistics Canada from 1997 to 2004 (NWAC, 2010). The data shows that Aboriginal women are far more

likely to be killed by a stranger. In other words, the disregard for Aboriginal women in Canadian society makes them become better targets of crime for offenders. To sum up, the discrimination against the Aboriginal group is systematic in Canada. This is reflected in the overrepresentation of both the incarceration rate and victimization rate. Although the Aboriginal issue is not only existing in Canada, it also makes Canada a unique place in fear studies.

Thirdly, the accessibility of data is an important factor that cannot be ignored in any study. As an international student who received education in Canada, compared to research in other countries, I am more familiar with the social context in Canada. The study experience in Canada provides me with a unique perspective to study Canada, as a foreigner but with Canadian experience. Furthermore, the national statistics of Canada are easily accessible from the online database. I must be thankful to Statistics Canada for providing me with accessible and well-collected national data. Without this data, it is impossible for me to complete a study based on such a large population across a whole country.

Briefly, for the question of why Canada is a meaningful research site for my fear study, the answer is simple. Exactly because Canada has the universal characteristics of western countries and it also has its unique specificity on the Aboriginal issue in the field. More importantly, the Canadian data related to fear of crime is easily accessible. After explaining the reasons of I choose Canada as the research site, the objectives of my study will be clarified in the next section.

#### **1.4 Study Objectives**

This study aims to fill the knowledge gap of the gender gap in fear of crime. More specifically, the purpose of this study is to compare the efficiency of the social integration, vulnerability, and disorder models in the fear of crime across genders. This is used to see which

model can explain the gender-fear paradox better in the context of Canada. In most previous studies, these three models are tested based on the whole population, and gender was treated as an indicator of vulnerability. I think the methodology only using gender as a vulnerability indicator oversimplifies the meaning of gender. Sometimes being a woman indicates differences rather than just vulnerabilities. It is worth noticing that vulnerability should not be the only thing seen in women but should be aware that there are differences and power in women's vulnerability as well. That is why the fear model is better to test in different gender samples separately, and then we can find more gender gaps. In addition, my study also aims to increase the attention of victimization in the field. For a long time, the study of offenders is the mainstream focus in criminology and victims only receive limited attention. Because they are the group most affected by crime, it is important that studies bring more attention to victimization to improve victims' wellbeing.

Filling in the knowledge gap of gender differences in the fear of crime is the basic objective of my study. Criminology as a subject has a long patriarchal tradition, which is why the female perspective is an important area for more studies to focus on. Studies on the gender gap could provoke women's voices in the field and improve gender equality from an academic level, and further promote gender equality in our society.

## **1.5 Organization of the Thesis**

This thesis is divided into seven chapters outlined here. In Chapter 2, I present the theoretical framework of my study, which is a critical feminist perspective on criminology. I started with a review of the rise and development of critical theory, followed by how it combined with feminism and formed a critical feminist perspective (Section 2.1). I then re-examined traditional criminology through a critical feminist lens (Section 2.2) and go on to discuss the

necessity to study fear of crime (Section 2.3). This chapter laid the theoretical foundation of my study. It clearly points out what our ultimate goal should be, which is the emancipation of all mankind.

Chapter 3 is the literature review of fear of crime. In the first part of this section, I discuss the various understandings of how to define fear of crime (Section 3.1). The definition is important because it affects how we should measure fear of crime, and this measurement will further influence the research results. I then talk about the consequences of fear of crime (Section 3.2). The consequence includes personal and social consequences. Next, I list the major correlating factors of fear of crime (Section 3.3). Demographics, personal experiences, social factors, and environmental factors are involved. Then, I introduce and review the three major theoretical models of fear of crime (Section 3.4). They are the integration model, the disorder model, and the vulnerability model. These three are the current mainstream models used to explain the fear of crime. Lastly, I state that there is a need to improve the fear studies by using a gender-based perspective (Section 3.5), and further my research purpose and hypotheses are clarified (Section 3.6).

Chapter 4 provides an overview of my data and methodology. At first, I discuss the source and the reliability of my dataset (Section 4.1). In the next section, I talk about the process of sampling (Section 4.2), followed by the measures of the dependent variable (Section 4.3) and lastly the independent variables (Section 4.4). The analytical strategy of my study is covered in (Section 4.5) and the OLS regression models in (Section 4.6).

In Chapter 5 the bivariate and multivariate results of the relationships between the dependent variables and the independent variables are presented. The descriptive result displays the gender distribution for the variables used in the analysis (Section 5.1). The OLS regression

results are discussed in (Section 5.2). Those results show the effect of a single predictor on the dependent variable across different gender groups. Lastly, (Section 5.3) summarizes the results of the OLS regression study.

The last chapter of this thesis, Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of this study. The discussion starts with the examination of the critical feminist perspective in criminology (Section 6.1). Then, the discussion moves to the results of the regression analysis (Section 6.2). The discussion focuses on how the relationship between each predictor and dependent variable relates to other research on the topic. Moreover, the comparison of three models is conducted (Section 6.3). Lastly, the limitations of this study are discussed, and suggestions are made for further research (Section 6.4).

After talking about the big picture of the thesis, we need to back to track on the topic. The theoretical framework is the key to leading research direction and interpreting research results. It is not an exaggeration to say that a theoretical framework is a compass for a study. In the next section, I will give a more specific explanation of why gender-based based analysis matters from a theoretical perspective.

## CHAPTER 2

### A CRITICAL FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON CRIMINOLOGY

#### 2.1 Feminism as Critique

##### 2.1.1 *Critical theory*

Critical theory has a broad and a narrow meaning in social science. From a broad sense, critical theory has various meanings and applications across different theorists. Critical theory is considered to be a critique of particular schools of thought or phenomenon in modern society. In other words, any of a full range of theories taking a critical perspective of society and human sciences could be called critical theory (Macey, 2000). For example, Marxism, feminism, post-colonialism, and critical race theory can all be identified as critical theories. This is because they critique and challenge the dominant social, economic, and political structures.

From a narrow sense, the critical theory is highly associated with the Frankfurt school. The Frankfurt school arose from the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt in German and was founded in 1923 by the passionate Marxist thinker Felix Weil. To some extent, the Frankfurt school is regarded as the successor of classical Marxism because it inherited the critique of capitalism. Furthermore, with the efforts of several generations of scholars such as Max Horkheimer (1895-1973), Theodor Adorno (1903-1969), and Jürgen Habermas (1929-), the Frankfurt school has developed into the most influential representative of neo-Marxism.

Critical theory as a meaningful term was developed by Max Horkheimer, the most important first-generation scholar of the Frankfurt school. In his work, *Traditional and Critical Theory* (1972), he distinguished the differences between traditional theories and critical theories; more importantly, he clarified the specificity and the meaning of “critical.” In his essay, Horkheimer (1972) stated the reasons why the critical theory is so-called “critical.” The core

reason why is its ultimate purpose - to achieve the emancipation of all mankind from various modes of slavery. He criticized that the traditional theory of social sciences just tried to mimic the natural sciences to explain the world (Horkheimer, 1972). While different from the traditional theory, which only aims to understand and explain society, critical theory wants to change society in a positive way. Horkheimer clearly pointed out that, “the real function of critical theory emerges in a dynamic unity with the oppressed classes as a force to stimulate change” and “critical theory is an element in action, and not a component in an intellectual technology” (Horkheimer, 1972, p. 6). In other words, the spirit of critical theory is to liberate all humankind from oppression and domination through action. Of course, before action, the theory needs to provoke people’s awareness of the existence of domination and oppression.

As mentioned before, critical theory inherited classical Marxism and so be called as neo-Marxism. What are the differences between classical Marxism and critical theory? In the famous *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argued that the means of production determines the nature of society. In the capitalist society, the bourgeoisie owns the means of production and exploits working-class labor. The domination is achieved by the private ownership of the means of production. Therefore, classical Marxism mainly critiques the material domination of the capitalist society. The unequal distribution of means of production in the capitalist society led the bourgeoisie to dominate in the society and oppressed the proletariat. That is, to some extent, the private ownership of production material is the root of domination of oppression in the society. Furthermore, from Marx’s point of view, the superstructure which includes the ideas, philosophies, norms, and culture is built upon the means of production, so the superstructure serves the interest of the dominated class that controls the means of production. In a capitalist society, it is the interest of the bourgeoisie.



Marxism pointed out that superstructure is a tool to enforce the power of the dominated class and reproduce the unequal power relation between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. However, the critiques from classical Marxism on capitalist society focus more on the material side of capitalism. The immaterial side of capitalism only received limited attention since the classical Marxists believe the economic base decided superstructure. With the development of capitalism in modern society, the critical theorists were dissatisfied the ignoring of the immaterial side of capitalism in classical Marxism, so they adopted and further developed the Marxist critique on ideology and tried to find out some new theoretical frameworks that go beyond economics and historical materialism. Ultimately, these new theoretical frameworks could reveal that knowledge/ideology is actually falsely justifying some forms of social oppression and domination, and finally could liberate all humankind from slavery. That means both the material side and spiritual side are important to liberate all humankind. In short, the critique from the Frankfurt school is more employed on the immaterial aspect of capitalism, such as knowledge, ideology, culture, language, and literature. Just like Raymond Geuss (1981) suggested in *The Idea of a Critical Theory*: “critical theories aim at emancipation and enlightenment, at making agents aware of hidden coercion, thereby freeing them from that coercion and putting them in a position to determine where their true interest lie” (p. 55). Obviously, in the view of the Frankfurt school, emancipation started from the awareness of domination and oppression, and the awareness is inspired by the critique of the knowledge system that tilted in favor of specific powerful groups in society.

As mentioned earlier, one important difference between the traditional theory and the critical theory is not satisfied with just explaining the world, but wants to change the world positively and eventually liberate all mankind. Meanwhile, the awareness of domination and

oppression is the premise of taking positive actions. The second distinction between the traditional theory and critical theory implied in this logic is that knowledge is not objective at all. All knowledge produced by people is value-laden, even natural science. Pure objectivity does not exist in knowledge. Therefore, critical theorists abandoned the conception of knowledge impartiality. Not only because the intellectuals themselves could not hold a totally neutral God's viewpoint from out of the space, but also because they have their own historical limitations. They are the products of a particular period of history. The point is that inheritance and application of critical theory apply to Marx's historical dialectics as well. Based on that, Horkheimer (1976) clearly pointed out that:

“the facts which our senses present to us are socially performed in two ways, through the historical character of the object perceived and the historical character of the perceiving organ. Both are not simply neutral; they are shaped by human activity, and yet the individual perceives himself as receptive and passive in the act of perception” (p. 213).

Knowledge is produced by human beings in a particular social and historical period; therefore, a critical theory accounts for society within a historical context and rejects the objectification of knowledge.

Furthermore, it aims to dig beneath the surface of knowledge to uncover the assumptions/statements which keep power and domination working in society. To some extent, a critical theory must have some kind of reflection back rather than just an explanation of the social reality. This means a critical theory is a “reflective” theory that can pay attention to both the various conditions around the theory and itself. As Guess (1981) clarified:

“A critical theory is structurally different from a scientific theory in that it is ‘reflective’ and not an ‘objectifying’, that is, it is not just a theory about some objects different from

itself, it is also a theory about social theories, how they arise, how they can be applied, and the conditions under which they are acceptable” (p. 79).

It is clear that the critical theory displays a holistic perspective. It should be directed toward critiquing, challenging, and improving society as a whole with a historical view.

At last, the broad sense of critical theories is the extension and development of the narrow sense of critical theories in the Frankfurt school. Since the final goal of critical theories is emancipating humankind from domination, oppression, and slavery, and knowing humans are social beings living in the communities, so a critical theory as an approach should examine all aspects of social life and consider both material and spiritual aspects of humanity. This also means that the various disciplines should not be treated as separated. A critical theory should improve understanding of society by integrating all social sciences such as sociology, anthropology, politics, and history. Some social scientists should not limit themselves to only study on some specific aspects of social life rather than considering the structure and organization of society as a whole (Kellner, 1990). This is because social reality is not static, but changes in various historical and social conditions. When we pursue the emancipation of mankind, we not only need to reflect on existing conditions, but also need to provide something beyond the simple “objective” description of the current situation. Then, we are possible to transform the world in a positive way.

Of course, we cannot just keep critiques on paper. The most important part is we need to extend the ‘critical’ as defined through critical theory into practice (Rendell, 2007). That is, it is the practices based on constructive critiques that led us to move forward to a free world without domination and oppression. This is the fundamental reason why critical theories are different from traditional theories. A critical theory drives changes through critiques to achieve

emancipation. Currently, gender inequality is still an important manifestation of oppression and domination in Western capitalist society. Therefore, the feminist critical view is an indispensable arena of critical theories.

### ***2.1.2 The Critical Thinking Through Feminist Lens***

To some extent, feminism is a genre of critical theory in a broad sense. Similar to other critical theories, feminism also focuses on criticizing various inequalities in society and asks for a systematic change in order to eliminate social inequalities. However, the special part of feminism is the use of gender as a fulcrum of analysis.

Feminism arose from long-standing inequality across genders. Under a patriarchal culture, women are treated as secondary and subordinate. Consciously and unconsciously, discrimination against women exists in almost every aspect of social life. The awareness of the unfair treatment of women provoked several waves of the feminist movement in western society. The first three waves are universally recognized, but the fourth wave is less known by the public and is ongoing, even now. Even though each wave had various demands, the common objective is to attain political, economic, and cultural equality between women and men. The first wave occurred in the 19th and early 20th centuries and was focused mainly on gaining the right to vote for women. Before this point, women were largely excluded from the public political sphere. This was a demand for political equality.

The second wave occurred in the early 1960's up to the late 1970s. The second wave was concerned about equal social rights, especially equality in women's working conditions versus men's working conditions. Women wanted equal job opportunities, and an improvement in economic equality across genders. Obviously, independence without economic independence

does not exist. If women cannot live economically independently, then they can only depend on men.

The third wave started in the early 1990s and focused on the acceptance of cultural and economic diversity and individual rights. The demand for equality is no longer limited to the equality of particular groups of women and men but expands to other groups. Before the third wave, the feminist movements were criticized for their over-focus on the rights of the higher-class white women, while ignoring minority women and lower-class women. Based on this criticism, the third wave of the feminist movement broadened its goals and expanding feminism to include women with diverse racial, sexual, and cultural identities. Additionally, the third wave recognized that women are experiencing layers of oppression such as race, class, religion, gender, and so on. Gender inequality is not a topic that exists alone without other social settings. Exactly the various social, cultural and political identities combined together to create different discriminations. Gender is one factor in intersectionality. The fourth wave is the continuing of the third wave which began in about 2012, but it uses more technical tools such as social media.

In these feminist movements, women's rights have been gradually improved, and the feminist theories have introduced and developed progressively as well. Joanne Martin (2003) suggested that various feminist theories share two objectives: descriptive and change-oriented. Descriptive implies the unmask of obvious and subtle gender inequality and change-oriented advocates a positive change. Obviously, critical feminism is relatively radical among various feminist theories since it adopted a critical approach. As mentioned before, critical theories inherent classical Marxism's critiques of the capitalist system. Classical Marxism is radical because it calls for a complete revolution to overthrow the capitalist system. Even though the

critical theory is less focused on changing the economic relations by revolution, it is still pursuing the systematic change of society and criticizing the capitalist ideology.

The critical feminist theory developed from the critiques that some other non-critical feminist theories have not gone far enough to thoroughly change the unequal gender relations in society. To change the patriarchal status quo, it is essential to dig the root cause of gender inequality, and then we can promote a positive change. Obviously, critical theory injects new inspiration for feminism. Although there is not a consistent understanding of what critical feminism is, Joe Kincheloe (2008) defined it as “a feminist theory informed by critical theory that studies gender issues within a context grounded on the concern with power, ever shifting positionalities, and socially constructed knowledges” (p. 68). It is clear that critical feminism has both features of critical theory and feminism. In other words, it is an intersection of critical theory and feminism. Therefore, it is gender-based, reflective, and pushing changes.

Moreover, the ultimate goal of critical feminism is to liberate women from the historically various domination and oppression of men. To achieve this goal, ideological and systematic changes are inevitable. Additionally, it is worth noticing that although critical feminism has its duality, gender-based analysis is still the core of its theoretical framework. As Kincheloe (2008) suggested: “a critical feminism always examines gender within a context informed by the way women and other people have been oppressed via race, class, gender, sexuality, language, colonialism, physical ability issues and religion” (p. 68). That means gender is never a single factor play in the discrimination against women. It intersects with other social factors. That is why it is not workable for gender equality if only focused on gender but failed to notice other social inequalities in society. Therefore, from the critical feminist perspective, it is

essential to advocate a change and a reconstruction of power relations across genders (Martin, 2003).

Geisinger (2011) summarized several important underlying assumptions of critical feminist theory, they are:

- “1. Gender oppression is endemic in our society. It is normal, ordinary, and ingrained into society, making it so it is often difficult to recognize;
2. Traditional claims of gender neutrality and objectivity must be contested in order to reveal the self-interests of the dominant (male) groups;
3. Social justice platforms and practices are the only way to eliminate gender discrimination and other forms of oppression and injustice;
4. The experiential knowledge of women or their ‘unique voice’ is valid, legitimate, and critical for understanding the persistence of gender inequality, and their unique voices are other demonstrated through storytelling and counter-narratives;
5. Women are differentially discriminated against depending on the interests of the dominant group and depending upon the intersections of their identities;
6. History and historical contexts must be taken into consideration in order to challenge policies and practices that affect women;
7. Critical feminist theory must be interdisciplinary in nature” (p. 9).

These key points displayed an overlapping between the critical theory and feminist theory. It recognizes the importance of historical context and intersectionality. These two points may be ignored by other feminist perspectives. Additionally, it advocates a systematic social change even from the legitimate aspect to promote women’s equal rights. Moreover, it emphasizes that

women have to use their own “voice” to give storytelling and produce knowledge to counter the male-dominant narratives in society.

Discrimination against women can be found everywhere in society, even in the process of knowledge production. As mentioned before, knowledge is always value-laden and under the patriarchal structure of western culture, men dominate the narrative. That means most knowledge is produced from a male perspective and women are not only ignored but also defined by men. This discourse is replicated in criminology studies which look at victims’ fear of crime. This situation was first noticed by anthropologist Edwin Ardener. He suggested that the methods used in social anthropology are biased toward males, an observation made after viewing interviews with males in culture and observed that many cultures are characterized in masculine terms (Ardener, 1975). This masculine bias is inevitably inherited in the culture and society. Based on this finding, Ardener (1975) formulated the ‘muted-group theory’ to argue that the societal dominant expression is generated by the dominant group in any society. In a gender context, women are muted in a male dominant society. Of course, it is worth mentioning that ‘muted’ does not necessarily mean silent, it implies that whether women “are able to say all they would wish to say, where and when they wish to say it” (Ardener, 1975, p. 21). For a long time, the fact that women are muted was not realized by people. When the culture and knowledge are constructed from a male perspective, women are taken for granted. Female voices are ‘muted’ under the strong male voices and are unheard or ignored.

From a critical feminist perspective, both provoking an awareness of the male-dominated knowledge-producing process and bringing the women’s perspective in the field are essential to making an exhaustive social change. The awareness of gender inequality is the premise of social change in practice. Therefore, it is crucial to re-examine society’s existing knowledge system



from a critical feminist perspective. This article will scrutinize traditional criminology from a critical feminist view.

## **2.2 The Re-Examination of Traditional Criminology via a Critical Feminist View**

It is important to merge together critical feminist and criminology, because it helps to build up a theoretical framework and practice against gender domination and oppression. Historically, the field of criminology has been dominated by males, and mainly focused on men's experiences (Eichler, 1980; Heidensohn, 1989; Naffine, 2015); whereas women's experiences are neglected (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996). Women are muted in the process of discourse construction and there is no exception in the field of criminology. The discrimination against women led to a large number of criminological theories filled with gender bias (Bufkin, 1999; Vivian, 1993). That is why we need to rethink traditional criminology through a critical feminist perspective. The male-dominant status quo in criminology needs to be dismantled. Applying a critical feminist perspective to re-examine traditional criminology means using a gender-based critical approach. Of course, it is worth mentioning that being critical is more than criticizing the unequal gender status quo, but actually changing it. That is, the key part of a critical feminist perspective is to put theory into action or practice and finally make a difference. More specific in criminology, the goal is to improve the justice system's response to people and communities who are marginalized and revolutionize the discipline of criminology in the same way (Potter, 2015).

The recognition of the ignorance of women in criminology was catalyzed by the second wave of the feminist movement in the 1960's and early 1970's. Criminology has historically exhibited a male-centered bias. Before the 1970s, the gender bias in criminology mainly manifested in two inter-related aspects: 1) women's experiences with crime and justice were

ignored; 2) there was a limited number of female criminologists in the field (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016). Therefore, the lack of a female role exists in both the researcher and the research subjects in the field. Generally, we can say criminology is a subject that is men studying men's experiences. Sometimes women's experiences are included, but they are female images constructed by men. In other words, the female's perspective is covered and constructed by the male perspective. Namely, in the field of criminology, the female perspective is not only absent, but also distorted.

It is important to bring a feminist perspective to traditional criminology to change the masculine-based status quo. Why specifically a critical feminist perspective? Because the critical approach challenges the discourse and theoretical framework historically constructed by male-centred tradition in criminology. A critical feminist perspective acknowledges the subjectivity in the knowledge-producing process. Traditionally, mainstream criminology extensively adopted a positivist approach (Chesney-Lind & Morash, 2013), which can be seen as a mimic of natural science wherein it seeks to establish objective causes of individual behaviour. This positivist approach neutralized the gender bias in the field since it is an "objective" methodology. The prevalent gender-biased knowledge in the field is not a result that came from various objective studies but was born out of a subjective male-centred perspective. Criminologists are actively engaged in the production of knowledge in criminology and at the same time, criminology is part of the apparatus for social control which has influence over the whole of society's knowledge. Therefore, from a critical feminist view, the objectivity and authority of traditional criminology should be challenged, and the male-centred criminological knowledge system should be deconstructed and reshaped.

Second, a critical feminist perspective pays attention to intersectionality, such as recognition that gender has never been the only factor that plays a role in gender inequality. Race, class, and other contextual factors also contribute to gender inequality. Nothing is the result of a single factor. Some researchers pointed out that traditional criminology ignored the intersection of various integral factors such as race and class in the gender-crime relationship (Alexander, 2010; Hagan, 1988; Hagan et al., 1985). The critical feminist perspective identified that women's oppression is systemic oppression caused by the male dominance. As Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill (1996) pointed out:

“at the same time that structures of race, class, and gender create disadvantages for women of color, they provide unacknowledged benefits for those who are at the top of these hierarchies—Whites, members of upper classes, and males” (p. 327).

Obviously, class, race, gender, and other social factors work together to form dynamic discrimination against women. Even the mainstream criminology gradually involved some feminist thoughts to fill in the missing parts of women, but they ignored the intersectional effects and only included limited samples in the study. For example, some researchers included socio-structural factors in their theory, but their theories were still developed based on a white male sample and easily generalized them across populations (Potter, 2015).

It is necessary to develop criminological theories in a socially stratified context in order to recognize that criminal offences, the justice system, and behaviours operate in, and are affected by, a social world (Potter, 2015). Overlooking the analysis of women-involved crime within the justice system leads to some incomplete and distorted findings. Potter (2015) criticized those findings stating they were problematic and superficial; therefore, he advocated for “a push for intersectional advancement within the discipline of criminology” (p. 161). In

other words, the descriptive way of including social factors such as race and class in the analysis is not enough to bring about real change in the field. In order to eliminate gender oppression, we need to go beyond gender and pay more attention to a broad social context analysis.

Lastly, a critical feminist perspective is radical and reflective. Being radical means people need to dig into the root cause of gender inequality rather than just touch on the surface. As mentioned before, critical theory inherits classical Marxism's critiques of capitalism (such as unequal means of production), causing imbalanced economic relations. In a capitalist society, women occupy a less advantaged economic position compared to men. This is because the unequal capitalist mode of production puts women in a subordinate economic position to men and grants them less power in society. Gender inequality is the manifestation of unequal economic and power relations in society. While traditional criminologists have "... disregarded the dynamics of gender and power" (Bhosle, 2009, p. 217). In other words, gender inequality is regarded as something that exists independently of social production relations by mainstream criminologists. They view criminology as an objective and just social science concerned with all crimes, but actually, it is masculinist, biased, and full of hidden agendas for perpetuating male power (Bhosle, 2009). Criminologists need to be aware of the concealed stereotypes and prejudices against women in the field of crime in order to improve the disadvantaged position of women in society.

A critical feminist view is reflective and radical. It is important to use this theoretical lens in this thesis because there is no universal rule that fits every case and every situation. For instance, traditional criminology often ignores the differences by making a 'standard case' among offenders, victims, and communities (Stout & Williams, 2008); often ignoring the voices of women. Being reflective emphasizes the importance of identifying the differences under

different conditions. Because gender discrimination against women in criminology is a product of social and historical conditions, we need to place gender as the centre of this analysis, so a more holistic consideration of various contexts and situations can be explored. Traditional criminology is criticized because it generalizes male experiences to all experiences, including females' (Simpson, 1989). Being radical means it looks deeply into the theoretical framework and being reflective means it looks across a wide range of social contexts/conditions. In other words, the critical feminist approach thinks with depth and breadth simultaneously.

A critical feminist perspective adds to traditional criminology because: 1) the knowledge in criminology is subjectively constructed; 2) gender discrimination against women in the field has deep social roots such as imbalanced economic relations and social structure; 3) gender issues in criminology should intersect race, class, and other social factors; 4) it broadens the generalization of the androcentric understanding and interpretations in the field; 5) women's inferior position needs to be brought to the forefront to have a more in-depth understanding of the field of criminological studies. Obviously, a critical feminist perspective challenges the male-centred tradition in mainstream criminology and aims to establish a women-involved knowledge system in the field.

### **2.3 Why the Fear of Crime is Matters**

In addition to the historical tradition of the male-centered perspective of mainstream criminology, there has been less attention focused on the impact of crime on the victims. Paul Rock (2010) pointed out that "almost without exception, the fundamental writings of criminology followed suit and made (and, in many cases, continue to make) no reference to victims" (p. 465). Most criminologists just focus on crimes and criminals, rather than the victims. Victims are a deeply entrenched part of crime, since all crime has two parties – the offender(s)

and the victim(s). To overlook victims is unwise and unreasonable, because they are the ones who suffer at the hands of criminal acts. The harm done to victims is not always physical; it can also be psychological and financial.

Sometimes, victims and offenders are not mutually exclusive. The offenders and the victims are “acting and often reacting before, during, and after the incidents” (Daigle, 2017, p. 2). In some cases, the offenders are also victimized, or the victims also offend. The phenomenon of victim-offender overlap has been shown consistently across different samples, settings, and crime types (Mulford, 2018). To some extent, victims and offenders are interrelated and both of them are key components of crime. Therefore, we need to move our attention to focus more on the victims and potential victims.

Women as victims are the major in crimes such as rape and sexual assault; moreover, women are far more likely to be victimized by people they know (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2018). The gender bias and the neglect of victims in mainstream criminology made the gender-related victimization studies are less concerned. This ignorance is a manifestation of the imbalanced power distribution across genders and the androcentric tradition in mainstream criminology. Men are considered the subject in most research and this phenomenon is justified by a simple reason: men are the majority of both offenders and victims. However, the need to focus on the majority is never an excuse for the neglect of the minority.

Although not everyone has been the victim of a crime, the fear of crime may touch upon everyone no matter the gender, race, or social status. Everyone in society is a potential victim, and instinctively people will show more or less the fear of accepting this possibility. Since it is an essential issue about individual and social well-being related to everyone, an interest in the fear of crime from both academics and policymakers has recently increased. When mainstream

criminologists research this topic, an androcentric tradition was still inherited. For example, general theoretical models were used to explain the fear of crime without giving a gender distinction. The female perspective is covered by an androcentric general explanation. Women have a totally different experience in the fear of crime. For instance, women face tremendous threats of rape and sexual assault, but men rarely experience this fear. Moreover, those threats are present in the daily life of women through many subtle signs, but most men never experience anything similar. For example, the whistling by, or staring from men who pass women by on the street puts psychological pressure on women and triggers fear.

Additionally, women are more likely to be victimized by people they know or are acquainted with (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2018). In other words, women are more likely to be victimized by their intimate partner, an acquaintance, work colleague or family member. The reported accounts of known assailant assault may be low since they are sex-related crimes and carry a large stigma on the woman. As a result, many women remain silent. The hidden nature of women's experiences of victimization indicates a huge gender gap in the fear of crime and emphasizes the importance of studying female-based experiences of the fear of crime. The study of the fear of crime matters because it puts attention on victimization, and also increases the chances of drawn attention onto the female victims, especially when we take a critical feminist perspective.

Therefore, traditional criminological frameworks need to be challenged and changed through the lens of a critical feminist perspective. Women's perspective does matter in the process of knowledge construction in the fear of crime, and their experiences should not be easily covered or generalized and taken from men's experiences. The primary focus of this study is to make a gender distinction in the mainstream study on the fear of crime. test the models to

determine if they explain women's fear and determine to what degree each model differs for women as compared to men.



## CHAPTER 3

### LITERATURE REVIEW IN FEAR OF CRIME

#### 3.1 How to Define Fear of Crime

##### *3.1.1 The Relationship between Actual Crime and the Fear of Crime*

The fear of crime is different from the actual crime. Actual crimes are crimes that happen or occur in reality, while the fear of crime is simply the perception of crime. In other words, actual crime is an objective reality of crime, while the fear of crime is a subjective feeling of crime. People may imagine that there is a positive correlation between actual crime and the fear of crime. Researchers have found that actual crime and the fear of crime do not always correlate. In other words, when crime decreases, people's fear of crime does not.

This phenomenon has been discovered by scholars in many western countries. In the United States, the actual crime rate has been declining since 1980, while the fear of crime has stayed relatively consistent (Snyder & Mulako-Wangota, 2015). The situation is similar in the United Kingdom, according to Crime in England and Wales (2017), the crime rate has continued to decline from 2013 to 2016. While during the same time period, the percentage of people who had a fear of crime stayed at 19% throughout the total population (Government UK, 2017). Whereas in Canada over the past 25 years, while the crime rate has declined, the fear of crime has remained relatively steady (Public Safety Canada, 2001). These statistics clearly show that the decrease in the actual crime rate does not have a positive influence on people's fear of crime.

If the actual crime rate has little effect on the fear of crime, then what does affect the fear of crime in reality? Many researchers put forth effort to study why the actual crime rates and the fear of crime rates do not match up in an effort to figure out what factors determine and influence

people's fear of crime. Additionally, as the fear of crime is subjective, researchers have struggled on how to define and measure it, and to understand how this affects people's everyday lives.

### ***3.1.2 The Various Understanding of Fear of Crime***

The concept of the fear of crime was constructed in the 1960s (Ferraro & Lagrange, 1987). This is not saying that the fear of crime had not been experienced by people previously, it means the fear of crime had not been seen as an important social issue to formally measure and study in academia (Easton, 2013). In the 1960s, with the rise of massive social movements in western society, the fear of crime started to become a hot topic in the field of criminology. However, since the beginning of the fear of crime studies, the definition of the fear of crime is still controversial in the field. As Ferraro and Lagrange (1987) have stated, the fear of crime remains “conceptually cloudy.”

Historically, different scholars have given their own definitions on the fear of crime. Mainly there are three ways to define the fear of crime - affective, cognitive, and behavioral. From the affective aspect, scholars thought that the fear of crime was “an emotional response” to possible crimes (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Ferraro & Lagrange, 1987). This meant that the possibility of crimes provokes people's anger, fear, and anxiety. Many scholars who held this aspect suggested that there are important conceptual differences between fear, anxiety, trust, and anger (Ditton et al., 1999; Walklate, 1998). Despite this, most criminological and gerontological literature portrayed the fear of crime as an irrational “crime phobia” (Clark, 2004). Most scholars tend to use fear or anxiety to measure the fear of crime. Even scholars narrow down the emotions to either fear or anxiety, which are still just two dimensions of fear (anxiety). One is everyday worries, and another is diffused or ambient anxiety about the risk (Gray et al., 2010).

The cognitive aspect of the fear of crime can be explained as a cognitive assessment of risk. In other words, it is a perception of the risk of victimization. The perception/assessment of the risk of victimization is different from concern about crime. Furstenberg (1971) pointed out that concern is a public issue, whereas crime risk is a judgment of personal safety. People should make a clear distinction between concern of crime as a social problem and fear of crime as personal risk. From another point of view, Ferraro and LaGrange (1987) distinguished the differences between the fear of crime as an emotional reaction and the fear of crime as a cognitive assessment of risk. In general, the negative emotional reaction is irrational, whereas the cognitive assessment includes rational consideration and assessment of the risk of victimization. In this sense, people evaluate the likelihood or possibility of falling victim, the possible consequences of being a victim of crime, and how can they respond to and control the risk.

From a behavioural aspect, to view the fear of crime is a relatively new perspective. In this way, the fear of crime is defined as “a feeling expressed by avoidance or protection behaviour” (Beaulieu et al., 2007). When using this definition, the measurement of fear of crime becomes straightforward and direct. By asking about the actual behaviour, researchers obtain “objective” facts that can indicate the level of the fear of crime. For instance, a Canadian General Social Survey uses questions such as “have you ever taken a self–defense course?” and “have you ever installed new locks or security bars?” to measure the fear of crime (Statistics Canada, 2016). These precautions give a hint of people’s level of the fear of crime to researchers.

In conclusion, there are three dimensions of the fear of crime. They are negative emotions (affective), assessment of risk (cognitive), and precautional behaviours (behavioural). Historically, most studies on the fear of crime focused on the “perceived risk” of victimization (Rader, 2017). Then the direction moved to study emotions. Now, many researchers have noted

that these three dimensions of the fear of crime may work together for predicting the fear of crime (Mesch, 2000; Rader, 2004).

Although scholars have a consensus on the coexistence of these three dimensions, researchers have disputes about the relationship between them. Some researchers argue that the constrained behaviours and the assessment of risk can predict the emotion to the fear of crime (Mesch, 2000; Rader, 2004). While others such as Liska and colleagues (1988) pointed out that precautionary behaviours may be both a cause and a consequence of emotion. In other words, they argued the behaviours and emotions were reciprocal. For example, checking the car before driving, again and again, may make people more afraid of crime because they think about the safety problem more often. Furthermore, Rader (2004) suggested that researchers should include all of these dimensions – fear of crime, perceived risk, constrained behaviours, and victimization experience - as a bigger concept which is the “threat of victimization.” In other words, the study of the fear of crime should be a trinity of emotion, cognition, and behaviour.

### ***3.1.3 The Measurement of Fear of Crime***

The confusion and ambiguities of the definition of the fear of crime led to empirical chaos in the study. Using a variety of different definitions leads to different measurements and causing researchers to get divergent results.

Measuring methods of the fear of crime is constantly improving in criticism. Lane and colleagues (2014) concluded four measure problems in the early literature of the fear of crime. Firstly, many studies actually did not measure respondents’ fear level of crime, when they asked respondents how safe they felt. How safe a person feels is an assessment of potential risk. It is not the respondents’ feeling, it is the respondents’ perception and evaluation of their situation. Thus, from the 1980s, more and more researchers started to measure the worry (emotion) rather

than the risk (cognition) of crime. Moreover, Fattah and Sacco (1989) gave an operational definition of “fear” to clarify the fear of crime. They argued that fear is both a physiological and emotional response to a potential threat, but the fear of crime researchers were concerned about the emotional response exclusively (Fattah & Sacco, 1989). This clarity provides further differences between the emotional and cognitive aspects of the fear of crime.

The second problem is a lack of crime specificity in the measurement. In the early literature, it was common to use a generalized way to question respondents. For example, a question might be, ‘how afraid are you of crime?’. The kind of crime isn’t specified and that’s a problem. People may have different feelings about different kinds of crime. Women are worried about rape, while men obviously, are not as worried as women about rape. As Ferraro and LaGrange (1987) suggest, measures of the fear of crime should make explicit reference to the kind of crime. The crime-specific measure may provide different results because some groups fear particular crimes more than others (Ferraro, 1995; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Lane & Fox, 2013; Rountree & Land, 1996).

Thirdly, the crime measurements need to include a specific location, because different locations may influence the level of the fear of crime. For example, asking respondents “are you afraid when you walk alone in your community (or downtown area) after dark?”, rather than just asking “are you afraid of walking alone in the night?”. Many researchers have found that the fear of crime varies depending on how far away the potential threat might be (Fisher & Nasar, 1992; Haynes & Rader, 2015; McGarrell et al., 1997). In other words, when people live or work in a disorganized community, they are more likely to fear potential threats.

Lastly, the measurements of the fear of crime need to consider the intensity of the fear. In many early studies, respondents were only asked a “yes” or “no” question. For example,

researchers asked, “are you afraid of property crime?” and the provided answer options were “yes,” “no,” or “unclear.” This kind of question did not measure the level of intensity of the fear the respondents had. Are the respondents “very worried,” “a little worried,” or “not at all worried.” If the survey provides a scale of measurement on level of intensity of the fear, then researchers can learn more from the answers.

To address these problems in early literature, the measurements of the fear of crime moved from general to specific gradually. Recent studies have started to emphasize the multiple nature of the fear of crime (Hale, 1996). No matter how we define and measure the fear of crime, the negative consequences it brings to individuals and society are real.

## **3.2 Consequences of the Fear of Crime**

### **3.2.1 *Personal Consequences***

From a personal level, there is a tripartite cost to people caused by the fear of crime. First there are psychological costs. The fear of crime provokes people’s negative emotions as well as influencing people’s mental health and life quality. There are many kinds of research that point out the fear of crime influences people’s mental health status. For instance, according to Whitley and Prince (2005), there is a significant relationship between anxiety and the fear of crime. Similarly, Kruger and colleagues (2007) found that there is a relationship between depression and the fear of crime, and depressed people have a higher fear of crime. Additionally, Moore and Shepherd (2006) used “shadow price” to describe the intangible emotional and health costs of the fear of crime. The status of a person’s mental health and their fear of crime relationship is a feedback loop, which means they interact with each other at the same time (Rader, 2017). The fear of crime increases or causes psychological pressure such as depression and anxiety to

become worse, while simultaneously, the psychological pressure makes people more sensitive to the fear of crime.

Secondly, freedom from the fear of crime costs. As mentioned before, the fear of crime may lead individuals to adopt cautious behaviours. One type of cautious behaviour is avoidance behaviour (Rader, 2017). For example, people may avoid going out at night or avoid going to some perceived “dangerous” area in the community, town or city. These constrained behaviours are invisible costs for individuals. Because of the fear of crime, people cannot freely go wherever they want at any time. According to Warr’s survey in Seattle 1985, 9% of male residents avoided going out at night, but a whopping 40% of female residents did so too.

Thirdly, there are financial costs attached to coping with a feeling of insecurity. Individuals may adopt protective constrained behaviours. For example, they may purchase a security system, install an extra lock, or buy weapons, all with the goal of protecting themselves.

### ***3.2.2 Social Consequences***

Except for the personal costs, the fear of crime also leads to indirect costs for society. Mainly, on the societal level, the harms include costly precautions, increased divisions between the rich and poor, neighbourhood decline, increased punitive measures, and increased crime. (Easton, 2013).

The cost of precautions not only exists on the individual level but also exist on the societal level. Because of the fear of crime, various surveillance systems such as CCTV are now installed in society. This type of action increases the cost for the whole society. There is inequity when people who live in a rich area have less fear of crime because they can afford better security systems, while people live in a ‘blue collar’ or poor area are often unable to change the chaotic environment around them. Just as Conklin (1975) said, fear transferred some public areas

into no-go areas. Further, the relatively prosperous citizens will move to another neighbourhood or community which places the disorganized communities at greater risk (Conklin, 1975). That is because if fear makes people spend more time at home, the public sphere will lack public surveillance and crime rate will increase (Hale, 1996). Moving from the community and other avoidance techniques also contribute to atomize the neighbourhood and break down the attachment of community (Hale, 1996). Furthermore, the increasing fear of crime can lead to increasingly punitive penalties by reducing the appeal of liberal policies (Conklin, 1975).

Although many researchers found that the fear of crime has a negative influence on both a personal and societal level, some scholars still argued that the fear of crime is not always negative. For example, Gates and Rohe (1987) argued that “those who perceive more neighbourhood problems and who feel threatened are more likely to respond collectively,” and if people respond to fear collectively, they will be “actively discouraging crime through increased surveillance and improved crime reporting.” To wrap up, researchers cannot only focus on the negative consequences of the fear of crime but also need to actively study the responses to the fear of crime.

### **3.3 Factors Correlate to the Fear of Crime**

As mentioned before, the level of fear does not always match with the actual risk of victimization. For decades, researchers attempted to figure out what the predictors are for the fear of crime at the individual level. Hale (1996) pointed out that people or groups with high vulnerability are more likely to fear crime because they feel unable to protect themselves. The sense of powerlessness may cause by physical weakness (physical factor) or by poverty (social factor). The three obvious most vulnerable societal groups are women, the elderly, and the poor (Hale, 1996). While Killias (1990) suggested there are three key factors related to the level of the



fear of crime. They are, exposed to risk, loss of control, and seriousness of consequence. These factors do not always occur simultaneously. Each of them alone can cause a fear of crime and they can interact with each other. Additionally, these factors also interact with an individual's vulnerability and social context.

### **3.3.1 Gender**

Gender has been considered the best predictor of the fear of crime across all studies (Hale, 1996; Rader, 2017). Scholars argue that women have a much higher level of the fear of crime than men have. In many studies, a 'gender-fear of crime' paradox is mentioned. That is, statistics showed that women are less likely to be the victim of a crime, but they reported a higher level of the fear of crime than men. In contrast, men are more likely to be the victim of a crime, but they are less likely to say they are afraid of crime. This paradox has inspired the interest of researchers, and they attempt to answer the question of why people with fewer chances of being a victim of crime, feel more afraid of crime. Across different studies, there are five potential explanations that can contribute to solving the paradox.

The first explanation is the vulnerability of women. Women's vulnerability is manifested in three dimensions: physical, social, and psychological. At the physical level, it is obvious that women have a smaller size than men on average. When they face potential male attackers, women may have difficulty protecting themselves. Women may get more seriously injured than men. At a social level, women live in a male-dominated society, so they have less control of the public and social sphere (Hale, 1996). Less control over public and private spaces leads to greater fear from women than men (Gilchrist, et al., 1998). Additionally, feminist writings place fear within women's broad experience which made the female feel afraid of the male-dominated society (Hale, 1996). At a psychological level, women are more sensitive than men. Baumer

(1985) found that gender did not affect the perception of risk at neighbourhood crime levels. While women are more likely to judge potential victimization as serious, and even when they perceive the same level of risk as men, they are more fearful (Warr, 1984). Additionally, women are more concerned about their children than men, which fuels their fear of crime (Gilchrist, et al., 1998). Therefore, women are more vulnerable than men to the fear of crime.

The second prominent explanation is the potential for sexual assault. One study conducted by Crowell and Burgess (1996) suggested that women are ten times more likely to be sexually assaulted than men are. For women, all crimes may end in sexual assault or rape. For instance, burglary or robbery might turn into a sexual assault. The fear of sexual assault and rape transfers and diffuses to other types of crimes (Ferraro, 1996). Similarly, Rader (2017) also mentioned that fear of sexual assault may spill over into the fear of all crime. Additionally, Warr (1985) also found in his research that fear of rape was pervasive among women, and this fear did not clearly separate from the fear of other crimes. Thus, although the data showed that women have less chance of victimization generally, women are far more likely to be victims of sexual assault or rape. The fear of sexual assault or rape elevates their fear of all crime.

The third explanation is gender socialization. Sacco (1990) pointed out that “gender variations in delinquency are rooted in historical processes that have assigned men and women to different social realms.” In the process of socialization, women are taught that they are weak, and they need protection from others. They are taught that if they are outside alone, especially at night, they are likely to be the target of a crime, because they are weak, easy targets for criminals. This way of socialization increases women’s fear of crime. Women are socialized rather than born with it. They are taught vulnerability in this way. Socialization normalizes women’s fear of crime (Rader, 2017). Therefore, women are more aware of their fear of crime.

The fourth explanation contributes to gender differences in the fear of crime in that there is insufficient data. Researchers who use this perspective to explain the fear-gender paradox argue that women's victimization rates are highly underestimated; because according to Sacco (1990), women's victimizations are under-reported. Women are mostly the victims of sexual assault and are also disproportionately victims of violence by strangers. Typically, these crimes have lower rates of reporting (Sacco, 1990). Additionally, there is a wide range of hidden violence, such as domestic violence and harassment against women, of which data does not appear on official statistics (Stanko, 1988). Another reason why women's victimizations are under-reported is often they know the offender; thus, they are less likely to report the offense. According to data from the Police-Reported Sexual Assaults in Canada from 2004 to 2009, 87% of sexual assault victims knew their assailants. The assailants were most commonly a casual acquaintance, a family member, or an intimate partner (Government of Ontario, 2016). Therefore, it is the distortion of the data that leads to this gender-fear paradox. If we include these unreported crimes, women's fear of crime seems to be less irrational.

The last explanation moves the focus from women to men. Although most scholars focus on why women have a higher level of fear of crime than men, a small number of scholars ask why men do not fear of crime. Women's fear of crime is not "irrational," while men's lack of fear of crime is "irrational". These researchers argued that "men are socialized to believe fear is a sign of weakness for men that show this emotion would signal weakness" (Rader, 2017). As mentioned before, there is no difference between genders in views of risk perception, so men are aware of danger and risk around them, but they are unwilling to express their fear. Furthermore, Rader (2017) mentioned that it is acceptable for men to express fear when they are in strange places, or face groups of strangers in society. Men can admit the fear of crime when they are in

these situations. Additionally, Sacco (1990) pointed out that during the process of socialization, men are encouraged to be risk-takers. Men are more involved in the public sphere and have more control of the situation around them. That feeling of control men experience decreases their fear of crime.

All of these explanations help to clarify the gender-fear paradox. These explanations are not mutually exclusive, yet they are related to each other. These different perspectives provide us a comprehensive view of the gender-fear paradox. Additionally, some researchers also argue that the gender-fear paradox does actually not exist. It is just a stereotype caused by the media privileging of gender as the primary social division (Gilchrist, 1998). In fact, for some types of crimes like burglary, break and enter, and mugging, rates of being very worried are similar for males and females (Anderson & Leitch, 1994; Mirrlees-Black et al., 1994). However, this is not the mainstream view, the mainstream still recognizes the existence of the gender-fear paradox.

### **3.3.2 Age**

Age is another profound predictor of the fear of crime. Many scholars have found a relationship between age and the fear of crime. These scholars argue that compared to young adults, older adults are more likely to have a fear of crime. For example, a study conducted by Angus Reid (1997) suggested that 18% of those aged 18 to 34, 21% of those aged 35 to 54, and 26% of those age 55 and over express a great or fair amount of fear. This research shows that as the population ages, the proportion of people who have a fear of crime increases in older people. Similar to women, (although old people have a high level of the fear of crime), statistics show that in fact, the victimization rate of older adults is low. According to Gubrium (1974), official victimization rates of older adults consistently revealed that older adults experienced the lowest rates of crime as victims. Hale (1996) also pointed out that old people's objective risk of

victimization is less than other age group. Therefore, in the old age group, there is also a fear-victimization paradox. Elderly people have a low victimization rate of crime, but their level of fear exceeds their risk of victimization.

However, different from women, the elderly have a general fear that varies across different types of crime. According to Evans (1995), older people tend to have less fear of crimes like rape, sexual assault, and stranger attacks. Additionally, older people's fear of crime also varies across different situations and environments. When the elderly live in greater risk areas, they have a greater fear of crime. But if they live in safer areas, they have less fear of crime. Obviously, their fear of crime is highly related to where they are located. Many researchers conclude that older people tend to be more fearful in urban and low-income areas, while they feel less fearful if in rural and higher-income areas (Baumer, 1985; Clemente & Kleiman, 1976; Hale, 1996; Lebowitz, 1975). In summary, the elderly's level of fear of crime depends on various crime types and locations.

So why are older people so afraid of crime when they have a low rate of victimization? Researchers give some potential explanations for this phenomenon. Firstly, older people are more vulnerable than other age group. Objectively, the physical condition of the elderly is weaker than that of young people. They cannot run fast, and their cognitive abilities also decline. Rader (2017) pointed out that "older people felt they were vulnerable to crime because of their changing health and body conditions." That means when they face crimes, they are less able to protect themselves. This physical deterioration makes them feel more vulnerable subjectively. Both physical and psychological dilemmas lead to old people's deficiencies in crime management. Exactly because of their vulnerability causes this group to have a higher level of fear of crime.

Secondly, the seriousness of criminal consequences can influence the level of the fear of crime. That is when older people have an expectation of serious consequences that can impact them as a result of crime, they are more afraid of crime. Older people's physical condition may have deteriorated, and some may even be ill. Therefore, not only are they unable to protect themselves from the crime, but the elderly could also be seriously injured. This prediction of serious consequences increases their fear of crime. Cook and colleagues (1978) pointed out that "when elderly Americans are victimized by criminals, they suffer more severe financial or physical hardship than younger persons." The severe harm caused by crime elevates the elderly's fear of crime.

Thirdly, the elderly group is more sensitive to crime. Because of their vulnerability, they are more likely to believe that they can be the target of crime. Warr (1984) pointed out that the relationship between fear and age is a differential sensitivity to risk rather than the risk itself. He further suggested that identical levels of risk did not produce the same levels of fear (Warr, 1984). Older people maybe afraid when they are approached by a beggar; they are not afraid of the behaviour of begging, but they may view begging as the start toward more serious offenses, such as robbery and assault (Warr, 1984). Their high level of sensitivity to risk inevitably amplifies their fear of crime.

Finally, older people are more likely to find themselves isolated from the outside world and these social limitations make it difficult for them to seek support and help when they face crime. Of course, their social isolation also contributes to their increased vulnerability and sensitivity to crime. According to Hale (1996), especially in the United States, the elderly tend to live a life of self-imposed confinement and are captives in their own homes. The fear of crime leads to the avoidance behaviour of the elderly. Because they are "afraid someone will rob or

hurt them, older citizens increasingly remain behind bolted doors and forego many of the experiences that give joy and meaning to life” (Braungart et al., 1979). The fear forces older people to withdraw from social life, while “less social interaction would have been oriented towards an emphasis on the impact of inevitable bodily and cognitive decline leading to increased vulnerability and helplessness” (Easton, 2013). As mentioned before, precautionary behaviours are both a cause and a consequence of the fear of crime. A vicious cycle ensues. Because of fear, the elderly withdraw from the outside world and isolate themselves in their home, yet this isolation makes them more vulnerable and sensitive which leads them to have more fear of crime. This may explain why the elderly seem very irrational to the fear of crime.

Historically, scholars who studied the relationship between the fear of crime and age, focused more on the older group but ignored children and younger age groups. This does not mean that children and younger age groups have a similar fear of crime pattern as adults do. Actually, most recent research has found that “younger people may feel more vulnerable to victimization and thus fear crime at higher levels than originally expected,” because their smaller physical size can contribute to the potential threat of victimization (Rader, 2017). However, just as Hale (1996) said, “children have been generally neglected by researchers.” Most research and studies show interest in the older group, so more research with children and younger age groups’ regarding the fear of crime is required in the future.

### **3.3.3 *Race/Ethnicity***

Literature shows that the fear of crime varies across different ethnic and racial groups. The results of research of racial and ethnic groups are that they are the most fearful from different research are not consistent. Some researchers argue that white people are less afraid of crime than other ethnic groups. For example, statistics from the Government UK (2017)

illustrated in the year 2015 and 2016 that a smaller proportion of white people reported a fear of crime compared with Asian people, Black people, and those from the Other ethnic group. It is worth mentioning that this result is valid across different ages, gender, and socioeconomic backgrounds (Government UK, 2017).

If white people express the least amount of fear, then which group experiences the most fear? Walker (1994) suggested that Asian groups felt the most fear, followed by black groups, and then white groups. The Government UK (2017) also claimed that “Asian people and those from the other ethnic group had the highest levels of the fear of crime.” However, some other studies considered black people to experience the most fear (Evans, 1995; Silverman & Kennedy, 1983). Although these studies do not have a consistent result of which group has the greatest amount of fear, they generally suggested that white people have the least amount of fear of almost every crime, and non-whites are more afraid of crime than white people.

Scholars attempted to clarify why these racial minorities are more afraid of crime than white people. Rader (2017) argues that vulnerable minorities’ experience in society is the primary reason for their fear. They are more likely to live in a high-risk area where crime is more prevalent and are also more likely to be offenders and victims (Rader, 2017). Therefore, racial minorities perceive higher risks than the majority. Minorities who are immigrants, may also have language and cultural barriers which prevent them from fully understanding mainstream society. This barrier indicates they have less control of the outside world, and this lack of control leads to the fear of crime. Furthermore, their immigration status may cause immigrants to mistrust the police or the system, which makes them more vulnerable to the fear of crime (Rader, 2017). They can feel unprotected.



Contrary to the results that white people have the least amount of fear, a few studies have found the opposite - that white people are more afraid than non-white people. White people are the mainstream group of society. They have domination and control of the society, so why would they be more afraid of crime than racial minorities?

Scholars give some potential reasons to explain white people's fear of crime. First, the media or other sources suggest that white people are more likely to be victims, so they might fear crime more (Rader, 2017). In a white-dominant society, the media focuses more on white victims than victims in other ethnic groups. This bias has led to an illusion - that most victims of crime are white people which has elevated white people's fear levels. Secondly, there is a stereotype belief that ethnic minorities are more likely to be criminals. For instance, Anderson (1990) noted that in urban environments, whites and minorities assumed that criminals were young minority males. Similarly, Madriz (1997) found that women of all races saw young minority males as a dangerous class. Moreover, some researchers also suggested that the presence of ethnic minorities and immigrant groups is often related to crime and fear of crime (Bianchi et al., 2012; Hooghe & De Vroome, 2016). Thirdly, the feeling of group threat and attitudes of anti-immigrant leads to white people's fear of crime. As Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007) said, white people believe large numbers of immigrants "might lead to a feeling of a cultural or symbolic threat, because immigrant groups challenge the cultural hegemony of the dominant majority within society." In general, whites' fear of crime comes from being challenged by other races and cultures.

Regardless of whether whites feel more afraid, or other ethnic groups feel more afraid, here are some general explanations to clarify the relationship between ethnicity and race and the fear of crime. First, people tend to have negative attitudes towards people of other races. Lane

and Meeker (2004) found an association between ethnocentric attitudes and the fear of crime. People's negative attitudes toward people of other races are associated with more fear of crime (Lane & Meeker, 2004). There is a theoretical model called "subcultural diversity" that clarifies why the fear of crime is associated with people of different ethnic groups. It argued a primary reason people have a fear of crime is that they do not understand people who are culturally, ethnically, and racially different from themselves (Merry, 1981).

Second, the level of ethnic and cultural diversity in a community influences people's fear of crime. The racial distribution of a place is important in determining the fear of crime. If a place is more racially and ethnically diverse, the fear of crime levels may be higher (Rader, 2017). Also, locations with large minority populations contain residents with a high level of the fear of crime (Chiricos et al., 1997; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981).

It is clear that ethnicity and race can be strong predictors of the fear of crime. But due to criticisms of the current literature, additional research is needed to clarify the relationship between ethnicity and race and the fear of crime. For example, some scholars criticize that many types of research only focused on African Americans while other minority groups were ignored in the research (Lane & Meeker, 2003). Ethnicity and race are a blossoming area of study in the fear of crime literature. That is why this study includes the Aboriginal group as a predictor of the fear of crime as well. Compared with other racial groups, the Aboriginal group is unique in the Canadian context. The Aboriginal group and in particular Aboriginal women, face far more risks of victimization than any other racial group in Canada (Boyce, 2016). However, the current fear of crime research that focused on the Aboriginal group is limited.

Since the discussion of Aboriginal groups is an inevitable topic when we talk about racial and ethnic issues in the context of Canada, there still are a number of researches studied on fear

of crime among the Aboriginal group. However, there is no unanimous conclusion on who feels more fear of crime, the Aboriginal group or non-Aboriginal group? Based on a report from Statistics Canada, Samuel Perreault (2017) concluded that, although Aboriginal people face a far higher victimization rate, they still keep a more positive view of their safety than non-Aboriginal groups. Perreault (2017) considered two main reasons to explain this victimization-safety paradox: first of all, it is rare for Aboriginal people to be living in big cities where the sense of safety is lower; and second, most Aboriginal people said they have strong community ties which make them feel safe. However, in Perreault's report, he did not differentiate on the gender variance for the fear of crime level among the Aboriginal group.

Discussing the Aboriginal group as a whole regarding the fear of crime has ignored the fact that Aboriginal women are more at risk than Aboriginal men. Obviously, Aboriginal women face a different situation than women in other racial and ethnic groups. We know women are less likely to be victims in almost all types of crimes except sexual related crimes, yet they display more fear of crime than men, which leads to the phenomenon is called the gender-fear paradox. However, the gender-fear paradox may not be a paradox in the Aboriginal group, since Aboriginal women actually do face more threats and risks than Aboriginal men. So, experiencing greater fear of crime is reasonable in their case.

According to Boyce (2016), Aboriginal females reported more violent victimization incidents (including spousal violence) than Aboriginal males, especially in the young age group 15 to 24. The violent victimization incidents reported by Aboriginal females are five times greater than Aboriginal males, and the overall victimization rate of Aboriginal females is double that of Aboriginal males. Furthermore, Boyce (2016) also pointed out that just being Aboriginal is a risk factor in itself toward the violent victimization of females. The fact is that the

victimization rate of the Aboriginal group is higher than the non-Aboriginal group, and we can see that Aboriginal women in the group face the highest risk of victimization and face far more threats to their wellbeing than Aboriginal males. Therefore, analyzing the Aboriginal group as a whole on the fear of crime without introducing gender variance is very ignoring and imprecisely. Failing to include the Aboriginal groups covers up the gender inequality within the Aboriginal group and impedes the protection of women's rights.

Although all women in Canada experience different levels of gender inequality in their lives through the gendered power imbalance and male privilege, Aboriginal women face the worst level of gender inequality. They experience a dramatically high rate of domestic violence victimization. According to Timpson (1994), the incidence of wife assault in the whole Canadian population is believed to be one in ten, while The Indian and Inuit Nurses Association of Canada states that at least two-thirds of Aboriginal women experience abuse, across all of Canada. Without a doubt, the high domestic victimization rate contributes greatly to the total victimization rate of Aboriginal women. While, in the opposite, Aboriginal males are mainly the offenders of domestic violence. As offenders and victims, Aboriginal men and women do have different feelings about their own safety situation. It is therefore distorted to say that the Aboriginal group as a whole has a more positive view of their own safety than non-Aboriginals. Actually, since there is a huge gender gap between Aboriginal males and Aboriginal females, a general conclusion for the whole Aboriginal group is not reliable.

Currently, the majority of research literature on Aboriginal-involved crimes is offender-focused, and the attention on victims is very low. Moreover, it is clear that Aboriginal females comprise the majority of the victims compared to Aboriginal males. However, victimization of Aboriginal women has been mostly ignored and this fact enforces gender inequality. The lack of

awareness and understanding of the gender gap in the field led to a significant gap in the research, which should be changed in the future. In further studies, we need to pay more attention to the gender gap and victimizations.

#### **3.3.4 *Socio-Economic Status***

Social-economic factors do influence people's fear of crime. Generally, more vulnerable people are more likely to have a fear of crime. Compared to higher class or rich people, lower-class or poor people are more socially vulnerable. Although there is not a lot of research studying the relationship between social class and the fear of crime, a small body of literature found that the poor are more fearful of crime than the rich (Hale, 1996; Rader, 2017). They are not only more fearful of crime than the rich, they are more fearful than the rest of the population (Pantazis, 2000). According to Pantazis and Gordon (1997), people in poor households were nearly three times more likely to feel unsafe in their neighbourhood compared to people in a less poor household. Similarly, Rader (2017) also suggested that "those who are poor/reside in working-class areas may have a greater fear of crime than other income-based groups."

The poor experience double vulnerabilities. One is physical vulnerability, and the other is social vulnerability. The poor experience physical vulnerability because they feel they may not be able to protect themselves from potential victimization because they are often in an inferior health condition as a result of being poor (Pantazis, 2000). Social vulnerability plays a more important role in increasing poor people's fear of crime. For instance, Hale (1996) pointed out that people with a lower social-economic background are less able to protect themselves or their properties, or to avoid risky situations, so they feel more vulnerable and that produces anxiety.

Largely, the social vulnerability of the poor is reflected in three aspects. First, they lack control over their circumstances, and this lack of control contributes to vulnerability. Poor people

lack control of material and social resources, so at a community level, they are unable to organize a higher-status neighbourhood (Hale, 1996). Additionally, they cannot afford adequate household security rather than they choose to not. All of these conditions increase the poor's sense of lacking control and contributes to make them more fearful of crime.

Secondly, the consequences of crime are more serious for the poor than for other groups. The seriousness of consequences increases their fear of crime. Why? It is difficult for the poor to afford the loss caused by crime. Obviously, the loss of property has a significant impact on the poor. Being poor means they are more likely not to have home contents insurance, which makes the loss significantly greater (Pantazis & Gordo, 1997). Additionally, if they are victimized, they are "less able to cope with victimization at an individual level" (Hale, 1996). Partly this is because of their poor social network (Pantazis, 2000). Moreover, poor people experience other types of insecurity such as earning less and job loss. This economic insecurity becomes a contextual factor making poor people more afraid of crime (Pantazis, 2000).

Third, poor people are more likely to be exposed to unsafe environments. The poor are more likely to live in unsafe areas such as the inner-city, and these areas have a higher risk of victimization. Pantazis (2000) pointed out that "poor people may live in areas suffering from higher degree incivility," and Rader (2017) also suggested that the poor "may not be able to vary their routine activities to reduce potential victimization." Therefore, living in high-risk areas may enhance their perception of risk and fear of risk. Additionally, poor people may face more potential threatening situations due to their greater reliance on public infrastructure (Pantazis, 2000; Rader, 2017). For example, they cannot afford private transportation fees, so they have to take public transportation. Moreover, some poor people do not even have a place to live, so they

sleep in the park or under-ground tunnel which makes them directly exposed to the dangers of crime and victimization.

### **3.3.5 Previous Victimization**

People who have experienced victimization have various perceptions of risk and the fear of crime. The evidence supporting a relationship between the experience of having been a victim and the fear of crime is somewhat mixed. Some studies found there is a strong relationship between previous experience and fear, while others found a weak or non-existent relationship between them. Having had direct or indirect experience also affects the degree of fear.

**3.3.5.1 Direct Victimization Experience.** Direct victimization experience means that the individual has personally experienced a criminal incident. Having had this direct previous experience may change his or her fear of crime. Scholars widely accept that direct victimization experience is a predictor of the fear of crime, but whether it makes one more fearful or not is still an open question. Generally, most literature shows that people who have experienced direct victimization tend to have a greater fear of crime. For example, the Angus Reid Report found that about 30% of victims express a great or fair amount of fear of crime, while only 19% of non-victims express this fear (Reid, 1997). Similarly, recent research conducted by Sironi and Bonazzi (2016) also found that direct victimization strongly increases the fear of crime. However, a few other studies found that people who have previous victimization experience have less fear of crime. For example, in studying the effects of crime on college students, Dull and Wint (1997) found that those students who had been victims of crime had less fear of personal crime than those not victimized.

Moreover, different types of crime may influence people's fear of crime in a different way. In other words, certain crimes generate more fear for victims, and certain crimes also

generate more fear for certain groups. For instance, Skogan and Klecka (1997) found that being a victim of a robbery generates a high level of fear because it usually involves a stranger, weapons, physical assaults and the loss of money. This experience instilled a greater amount of fear into its victims. Other scholars propose that people who have experienced a burglary are more fearful of a future burglary than non-victims. Their fear is enhanced because of the impacts of invasion of privacy and a substantial amount of loss (Hale, 1996; Rader, 2017). Additionally, Miethe and Lee (1984) found that the direct experience of violent victimization had a significant influence on fear, but the experience of property crime did not have a significant influence on fear.

It is worth mentioning that sexual assault or rape influences women's fear of crime greatly. According to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (1994), victims of sexual assault are the group most fearful of walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark. Warr (1985) found that rape victimization's effect on fear is potentially much greater than other types of victimization and that fear of rape influences women's fear of other offenses.

Agnew (1985) gave some possible explanations for these inconsistent results. First, he pointed out that some research may use invalid measurements to measure fear. Second, some scholars did not take into account the seriousness of the victimization or the number of victimizations. Lastly, they did not rule out the confounding variable effectively. Obviously, his recommendations are all related to the flaws in the research methods, and scholars can refer to these suggestions in future studies.

**3.3.5.2 Indirect Victimization Experience.** The indirect victimization experience means the individual has not directly or personally experienced victimization but heard of it from friends, relatives, work colleagues or community members. Unlike direct victimization



experience, the indirect victimization experience is relatively common and widespread. Although individuals did not experience the victimization, some studies found that there is a stronger relationship between fear and indirect victimization experience (Hale, 1996). For example, Tyler (1980) found in some surveys that crimes learned about from others significantly increased people's fear levels. Additionally, Arnold (1991) also concluded that indirect victimization contributes significantly to the prediction of fear in his research. For this result, Hale (1996) explained it may be because people's imagination exaggerated the crime itself and raised their fear of crime. Media also play an important role to deliver the indirect victimization experience, but I will not further discuss the influence of media on fear of crime.

### **3.3.6 Education**

Education is an effective indicator of social vulnerability. Many studies have shown that education could influence individuals' fear of crime. For example, many researchers have found that education is negatively related to the fear of crime (Clemente & Kleiman, 1977; Scheider et al., 2003; Adu-Mireku, 2002; Vieno et al., 2013). Although education is reported to have a reverse effect - the ability to lessen the fear of crime, many researchers argue that education has only a limited effect on the fear of crime (Clemente & Kleiman, 1977; Covington & Tayler, 1991). Furthermore, from gender-based research, some scholars found that education as a predictor of the fear of crime is only effective with women, it did not reach a level of significance for men (Schafer et al., 2006). Still, other scholars found that the level of education has a significant effect on both female and male groups (Smith et al., 2001). In short, the concept that education is negatively correlated to the fear of crime is commonly accepted in the field, but there is no consensus on the extent of the im-pact nor on the impact on gender in different groups.

The reason why education is negatively related to the fear of crime is because educational attainment reflects an individual's socio-economic situation. Individuals with higher education are more likely to have a better socio-economic situation, so they are more able to protect themselves from victimization. Another explanation is that individuals with higher education are less influenced by the media and more likely to accept the fact that the crime rate is declining, which makes them less fearful of crime. The vulnerability perspective uses various personal characteristics to indicate individuals' vulnerability and to connect the level of vulnerability to the fear of crime. Education as a commonly used indicator of social vulnerability and its negative effect on the fear of crime is a consensus in the field. However, its influence on different gender groups is still unclear, and further research is needed to study the influence of education on the fear of crime from a gender-based view.

### ***3.3.7 Neighbourhood***

A neighbourhood is an area that surrounds people's homes. People are highly influenced by where they live, and this includes their fear of crime. According to Wyant (2008), if individuals perceive their neighbourhood has some disorderly characteristics, they may believe this is a sign of larger problems indicating crime, and then they may believe they are at risk of victimization. What are the disorderly characteristics in the neighbourhood? Actually, the fear of crime literature has explored "incivilities," and this concept is highly related to Wilson and Kelling's (2003) broken windows thesis, described at the beginning of this study. The broken window theory used broken windows as a metaphor for disorders within neighbourhoods. The broken windows indicate visible signs of crime or anti-social behaviours which in turn further encourage more crimes and disorders. Therefore, neighbourhoods with "dilapidated buildings, broken windows, and trash in the streets were more likely to be criminogenic" (Rader, 2017). In

other words, these visible signs raise people's perception of risk to them and their fear of crime. In 1980, Lewis and Maxfield found that incivility is an important determinant toward the fear of crime. People with a high level of the fear of crime consistently identified these incivilities as more serious problems than the crime itself (Hale, 1996). Similarly, Hunter (1978) suggested that the fear of crime results from the experience of incivilities rather than from crime itself. Therefore, signs of incivility can predict people's level of fear.

Scholars pointed out that there are two types of incivilities. One is physical incivilities, and another is social incivilities. Physical incivilities involve broken windows, empty beer cans, dilapidated buildings, graffiti, and so on. While social incivilities include teenagers standing on the corner, beggars, and homeless people on the street, Wyant (2008) found that both social and physical in-civilities increase the fear of crime among residents. While some scholars argue that social incivilities play a bigger role in making people more afraid. Rohe and Burby (1988) found that social, rather than physical incivilities, were more strongly linked to the fear of crime. Moreover, LaGrange and colleagues (1992) also found that social incivilities were more strongly linked to perceptions of risk than physical incivilities.

As well as incivilities within neighbourhoods, the cohesion of neighbourhoods also influences people's fear of crime. When a community has better cohesion, people feel safer and have less fear of crime; in contrast, in a neighbourhood with bad cohesion results in people more afraid of crime. Rader (2017) used "collective efficacy" to describe trust (social cohesion) among community members, and he further suggested that trust or social cohesion may help residents informally exert social control over members. In other words, community members who know their neighbours are more likely to exert social control over other community members, which reduces the chance of crime occurring in the community. Additionally, strong social cohesion

also indicates social support from other community members. Hale (1996) pointed out that a cohesive supportive community is a protective community rather than a threatening one. Moreover, the social and emotional support from the community can reduce the level of fear for people (Baba & Austin, 1989; Hale, 1996). Additionally, Hunter and Baumer (1982) found that even when the population density increased on the street, residents who were socially integrated were not more afraid of crime. While these studies found that good social cohesion can reduce people's fear, in turn, some other research proposed that poor social cohesion contributes to the fear of crime. For example, Box and colleagues (1988) found a negative relationship between respondents' perceptions of community cohesiveness and the fear of crime. Additionally, the absence of a spouse or living alone increases the fear of crime, particularly amongst the elderly (Hale, 1996). To sum up, this research explains that people's fear of crime can be better understood within a neighbourhood or community context.

This section outlined some key predictors of the fear of crime. Some are personal predictors, such as age, gender and ethnicity. While some others are contextual predictors like geography and environment. However, all of these predictors explain the vulnerability of different groups of people in front of crimes from their aspect within the predictors. In other words, these predictors give us a hint of who fears crime.

### **3.4 Major Theoretical Frameworks in the Fear of Crime**

Obviously, these various factors do not work individually but interact with each other. Researchers integrated them into different theoretical models to explain people's fear of crime. Currently, researchers found two mechanisms responsible for people's fear of crime - the inhibiting mechanism and the facilitating mechanism. The inhibiting mechanism restrains the

development of people's fear of crime, making people less fearful; while the facilitating mechanisms trigger people's fear of crime, making people more fearful.

Based on these two mechanisms, three mainstream models are developed. They are the social integration model, the disorder model, and the vulnerability model. The social integration model has two hypotheses. The informal social control hypothesis uses the inhibiting mechanism to indicate that people feel less fearful when they integrate well in their neighbourhood or the society. While the indirect victimization hypothesis emphasizes the facilitating mechanism in which more social integration increased individuals' chance of experiencing indirect victimization. The disorder and vulnerability models also explain the elevation of people's fear by applying facilitating mechanisms. The disorder model suggests the perceived signs of disorder increase people's fear level, while the vulnerability model argued some specific personal characteristics contribute to people's fear of crime. In other words, the disorder model attributes fear to outside factors, whereas the vulnerability model attributes fear to personal vulnerability. Although these three models explain the fear of crime from different perspectives, they are not mutually exclusive. To some extent, they have an inherent logical connection with each other. A more detailed description is presented in the section below.

### ***3.4.1 The Social Integration Model***

This model was initiated from the social control theory. Social integration has been defined as a person's sense of belonging or attachment to their local surroundings or community (Franklin et al., 2008). There is a prevalent accepted assumption that strong social control is correlated to high integration or vice versa (Littunen & Gaier, 1963). In Emile Durkheim's (1893) profound work, *The Division of Labor in Society*, he articulated the relationship between social control and social disintegration. In the traditional society consisting of homogeneous

individuals, there is a strong traditional authority or collective consciousness which has a high degree of control over individuals. Durkheim called this form of social solidarity within traditional society ‘mechanical solidarity.’

With the development of the division of labor, mechanical solidarity gradually falls apart and then causes anomie. In other words, anomie is a sign of social disintegration caused by the loss of social control in periods of social change. However, in modern society with a high degree of division of labor, a new form of social solidarity developed called ‘organic solidarity’ which replaced mechanical solidarity. In modern society people are diverse and individualize because of the high level of division of labor, but people become more interdependent as well. More specifically in modern society, it is almost impossible for individuals to live alone, because they are just a small part of the entire social production chain. Therefore, people have to integrate into the larger social group to survive. In other words, more integration, more social control, because integration directs people to follow the norms and rules of the big social group. In this sense, the interdependence of individuals caused by the division of labor becomes the basis of organic solidarity. That is to say, in modern society, social control is exercised through a high level of interdependence. The interdependence forces individuals to regulate their own behaviours to integrate into society.

In Durkheim’s other work *Suicide* (1897), he studied the relationship between social integration and suicide. For a long time, suicide was considered the result of insanity. Durkheim suggests that suicide is a result of personal psychological or emotional problems. He argued that suicide itself could be an individual act, but the suicide rate is a social fact that is external to any individual (Durkheim, 1897). In other words, suicide is a result of both personal and social factors. Furthermore, social factors, especially social integration, play a crucial role in suicide.

He posited that the suicide rate is higher in a society with lower social integration (Durkheim, 1897). That is to say, the less social integration a person has, the more likely this person is to commit suicide.

Why does social disintegration trigger suicide? Because we are all human beings, and it is undeniable that human beings have a need for both independence and connection. Social disintegration decreased the connection between individuals and society. In other words, individuals are more isolated from the larger social group, and they have to manage all the suffering by themselves. As mentioned before, although suicide is a personal act that expresses negative personal mental health, it also under the influence of the social context. According to Durkheim (1897), social integration could be a cure for suicidal ideation. Obviously, social disintegration decreases the chance of a positive social intervention and causes a higher suicide possibility. Under this circumstance, individuals are more likely to ruminate on their negative affections which may cause suicidal ideation. Therefore, social disintegration promotes individuals' negative emotions.

Mostly, social control theories are applied in the field of the fear of crime based on a neighbourhood level. It studies people's degree of social integration into their neighbourhood and that influence on their level of the fear of crime. As mentioned before, according to Durkheim (1893), less social integration indicates less social control. Furthermore, less social integration also relates to more individuals' having negative affections (Durkheim, 1897). Based on these theories, the social integration model infers that if a person is more socially integrated into their neighbourhood, he or she will feel more social control and less negative affections such as fear. Some fear of crime literature approved of this inference. They suggested that the level of fear decreased when social integration increased. This happens because when people feel social

regulation from the bigger social group, they expect other members to feel the same and regulate their own behaviours (Adams & Serpe, 2000; Biderman et al., 1967; Gibson et al., 2002; Merry, 1981). In short, more social integration in the neighbourhood leads to greater social control and decreases member's fear of crime.

However, there is some debate among scholars who study whether social integration will decrease people's fear of crime. Although most scholars support applying inhibiting mechanisms into the social integration model, some research disapprove of Durkheim's suggestion that increased social integration will decrease the fear level by increasing perceptions of social control. In contrast, they found that the fear level may increase along with the increase of social integration because of the process of indirect victimization (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Furstenberg, 1971; Kanan & Pruitt, 2002; Merry, 1981; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Taylor & Hale, 1986). That is to say, when people are more integrated into their neighbourhood, they are more likely to fear crime because they are more likely to learn of victimization experiences from other members of the social network. In short, fear is disseminating through the social network, so more integration may cause more fear. It is worth noticing that researchers also pointed out that people integrated into the same social network with the people who have victimization experiences are actually affected (Merry, 1981). This fear caused by indirect victimization also has psychological support. People are more likely to be affected by their significant other or by people they know than a random person (Myers, 1987). That's why people are more likely affected by people in the same social network. Furthermore, there is a cognitive rule called the availability heuristic. The rule means "the more easily we recall something, the more likely it seems" (Myers, 1987). Once people integrate, the victimization experiences become easily accessible, so they may feel more fearful than people who are less integrated.



This debate suggests a controversial relationship between social integration and people's fear of crime. Even though they focus on different functions of integration, they displayed two different versions of the social integration model. The hypothesis which focuses on the process of social control is called the informal social control hypothesis. The other one examines the fear of crime through the dissemination of fear called the indirect victimization hypothesis. The integration model is prevalently accepted to explain people's fear of crime; however, it is still unclear which hypothesis can better explain how social integration influences people's fear of crime, especially under the gender differences context. For example, if there is a gender difference in the integration level and if women are more likely under the influence of their social network. Therefore, it is necessary to examine these two versions of the integration model across genders further.

### ***3.4.2 The Disorder Model***

Although the disorder model focuses on the facilitating mechanism which triggers people's fear of crime, it has an internal connection with the social integration model, because disorder is a result of losing social control. If the integration model's purpose is to study the influence of integration on people's fear level, then the disorder model's purpose is to study the impact of social disintegration on the fear of crime. That is why some scholars argue that the disorder model is an extension of, or a complement to, the social integration model rather than an independent model (Maskaly, 2014). However, many studies found that compared to the social integration model, the disorder model can be a stronger predictor of the fear of crime (Franklin et al., 2008; McGarrell et al., 1997). Additionally, the integration model studies the impact of the personal integration level on fear, while the disorder model studies how the local surroundings influence people's fear of crime. In other words, the previous model focuses on the individuals

themselves, but the other one pays attention to the impact of social context. That is, the integration model involves more subjective consciousness, but the disorder model talks more about the objective outside conditions. Therefore, the disorder model can be considered as a standalone model rather than the subcomponent of the social integration model.

The disorder model studies the relationship between fear and the perceived disorder of local surroundings (Skogan, 1992). To fully understand the disorder model, we need to understand what disorder is first. Disorder is the result of weakened social control and the attenuation of social norms. Ross and Mirowsky (1999) argue that disorder presents violent social norms, but not necessarily 'norms' that break the law. Franklin and his colleagues further proposed that disorder uncovers the neighbourhood incivilities that threaten the individual residents.

In order to study the disorder model in a more operational way, the neighbourhood incivilities are generally divided into two categories: physical and social (Maskaly, 2014). The meaning of physical and social incivilities is discussed in the previous section. Physical incivilities refer to disorganized surroundings such as garbage, abandoned cars, broken windows, and vandalized buildings, while social incivilities refer to exposure to uncivilized behaviour by other neighbourhood residents (Franklin et al., 2008; Maskaly, 2014; Maxfield, 1987). Both of them are visual cues indicating a lack of local concern and social control. This 'lack' impacts people's perception of disorder. As Kennedy and Silverman (1985) summarised, the perception of disorder could translate to environmental uncertainty and perceived threats. Therefore, more specifically, the disorder model studies the relationship between the visual cues of disorder and people's perception of the fear of crime.

The disorder-fear relationship has been assessed in substantial studies. A growing body of research found there is a positive relationship between the perceived disorder and the fear of crime (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Gate & Rohe, 1987; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Skogan, 1990; Taylor & Hale, 1986). Furthermore, Hope and Shaw (1988) found that there is a strong association between disorder and fear, even when other aspects of community life were controlled. Taylor and Hale (1986) also argued that social and physical disorders are fear triggers. Later studies have similar findings which support that the presence of a high level of disorder leads to more fear of crime (MiGarrell et al., 1997). Therefore, perceived signs of disorder can cause fear of crime and this is a generally accepted statement in the field.

Although a lot of research shows that people tend to be more fearful when they perceive more signs of disorder, there is disagreement about the validity of this relationship. Some scholars argue that the fear of crime is not caused by the perception of disorder directly, but mediated by the perceived risk of being victimized by crime (LaGrange et al., 1992). However, Gainey, Alper, and Chapper (2010) proposed that although the perceived disorder is mediated by perceived risk, it is still a significant predictor of the fear of crime. Other scholars also argued that the perceived disorder can be both a direct and indirect predictor of fear of crime (Abdullah et al., 2014).

In addition, the direction of the causal relationship between the perceived disorder and fear level has been questioned by some scholars. They argued there is a possibility that exactly because people feel more fearful, then they tend to identify more signs of disorder or give more meaning to the ambiguous visual cues from their surroundings (Spelman, 2004). The perception of disorder is a subjective feeling which varies between individuals (Jackson, 2004; Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004). For example, Jackson (2004) mentioned that vulnerability and social

attitudes can shape the feeling of disorder. Therefore, the same scenario triggers a different level of fear for different people, and more fearful people tend to identify more signs of disorder from the local surroundings. Furthermore, if the signs of the disorder are expected, people tend to tolerate them more and express less fear of crime (Lopez, 2016). For example, a person who lives in an objectively high disorder neighbourhood may not perceive a high level of disorder because they are desensitized to the signs of disorder (Lopez, 2016). Therefore, the disorder may not trigger a higher level of fear. In other words, when people become used to the disorderly visual cues around them, they are more resistant to the disorder.

Leaving aside these disputes, we can confirm that there is a correlation between perceived disorder and the fear of crime. Most research on the disorder and fear focused on the mechanism of how the disorder causes fear or vice versa. Only a few noticed the gender gap in the disorder model. Carcach and colleagues (1995) found that as the level of disorders increased, the difference in levels of fear between females and males decreased. Schafer, Huebner, and Bynum's (2006) study about the perceived disorder and fear from a gender-based view found that compared to men, women are more fearful in their neighbourhood. There is no doubt that we need to pay more attention to the gender gap in the disorder model, because gender plays a crucial role in the fear of crime. A general disorder model without gender difference cannot explain the gender-fear paradox. Women and men may have different senses of the signs of disorder, so it is necessary to do further research on the disorder model from a gender-based view.

### ***3.4.3 The Vulnerability Model***

Research over the last decades has found vulnerability to be significantly related to the fear of crime. The basic assumption of the vulnerability model is that individuals who think they

have physical or social disadvantages will feel more vulnerable to become a potential victim and also feel more fearful of crime (Rader et al., 2012; Wyant, 2008). The vulnerability model argued that individuals who are less able to protect themselves from potential threats to safety are more fearful than those people who are more capable to protect themselves. That is why the vulnerability model has a natural advantage in explaining the gender-fear paradox and age-fear paradox. It is because women and the aged are more physically vulnerable than other groups. However, physical vulnerability is not the only predictor in the vulnerability model, social vulnerability is also counted.

Physical vulnerability and social vulnerability are the two main forms of vulnerability discussed in the studies of fear-vulnerability research. Physical vulnerability is relatively more visible than social vulnerability. Physical vulnerability includes physical characteristics such as gender, age, and health status. Being physical vulnerable is a result of the individuals' weak physical defense capabilities caused by a lack of physical strength or competence (Franklin & Franklin, 2009). That is to say, individuals who are physically vulnerable tend to be more fearful of physical attacks because they are less able to fend off and protect themselves from potential victimization. That is why women and the elderly are the two groups with the highest levels of the fear of crime in the vulnerability model.

Social vulnerability typically includes social characteristics, such as socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, living location, and experience of the previous victimization. Compared to physical vulnerability, the mechanism of social vulnerability is more complex and indirect. For example, one factor making the lower socioeconomic status group more fearful is where they are more likely to live in an economically distressed and high-crime neighbourhood (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Their unsafe living circumstance boosts their perceived risk of victimization.

Moreover, they cannot afford protective shelters with better security facilities. To this extent, compared to a group with better socioeconomic status, they are less able to protect themselves from potential threats. It is worth mentioning again that humans are social beings. The various positions in social relations put people at different risk levels of victimization. Therefore, characteristics of social vulnerability are related to groups who are in the disadvantaged positions of society. The disadvantaged social position begets social vulnerability. That is why the social characteristics of the disadvantaged groups could be the effective indicators of the fear of crime. Some scholars even argued that social vulnerability is a better predictor than physical vulnerability (Hale, 1996).

However, both physical vulnerability and social vulnerability are an integral part of the vulnerability model. They are interconnected rather than mutually exclusive. Characteristics of physical vulnerability and social vulnerability can exist in the same person. Women as a group are an excellent example to show the duality of physical and social vulnerability. It is undeniable that women are physically smaller and less powerful than men on average, so here I will discuss more about women's social vulnerability than physical vulnerability. Gender inequality puts women in a disadvantaged place. That means compared to men, they have fewer social resources and/or financial capital to develop and protect themselves. For example, there is a phenomenon called the feminization of poverty (Pearce, 1978). More specifically, women often have fewer assets and less wealth, and a lower income than similarly situated male counterparts (Barak et al., 2010). In other words, women tend to be more economically marginalized than men and have a lower socioeconomic status in society.

Additionally, many other negative social factors such as a lower education level and a poor living situation are related to lower socioeconomic status and also increase the social

vulnerability. For example, Coleman (1988) pointed out that a lack of education puts women in a particularly vulnerable position from victimization. That is why we say women have both physical and social vulnerability. This double vulnerability gives an idea of why women are so fearful and further demonstrates how the vulnerability model explains the fear of crime by interpreting different vulnerabilities of different groups. Although some research studied the gender-fear paradox from the vulnerability model view, they did not assess whether it is physical vulnerability or social vulnerability that causes women to fear more. The results are necessary for answering the questions - what kind of strategies should be adopted to decrease women's fear and how do we increase their wellbeing?

### **3.5 The Need for Improvement in Mainstream Fear of Crime Studies**

When a critical feminist perspective was adopted to review the mainstream fear of crime literature, I found a prevalent undervaluation of women's perspective. This is not only reflected in the discussion of each fear-relevant factor, but also the construction and understanding of the models. In the three mainstream explanatory models (except the vulnerable model), the models do not pay much attention to gender differences. Both the social integration model and the disorder model gave a gender-neutral explanation of the fear of crime. Obviously, that is simply over-generalized. The female's perspective is covered and represented by a male's perspective.

However, women and men do not share the same feelings and experiences on the fear of crime. The analysis of women's and men's fear of crime should be distinguished. Each fear-related factor may have different degrees of effect on each gender. Women's unique experiences should be noticed and expressed other than men's only. The first step to change the gender unequal social status quo is to include women's voices so they can be heard. Therefore, it is

necessary to analyze the fear of crime based on separate male and female samples, to test if the gender variance exists and how women feel different from men regarding the fear of crime.

### **3.6 Hypotheses**

The main purpose of the current study is to evaluate the mainstream fear of crime theoretical models on separate male and female samples. This is in an effort to identify which model and what predictors of fear can better indicate the variance between genders. More importantly, we can test to determine if the male-centered models can also effectively represent female's feelings of the fear of crime. If not, we need to involve more feminist views within the construction of knowledge in the fear of crime. It is worth noticing that women's and men's fear experiences not only have similarities, but also differences. The common practice of assimilating the female perspective to the male perspective in the fear of crime work has silenced women's voices. Therefore, this analysis is important because it will shed light on the factors that influence the fear of crime for females and males. Female's fear experience is worth researching separately since they experience life differently.

As such, this study seeks to test the following hypotheses:

*Hypothesis 1:* In the vulnerability model, visible minorities are more fearful than the majority, and Aboriginals are more fearful than non-Aboriginals. The gender difference is significant for both visible minorities and Aboriginals, but I expect that Aboriginal women are more fearful than visible minorities. This is because in Canada, Aboriginal women are most likely to be targets of crimes, and this greater risk could lead to more fear of crime.

*Hypothesis 2:* Education and income will be negatively related to both males' and females' fear, but the magnitude of those criteria will be stronger for females. Education and



income are different categories of social resources which can effectively decrease the threats of victimization. In a patriarchal society, men often own or have access to more social resources, even without a higher income and education level. Men are more likely to occupy social resources than women, so the higher income and education level may not make such a big difference to men's level of fear. Consequently, I expect that income and education will have a greater influence on the female sample.

*Hypothesis 3:* Previous victimization will be positively related to both male and female samples. The impact of this relationship will be stronger in the female sample, since victims of violent crimes are more fearful than victims of other types of crime. Rape and sexual assaults are often violent, so I expect the magnitude of this relationship is greater in the female sample.

*Hypothesis 4:* Age will be positively related to both male and female samples' fear, but the impact of this relationship will be stronger in male samples. Women are victims of sexual assaults and rape, but older women are less likely to be targets of these types of crime, so although aging brings a further physical vulnerability for women, it also decreases women's chance of victimization for sexual assault and rape. Therefore, I expect that the magnitude of this relationship is stronger in male samples. In other words, the older male group expresses more fear of crime than the older female group since aging does not decrease their chance of victimization, aging only increases men's physical vulnerability.

*Hypothesis 5:* In the integration model, for both male and female samples, sense of belonging will be negatively related to the fear of crime based on an informal social control hypothesis. The difference between genders may not be statistically significant.

Moreover, I expect that the magnitude of this relationship is stronger in the female group since women are socialized in a more interdependent way.

*Hypothesis 6:* Based on the indirect victimization hypothesis, 'know each other' will be positively related to both male and female's fear, and the magnitude of this relationship will be stronger for the female sample since women tend to be more emotionally connected to each other in the bigger social group.

*Hypothesis 7:* Compared to physical incivilities, social incivilities are more likely to trigger people's fear of crime similarly for women and men. Moreover, women are more sensitive to the signs of disorder around them, especially social incivilities, which may lead to women being more fearful than men. In other words, the magnitude of this relationship will be greater in the female sample.

## CHAPTER 4

### DATA AND METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1 Data

The data source for this research comes from the 2014 Canadian General Social Survey – Victimization (GSS) which primarily emerges from Statistics Canada. This chapter has two purposes. The first is to track Canadian’s changing living conditions and well-being over time. The second is to provide information for social policy issues. The GSS is released every five years, and the latest GSS-2019 is scheduled for release in winter 2020/2021. So, the newest data we can access is the GSS-2014, which is the dataset I used for research. The Victimization Survey which is part of the GSS has a specific focus on Canadian safety. The main objective of the GSS on Victimization is to better understand how Canadians perceive crime and the justice system. Additionally, it also collects information about individuals’ victimization experiences. Generally, it is a survey designed to evaluate Canadian’s sense of personal safety in daily life, which is highly related to people’s feeling of well-being.

The primary research methods were an individual-based survey comprised of two analytical files. The data collection lasted from January 2014 to January 2015 and covered all of Canada. The microdata files from the main survey in the provinces contain questionnaire responses and associated information from 33,127 respondents. Analytical files for the survey in the territories contain responses and information from 2,040 respondents.

The target population for the GSS 2014 on Victimization are Canadians aged 15 and over, living in the provinces and territories, but does not include Canadians residing in institutions. All respondents are contacted and interviewed by telephone (in provinces and territories) and face-to-face interviews in the territories. Thus, people in households without a

telephone cannot be reached, and this accounts for 1% of households according to the 2013 data. Additionally, in 2014, the internet was introduced in data collection. All respondents were contacted by telephone first and then redirected to the online questionnaire.

The process of data collection is reasonable and reliable. Since it is a nationwide survey from coast to coast, it properly reflects the situation in the whole of Canada, and the dataset results could be generalized to represent the whole country.

## **4.2 Sample**

The survey uses a probability (random) sample to ensure its results are unbiased and therefore we can estimate their reliability. Every eligible respondent was randomly selected from each sampled household, and all respondents were voluntarily involved. The provinces conducted the survey under Statistics Canada's new telephone sampling frame. The frame discerned groups of one or several telephone numbers associated with the same address (or a single telephone number in the case a link between a telephone number and an address could not be established) which can acquire better coverage of households with a telephone number. While the territories drew the sample under an area frame of dwellings.

The stratification is done at the province/census metropolitan area (CMA) level. Information is collected from one randomly selected household member aged 15 or older, and proxy responses are not permitted. A field sample size of approximately 79,000 households was selected for the main survey. The number of respondents was 33,127 resulting in a 52.9% response rate. The field sample size was approximately 3,600 households across the three territories. The number of respondents was 2,040 resulting in a 58.7% response rate. Since the data collected was based on household and individual levels, the non-responses could happen at any level. Moreover, if the non-responding households differ from the rest of the sample this

may cause bias. Therefore, the data has been weighted based on both household and individual levels to offset the possible influence of non-response.

### **4.3 Dependent Variable**

The measure of the fear of crime comes from a single item from the GSS 2014. The item asks respondents about satisfaction with personal safety from crime. The code of the dependent variable is “SPS\_10.” It is an ordinal variable. The literal question in the survey to measure the respondent’s feeling of safety is “in general, how satisfied with your personal safety from crime?” The item is measured on a five-point Likert scale with options for 1) very satisfied; 2) satisfied; 3) neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4) dissatisfied; 5) very dissatisfied. There is also an available option as “no opinion.” The respondents who marked this option are filtered out in the analyses. In general, the majority of Canadians are satisfied with their personal safety from crime and only a few people were dissatisfied.

The dependent variable measured as an attitudinal scale was commonly used in prior research. Warr (2000) pointed out that the attitudinal measure is a method used in most fear of crime research. For example, it is prevalent to ask the participants to indicate how safe they felt under multiple conditions such as at night or being alone. Therefore, the advantage of this attitudinal measure is that we could easily do a comparison across extensive fear of crime literature.

Although this kind of question has been criticized for lacking the distinction between the perception of risk and the emotional fear, I think it still efficiently reflects a comprehensive assessment for both the perceptual risk and emotional fear. Obviously, at an individual level, perception and emotion work together rather than separately. If a person feels a high degree of danger, then he or she will never feel safe. In fact, the perception of risk will more or less trigger

emotional tension, and in turn, emotional tension may make people more vigilant which lifts the level of perceived risk. Therefore, it is not necessary to completely distinguish between cognitive and emotional fear.

Additionally, there are some other criticisms of this is overall question such as lacking measurement of crime specificity, location specificity, and the degree of fear. In my study, the dependent variable as a single item indicator, there is indeed a lack of detail. I also acknowledge that the use of a single indicator should be avoided when feasible. However, although the GSS 2014 on victimization did research people's fear under different situations, the participants were only asked to answer these questions with yes or no. Obviously, this kind of overly simple answer is not applicable as an indicator to measure an individuals' fear of crime. Moreover, combining a large number of detailed questions in different sceneries into multiple indicators as a dependent index is too trivial and unnecessary. For instance, should we specify the type of crime for different groups of people? I think no matter what kind of crime people are afraid of, they are not afraid of the crime itself, but afraid of the potential harm caused by the crime. There is no need to do the distinction, especially since my study is an overall assessment of the fear of crime across genders.

Lastly, compared to directly asking people how safe they felt, asking the participants if they are satisfied with their safety from crime is a better way to assess people's overall feeling of their safety from crime. Questions about how safe people feel are more inclined to assess people's perception of risk (cognitive fear); whereas asking the satisfaction of safety from crime implied the assessment of both cognitive and emotional fear. If the respondent has any cognitive or emotional fear, they will not be satisfied with their safety from crime. Therefore, satisfaction

with personal safety from crime is a feasible and reasonable indicator to assess an individual's fear of crime.

#### **4.4 Independent Variables**

Based on three mainstream fear of crime models, three groups of independent variables were constructed in my study. The vulnerability indicators are designed to assess the individuals' feelings of vulnerability. Both physical and social-related factors, which identified by prior research, causing this feeling are counted. The integration indicators are designed to measure and control individuals' levels of integration and participation in the community and neighbourhood. The disorder measures are designed to evaluate individuals' perception of particular disorderly signs around their neighbourhood.

##### ***4.4.1 Indicators Related to Vulnerability***

The measure of integration for the current study consists of five items from the GSS 2014 on victimization. Four of them related to social vulnerability and one related to physical vulnerability. Race, socioeconomic status, previous victimization, and education are included as proxy measures of individual social vulnerability. While physical vulnerability-related factors are age and gender.

***4.4.1.1 Race.*** As Canada is an immigrant country with white mainstream culture, so visible minorities face a very different situation than the white majority. In the survey, the participants are asked to clarify their visible minority status, and the code in the dataset is "VISMIN." They are asked, "you may belong to one or more racial or cultural groups on the following list, are you?" Non-visible minority includes single-origin White, single origin Aboriginal, and multiple origin White/Latin American and White/Arab-West Asian, while any other origins are classified as the visible minority. The answers are coded into two groups in the

final stage: 1) visible minority; 2) not a visible minority. However, the options of this question include Aboriginal groups into the category of “2) not a visible minority.” Minority status is a nominal variable coded as a dummy variable in the analysis.

Obviously, this question cannot effectively reflect the situation of the Aboriginal groups in Canada. As mentioned before, the Aboriginal group faces a very different and difficult situation in Canada. Especially as Aboriginal women are the main targets of many crimes in Canada. The huge threat of victimization may bring different feelings of crime to Aboriginal women. Therefore, I use a second variable to indicate the participants’ Aboriginal status. The code in the dataset is “AMB\_01.” The question is “are you an Aboriginal person, that is, First Nations, Métis, or Inuk (Inuit)?” First Nations includes Status and Non-Status Indians. The available options are 1) yes and 2) no. Just like minority status, the Aboriginal status is also a nominal variable coded as a dummy variable in the analysis.

**4.4.1.2 Socioeconomic status.** The socioeconomic status is measured by personal income level before tax. The code is “INCG1” in the dataset. It is an ordinal variable. The personal income ranged into seven groups: 1) less than \$20,000; 2) \$20,000 to \$ 39,999; 3) \$40,000 to \$59,999; 4) \$ 60,000 to \$ 79,999; 5) \$80,000 to \$99,999; 6) \$100,000 to \$119,999; 7) 120,000 or more. Additionally, 5,116 cases did not state their income level and these were filtered out of this research. Since the classification of the income level in the survey is very detailed, I recoded them into three larger groups. The individuals who earn less than \$20,000 to 39,999 belong to the low-income group. The individuals whose income range from \$40,000 to 99,999 are the middle-income group, while individuals who earn from \$100,000 to more than \$ 120,000 are the high-income group. In other words, the variable is recoded to 1) \$ 39,999 or less, 2) \$40,000 to \$99,999 and 3) \$100,000 or more.



**4.4.1.3 Previous victimization.** The previous victimization includes the direct and indirect experiences of victimization. The indirect previous victimization refers to individuals heard victimized experiences from others. Therefore, this study only measures the direct previous victimization experience. The direct previous victimization is measured by the number of victimizations (TOTVIC). The participants are asked, “excludes spousal/partner/ex-spousal/ex-partner abuse, how many times of victimizations in the past 12 months?” The available options are 1) not victimized; 2) victimized one time; 3) victimized two times; 4) victimized three or four times. In the current study, the answers are recoded into two categories: 1) not victimized; and 2) victimized. The previous victimization is coded to a dummy variable in the analysis.

**4.4.1.4 Education.** Education is measured at a personal level. The code is “EHG3\_02” in the dataset. The literal question is “what is the highest certificate, diploma, or degree that you have completed?” The available options are: 1) less than high school diploma or its equivalent; 2) high school diploma or a high school equivalency certificate; 3) trade certificate or diploma; 4) College, CEGEP, or other non-university certificate or diploma (other than trades certificates or diplomas); 5) University certificate or diploma below the bachelor's level; 6) Bachelor's degree (e.g. B.A., B.Sc., LL.B.); 7) University certificate, diploma or degree above the bachelor's level. There are 717 invalid cases excluded from the current study. These seven categories are recoded into three groups. The first is lower educational attainment which includes original categories 1) and 2). The second group is individuals with middle educational attainment which includes original categories 3) to 5), and the last group includes categories 6) and 7) which are individuals with higher educational attainment. Namely, the new variable of education is divided into 1) lower educational attainment; 2) middle educational attainment; 3) higher educational attainment. It is an ordinal variable in the analysis.

**4.4.1.5 Age.** Age is an important factor related to physical vulnerability. In the GSS 2014, the code of age is “AGEGR10” and age is divided into seven groups which are: 1) 15-24; 2) 25-34; 3) 35-44; 4) 45-54; 5) 55-64; 6) 65-74; 7) 75 years and older. In Canada, retired individuals are eligible to receive a full Canada Pension Plan start at age 65. In other words, 65 is the official retirement age. Therefore, age is recoded into two groups. Individuals older than 64 are the elderly, while individuals age from 15 to 64 are non-elderly. Additionally, individuals (especially women) older than 64, are more physically vulnerable than individuals younger than 65. However, age is not always a risk factor. As mentioned before, women are more likely to be victims of sex-related crimes and these potential threats trigger more fear for women. As women enter retirement age, women are less sexually attracted to men and face less risk of rape and sexual assaults, so they may feel safer than younger ages. In this study, age is coded into 2 categories: 1) 15-64; 2) 65 or older. It is an ordinal variable in the analysis.

#### **4.4.2 Indicators Related to Social Integration**

The integration has two explanations. One is informal social control, and another is the indirect victimization hypothesis. To verify which explanation is more effective, the integration level is evaluated by a series of attitudinal and perception measures.

**4.4.2.1 Social control hypothesis.** The first item is to test the informal social control hypothesis. When individuals are integrated into a larger group, they feel less fearful. The current study uses the sense of belonging in the local community to assess the social integration level. The code in the dataset is “SBL\_100.” It is an attitudinal or perception measure. The respondents are asked to evaluate the level of their feeling of belonging to the local community. The four available answers are: 1) very strong; 2) somewhat strong; 3) somewhat weak; 4) very weak and 5) no opinion. In the current study, 634 cases with no opinion were removed from the

analysis. In the analysis, the order of options is reversed to 1) very weak; 2) somewhat weak; 3) somewhat strong; 4) very strong. It is an ordinal variable.

**4.4.2.2 The indirect victimization hypothesis.** The indirect victimization hypothesis indicated that the more people an individual knows in the neighbourhood, the more likely he or she is to hear about another's victimized experience. The indirect previous victimization is measured by knowing each other in the neighbourhood. The code in the dataset is "QIN\_10." The literal question in the survey is "would you say that you know ...?" The available options are: 1) most of the people in your neighbourhood; 2) many of the people in your neighbourhood; 3) a few of the people in your neighbourhood; 4) none of the people in your neighbourhood. For the consistency of variables, the variable is recoded as 1) none of the people in your neighbourhood; 2) a few of the people in your neighbourhood; 3) many of the people in your neighbourhood; 4) most of the people in your neighbourhood. It is also an ordinal variable.

#### **4.4.3 Indicators Related to Disorder**

The disorder measure of the current study is comprised of six conditions or activities that may exist in the respondents' neighbourhood. Three of them are signs of physical incivilities and the rest three are signs of social incivilities. The participants are asked to reflect their feelings to these incivilities with four available options: 1) a big problem; 2) a moderate problem; 3) a small problem; 4) not a problem at all. For the convenience of interpretation, the order of options is reversed in the analysis. In other words, a larger number indicates the respondents think it is a bigger problem. They are ordinal variables in the analysis.

**4.4.3.1 Physical incivilities.** The three signs of physical incivility are 1) noisy neighbours or loud parties (SDQ\_110); 2) garbage or litter lying around (SDQ\_140); 3) vandalism/graffiti/other damage to property/vehicles (SDQ\_150).

**4.4.3.2 Social incivilities.** The three signs of social incivility are: 1) people hanging around on the street (SDQ\_120); 2) people using or dealing drugs (SDQ\_170); 3) people being drunk or rowdy in public places (SDQ\_180).

#### 4.5 Analytic Strategy

The analysis process in two stages. The first stage displays the descriptive statistics of the gender distribution of the variables used in the analysis. The second stage conducts a series of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) models to perform a multivariate analysis to evaluate the efficacy of different theoretical models and specific independent variables. Additionally, for each theoretical model, male and female samples are conducted separately.

The regression models are conducted by STATA MP/13.0. Additionally, my research is to exam the group difference within a regression context. Namely, it is to compare the difference between two regression coefficients across two independent samples – males and females. Traditionally, a z test is employed to compare the difference between two regression coefficients. The general form of z test which frequently applied in criminological research is:

$$Z = \frac{b_1 - b_2}{\sqrt{\frac{V_1(SEb_1^2) + V_2(SEb_2^2)}{V_1 + V_2}}}$$

However, Paternoster, Brame, Mazerolle, and Piquero (1998) pointed out that this widely used z test formula in criminology is incorrect, while the correct formula should be:

$$Z = \frac{b_1 - b_2}{\sqrt{SEb_1^2 + SEb_2^2}}$$

This formula is provided by Clogg, Petkova, and Haritou (1995) in their work *Statistical Methods for Comparing Regression Coefficients between Models*, and then, it was cited and tested by Paternoster and colleagues (1998) in *Using the Correct Statistical Test for The Equality of Regression Coefficients*. They concluded that the general form of z test formula is incorrect

since it “provides a negatively or downwardly biased estimate of the true standard deviation of the sampling distribution of coefficient differences” (Paternoster et al., 1998, p. 861). Therefore, I applied the second  $z$  test equation in my analysis to avoid a mistake.

#### **4.6 Theoretical Regression Models**

To evaluate the efficiency of each variable and theoretical model across genders. Three OLS regression models were conducted based on the vulnerability model, the integration model, and the disorder model.

$$\text{Model 1: } Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{RACE}) + \beta_2(\text{SOCIAECONOMIC STATUS}) + \beta_3(\text{PREVIOUS VICTIMIZATION}) + \beta_4(\text{EDUCATION}) + \beta_5(\text{AGE}) + \varepsilon$$

$$\text{Model 2: } Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{SENSE OF BELONGING}) + \beta_2(\text{KNOW EACH OTHER}) + \varepsilon$$

$$\text{Model 3: } Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{NOISE}) + \beta_2(\text{GABAGE OR LITTER}) + \beta_3(\text{VANDALISM/GRAFFITI/DAMAGE}) + \beta_4(\text{HANGING AROUND}) + \beta_5(\text{DRUG USE}) + \beta_6(\text{DRUNK/ROWDY}) + \varepsilon$$

## CHAPTER 5

### RESULTS

Table 5.1: Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Males (n=14,787)		Females (n=17,467)		Difference Tests
	M/%	SD	M	SD	
<b>Dependent Variable</b>					
<i>Fear of victimization</i>	1.661	0.714	1.844	0.761	$t = -22.200^*$
<b>Independent Variables</b>					
<i>Minority Status (0=no; 1=yes)</i>	14.8%		13.2%		$\chi^2 = 17.407^*$
<i>Aboriginal Status (0=no; 1=yes)</i>	4.4%		4.5%		$\chi^2 = 0.022$
<i>Income</i>	1.659	0.687	1.399	0.568	$t = 33.612^*$
<i>Previous Victimization (0=no; 1=yes)</i>	6.5%		5.8%		$\chi^2 = 6.300^*$
<i>Education</i>	1.795	0.808	1.827	0.801	$t = -3.507^*$
<i>Age</i>	1.222	0.416	1.261	0.439	$t = -8.082^*$
<i>Sense of belonging</i>	2.988	0.814	3.030	0.814	$t = -4.618^*$
<i>Know each other</i>	2.584	0.919	2.595	0.912	$t = -1.025$
<i>Noise</i>	1.306	0.625	1.311	0.643	$t = -0.750$
<i>Garbage/Litter</i>	1.310	0.664	1.334	0.702	$t = -3.260^*$
<i>Vandalism/Graffiti/Damage</i>	1.358	0.687	1.357	0.689	$t = 0.107$
<i>People hanging around</i>	1.234	0.601	1.247	0.621	$t = -1.806$
<i>Drug use</i>	1.346	0.744	1.379	0.797	$t = -3.741^*$
<i>Drunk/Rowdy</i>	1.265	0.620	1.253	0.623	$t = 1.691$

\* $p < 0.05$

### 5.1 Descriptive Results

Table 1 displays descriptive statistics of gender distribution for the variables used in the analysis and more statistical figures are displayed in the appendix section. From the table, we can see that the female samples are significantly more fearful than male samples. In other words, compared to men, women are less satisfied with their feeling of safety. There is also a significant difference between samples with regard to minority status; 14.8% of the male samples recognized themselves as a visible minority whereas only 13.2% of the female samples reported

themselves as visible minority. For the Aboriginal status, there is no significant difference between the samples; only 4.4% of the male samples and 4.5% of the female samples reported themselves as being Aboriginals respectively.

The gender difference in income for the two samples is significant; on average, male samples earn more than female samples. For the experience of the previous victimization, there is a significant difference between samples; 6.5% of the male samples and 5.8% of the female samples reported the previous victimization separately. The descriptive statistics show that although more males reported the previous victimization than females, females reported a higher level of the fear of crime than males. Obviously, the phenomenon of gender-fear paradox also exists in Canada. Additionally, although female samples earn less on average, female samples' average educational attainments are significantly higher than male samples. Lastly, a small but significant age difference is observed in the sample population. The average age of female samples is slightly older than male samples.

For the level of sense of belonging, female samples reported a higher sense of belonging than male samples. The difference is not big, but it is significant. While, for how many people they know in the neighbourhoods, the two samples are nearly identical. The average male and female respondents reported that they know "a few" to "many of people" in their neighbourhoods.

Generally, all indicators of the disorder model show small differences across samples. Except for the attitudes toward garbage/litter and drug using have a small but significant difference across genders, attitudes toward other incivilities are almost identical across samples. On average, women are less comfortable to face garbage/litter and drug users in the

neighbourhoods. Moreover, the average male and female samples reported their feelings toward various incivilities ranged from “not a problem at all” to “a small problem.”

## 5.2 The OLS Regression Results

Table 5.2: Differences in Predictors of Fear of Victimization for Male and Female Samples

	Males (n=14,787)			Females (n= 17,467)			Z test
	Coef.	SE	Std. Coef.	Coef.	SE	Std. Coef.	
<b>Social Vulnerability</b>							
<i>Minority Status</i>	0.172***	0.045	0.039	0.160***	0.048	0.030	0.182
<i>Aboriginal Status</i>	0.051	0.036	0.014	0.118***	0.035	0.030	-1.334
<i>Income</i>	-0.040***	0.011	-0.040	-0.014	0.013	-0.010	-1.527
<i>Previous Victimization</i>	0.378***	0.030	0.129	0.460***	0.030	0.138	-1.933*
<i>Education</i>	-0.057***	0.010	-0.064	-0.040***	0.010	-0.042	-1.202
<b>Physical Vulnerability</b>							
<i>Age</i>	-0.074***	0.017	-0.046	-0.061***	0.016	-0.036	-0.557
<b>Social Integration</b>							
<i>Sense of belonging</i>	-0.159***	0.008	-0.182	-0.170***	0.007	-0.181	1.035
<i>Know each other</i>	-0.033***	0.007	-0.043	-0.059***	0.007	-0.070	2.626***
<b>Disorder</b>							
<i>Noise</i>	0.086***	0.010	0.075	0.068***	0.010	0.058	1.273
<i>Garbage/Litter</i>	0.041***	0.010	0.038	0.058***	0.010	0.053	-1.202
<i>Vandalism /Damage</i>	0.109***	0.010	0.103	0.109***	0.010	0.098	0
<i>Hanging around</i>	0.086***	0.012	0.072	0.114***	0.012	0.092	-1.650*
<i>Drug use</i>	0.068***	0.010	0.071	0.088***	0.009	0.092	-1.487
<i>Drunk/Rowdy</i>	0.064***	0.012	0.056	0.038***	0.013	0.031	1.470

Note: This analysis uses one-tailed z test, and the values are manually calculated.

\*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .001.

Table 2 displays the results of the OLS regression models predicting fear of crime across different gender samples. The corresponding z test is conducted to test if the observed differences across samples are statistically significant. Additionally, the standardized coefficients indicate the relative importance of each variable in the models. By comparing the standardized coefficients of each independent variable with others, we can find that some indicators better explain female’s fear whereas others better explain male’s fear.

### 5.2.1 Vulnerability and the Fear of Crime



The vulnerability model predicts the fear of crime by an individual's physical and social vulnerability. Normally, researchers use gender as a profound indicator of physical vulnerability. However, since the object of this study is to test the validity of mainstream fear models on different genders, so sex is not a physical vulnerability indicator in the vulnerability model, and age is the single indicator of physical vulnerability in my analysis. While social vulnerability is measured by multiple variables which include the minority/Aboriginal status, income, education, and previous victimization.

Being visible minorities or Aboriginals is an indicator of social vulnerability. From table 2, being a visible minority is found to have a positive influence on the fear of crime for both the male and female samples. That means individuals who are visible minorities are more fearful than the majority. Moreover, the magnitude of this relationship is stronger in male samples. However, the result of the  $z$  test fails to exert a significant difference across genders.

Being Aboriginals also has a positive influence on the fear of crime for both male and female samples. However, the coefficient for male samples is not significant whereas the coefficient for female samples is significant. In other words, the relationship between Aboriginal status and fear of crime is not statistically significant for male samples, although the coefficient has the sign of a positive relationship. While for female samples, the relationship between the Aboriginal status and fear of crime is positive and statistically significant. Therefore, no matter the result of the corresponding  $z$  test indicates a significant gender difference or not, the situation is very different for Aboriginal males and females. Obviously, Aboriginal status is more effective predictor for females' fear than male's fear.

The first hypothesis is largely supported by the data, except gender difference within minority status is not significant, and Aboriginal women do not display more fear than female

visible minorities. Visible minorities are more fearful than the majority for both male and female samples. Within the Aboriginal groups, the estimate of Aboriginal men is too imprecise to make a claim about a suggestive correlation, but Aboriginal women do experience more fearful feelings than non-Aboriginal women. Moreover, by comparing the standard coefficients of minority status and Aboriginal status in female samples, it can be found that both of them have the same level of effectiveness in the regression model. Therefore, there is no evidence to show that Aboriginal women are more fearful than non-Aboriginal female groups (visible minorities and majorities).

Income has a negative influence on the fear of crime for the male sample, whereas the coefficient of income is not significant for the female sample. There is an outstanding gender gap regarding income and how it influences individuals' fear of crime. Obviously, males with higher income are less likely to fear crime, but for females, the influence of income on the fear of crime is not significant. Therefore, income is a better predictor for male's fear of crime, but not an effective predictor for female's fear of crime. It was unexpected in the second hypothesis to discover that income does not have a significant influence on the fear of crime in the female samples.

Education as another predictor of social resources in the regression model exerts a negative influence on the fear of crime for both male and female samples. For both male and female samples, individuals with higher educational attainment are less likely to feel fearful. Moreover, the magnitude of this relationship is stronger in male samples. However, the corresponding  $z$  score was not statistically significant for gender difference. Hypothesis 2 is partially supported by the data since income and education do have a negative influence on the

fear of crime, but the magnitude of those relationships is stronger for males, and only income level shows a significant gender difference, whereas education level does not.

The third hypothesis was also fully supported by the data since the previous victimization has a significant positive influence on the fear of crime for each sample, and the magnitude of this relationship is stronger for the female sample. Moreover, the corresponding  $z$  test claimed a statistically significant difference across genders. Therefore, individuals who experienced the previous victimization are more afraid of crime than people who did not experience victimization, and previous victimized women display a greater degree of fearful feeling of crime than their male counterparts.

Age is the only physical vulnerable indicator in the vulnerability model. Hypothesis 4 is not supported by the data. Age was found negatively correlated to both male and female samples, and the magnitude of this relationship is greater in the male group. Moreover, the corresponding  $z$  test failed to indicate a statistically significant difference across genders. Different from my expectation, both males and females expressed less fear of crime as their age increases.

Hypotheses 1 to 4 evaluated the predictors in the vulnerability model. It can be found that Aboriginal status, income, and education showed obvious gender variance, while other predictors did not show a statistically significant difference across genders. Aboriginal status is an effective predictor for the female sample but not for the male sample. On the contrary, income is an effective predictor for the male sample but not for the female sample. Moreover, even though the previous victimization is a predictor effective for both male and female samples, the difference is statistically significant across genders. It is worth noticing that the previous victimization is the most effective predictor in the vulnerability regression model across genders, but the least important predictor for male and female groups is different. In the male sample, Aboriginal

status contributed the least variance in the regression model, while in the female sample, income was the least influential predictor of fear of crime.

### ***5.2.2 Social Integration and the Fear of Crime***

Hypothesis 5 tests the effectiveness of the informal social control hypothesis of the integration model. The informal social control hypothesis indicates that individuals will feel safer when they integrate into the larger social group. The data shows that a sense of belonging has a negative impact on the fear of victimization for both male and female groups. That is, when individuals feel they are part of the larger social community, they are less likely to fear victimization. Moreover, the corresponding *z* score fails to assert a statistically significant conclusion across genders, so it is fair to say that a sense of belonging has a similar effect on either gender group. Furthermore, the magnitude of this relationship is similar across genders as well. There is no evidence to show that a sense of belonging is a better fear predictor for women. Therefore, the fifth hypothesis is partially supported by the data, while the sense of belonging negatively related to the fear of crime in both genders, the magnitude of this relationship is not stronger in the female group as I expected.

The sixth hypothesis tests another assumption of the integration model. When individuals are integrated into the larger social group, are they more likely to feel unsafe since they have a better chance of learning about others' victimized experiences from the social network? Based on this assumption, knowing each other in the community should have a positive impact on the fear of crime since they are more likely to learn about other's victimized experiences. However, from table 2, it is clear that knowing each other has a negative influence on the fear of victimization in both samples. That means, when individuals know more people in their community, they are less likely to fear crime. Instead of supporting the indirect victimization

hypothesis, the data seems to support the in-formal social control hypothesis of the integration model. This is not a surprise because knowing more people could indicate more social integration. That's why the data showed that the more people the samples know, the less fear they feel. It is worth noticing that different from the predictor of sense of belonging, the corresponding  $z$  score of knowing each other's regression coefficients across genders is statistically significant, which indicates a statistically significant gender gap here. Moreover, the magnitude of this relationship is stronger for the female sample. Therefore, hypothesis 6 failed to receive support from the data.

In the social integration model, the sense of belonging is a more powerful predictor than knowing each other for both male and female samples. Even though knowing each other displayed a significant gender difference in the fear of crime, it is a less important predictor in the social integration model in both male and female samples. Moreover, both the sense of belonging and knowing each other indicated the level of social integration, but the reasons why knowing each other has a significant gender difference but the sense of belonging does not are still unclear.

### ***5.2.3 Disorder and the Fear of Crime***

The last hypothesis tests the disorder model. This model assumes that disorder signs have a positive impact on people's fear of crime. When people notice more signs of disorder, they are more likely afraid of victimization. Moreover, the signs of social disorder have more influence than the signs of physical disorder. The disorder regression model includes three signs of physical disorder and three signs of social disorder. Overall, all disorder signs have a positive influence on an individual's fear of crime in both samples. That means, the disorder signs do trigger people's fear of victimization whether it is male or female. However, different predictors

have different degrees of influence on different gender. For example, in the regression model of the male sample, the top three important predictors are vandalism/damage, noise, and hanging around. While for females, the first three influential variables are vandalism/damage, hanging around, and drug use.

Furthermore, the least important variable for male and female samples are garbage/litter and drunk/rowdy respectively. Overall, it seems that males are more sensitive to the physical disorder signs and females are more reactive to the social disorder signs. Although most variables do not show statistically significant gender differences, males and females do have an effective different response to people hanging around. The magnitude of the positive relationship between hanging around and fear of crime is greater for the female sample. In other words, in a situation with strangers hanging around, women are more likely to have a fearful feeling than men.

To sum up, hypothesis 7 is hardly supported by the data. As shown in Table 1 and Table 2, although women perceived a higher disorder level than men, they do not display more fear of victimization than men. There is no evidence to show that women are more sensitive to the signs of disorder around them. Except for the predictor of hanging around, most predictors in the regression model failed to reach a level of statistical significance of the gender gap. However, when we compare the relative importance of predictors in each gender group, social incivilities provoke more fear in the female group than in the male group. In other words, social incivilities are more likely to trigger female's fear but not males. Moreover, what out of mt expectation is that physical incivilities play a more important roles than social incivilities in male's fear of crime.

### **5.3 Summary of Results**

In the introduction part of my thesis, I raised the question of which fear model could better explain the gender-fear paradox in the field. This question can be asked in another way, which model displayed the biggest gender gap? By comparing those three models, I would say, the vulnerability model explained about the gender gap in the fear of crime than the other two models. Of course, one reason is that the vulnerability model included some demographic factors which directly influenced people's fear on a personal level. As social beings, it is undeniable that we are also influenced by our environment. Individuals are socialized to fit into their gender roles. That means even for what is the proper response to the various situations are influenced by their gender roles. That is why we also need to study the gender gap through the social integration model and disorder model to test an individual's fear from a different level. To some extent, social integration and disorders reflected an interaction between society and individuals, and gender undoubtedly plays an important role. Although in my study, only two predictors displayed significant gender differences directly in the integration model and disorder model, I still believe that male and female groups have different responses to their surroundings and these various responses further influenced their fear of crime in an indirect way.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I summarize the findings of my study and connect them to the critical feminist perspective in order to contribute to the theoretical understanding (6.1). Then, the analysis results will be discussed by linking each predictor and model with prior literature which was reviewed in Chapter 3. The discussion enriches the existing literature on the fear of crime regarding each predictor and model (6.2). Moreover, the discussion brings more women's voices into the current fear of crime study and provides a better understanding of the fear-gender paradox in the field by comparing three main fear models from a gender-based view. Moreover, since this thesis used the national scale data of Canada, it provides a greater knowledge into the gender gap relating to the fear of crime in Canada. The results have policy-making reference value toward bettering people's feelings of safety and social wellbeing (6.3). Next, the limitations of this study will be discussed and suggestions for further study and policy will be offered (6.4).

#### **6.1 Discussion of Critical Feminist Perspective**

The critical feminist perspective provides a powerful statement of why the gender issue is a must-have topic in the field. Women are half the population, not to mention an important part of family and society and therefore their input should be gathered and utilized, not ignored. Their feelings and thoughts do matter in every aspect of our society, especially in the process of knowledge production. Women's voices should be noticed at first, and then it could be separated from the unified patriarchal knowledge system. The critical feminist perspective not only provides a possibility but also an alternative option of how we learn to construct our society.



The critical feminist perspective inherits the core thoughts of critical theory. That means, the critical feminist perspective not only wants to describe and explain the unequal gender status quo in society, but also wants to push a change to improve gender equality. Moreover, it is worth noticing that the feminist view does not mean diminishing the male's status in the family and society, but requests equality for both genders. Only by moving in this direction can we hope to achieve the emancipation of all humankind from domination. Although the critical feminist perspective uses gender as its analyzing site, that does not mean gender is the only thing that should be focused on. Actually, gender is not the only factor that impacts discrimination and oppression. From the holistic view of critical theory, many other factors such as social status and race also contribute to the unequal social status quo. The critical feminist perspective starts from gender and then spreads to other social aspects. Gender equality and emancipation of women is a crucial step for the emancipation of all humanity. Without the liberation of women, the liberation of all humanity is impossible.

The critical feminist perspective challenged the currently male-dominant knowledge system and advocates a systematic social change, especially in the process of knowledge production. In the past, women are sometimes the major characters of the story, but the stories are told from a male perspective. Women's experiences are explained and interpreted from men's perspectives. Within this situation, how can we say the true feelings of women are known, even though it's a 'women's story'? It is time for a change. Women can be the storytellers of their own stories. This is not a matter of who is qualified to tell the stories, but of the power struggle between genders. Just as Michel Foucault's (1990) famous notion of power-knowledge, power (re)creates its own field through knowledge. In other words, whoever can control the process of knowledge production has the power in society. For a long time in patriarchal western

society, men controlled the process of knowledge production. Whether in natural science, social science, or even the arts, the discourses are shaped and told from males' perspectives.

Furthermore, that subjective produced knowledge is viewed as objective. The male-dominant perspective in the field is taken for granted and the unequal gender relations under the surface are ignored.

From the critical theorists' point of view, before we can take action to push a positive change, we first need to be aware of the oppression. The critical feminists sharply pointed out this deep-rooted unequal gender connection evident in the process of knowledge production. Academy as the central site of knowledge production powerfully (re)produces gender inequality and spreads the inequality to the whole of society. Therefore, women's perspective has to show up in the centre site of knowledge production and then the status quo of (re)production of gender inequality is positioned to change. Furthermore, the whole dynamic of gender inequality can be improved.

As discussed before, criminology is a subject with a long patriarchal tradition. Historically, women have rarely occupied any attention from the field since most criminologists focus on males' experience in crimes. However, the feminist waves brought awareness of gender inequality to criminology. Women are not satisfied with the male-centred perspective in the field anymore. The patriarchal tradition in criminology should be challenged and changed. Women have to be the must-part of the knowledge construction process in the field. Moreover, other social factors such as class, race, and age need to be included, since gender is never the only component of oppression and domination. Oppression and domination are systemic problems born out of the unequal economic relations in the capitalist society. That is why we need to employ a holistic view in criminology. Nothing exists in isolation. Gender issues are always

intertwined with other social issues. We may not be able to solve all problems at once, but we can use gender issue as an entry point to reflect and change our existing knowledge system and push toward a real change in society.

The neglect of victims is another dominant tradition in criminology. To some extent, crimes and criminals seem to be of far more interest than victims in the field. Otherwise, why do most criminologists focus their attention only on crimes and criminals? Victims however are also an unseparated part of any crime. Without a victim, is a crime still a crime? Therefore, it is unwise to neglect victims from crime research. Additionally, not taking victims into account also reflects the gender bias in criminology. Although men are considered the majority of both offenders and victims in most crimes, women are far more likely to be victims in certain types of crimes such as rape and sexual assault. The generalization of male victimized experience in most crimes also covered women's experience as victims of certain types of crime. It is worth noticing that men rarely become the victims of sexual assaults and rape, so it is not reasonable to ignore the gender gap in victimization experience. Women and men experience totally different types of victimization. The patriarchal tradition in the field not only led to the ignoring of women's voices but also muted the voices of victims, especially the female victims. This exclusion is why we have to bring forward the critical feminist perspective in order to reconstruct our knowledge system in the field.

Since male's and female's experiences of crimes are so different, their feelings of crimes are varying as well. This study uses the critical feminist perspective to observe the gender gap of the fear of crime and aims to fill in the lack of female's perspective in criminology. The existing models about the fear of crime did not directly differentiate gender variance but used some general models to explain all groups' fear of crime. Even though some models adopted gender as

one independent variable, that is not enough to clarify the gender discrepancy in the field.

Therefore, this study employs the critical feminist perspective to re-exam the existing models of the fear of crime to see if it is really applicable for both genders, or are they just examples of knowledge constructed from a male's perspective. This study proposed seven hypotheses based on predictors in each model to examine the existing three models of the fear of crime based on gender. The clarification of gender variance in the fear of crime not only brings women's perspective to the field, but is also a meaningful way to bring women's voices into the public sphere of our society. The discussion of predictors is conducted in the next section.

## **6.2 Discussion of Predictors**

Although gender is considered as the best predictor of the fear of crime (Hale, 1996; Rader, 2017), the way in which gender is used as an independent variable in the model to predict fear ignored the gender gap of other predictors. In my study, I treat genders as different sample groups to explore the group variance. This section discusses the results of my study by connecting them to the prior literature in the field, aiming to provide a better understanding of the gender gap in the fear of crime based on various predictors.

To test the vulnerability theory, many previous studies use gender as an independent predictor of physical or social vulnerability (Maskaly, 2014; Rader & Cossman, 2011; Toseland, 1982). I think it is inappropriate to use gender only as an indicator of physical vulnerability or social vulnerability. In a patriarchal society, women naturally have dual vulnerabilities – physically and socially. In that sense, using gender as either an indicator of physical vulnerability or an indicator of social vulnerability cannot precisely express its' dual nature. Moreover, the gender gap is far more than the different levels of vulnerability across genders. Treating gender only as an indicator of physical vulnerability may cause a spurious association. Therefore, in

order to more accurately explore the gender differences in the fear of crime, a better way is to treat genders as different groups.

### ***6.2.1 Social Vulnerability – Minority and Aboriginal Status***

Although Canada is a country comprised of mostly immigrants, western white culture still occupies the mainstream position in society. That means races or ethnicities other than white are marginal groups in society, even the Aboriginal group who are the original occupants of this land are marginalized in society. Therefore, minority status is the main indicator of social vulnerability. In the previous studies, no consistent conclusion of which racial or ethnic group feels the greatest amount of fear. However, even though several studies found that white people have a higher fear level than non-white people (Anderson, 1990; Bianchi et al., 2012; Hooghe & DeVroome, 2016; Rader, 2017), there is a consensus to say that white people have the least amount of fear in almost every type of crime (Evans, 1995; Silverman & Kennedy, 1983; Walker, 1994). Obviously, being a member of the majority group can effectively increase people's sense of security.

My study also confirmed this consensus in the field. Minority status is an effective predictor of people's fear level of crime. The OLS regression in my study displayed that racial/ethnic minorities are more fearful than non-minorities, no matter if they are men or women. The result supports that minorities have a higher level of fear than the majority. This is a reasonable outcome because Canada is a country with white mainstream culture, and minorities are marginal groups in society. Being a member of a marginal group in society is an embodiment of social vulnerability. In other words, being a racial minority is a sign of social vulnerability and people with minority status are fully aware of their social vulnerability. They are more likely to

feel fearful when they face potential threats and feel less capable to face the risk of being victimized.

However, the results of the gender gap are out of my expectations. In hypothesis 1, I supposed that minority women are more fearful than minority men. Individuals with a higher level of vulnerability are likely to have more fear than people less vulnerable. Obviously, compared to male minorities, female minorities are more vulnerable. Although both of them belong to social marginalized groups, female minorities are more physically and socially vulnerable than male minorities. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that women with minority status are more fearful than their male counterparts. Unexpectedly, the result of my study did not show that females with minority status are more fearful than males with minority status. In racial minority groups, the difference in fear levels across gender groups is not significant. In other words, gender is not an effective predictor of fear in racial minority groups. This result, to some extent, challenges the claim that gender is the best predictor of fear of crime (Hale, 1996; Rader, 2017). At least, in this case, female minorities do not show a higher level of fear of crime than male minorities. Moreover, this result also challenges the vulnerability theory, because the group with more vulnerability does not express a higher level of the fear of crime. However, the good news is that minority status can be a predictor within the vulnerability model for a whole group, since no gender variance exists. The reasons why there is no gender gap regarding fear in the minority groups is still unclear and further research is needed to unravel this mystery.

Aboriginals as first nations in the continent of North America face a situation unique from other racial minorities in Canada. The process of colonization changed the original cultural environment within the Aboriginal community and through a nationwide, longstanding legal action to separate children from parents created a huge generational trauma as well with far-

reaching impacts. Even though Aboriginal peoples are not immigrants, they too are marginalized in society. Most past field research focused more on offenders and studied the entire Aboriginal group as a whole. This led to an absence of awareness to include the power imbalance across genders in the Aboriginal group.

My study found that there is a significant gender gap in the fear of crime within the Aboriginal group, which supports my assumption in hypothesis 1. The OLS regression showed that for males, there is no significant difference between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals regarding their fear levels. Aboriginal females, however, are significantly more afraid than non-Aboriginal females.

My result disapproved Samuel Perreault's (2017) conclusive statement, which is even though Aboriginals have a higher victimization rate, they still have a more positive view of their safety than non-Aboriginals. When we test Aboriginals' fear of crime by gender, we can see obviously that Aboriginal females not only did not feel safer, they were more afraid than non-Aboriginal females. Meanwhile, Aboriginal males did not show a lower fear level. Actually, the result in males showed there is no significant difference between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Aboriginal males and non-Aboriginal males have a similar fear level of victimization. The result partly supports my hypothesis 1, which Aboriginal females show a higher fear level, but Aboriginal males did not. Furthermore, by comparing the standard coefficients of female minorities and female Aboriginals, female Aboriginals did not show a higher fear level than other female minorities. This was not what I expected in hypothesis 1.

Now we move on to the Aboriginal gender gap on the fear of crime. For the same regression model, the coefficient of male samples is not significant, and the coefficient of female samples is significant, so even without a  $z$  test, we can say a significant gender gap exists. This

proves exactly that the method which treats Aboriginals as a whole group is not correct. It did cover the gender gap and the imbalance between gender and power in Aboriginal communities. In the literature part, Samuel Perreault (2017) gave two possible reasons to explain why the Aboriginal group has a relatively higher level of feeling safe. The first is that most Aboriginal people do not live in a big city and the second is people generally have strong community ties. However, if his conclusion is not valid, then neither of his two interpretations are valid. As mentioned before, many Aboriginal females are victimized domestically. This means the location of where an Aboriginal woman lives is irrelevant, since the victimization happens in the private sphere. To some extent, strong community ties do not help to make Aboriginal women feel safer. What is even worse is strong community ties may help to cover domestic victimization of women and further enforce gender inequality. Therefore, it is necessary to research the fear of crime among the Aboriginal group through a gender-based view in the future. It is not only for the significant gender gap, but also for changing the status quo of gender power imbalanced.

To wrap up, hypothesis 1 is partly supported by my study. With the exception of Aboriginal males, all minorities and Aboriginal females are more fearful than their counterparts. Moreover, the gender difference is only significant in the Aboriginal group but not within the minorities. Furthermore, and not as I assumed, Aboriginal females did not display more fear of crime than female minorities, even though they face a higher risk.

### **6.2.2 *Social Vulnerability – Income and Education***

Social-economic background profoundly influences individuals' social vulnerability, and income level directly indicates people's social-economic background. As previously mentioned, people with a lower income level are more socially vulnerable than people with a higher income level. Moreover, poor people may have poorer health since they are less able to afford health



services. To some extent, a lower social-economic background also increases people's physical vulnerability, but the main influence of a lower social-economic background is still social vulnerability.

In hypothesis 2, I supposed that income will negatively impact both male and female fear, and the magnitude of this relationship will be stronger in the female sample than in the male sample. However, my result showed that income is negatively related to male's fear level only and the relationship between income and the fear of crime is not significant in the female sample.

Many previous studies found that people with a lower income level are more afraid of crime than people with a higher income level. My study partly supports this result. For men, a higher income level decreases their fear level of crime, but the positive influence of a higher income level is not significant for the female group.

Women with a higher income level did not show less fear of crime than women with a lower income level. Obviously, the way to put male individuals and female individuals together fails to reflect the gender gap on fear of crime based on income level. A higher income level does not make up for the disadvantages of being a woman. Moreover, my study results show that the fear of crime permeates the entire group of women, regardless of whether she belongs to a high-income group or a low-income group.

So, what led to the failure of income level as a predictor of fear among women? One reason may be the physical vulnerability of women. Although some previous studies claimed that compared to the physical vulnerability, social vulnerability plays a more important role to raise people's fear of crime (Hale, 1996), this claim may not be suitable for women regarding income. In my study, we can see that women with a high-income level have a fear level no different from

women with a low-income level. Less social vulnerability on income does not decrease the fear level of women.

Another reason may be the natural social vulnerability of being a woman in a patriarchal society. Although women with a higher income level seem to have less social vulnerability, they are still within the socially vulnerable group in a patriarchal society. That means compared to their male counterparts, women have less sense of control. When Hale (1996) explained why poor people are more fearful, he said, poor people lack control of material and social resources, and the lack of control contributes to their vulnerability. Obviously, the feeling of lack of control influences people's fear of crime. For women who live in a patriarchal society, the feeling of lack of control is always with them regardless of their income level. Briefly, the disadvantages caused by women's physical and social vulnerability cannot easily be compensated by the positive influence of high incomes on fear.

Within the male group, the situation is totally different. Generally, men are rarely influenced by the disadvantages of physical vulnerability. From my study, we find men with a higher-income level have a significantly lower level of fear of crime than lower-income men. The advantages of high-income effectively decreased the fear of crime in the male group. In other words, a high-income level increases a man's feeling of control and lowers their fear level. It is ironic to say that from the fear of crime aspect, men are able to use the advantages of a high-income level, while women are not. Income level has a different influence on the fear of crime for males and females. The research that put men and women together mixed up the feeling outcomes of two different groups. Further research is needed to obtain gender results and determine the reasons for the differences.

Education is another indicator of social vulnerability. More specifically, individuals with lower educational attainment are considered more socially vulnerable than individuals with higher educational attainment. The OLS regression result of my study showed that in both gender groups, education is negatively related to the fear of crime. In other words, individuals with higher educational attainment are less fearful of crime. This result is consistent with the commonly accepted conclusion of the relationship between education and the fear of crime in the field (Adu-Mireku, 2002; Clemente & Kleiman, 1977; Scheider et al., 2003; Vieno et al., 2013). Moreover, education is a significant predictor for fear of crime in both gender groups, but there is no significant difference across genders. That is, my result is different from Schafer, Huebner, and Bynum's (2006) conclusion, which is education as a predictor of the fear of crime only effective in the female group, but not effective for the male group. In contrast, my result is consistent with Smith, Torstensson, and Johansson's (2001) study which is education is an effective fear predictor for both gender groups.

Based on my study, higher educational attainment effectively reduced individuals' fear of crime. This result supports hypothesis 2, that education is negatively related to the fear of crime in both male and female groups. However, I did not expect that the magnitude of this relationship is not stronger in the female group. In hypothesis 2, I supposed that this relationship is stronger in the female group since education as a social resource could decrease female's social vulnerability. While for males in a patriarchal society, the advantages of education may not produce much of a difference for them. The result of this study did not show a significant gender gap across genders based on educational attainment. Women with higher educational attainment do not significantly feel safer than men with higher educational attainment. The benefits of a

higher education level seem to be offset by the disadvantages of being a woman. In other words, compared to females, education is a better predictor for males' fear.

Education is not only a social resource but also a reflection of individuals' social-economic situation. Generally, a higher educational attainment indicates a higher income level, so education and income are interrelated. As I discussed earlier, men are more able to take advantage of the higher income level than women to decrease their fear of crime. The situation is similar for individuals with higher educational attainment, it seems that men are more able to take advantage of education than women to reduce their fear of crime as well. However, it is worth noticing that although the magnitude of the relationship between education and fear is stronger in the male sample, there is no significant difference across male and female samples. While the relationship between income and fear shows a significant difference across genders. A higher income level cannot significantly decrease women's fear of crime, but it could significantly decrease men's fear of crime.

However, education is a better predictor than income to indicate individuals' fear levels in either gender. The reason is not yet clear. It may be because individuals with higher educational attainment are more likely to live in a safe neighbourhood, since they are more likely to have an income that affords safer living conditions. Furthermore, individuals with higher educational attainment are more likely to accept the fact that the crime rate has decreased in recent years. This knowledge makes them feel less afraid of crime, and this reason may be the main contributor to a decreasing fear of crime.

Income could improve individuals living conditions but in comparison to education, income is a less influential predictor for fear in both gender groups. Moreover, there is no significant gender gap in the relationship between education and fear. Education directly

changes individuals' mindsets about the victimization rate regardless of their gender. In short, both income and education are social resources, and they have different gender impacts on the fear of crime. Further research is needed to study from a gender-based view how different social resources influence individuals' vulnerability and the fear of crime.

### ***6.2.3 Social Vulnerability – Previous Victimization***

In the literature part, I reviewed the direct previous victimization and the indirect previous victimization. In my research, I only studied the direct previous victimization. Hypothesis 3 is supported by my result. It showed that previous victimization is positively related to both male and female samples, and the magnitude of this relationship is stronger in female samples.

My study confirmed the argument that people who have direct victimization tend to be more fearful. However, scholars rarely studied the gender difference relationship between the previous victimization and the fear of crime. The OLS regression result showed both male and female victims are more fearful than people who never experienced crimes, and the female victims are significantly more afraid than male victims. The significant gender gap may relate to crime types. Many scholars mentioned that crimes involving physical harm and huge loss increase a victim's fear of crime (Hale, 1996; Miethe & Lee, 1984; Rader, 2017; Skogan & Klecka, 1997). Moreover, sexual assault influences people's fear levels significantly (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1994; Warr, 1985). Furthermore, it is worth noticing that most sexual assaults also result in physical harm. Women being the most common victims of sexual-related crimes are more likely to experience physical harm than men. Therefore, the gender gap may be caused by the experience of different types of crimes.

The result of my study showed that the previous victimization is a valid indicator for social vulnerability and people who experienced victimization are more likely to have a higher fear level. Moreover, female victims are significantly more afraid than male victims after experiencing victimization. Although several possible explanations are available, further research is needed. Furthermore, this result also proves that we need to research the relationship between the previous victimization and fear of crime from a gender-based view.

#### **6.2.4 *Physical Vulnerability – Age***

Age is a profound indicator of physical vulnerability and age is highly relative to people's fear of crime. Hypothesis 4 is not supported by the result of the OLS regression. The result showed that age is negatively related to fear in both gender samples, and the magnitude of this relationship is stronger in male samples. Moreover, there is no significant gender difference between male and female samples.

Different with most previous studies, the result disapproved that older people have a higher level of the fear of crime than younger people. Generally, as people get older, their physicality becomes limited making them feel less able to protect themselves. Furthermore, the aging process makes people feel less able to survive a crime. As mentioned by other scholars, even though the elderly actually face a relatively low victimization rate, they have a higher level of the fear of crime than younger age groups (Hale, 1996; Gubrium, 1974). The increasing feeling of insecurity about their safety is caused by the aging process. The aging process increases both physical and psychological vulnerability. For both sexes, senescence is a continuous process of loss and deterioration. This results in feeling less able to protect themselves and heal from the consequences of crime. Moreover, they tend to believe that their physical vulnerability made them more likely to be the target of crimes, which again contributes

to being fearful (Warr, 1984). Furthermore, the elderly group tends to be socially withdrawn, which results in less social support and feeling unsafe. Shortly, aging process increases people's vulnerability and makes people more fearful. However, my study had an opposite result. The elderly had a lower level of fear of crime than their counterparts in both gender groups.

Contrary to much of the literature which suggested that older adults have a greater level of fear of crime than the younger people, my results showed that older groups did not express more fear of crime than the younger group. This result is inconsistent with the fear-victimization paradox by age, and also inconsistent with the basic assumption in the vulnerability model which suggested that people with higher vulnerability are also with a higher fear fearful level. The aging process increased people's physical, psychological and social vulnerabilities, so it is reasonable that the elderly with more fear of crime than the younger group. However, the regression result showed that the elderly are less fear of crime in both gender groups, which is different from the mainstream opinion. It is unclear why the elderly are less fearful than their younger counterparts. Future research is required for clarifying this question.

### ***6.2.5 Discussion of the Vulnerability Model***

The fundamental assumption of the vulnerability model is that individuals who think they are physical/socially vulnerable are more likely to fear crime. My study tested five predictors for social vulnerabilities and one predictor for physical vulnerability. For male samples, the most effective vulnerability predictor of fear is the previous victimization, and the least effective vulnerability predictor is Aboriginal status. Moreover, compared to predictors of social vulnerability, age as a predictor of physical vulnerability did not show higher effectiveness in male samples. For female samples, the most effective vulnerability predictor is the previous victimization as well, but the least effective predictor is income. The physical predictor of age

also did not show higher effectiveness than other social vulnerability predictors. For both male and female samples, although age did not show it is a better indicator of fear, that does not mean it is an inferior predictor over other social vulnerability predictors.

Both social and physical vulnerability predictors have their own advantages and disadvantages. Compared to social vulnerabilities, physical vulnerabilities are more visible and direct. Social vulnerabilities are more complex and intrinsic. Although some scholars argue that social vulnerability is a better predictor than physical vulnerability (Hale, 1996), I think it is not precise, since both social and physical vulnerabilities are multidimensional. Some predictors of physical vulnerability could perform better than some social predictors. Therefore, I think vulnerability is vulnerability, no matter if it is physical or social - it brings a feeling of insecurity and contributes to people's fear of crime.

To wrap up, the vulnerability model can effectively indicate the fear level of individuals. However, the significant gender gap in the predictors of Aboriginal status, income, and the previous victimization illustrate that gender difference should be acknowledged in the field. The method to clump them together not only mixed up their feelings but also led to imprecise conclusions. Further research needs to pay more attention to the gender gap in the vulnerability model.

#### ***6.2.6 Social Integration – Sense of Belonging***

In the social integration model, a sense of belonging indicates individuals' level of social integration, and people with a higher integration level are supposed to feel less afraid of crime. The results of the OLS regression supported hypothesis 5, except that the magnitude of this relationship is stronger in female samples. More specifically, the results confirmed that a sense of belonging is negatively related to the fear of crime and the gender gap is not significant across



samples. Moreover, the magnitude of this relationship is not stronger in the female sample than in the male group.

This result is consistent with the conclusions of most other scholars in the field. When individuals are more integrated into their neighbourhoods, they feel more social control and less negative affections such as fear of crime (Adam & Serpe, 2000; Biderman et al., 1967; Gibson et al., 2002; Merry, 1981). To some extent, a higher social integration level implies individuals are more likely to receive social support, which could make people feel safer. Moreover, in a highly social, integrated neighbourhood, individuals also feel everyone is subject to unspoken regulations (civilities) and this mutual adherence makes individuals feel safer. Moreover, my study shows there is no significant gender difference in a sense of belonging, which does not match my expectation. However, without any doubt, an increased sense of belonging could effectively decrease individuals' fear of crime.

### ***6.2.7 Social Integration – Know Each Other***

In my study, 'know each other' is an indicator to measure the likelihood of experiencing indirect victimization. I supposed that when individuals know more people in the neighbourhood, they are more likely to hear others' experiences of victimization. Scholars who supported the indirect victimization hypothesis believe that a higher social integration level indicates fear is disseminating throughout the social network and therefore makes individuals more fearful of crime (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Furstenberg, 1971; Kanan & Pruitt, 2002; Merry, 1981; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Talay & Hale, 1986). However, the result of my OLS regression failed to support hypothesis 6. The result showed that actually 'know each other' negatively related to the fear of crime, and the magnitude of this relationship is stronger in the female sample. Namely, when individuals know more people in the neighbourhood, they feel less fear of

crime. Moreover, there is a significant difference between genders. Although both male and female samples feel less fear of crime when they know more people, females fear of crime significantly less than males fear of crime.

This result disapproved the indirect victimization hypothesis and to some extent, it supported the informal social control hypothesis. However, that does not mean the indirect victimization hypothesis is wrong. Since in my study, ‘know each other’ as a predictor can only indicate the chance of learning victimization experiences. Knowing more people does not necessarily mean individuals have heard other’s victimization experiences. Moreover, to some extent, ‘know each other’ also indicates that individuals are more likely to have more social support in the neighbourhood which could further decrease their fear of crime. Therefore, the limitation of my study is that ‘know each other’ may not a good predictor to test the inhibiting mechanism in the social integration model. Although it does reflect the level of social integration and the chance of learning indirect victimization experiences, it does not precisely locate the group who have learned indirect victimization from others. Therefore, to test the indirect victimization hypothesis, further research needs to precisely locate the group who have learned the victimization experience from others.

#### ***6.2.8 Discussion of Social Integration Model***

The debate of the social integration model is about whether social integration increases or decreases individuals’ fear of crime. The informal control hypothesis believes that a higher social integration level could decrease individuals’ fear of crime, while the indirect victimization hypothesis argues that a higher social integration level could increase individuals’ fear of crime. The result of my study confirmed that a higher social integration level decreased individuals’ fear of crime, no matter their gender. However, since the predictor of indirect victimization has

limitations, it is irresponsible to say the indirect victimization hypothesis is totally wrong. Moreover, in my OLS model, although both a sense of belonging and 'know each other' are negatively related to the fear of crime, obviously a sense of belonging is a better predictor to indicate individuals' fear of crime.

### **6.2.9 Disorder – Physical and Social Incivilities**

The disorder model studies the relationship between fear and the perceived incivilities of the local surroundings. Incivilities are divided into two categories - physical incivilities and social incivilities. No matter what the kind of incivility most studies found there is a positive relationship between the perceived disorder and the fear of crime (Convinton & Taylor, 1991; Gate & Rohe, 1987; Lewis & Salem, 1986; Skogan, 1990; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Taylor & Hale, 1986). The result of my study confirmed that the perceived disorders are positively related to the fear of crime. However, whether social incivilities or physical incivilities are more strongly linked to the fear of crime is still unclear. Some scholars argue that social incivilities are better predictors of the fear of crime (LaGrange et al., 1992; Rohe & Burby, 1988). However, since vulnerability and social attitudes can influence the feeling of disorder, different groups may have different feelings on the same disorder signs (Jackson, 2004; Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004; Spelman, 2004). Therefore, the gender gap should be noticed when we discuss which type of incivility is a better predictor of fear.

Based on the result of my study, there is no significant gender difference for most fear predictors in the disorder model. The only exception is hanging around. However, that does not mean the gender gap does not exist. By ranking the standard coefficients from each gender group, we can find that the strength of each predictor to link to the fear of crime.

In the male sample, the strength order of the predictors from the largest to the smallest are vandalism/damage, noise, hanging around, drug use, drunk/rowdy, and garbage/litter. The top two strong predictors are signs of physical incivilities. However, the strength order of predictors in the female sample from the biggest to the smallest are vandalism/damage, hanging around, drug use, noise, garbage/litter, and drunk/rowdy. Although the strongest predictor is a sign of physical incivilities, two indicators tied for second in strength are signs of social incivilities. To some extent, the different predictor strength order in the different gender groups implied gender differences. Generally, for the male sample, predictors of physical incivilities are better predictors of fear, while for the female sample, predictors of social incivilities are better predictors of fear. To wrap up, the result of my study indicated that the gender gap is not significant for most disorder predictors except for hanging around, but women are more sensitive to signs of social incivilities, while men are more sensitive to signs of physical incivilities. This result did not support Huebner and Bynum's (2006) finding of women are more fearful in their neighbourhood. The inconsistent conclusions infer that further research is needed from a gender-based view to study the relationship between disorders and the fear of crime.

#### ***6.2.10 Discussion of the Disorder Model***

The disorder model aims to study the relationship between signs of disorder and the fear of crime. And there are many signs of disorder in the world. Moreover, individuals have their own standards to define and locate the signs of the disorder. Just like Sampson and Raudenbush (2004) said, perception of disorder is a subjective feeling rather than an objective truth, which means it varies with different individuals. Spelman (2004) also mentioned that people who feel more fearful tend to identify more signs of disorder in their surroundings. To some extent, the disorder model studies the interaction between individuals and their surroundings. Individuals'

personal characteristics such as vulnerability and their social attitudes can shape the feeling of disorder, and in turn, the same scenario triggers a different level of fear for different people.

That is why we need to study the relationship between the fear of crime and signs of disorder based on different social groups. A gender-based view is needed since women have different vulnerability and social attitudes than men, and these actively shape their feelings toward signs of disorder and further influence their fear of crime. Although the result of my study did not show significant gender differences for most signs of disorder, the various feelings of different gender groups should be noticed. For example, males are more sensitive to the signs of physical incivilities, while females are more sensitive to the signs of social incivilities. Moreover, males have the least fear of crime toward garbage/litter, while females have the least fear of crime toward drunk/rowdy. In future research, more signs of disorder may need to be introduced into the disorder model, and the mechanism of how the interaction of individuals and their surroundings influence the fear of crime does should be clarified.

### **6.3 Comparison of Three Fear Models**

Three mainstream fear models have a different focus on factors that may influence individuals' fear of crime. The vulnerability model focuses on personal characteristics related to personal vulnerability and further impacts on an individuals' fear of crime. While the social integration model studies the fear of crime from a community or social perspective. In other words, it focuses more on the relations between individuals and social groups, and how this relationship influences individuals' fear of crime. Lastly, the disorder model focuses on how the surrounding environment influences individuals' fear of crime. Although the three fear models have different focal points on factors related to individuals' fear of crime, this does not mean that we have to pick the best one and discard the rest.

These three models study people's fear of crime from different perspectives. As said before, our society is a dynamic, complex system and the individuals in it are affected by various factors from different levels, and all of those factors together ultimately form an individuals' fear of crime. In the meantime, it is worth noticing that, to some extent, the predictors in these three models are interrelated. For example, the income and education level can affect what kind of neighbourhood a person lives in, and further influence the chance of seeing disorder signs and how they react to the disorder signs. Moreover, individuals' demographic characteristics can also influence individuals' sense of belonging in the community. For instance, it may be difficult for a minority or Aboriginal person to feel a sense of belonging in an all-white community or vice versa. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that all three fear models are necessary, and they complement each other to some extent.

The results of my study confirm that although in the vulnerability model Aboriginal status is not significant for the male sample, and income is not significant for the female sample, all other predictors in the three fear models are significant to individuals' fear of crime. This result suggests that an individual's fear of crime is under various influences from different aspects of society. Moreover, three predictors in the vulnerability model show significant gender differences - Aboriginal status, income, and previous victimization.

While in the social integration model, 'know each other' has a significant gender difference, and in the disorder model, hanging around has a significant gender gap. Moreover, in those five predictors that showed gender difference, 'know each other' has the lowest p-value, which indicated the highest significance level. Furthermore, both the vulnerability model and the disorder model have six indicators, but the vulnerability model has three predictors showing significant gender differences, and the disorder model has only one. It suggested that compared

to personal characteristics related to vulnerability, there is less gender difference in individuals' responses to the surrounding environment. If we want to study gender differences in the fear of crime, it is better to put more attention on the vulnerability model and the social integration model. Especially the vulnerability model, since gender roles interact with many demographic characteristics.

#### **6.4 Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research and Policy**

My study tested the three main theoretical models of the fear of crime - social vulnerability model, social integration model, and disorder model as based on Canadian national data. Each model includes different types of predictors to reflect the basic assumptions of the theory. However, the predictors I used to test the effectiveness of the models can only partly reflect the theoretical assumptions of the models, since society is a complex system. Even though introducing more variables may lead to more precise results, it is impossible to include every potential variable into the models. In my study, I consider the accessibility and representativeness of the variables in the national database and try to ensure the reliability of my study.

Moreover, most researchers use gender as a predictor of vulnerability rather than separate them into different gender groups to study the fear of crime and questioned the significance of grouping different genders separately. However, I think a person's sex not only reflects a vulnerability but also reflects many other aspects beyond vulnerability. Therefore, it should not just be a vulnerability predictor just study in the vulnerability model, but also needs to introduce in other fear models. Furthermore, it cannot be ignored that individuals of different genders are physically, psychologically, and socially different. Researching people as one group neutralizes the differences and leads to inaccurate research results. The study of the fear of crime based on

different gender groups not only highlighted the gender gap. Allowing women to be visible and to be heard is a key step towards gender equality in a patriarchal society. In other words, capturing women's opinions is necessary for gender equality in Canada. Changes that start in academia can also promote other changes in society. This is a meaningful try to push gender equality and social equality.

Further research in the field of the fear of crime may introduce more relevant predictors from different theoretical perspectives or even integrate these three mainstream fear models to create a more comprehensive theoretical model. Moreover, the gender differences should be noticed and highlighted in the research. Different fear models can be made based on each gender. For example, my study showed that income is not a significant predictor for the female sample and Aboriginal status is not a significant variable for the male sample, so further research may remove the insignificant predictors and adjust the predictors in the model for different gender groups. In addition, I have to admit that the dataset I use is not flawless. Statistics Canada mainly collected their data by phone, so residents who live in remote communities or reserves are less likely to be reached than residents who live in cities. Especially for the Aboriginal group, most of them live in relatively rural places. Therefore, their data may not be reliable and representative as we supposed. In future research, we need to improve our data collection method in the Aboriginal group to make their data more reliable and representative.

As discussed earlier, from a critical feminist perspective, the final goal is to push change in our society. However, changing the theoretical framework in academia is a relatively indirect and slow process to emancipate women. In the meantime, the government can take more direct action to change the status quo of gender inequality by making policy changes. Related to our topic of the fear of crime, that means, to decrease individuals' fear of crime and improve the



whole wellbeing of our society. The government should take responsibility and make our society develop in a better direction. Although the government cannot directly change the characteristics of individuals, creating a suitable environment can indirectly change the vulnerability of individuals and at the same time enhance the relationship between individuals and their communities, ultimately improving the overall welfare of society. In other words, the government can take action to decrease individuals' fear of crime and finally build up a better society.

The social conditions experienced presented a number of social policy issues for governments (at all levels), for funders, and for educating the public on mainstream fear theories. Based on my research and the mainstream fear theories. The thesis makes a valuable contribution to the knowledge and discussion of the gender-fear paradox and the need to include women's voices making women visible and heard. is necessary to address gender equality in a patriarchal society. The fear of crime seen through a gender view is a topic that is significant for society. In conclusion, I provided a number of policy recommendations.

Firstly, encourage communication between different social groups and promote ethnic/racial equality in society. Reducing discrimination against minorities and Aboriginals increases the sense of be-longing for different ethnic and social groups within the community and society and benefits everyone. The social vulnerability of minorities and Aboriginals could be decreased and made them feel more secure. Minorities and Aboriginals make up a large proportion of the Canadian population so reducing their fear of crime can greatly enhance the overall sense of security in society.

Secondly, Increase the investment in education and enable more people to achieve a higher education. More education not only decreases individuals' social vulnerability, but can

also change people's view of the world. People are more likely to manage their fear of crime and learn to accept the fact of the decreasing crime rate.

Thirdly, increase funding and police efficiency to decrease the chance of victimization. In my vulnerability model, no matter male or female, the most influential predictor of the fear of crime is the previous victimization. Although the crime rate is indeed declining, we still need to try our best to minimize the number of victims of crime and to increase people's feeling of safety.

Fourthly, encourage people to strengthen community integration and reduce the signs of disorder in neighbourhoods. A community with a higher integration level and a more organized environment can effectively decrease members' fear of crime and improve their sense of security.

In conclusion, decreasing individuals' fear of crime requires cooperation on multiple levels in society. The government's guidance is only part of it. In addition, both the media and the individuals within society play an important role in increasing all of society's sense of security.

## APPENDIX

### Statistical Figures

Figure A.1: The Average Level of Fear of Victimization across Gender

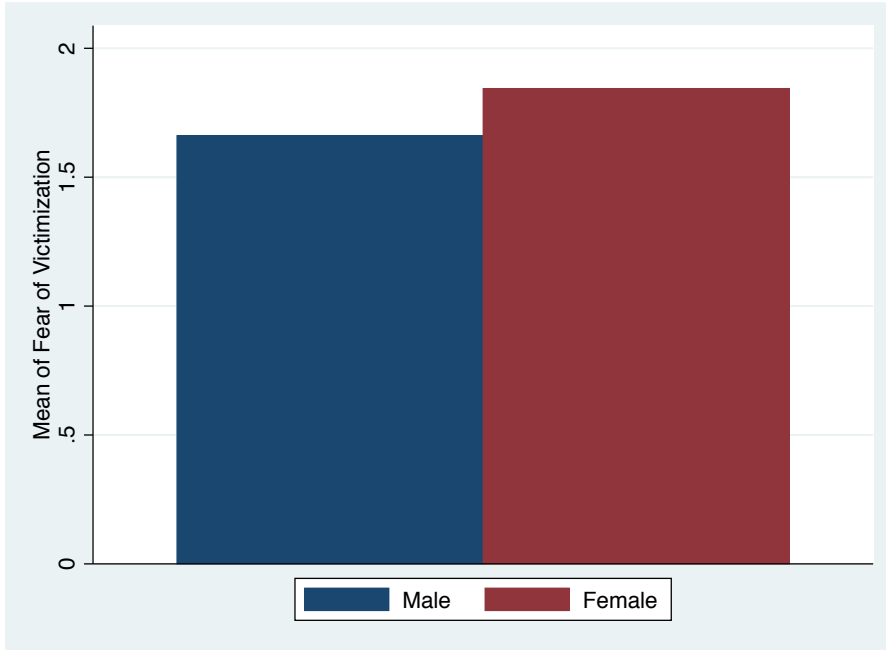


Figure A.2: Percentage of Minority Status in each Gender Group

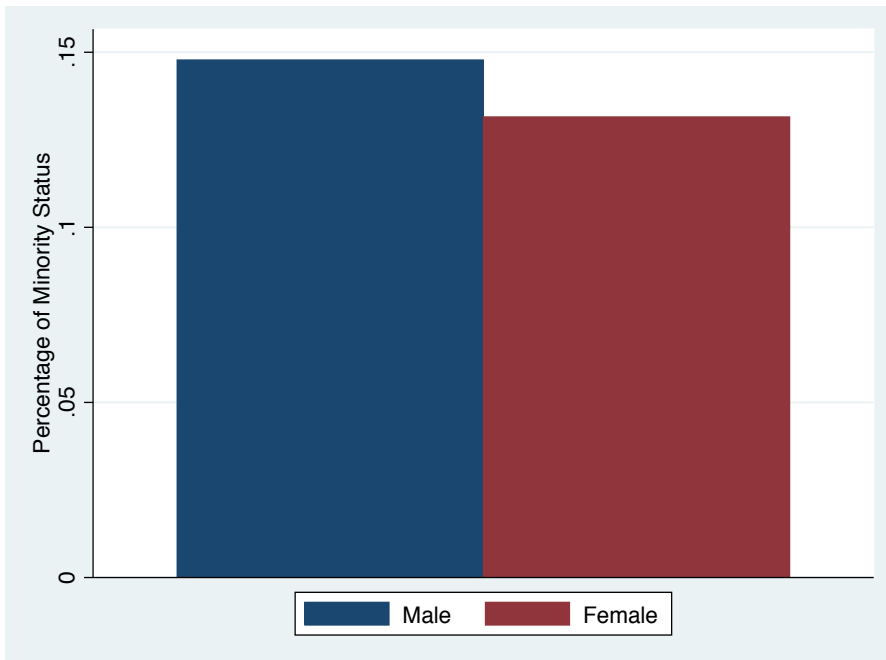


Figure A.3: Percentage of Aboriginal Status in each Gender Group

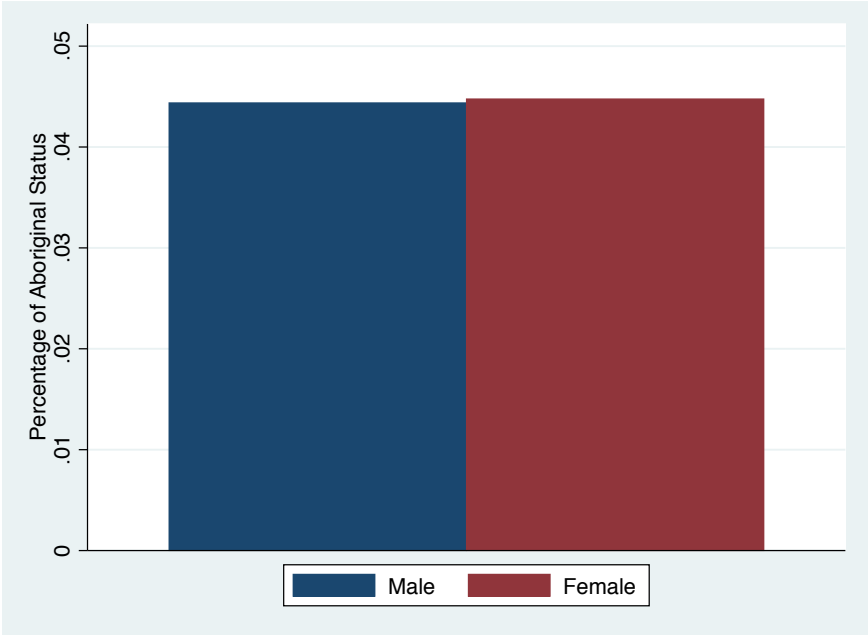


Figure A.4: The Average Income Level across Gender

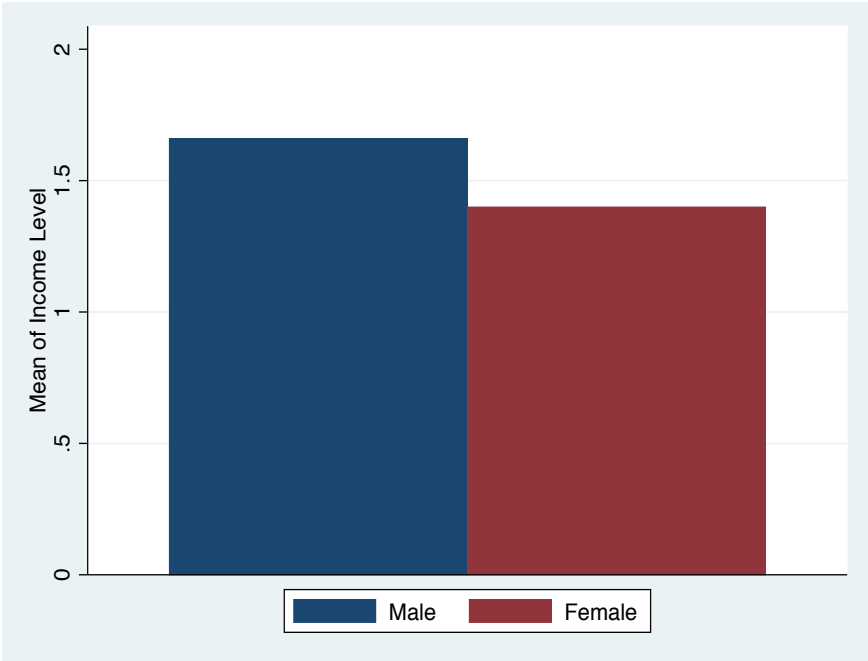


Figure A.5: Percentage of the Previous Victimization in each Gender Group

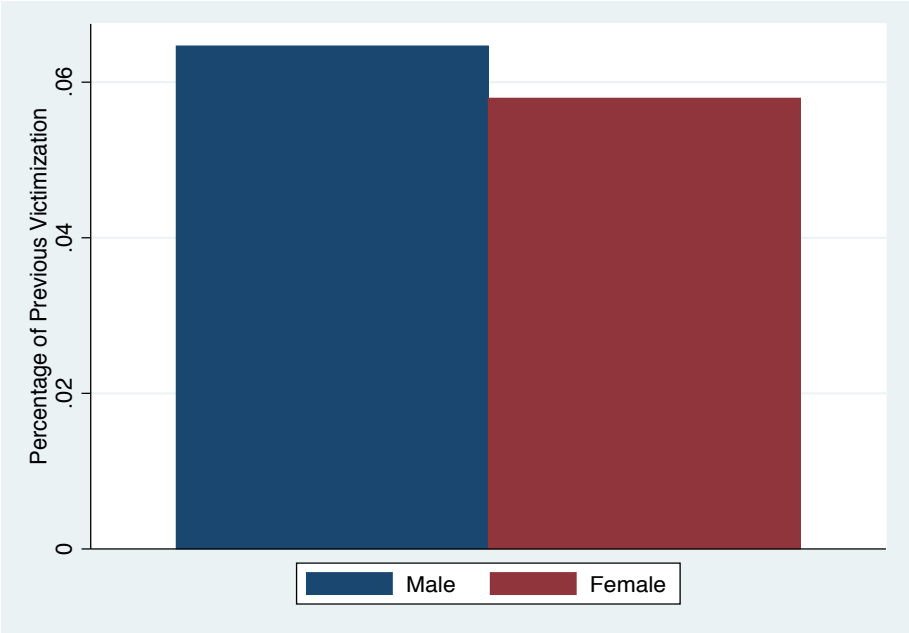


Figure A.6: The Average Educational Level across Gender

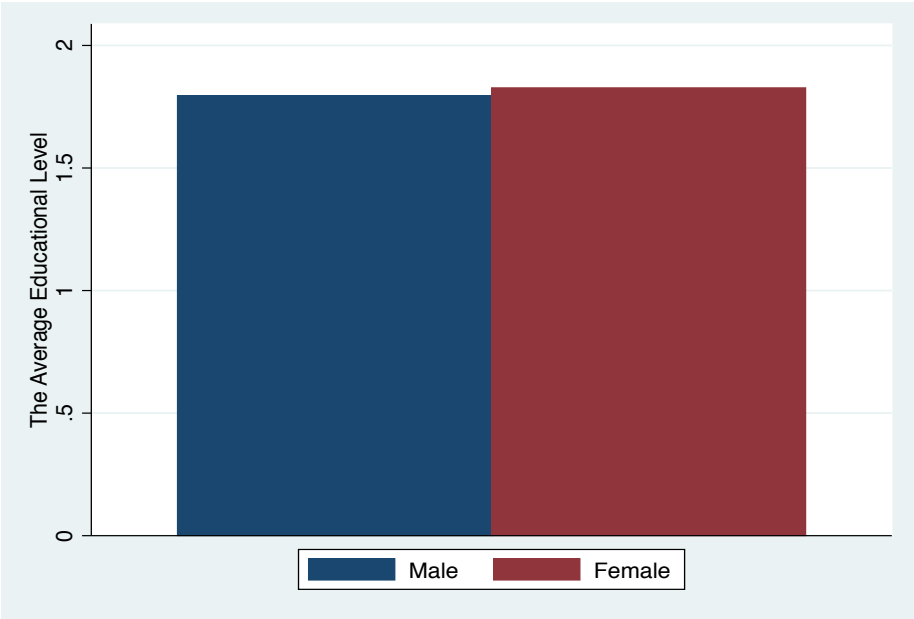


Figure A.7: The Average Age Level across Gender

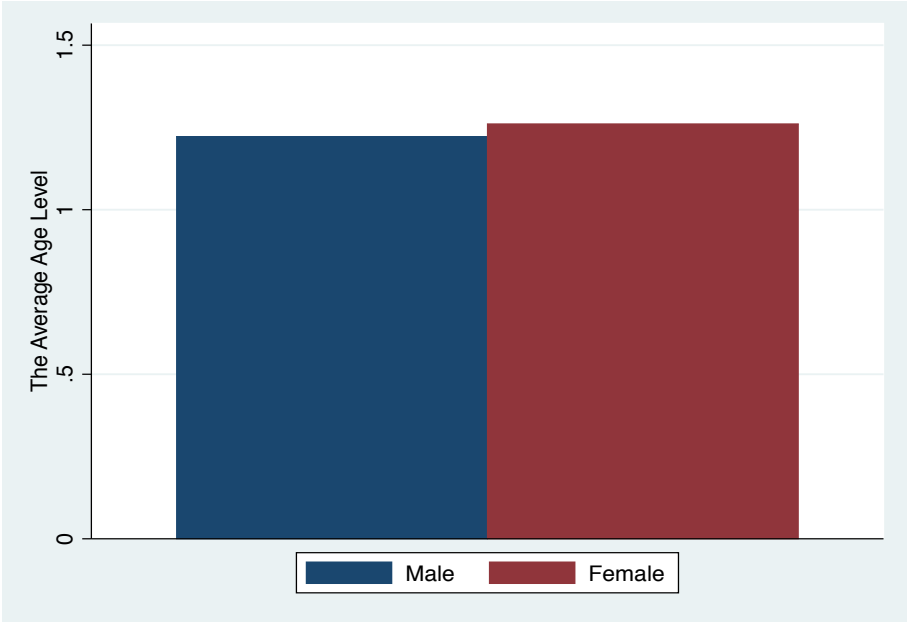


Figure A.8: The Average Level of Sense of Belonging across Gender

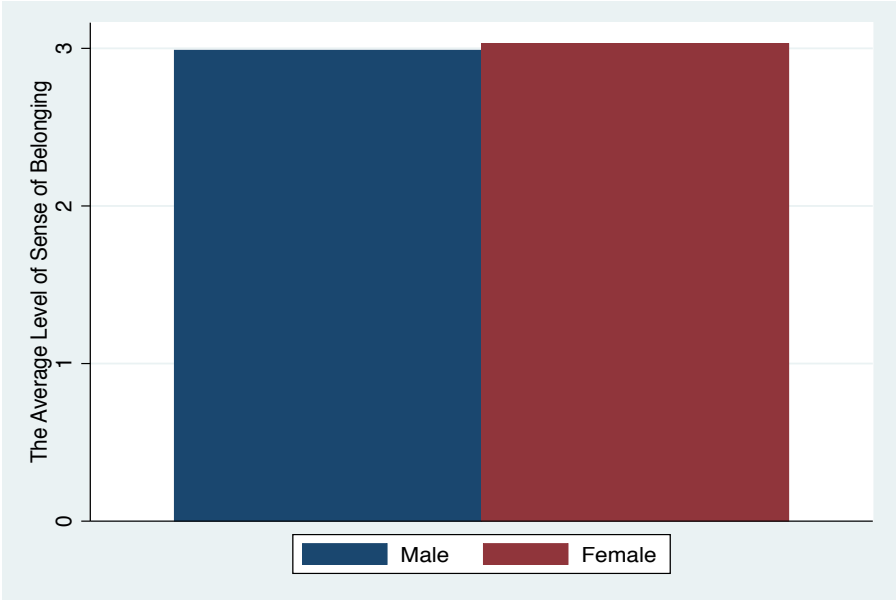


Figure A.9: The Average Number of People They Know in The Community across Gender

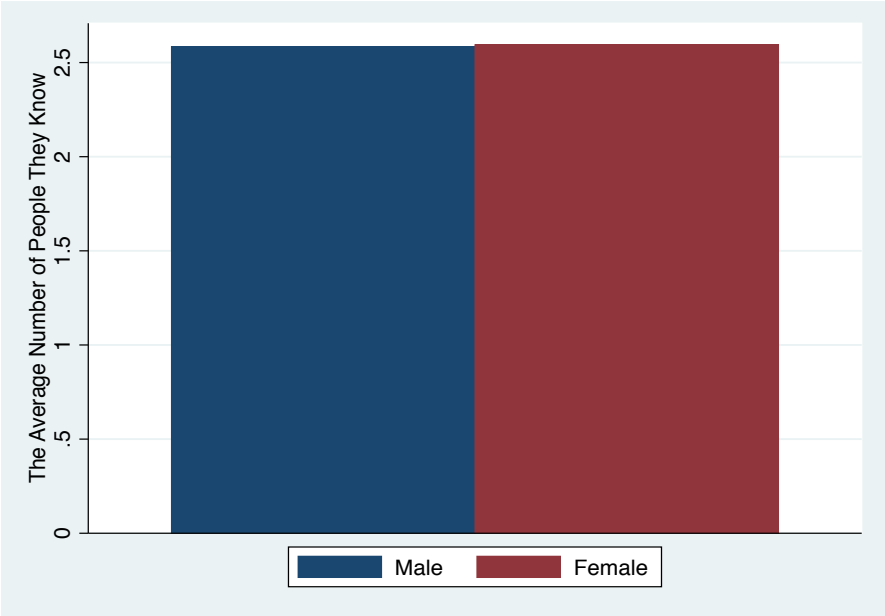


Figure A.10: Attitudes toward Noise across Gender



Figure A.11: Attitudes toward Garbage/Litter across Gender

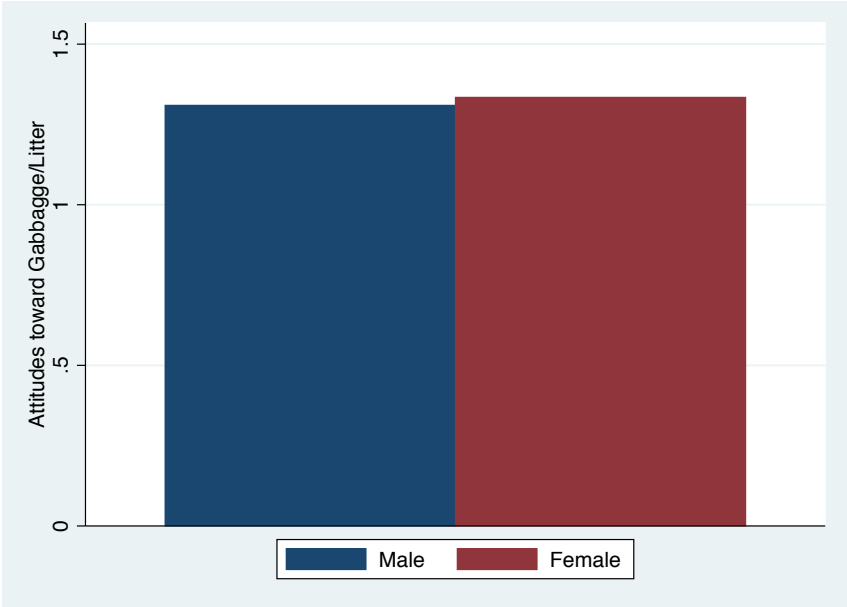


Figure A.12: Attitudes toward Vandalism/Graffiti/Damage across Gender

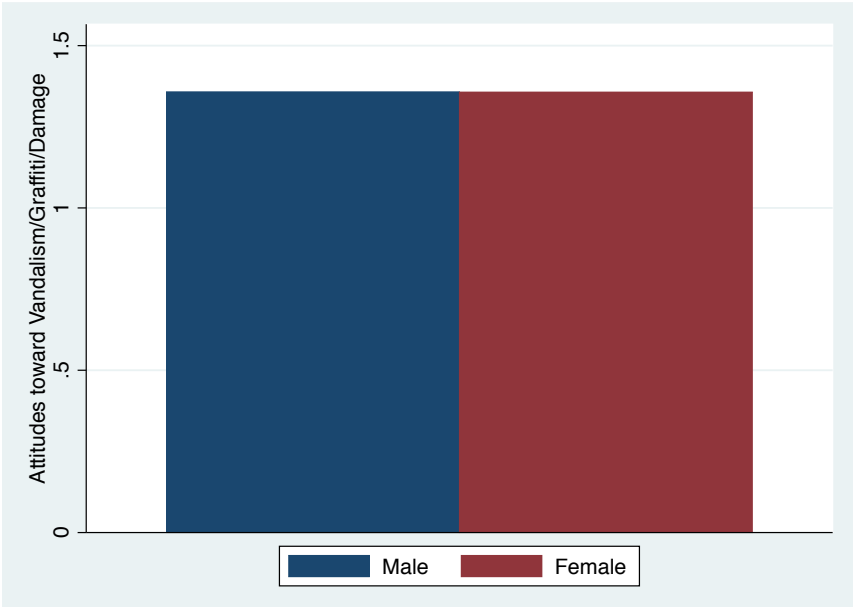




Figure A.13: Attitudes toward People Hanging Around across Gender

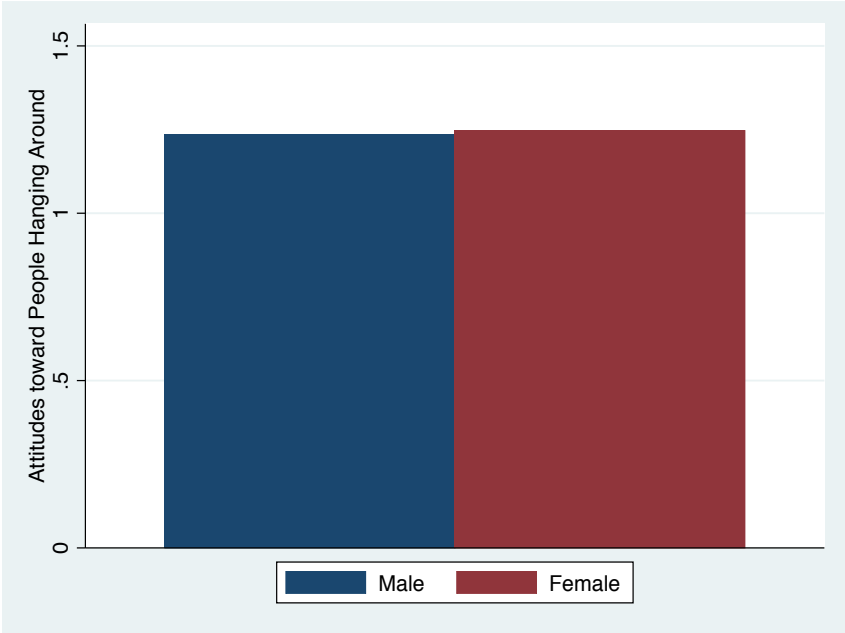


Figure A.14: Attitudes toward Drug Use across Gender

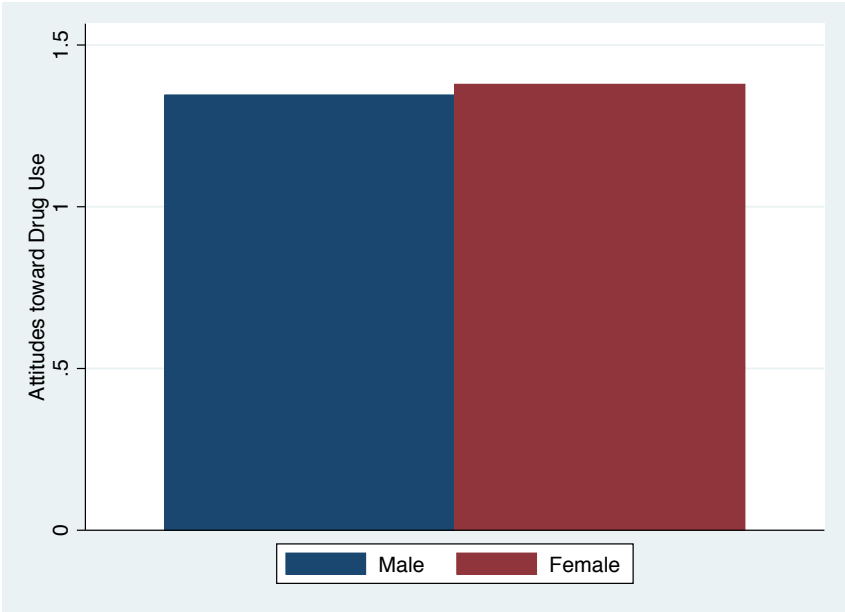
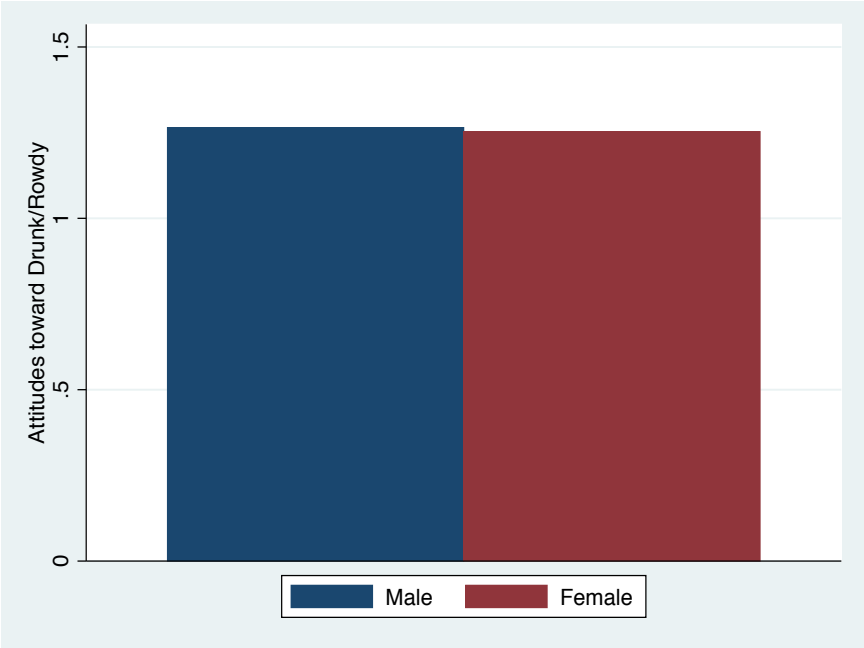


Figure A.15: Attitudes toward Drunk/Rowdy across Gender



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