



Online Chapter

▲ Humboldt Broncos assistant coach Chris Beaudry (shown here in a courtroom sketch) gave a victim impact statement following the collision that killed sixteen people. What function do victim impact statements serve in the criminal justice system? (Photo by the Canadian press/Cloudesley Rook-Hobbs)

Victimization

LEARNING OUTLINE

After reading this chapter, you will be able to

- Describe the Canadian populations most at risk of victimization
- Explain the differences between criminology and victimology
- Describe how the lifestyle exposure model can predict victimization
- Provide a definition of a hate crime
- Describe the strengths and limitations of the *Canadian Victims Bill of Rights*

CASE STUDY

A Family Mourns their Father in a Seven-Year Wait for Justice

On March 31, 2011, Dr Christy Natsis, an Ottawa dentist, was involved in an impaired driving collision when her sport utility vehicle crashed into Bryan Casey's truck, killing the father of three children. Natsis was charged with impaired driving causing death after tests of her blood alcohol levels revealed they were over two times the legal limit. Natsis pleaded not guilty and mounted an aggressive challenge to her prosecution. Crawford (2018) notes how the case dragged through Ontario's court system from 2012 to 2015 and required 55 days of the court's time. During those court appearances, Natsis's lawyer was able to have the blood alcohol level evidence ruled inadmissible, but despite that success, Natsis was convicted in May 2015 of impaired and dangerous driving causing death.

Prior to sentencing, Casey's wife, LeeEllen Carroll, presented a 12-page victim impact statement (VIS) that described the family's loss, the grief they experienced, and how they coped with Bryan's death in different ways, including their daughter's tearful prayers for just one more visit from her father seven months after the crash. Carroll expressed the frustration of telling her children that the woman who had

killed their father was living in the community on bail while the family was suffering from their loss.

Natsis was sentenced to a five-year prison sentence and a driving ban, although she filed an appeal claiming that the police investigators were biased, and she was released from custody on bail awaiting the appeal. It took another three years before the case was resolved; on May 7, 2018, the Ontario Court of Appeal dismissed Natsis's appeal (Crawford, 2018). Seven years after the collision, Natsis was sent to prison, although she will be eligible for day parole after serving 20 months, so there is a possibility of her release by January 2020. Asked about the outcome of the appeal, Casey's widow said that "the pain inflicted upon us continues to have a huge impact" (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2018).

We can learn more about this case by reviewing the judge's decision and reason for sentence, which summarizes the factual background of the case, Dr Natsis's background, the VIS, the applicable principles of sentencing, the aggravating and mitigating factors, and the result.

Critical Questions

1. Natsis was able to delay her admission to prison for seven years after the collision. How would this impact Bryan Casey's family and friends?
2. Why is it difficult for the families of people killed in a crime to get closure until the guilty person is sentenced?
3. How do victims or their families get closure if the guilty person(s) is never brought before the courts?

INTRODUCTION

All of us are crime victims and in some cases we are unaware of our victimization: Canadians are, for example, routinely defrauded by unethical

corporations that work together to keep prices of consumer items artificially high, and most of us have driven in vehicles or used equipment that was known by the manufacturers to be unsafe. Unless we learn about these crimes on the news, however,

we are unaware that they've occurred. About one-tenth of us, by contrast, are victims of more serious crimes. In his analysis of victimization data from the General Social Survey, Perreault (2015, p. 30) found that 143 of every 1,000 households experience break and enter, vehicle theft, vandalism, or theft of personal property each year. About half as many households (76 of every 1,000 households) reported having experienced a violent crime in the previous year, such as robberies, physical or sexual assaults.

Even though crime touches everybody's lives, victims had traditionally received very little attention from the criminal justice system until the early 1980s. In fact, the police and courts did not really want victims involved in the process, other than as witnesses. Although the system is more responsive to the needs of crime victims today, the front-line officials in health, educational, and social service organizations, as well as police, can still lack sensitivity about the impacts of so-called minor crimes on people's lives. These feelings are shared by most members of the public as well. But we are learning today that acts once considered relatively harmless—or that most of us have experienced, such as bullying—can have devastating and far-reaching impacts on a young person (Wilkinson, 2017).

With respect to bullying, for example, while being harassed, belittled, or subjected to simple assaults does not create any lasting physical injuries and few bullies are ever arrested, these acts can reduce a victim's self-confidence, increase their need for mental health services, and push them into substance abuse. Canadian youth in grades 7 to 12 who are bullied, for example, have higher rates of self-reported drug use (Turner et al., 2018). Research also shows that children who are bullied are less likely to be employed later in life and have lower lifetime incomes than youth who were not bullied (Brimblecombe et al., 2018). How common is bullying? A summary of research shows that one-third of Canadian youth (33 per cent) are victims of bullying, and 37 per cent are victims of cyberbullying (Public Safety Canada, 2018a).

Given our knowledge about the long-term impacts of acts such as bullying, a key question for us

is whether we should involve the criminal justice system to confront these behaviours, and whether the police and youth courts should be used to manage young people who are bullying others. Or will the involvement of these officials just make matters worse by criminalizing the behaviours of bullies? We know, for instance, that most of these young people were themselves victims of bullying. Is the case of bullying an example of a crime that might better be managed outside the justice system, and instead be addressed in schools? Although many schools are implementing bullying-prevention programs, it won't be easy to eradicate practices that have existed for generations.

Other changes in our way of understanding victimization relate to social movements. In 2017 and 2018, the victimization of women became a highly publicized issue after a series of allegations of harassment and sexual assaults carried out by American celebrities and politicians were made. The issue of violence toward women had already been a front-page story with the 2016 acquittal of Canadian broadcaster Jian Ghomeshi on charges of sexual assault. The #MeToo movement that started in the United States in 2017 has become widely discussed in Canada, and while our awareness of the issues of harassment and sexual violence has been raised, we do not know whether attempts to make men more accountable for their predatory behaviours will be successful.

We know that many women are subject to harassment (see Angus Reid Institute, 2018) but not all those behaviours are considered crimes, and only a small proportion of acts that are considered offences are ever reported to the police. This lack of reporting might, however, be changing. Research carried out by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics examined the number of sexual assaults after the #MeToo movement was established, and they found a significant increase in reports to the police after 2016 (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2018). It is possible that this movement has made women less likely to suffer in silence and more apt to report their victimization to the police.

In this chapter we take a closer look at the issue of victimization, including groups in society that are at higher risks of being victimized. One issue related



A *Maclean's* survey of 23,000 college and university students revealed that about 10 per cent of women and 3.5 per cent of males had been sexually assaulted during their student years, suggesting that almost 145,000 Canadian students are survivors of these assaults (based on an enrolment of two million students) (Schwartz, 2018).

to victimization is that some individuals are more vulnerable to becoming victims of violent crimes, such as people with disabilities or mental health problems, members of sexual minorities, criminals such as drug dealers who are seen as attractive targets by other offenders, and individuals involved in the sex trade. Another group of people who may be vulnerable to violent victimization is female college and university students, and in the “Closer Look” we take a closer look at campus sexual assaults.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF VICTIMS IN CANADA'S JUSTICE SYSTEM

Crime victims are playing a more important role in the justice system today, although many victim advocates say they are pushed to the sidelines of the system, and promises about making their experiences more tolerable often fall short. As noted in Chapter 1 of *Exploring Criminal Justice in Canada*, until the early 1980s, victims often received shoddy treatment by the police officers investigating crimes. Court officials often dismissed victims

after their testimony was finished, and correctional officials were not required to advise victims (or their families) when the offenders who had harmed them were being released from prison. These shortcomings are being addressed. One significant step for victims' advocacy occurred in 1988 when VISS were officially recognized in the *Criminal Code*, although probation officers had included these statements as part of predisposition and presentence reports for decades. Today, they are commonly used, and victim services organizations assisted with the preparation of about 8,500 of these reports in 2015/2016 (information from Alberta and British Columbia was not available) (Allen & McCarthy, 2018). Other crime victims submitted VISS without the assistance of advocacy organizations, or their comments were included in pre-sentence reports written by probation officers prior to an individual's sentencing. All together, these results show that victims do have a voice in the sentencing of people who have harmed them (or their loved ones), although no research shows whether these reports have any influence on a judge's sentencing.

The Parole Board of Canada (PBC) and the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), as well as their provincial counterparts, have taken steps to notify crime victims that perpetrators were being released from custody and returning to the community. Figure 1 shows the number of victim contacts with the CSC in 2015/2016 and PBC in 2017/2018, as well as the number of victims who made statements at parole hearings in that year (Parole Board of Canada, 2019; Public Safety Canada, 2018b). Those figures do not include the efforts of provincial and territorial correctional systems to notify crime victims. As with other victim services, however, the victims must take steps to register with these agencies before they are notified of changes to an offender's circumstances, such as their return to the community.

Allen and McCarthy (2018) report that almost 300,000 victims or their family members were assisted by victim services agencies in 2016 (that total does not include Nunavut); almost three-quarters of those victims were women (72 per cent) and almost 80 per cent of the crimes involved were



FIGURE 1 Contact with Victims: Correctional Service of Canada (2014/2015) and Parole Board of Canada (2017/2018)

Author-generated based on Parole Board of Canada (2019), Public Safety Canada (2018b)

violent offences. While these efforts to give victims a more prominent role in the system have been positive, victims' rights groups are often critical that victims' voices are often silenced in the administration of justice, and even although victims want their needs to be considered, the officials in the justice system give them only a place on the sidelines. In some respects, the system has always overlooked the importance of victims, as crimes in Canada are prosecuted as acts against the state

and not against an individual. The Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime (CRCVC) (n.d., p. 1) says that victims want a greater involvement in the process and want to be informed of matters related to their case, such as how the justice system works, upcoming court dates, what they can expect, and their role in the process.

The CRCVC (2015, p. 2) identifies several milestones in the victims' movement, some of which are highlighted in Figure 2:

| | |
|------|--|
| 1967 | Saskatchewan introduces a victim compensation program. |
| 1971 | New Brunswick establishes a victim compensation program. |
| 1972 | Quebec introduces a victim compensation program. |
| 1972 | Transition houses are established in British Columbia and Alberta. |
| 1973 | Federal government contributes to provincial compensation plans. |
| 1979 | Edmonton Police Service founds the nation's first victim service unit. |
| 1982 | National Victim Resource Centre is founded in Ottawa. |
| 1982 | Solicitor General Robert Kaplan encourages police services to regularly lay charges in domestic violence cases. |
| 1986 | Manitoba introduces the <i>Justice for Victims of Crime Act</i> (several provinces follow with similar legislation within the next two years). |
| 1988 | First General Social Survey (GSS) on victimization is released. |
| 1988 | Prince Edward Island introduces a victim compensation program. |
| 1988 | Newfoundland and Labrador passes <i>Victims of Crime Services Act</i> . |
| 1989 | Nova Scotia passes the <i>Victims Rights and Services Act</i> . |
| 1990 | Supreme Court upholds battered woman defence (<i>R v Lavallee</i>). |
| 1995 | Ontario passes <i>Victims of Crime Act</i> . |
| 2001 | Manitoba introduces the <i>Victims Bill of Rights</i> . |
| 2004 | Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics releases its first report on victims. |
| 2007 | Office of the Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime is created. |
| 2015 | <i>Canadian Victims Bill of Rights</i> is enacted. |

FIGURE 2 Timeline of Key Milestones in the Victims' Movement, Canada

Adapted from CRCVC (2015, p. 2)

A Closer Look

Campus Sexual Assaults

Since 2015 there has been growing awareness about the vulnerability of college and university women to campus sexual assaults (CSA) and the impact of those crimes on survivors, and this has led to debates over the best way to reduce the number of these crimes. Some Canadian researchers have said there is a campus rape culture, where the harassment and sexual violence toward women is perpetuated by some students and these acts have been tolerated by the faculty and staff (see Crocker, 2018). In response to those concerns, universities have been hiring individuals responsible for increasing awareness of sexual misconduct and introducing educational and intervention programs to prevent CSA.

Like other issues addressed throughout *Exploring Criminal Justice in Canada*, there is a shortage of accurate information about how often CSA occur. Schwartz (2018, para. 9) reports that:

More than one in five female students, 46.7 per cent of LGBTQ+ students and 6.9 per cent of male students have been sexually assaulted in their lives, according to a *Maclean's* survey of more than 23,000 undergraduate students from 81 schools. About half those assaults happened during university.

This suggests that about 10 per cent of undergraduate female students and 3.5 per cent of males were sexually assaulted since starting college or university; although the authors of the survey did not say whether those attacks occurred on- or off-campus. Neither did they reveal the definition of a sexual assault used in their report, which limits our understanding of the problem as some researchers classify unwanted attention (e.g., when someone tries to kiss another person at a party) the same as a sexual assault, such as taking advantage of a person who is so intoxicated they cannot give consent. Regardless of the way one looks at the problem, however, it is serious and significant. If 10 per cent of women and 3.5 per cent of males were victims of sexual assault it means that almost 145,000 students were assaulted (based on an enrollment of over 2 million students – see Statistics Canada, 2018a). Phrased another way, the number of survivors of CSA is about the same as the entire population of Guelph or Moncton.

In order to reduce sexual violence on campus, a growing number of colleges and universities are requiring students to attend information sessions that emphasize safety, and many are developing

Many of these reforms were introduced after victims organized into advocacy groups. Although Mothers Against Drunk Driving is the best-known public interest group, the CRCVC has taken a leadership role in victim advocacy. The CRCVC speaks on behalf of all Canadian victims of crime, educates victims and the public about issues related to crime, acts as a clearing house for resources and information for victims, and delivers some individual services, such as providing advocacy, organizing support groups, and offering a hotline to support crime victims and their families and supporters.

Concerns of Crime Victims

A review of the victim advocates' literature shows that they have three common concerns. First, crime victims often express frustration about how

long a case takes to work its way through the justice system. Second, victims can be critical of the due process protections granted to people accused of committing crimes and the treatment of these individuals once they are convicted. Third, victims seldom receive much financial compensation to enable them to financially recover the costs of restoring their lives, or to support their efforts in attending court appearances. The rights of the accused, for example, are clearly outlined in the *Criminal Code*, and there is sometimes very little formal recognition of the victim's suffering and losses. Advocates remind us that victims "did not ask to be harmed." On the other hand, Canadians accused of committing crimes are given their opportunity to answer to those charges before the courts. Let's take a brief look at these three issues.

protocols whereby survivors can access campus resources for emotional support and information about the criminal justice system. Some individuals, however, have questioned whether a better approach to this problem is to have college or university personnel investigate these offences and punish the people committing these crimes using college or university sanctions. One challenge for campus administrators debating this possibility, however, is that their judicial systems were set up to manage noncriminal acts such as cheating and were never intended to investigate serious and violent crimes, establish guilt, and then punish the individuals responsible.

In the United States, by contrast, most colleges and universities have their own campus police services and their sworn officers can investigate these matters. Other US campuses do not involve the justice system and instead manage accusations of harassment and CSA through their judicial affairs systems. This approach has been criticized, as some campus sexual assault victims have reported being re-victimized by the process, especially when no meaningful sanctions are imposed on their assailants. Dozens of students accused or punished for

committing these crimes, by contrast, have sued US colleges and universities because they contend that their judicial systems offered them inadequate due process protections.

Writing about the United States, Konradi (2017) asks whether justice can be served on campus, and like many other issues we are confronting in our exploration of criminal justice in Canada, there are no simple answers. While the criminal justice system is set up to investigate crimes, determine the guilt of the accused, and punish wrongdoers, many survivors of sexual violence are reluctant to formally report their victimization to the police. Most people accused of serious crimes, by contrast, want the protections of the justice system. There are no easy or short-term solutions to these problems, and perhaps the best course of action is to raise everybody's awareness about the seriousness of the issue and change our values and beliefs, as we did to reduce the social desirability of drunk driving (to make that crime unacceptable). These changes in cultural values, however, sometimes take decades to achieve, and in the meantime hundreds of thousands of young people will be victimized, and that is unacceptable.

First, with respect to case processing (also called charge processing) time—the time it takes a case to work through the court system—almost every case study starting the chapters in *Exploring Criminal Justice* describes how it often takes years before matters are resolved. Many victims, their families, and their supporters find it difficult to move forward with their lives if there are more court dates to attend and appeals to be heard. Victims can remain involved in cases for decades if they choose to appear before parole boards after the offender has asked for their release. The case processing time is often dictated by the seriousness of the crimes; half of theft offences, for example, are resolved within five appearances stretching over four months. Court appearances for violent crimes, such as homicide, can continue for years and Maxwell (2018,

p. 28) reports that the median number of appearances for this offence was nine. The family of a Calgary university student killed by two offenders, profiled in the Chapter 11 case study, reported that they sat through 80 days of court appearances over a six-year period, and they were anticipating spending even more time in court as one of the offenders had filed another appeal (Grant, 2019). This can be frustrating and expensive to victims and their families if they want to attend every court appearance to learn what is happening, as they must often take time from work and may have to travel to other communities to attend these court dates.

A second issue that frustrates victims' advocates are the due process protections granted to people accused of crimes; they point out that victims have very few rights in comparison. The lengthy wait

times for cases to be resolved, for example, are important to ensure that the accused's due process rights guaranteed by the *Charter* have been protected. After the *Canadian Victims Bill of Rights* (CVBR) was enacted in 2015, it provided crime victims with four rights that are described by the Office of the Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime (2017, p. 2); they are summarized as follows:

- *The right to information:* Including information about the criminal justice system, the roles victims can play, services available to crime victims, and the ability to file complaints if their rights are denied. Moreover, crime victims have some access to information about their cases, including the status and outcome of an investigation, when and where court dates will be held, and information about an offender's applications for releases from prison and the outcomes of those applications, including the timing of releases and the conditions placed on the ex-prisoner.
- *The right to protection:* These are actions taken to protect the safety of crime victims, including guarding their privacy and protecting them from intimidation or retaliation. Crime victims also have several rights when called to testify, including having their identity protected and the right to use aids that would help them deliver their testimony.
- *The right to participation:* Victims are empowered to make suggestions regarding decisions about their cases and to have those views considered by the courts, as well as the right to present a victim impact statement.
- *The right to restitution:* Courts can consider ordering an offender to make restitution to the victim. Those restitution orders can be entered as civil court judgments that allow the victim to seek payment through the courts if the offender does not make payments as directed.

A third concern of crime victims is that they seldom receive enough financial compensation to cover their losses. Being victimized is costly and not all victims have insurance, and sometimes their losses are not covered. In addition, attending court dates and appeals, and making presentations to parole boards, often requires victims to take time off work and travel. There are a number of provincial programs that provide compensation for criminal injuries, although victims must apply for these programs. There is a lack of consistency across the provinces; in New Brunswick a crime victim can receive compensation up to \$10,000, while in Ontario an individual can receive a lifetime maximum of \$365,000 (CVBR, 2019); this is shown in Figure 3. Those funds are intended to replace lost salaries; to help victims attend

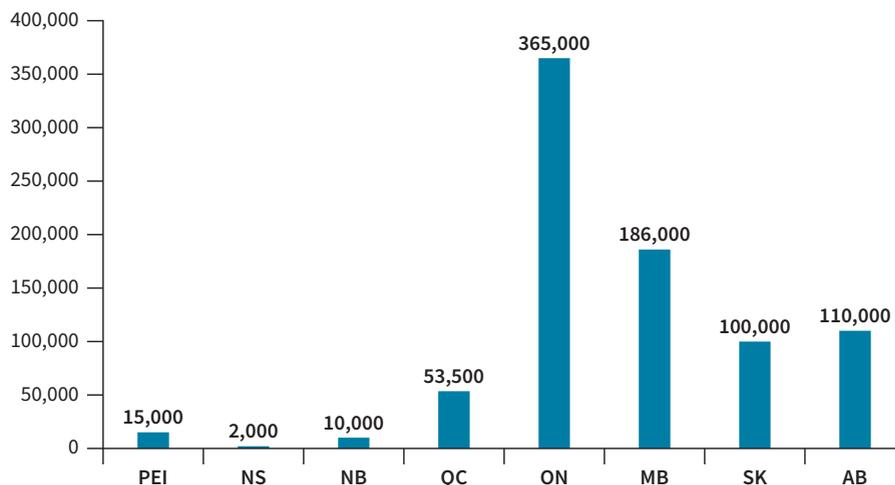


FIGURE 3 Maximum Compensation in Dollars for Criminal Injuries Compensation Programs

Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime (2019)

counseling or receive medical or dental services; and can cover some funeral expenses or travel in some provinces. Information was not available for British Columbia, as that province did not provide a maximum amount to the researchers, and the crimes compensation program in Newfoundland and Labrador was abolished, although victims can access some funds for counseling and travel. These results show us that where you live determines the benefits you can receive from the justice system, and a victim in Ontario may receive a much greater amount of compensation than a victim in Atlantic Canada, even though the individuals in Atlantic Canada received similar injuries or losses.

Although almost everybody agrees that the CVBR is a step in a positive direction, some have expressed concerns because benefits must often be requested, and since the public has little awareness of these rights, not all victims make such requests. Groups that are less aware of these rights are people with disabilities and recent immigrants (Office of the Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime, 2017). Others have been critical that the CVBR does not cover incidents addressed by the military justice system. The CVBR has also led to some unforeseen administrative burdens. For instance, the CBC (2018) reported that 96 VISSs were presented to the court in the sentencing of the individual who murdered 17-year-old Cooper Nemeth, a popular Winnipeg hockey player. Individuals were previously able to submit VISSs only if they had a direct relationship with the victim, but the changes in the CVBR enabled anybody who had suffered an emotional harm to submit a statement. Although 96 statements were submitted, the judge allowed only 16 to be presented in court and the rest were filed (CBC, 2018b). A similar number of VISSs were submitted by individuals affected by the 2018 Humboldt Broncos crash that claimed 16 lives and injured another 13 people; over 65 were read in court (Russell, 2019).

Victimology: The Study of Crime Victims and their Experiences

The study of crime victims is called **victimology** and includes research about the effects of crimes upon these people, their friends and family, the

relationships between a victim and the person(s) who harmed them, the steps society has taken to give victims a voice (such as allowing VISSs in court), how victims interact with the officials from the police, courts, and corrections, their portrayal in the media (e.g., as deserving or undeserving of their victimization), and the treatment of crime victims by employers, businesses, and other social groups. The offences committed might be ordinary crimes, such as a dispute at a party that turns into an assault, but some scholars extend the scope of victimology to include examining the effects of state-sponsored crimes, such as violations of human rights and crimes against humanity. The common theme underlying these issues is the importance of understanding the impacts of crime on an individual, which departs from the focus on the study of criminals. The differences between the fields of victimology and criminology are identified by Scott (2015, p. 98); her analysis is summarized in Table 1.

When comparing Scott's (2015) two classifications, several key differences become clear. While the orientation of criminology—and Canada's criminal justice system—focuses on the offender and responding to their crimes, victimology focuses on the victim, their likelihood of re-victimization, and who looks out for their interests. Some of these issues deserve special attention. For example, most crime victims initiate the actions of the justice system by reporting a crime to the police. But what happens when both the victim and the offender are engaging in crime? Between 2017 and 2019, there were several highly-publicized murders carried out by gang members in British Columbia and Ontario. There were also a series of less-publicized violent confrontations between the Hells Angels and Outlaws motorcycle clubs and their associates in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia during the same time frame (Donkin, 2018). In the event that conflict between two rival outlaw motorcycle gangs ends in a gang member being shot, should that person's injuries warrant the same type of attention from victims' services agencies as a youngster who is wounded after being caught in their crossfire?

victimology The study of crime victims and their interactions with the justice system.

TABLE 1 Differences between Victimology and Criminology

| Victimology | Criminology |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focuses on the study of victims • Emphasizes a victim-centred approach to analyzing crime • Emphasizes personal solutions to dealing with victims • Victims initiate the criminal justice response by reporting their victimization to the police • Prior victimization has been found to increase the likelihood of subsequent victimization, as can a criminal lifestyle • Victims are represented by a Crown counsel at trial • Victim rehabilitation is rarely provided | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focuses on the study of criminals • Emphasizes an offender-centred approach to analyzing crime • Emphasizes dealing with criminals via the justice system • The police apprehend suspects based on victim reports • A criminal lifestyle has been shown to increase the risk of being victimized • Offenders are represented by their own personal attorney • Criminal rehabilitation is often financially supported by the provincial or federal government |

Adapted from Scott (2015)

lifestyle exposure model of victimization

The idea that certain activities, careers, places of living, and lifestyles place individuals at higher risk of victimization.

In June 2018, for example, two sisters aged five and nine were shot in a Toronto playground. Three gang-involved individuals drove up to the playground in the middle of the day and two of them fired at least ten shots at a rival gang member who was there with his child. The two sisters were wounded by the gunfire: one was struck in the stomach and the other hit in the leg. Although both children recovered from their wounds, the impact of this crime extended beyond their injuries. The mother of the two children said “her life was turned upside down” and she pledged to advocate for reducing the root causes of gang violence such as poverty (Yousif, 2018, para. 18). In addition to the two wounded youngsters, at least ten other children witnessed the shooting and were traumatized by these events; some had nightmares after the incident and few wanted to return to the playground (Canadian Press, 2018). In fact, the mother of the wounded children said that “nobody goes into the playground to play; the area is like a ghost town” (Yousif, 2018, para. 11). This one incident had ripples far beyond the children who were hurt; it impacted the victims’ family and the witnesses, and eroded the community’s feelings of safety. Victimologists would consider all these factors in their studies of similar crimes.

While all of us agree that children should be able to go to playgrounds without fear of being shot, some choices we make place us at higher risk of victimization. The **lifestyle exposure model of victimization** suggests that the risks of victimization increase when we engage in risky activities (Turanovic, Pratt, & Piquero, 2018). For example, going to a busy bar on Friday or Saturday nights automatically places someone at much higher risk of victimization than staying home alone and watching television. Other activities, such as partying with members of a street gang, also place one at greater risk of being victimized, either by the gang members at the party or by a rival group. Figure 4 shows the risks of violent victimization by lifestyle activity using data from the 2014 General Social Survey. People who reported having used drugs, having had five or more drinks at one sitting in the previous month, or who were homeless were at much higher risk of victimization than those who did not use drugs or alcohol or had never been homeless.

Some jobs also place workers at higher risk of violence, such as threatening and disruptive behaviours, harassment that includes demeaning, embarrassing, or alarming comments, verbal abuse (such as swearing and insults), and physical

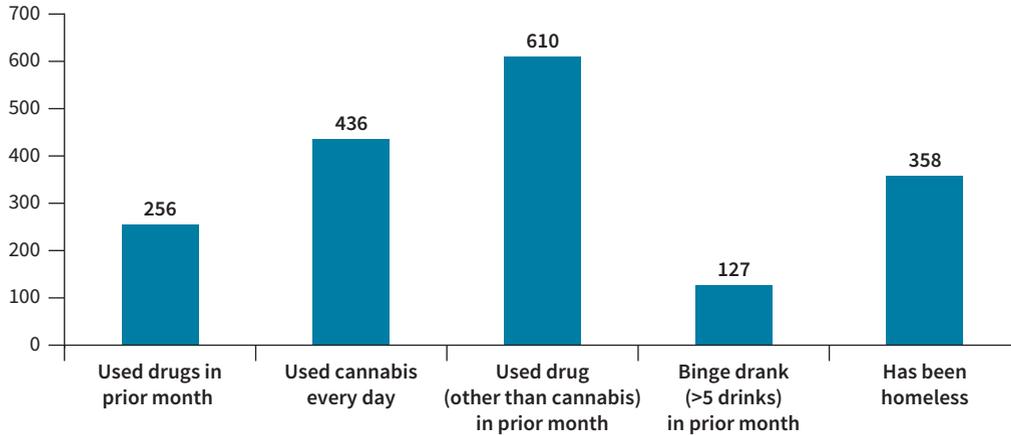


FIGURE 4 Lifestyle and Victimization Rates per 1,000 Residents, 2014

Adapted from Perreault (2015)

threats, including assaults. The Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety (2019, p. 1) classifies these jobs as high-risk occupations:

- health care employees or those dispensing pharmaceuticals
- veterinary practices
- police, security, or correctional officers
- social services employees, including crisis intervention and counselling services
- teachers or education providers
- municipal housing inspectors
- public works employees
- retail employees
- sellers of alcohol (sale, or consumption on the premises)
- taxi or transit drivers

All of these workers interact with the public; some of the highest-risk jobs involve confronting people in stressful situations or making unpopular decisions, such as refusing to serve alcohol to an intoxicated person.

The time of day we work also shapes our risks, and employees working evenings and nights are at a greater risk of victimization than working day shifts. Furthermore, those working alone or in sparsely populated locations may be at higher risk. Occupational risk also relates to the populations the worker interacts with; individuals working

with people with mental health problems, under the influence of drugs and alcohol, or in crisis may be at higher risk. Last, the Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety (2019, p. 1) also reminds us that:

Workplace violence is not limited to incidents that occur within a traditional workplace. Work-related violence can occur at off-site business-related functions (conferences, trade shows), at social events related to work, in clients' homes or away from work but resulting from work (a threatening telephone call to your home or work from a client).

Thus, not only are we at risk in our workplaces but we can also be victimized at work parties or other work functions by clients, customers, or coworkers. Those risks increase when the participants are using alcohol and drugs.

The work-related examples posted above all refer to legitimate occupations, and individuals engaging in illegal work are at higher risk of being victimized. In an influential study, Jacobs (2000) reported the findings from his interviews of drug dealers in St. Louis, Missouri. Jacobs found that drug dealers are a very attractive target for armed robbers because they possess desirable items (drugs and money) and cannot report their victimization

to the police. Such offences also happen in Canada, and in 2017 three men were sentenced to lengthy prison terms for using firearms to rob a Peterborough drug dealer (Vandonk, 2017).

While the lifestyle exposure model helps us understand the risks in our careers and/or recreational activities, we must be careful to avoid **blaming the victim**, which happens when we hold people responsible for their victimization. We sometimes forget that offenders are responsible for committing crimes and should be held accountable for their actions. Victim blaming often happens with sexual offences, with some people questioning whether the type of clothing the victim was wearing led to the offence rather than asking why an offender committed the crime. A series of protest marches called SlutWalks originated in Canada in 2011 to protest the victim-blaming of women (GuelphToday, 2018). These walks continue to occur, but their emphasis seems to have shifted to attempting to reduce the cultural supports for sexual violence.

Researchers studying victimization remind us that the impacts of crime can go beyond the individual harmed, and that onlookers can also be traumatized after witnessing a crime. Moreover, we do not always consider that friends and family members can also be psychologically harmed by seeing the aftermath of a crime, such as a victim's wounds. Even counsellors are at some risk of **vicarious traumatization** after listening to accounts of survivors of violence.

There is also a growing recognition that first responders such as police officers, firefighters, and paramedics also witness the aftermath of accidents and violence, and they are at very high risk of developing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). As noted in Chapter 5, Carleton et al. (2018) received surveys from almost 6,000 Canadian public safety personnel about their reactions to job-related stressors. These researchers found that over one-third of municipal or provincial police officers and half of RCMP officers report having one or more symptoms of mental health disorders such as anxiety, depression, alcohol abuse, or PTSD. Although in the past we did not have a very good

understanding of the psychological impacts and after-effects of experiencing violence, human service and public safety agencies are more aware of these harms today.

RISKS OF VICTIMIZATION: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

While some criminal acts occur randomly—think about a car being vandalized in a large parking lot—some individuals are at higher risk of victimization. With respect to violent crime, for example, people aged 15 to 19 years are over 15 times more likely to be victimized than people 70 years of age or older (Perreault, 2015). Being a member of a marginalized group also increases one's risk of victimization, and Indigenous people have the highest rate of violent victimization in Canada (Boyce, 2016), as do members of vulnerable populations such as the homeless (Ellsworth, 2019), people with mental health problems (Burczycka, 2018; Swartz & Bhattacharya, 2017), women in abusive relationships (Sinha, 2013), and young people with mental health disorders (Boyce, Rotenberg, & Karam, 2015). Boyce (2016) reports that people who had been violently victimized as children, who have a mental or psychological disability, or who have a learning disability were several times more likely to report being violently victimized in the previous year than people who did not have those histories.

Figure 5 shows the violent victimization rate per 100,000 Canadians using information about crimes reported to the police in 2016, and reported by Statistics Canada (Allen & McCarthy, 2018). These results reveal that when all ages are considered, women have higher rates of victimization in nine of the provinces, and only in British Columbia were the rates for males higher than for women. Both Manitoba and Saskatchewan had victimization rates that were almost twice the national average (that total includes both men and women). By contrast, rates of violent victimization in Ontario were almost two-thirds lower than in Manitoba or Saskatchewan.

blaming the victim Occurs when the victim is held responsible for being harmed (instead of or in addition to holding the offender responsible).

vicarious traumatization Occurs when an individual is subjected to disturbing content, such as counsellors listening to stories of their clients' victimization or jurors at a murder trial viewing crime-scene photographs.

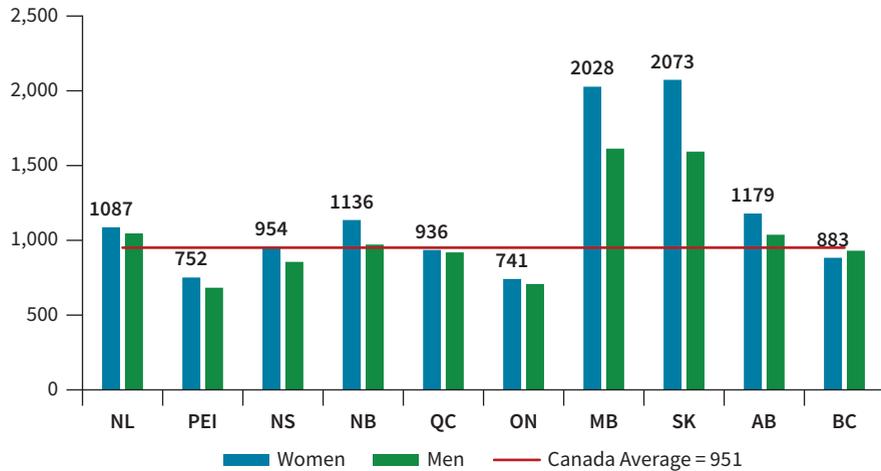


FIGURE 5 Male and Female Violent Victimization Rates per 100,000 Residents, 2016

Allen and McCarthy (2018)

Figure 6 shows the ages of victims of violent crimes, as reported by Public Safety Canada (2018b, p. 115); they observe that “more than half (51.9 per cent) of all victims of violent crime reported in 2012 were under the age of 30, whereas 36.9 per cent of the Canadian population is under the age of 30.” Although elderly individuals are vulnerable to being victimized, Canadians 70 years of age and older are the least likely to

be victims of violent crimes. Some of this reduction may be due to older people engaging in fewer risky activities, which is consistent with the lifestyle exposure model. In fact, this distribution of victims is almost identical to the age-crime curve presented in Chapter 11, which shows that arrests increase as one ages, peak in the teen years, and then decrease over the rest of an individual’s life.

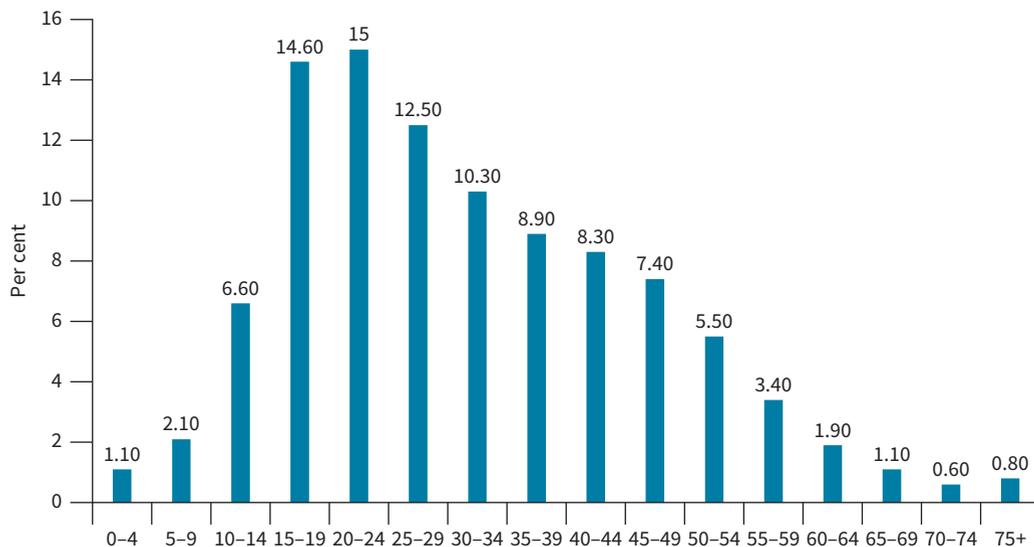


FIGURE 6 Victims of Violent Crime by Age Group, 2012

Public Safety Canada (2018b)

A COMPARATIVE VIEW

Victimization in Select Countries

To some extent, where one lives within Canada and in the world also affects one's risk of victimization. Chapter 2 in *Exploring Criminal Justice* described how rates of property and violent crime varied across the provinces. There are also differences

between nations, and by looking at those differences we can determine whether risks in Canada are similar to other wealthy, developed nations. Figures 7 and 8 show the homicide and break-and-enter rates in similar countries. Figure 7 shows that

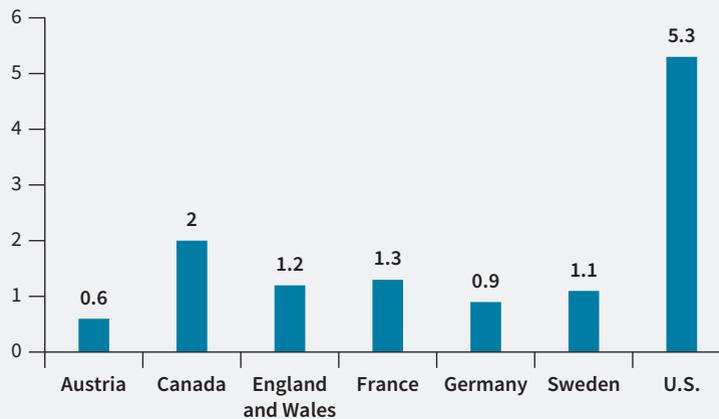


FIGURE 7 Cross-National Homicide Rates per 100,000 Residents, 2016

Based on Allen (2018), Eurostat (2018), Federal Bureau of Investigation (2017)

Vulnerable Populations

Six vulnerable populations are at higher risk of violent victimization: people with mental health problems, sexual minorities, people of non-Christian religious affiliations, immigrants, women with disabilities, and visible minority populations. All the information used in this section came from the 2014 General Social Survey, and reveals self-reported violent victimization, defined as being the victim of a robbery or a physical or sexual assault, in the previous year. These questions were asked again in 2019, but the results will not be available for several years.

- Mental health problems: Burczycka (2018) reports that nearly one million Canadians are suffering from mental health problems

and that they are about three times more likely to be victims of robbery or physical or sexual assaults than people without these problems. Burczycka found that many of these individuals are more vulnerable due to substance abuse problems and homelessness.

- Sexual minorities: Simpson (2018a) found that gay and lesbian respondents were about twice as likely to be robbed or assaulted as heterosexuals, and that bisexuals were almost four times more likely to be victimized. Of these sexual minority groups, women were more likely to be victimized than men.
- Religious affiliation: About 70 per cent of Canadians identify as Christian, while 20

homicide rates in the United States are over four times greater than the average of the other six nations, and that one would be the least likely to be murdered in Austria. Figure 8, by contrast, shows the rates of break and enter (also called burglary) in the same nations for 2016. This figure reveals

that Canada and the United States have the lowest burglary rates, and that rates in Europe and the United Kingdom tend to be higher, with the highest burglary rate being in Austria. As a result, while we might be at the lowest risk of being murdered in Austria, our property is at higher risk.



FIGURE 8 Cross-National Burglary (Break and Enter) Rates per 100,000 Residents, 2016

Based on Allen (2018), Eurostat (2018), Federal Bureau of Investigation (2017)

per cent have no religious affiliation and less than 10 per cent make up all other religious groups, such as Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, or Jews. The victimization rate of Christians and non-Christians was almost the same. People reporting having no religious affiliation, however, were more likely to be violently victimized than Christians (113 and 67 incidents per 1,000 adults); Ibrahim (2018a) suggests that difference could be attributed to age, as people with no religious affiliation tend to be younger, and young people have high rates of victimization regardless of their religious affiliation.

- Visible minority populations: Non-visible minorities—a category that includes people who reported they were of two ethnicities

or races, such as White and Arab—were more likely to be violently victimized (80 incidents per 1,000 residents) than visible minorities, who were victimized at a rate of 55 people per 1,000 residents (Simpson, 2018b). Members of visible minority groups who were born in Canada reported much higher rates of victimization than immigrants to Canada. Wemmers (2017, p. 53) attributes this finding to the fact that they are “often young (15–24 years), unmarried, and unemployed,” three factors that are associated with a greater likelihood of victimization.

- Women with disabilities: Women with a physical or psychological disability were about twice as likely to be robbed or

assaulted as women without a disability (Cotter, 2018). Cotter adds that women with psychological disabilities were more likely to be victimized than women with physical disabilities.

- Violent victimization of immigrants: Immigrants were about half as likely to be victims of robbery or physical and sexual assaults (39 per 1,000 adults) than non-immigrants, who had a victimization rate of 86 per 1,000 adults (Ibrahim, 2018b). Ibrahim also reports that immigrants were less likely to be victimized in 2014 than they were in 2004, and that they did not feel that the offences against them were hate crimes.

VICTIM SERVICES

The Government of British Columbia (2018) says that one of the five goals of the justice system is to provide supports for crime victims and their families, and for witnesses. Many advocates for crime victims are frustrated that these services can be stretched thin when cash-strapped governments prioritize funding for the police, courts, and corrections. While the federal government has extended the rights granted to crime victims, the

provinces and territories are responsible for meeting those obligations. So, what types of services are offered to victims? Nine categories emerged from an analysis of data returned by service providers in the national-level study conducted by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (Allen, 2014); they are presented in Figure 9.

Allen (2014, pp. 3–4) defined these classifications:

- Protection includes providing safety training for victims and teaching them how to determine and lower their risks.
- Participation includes accompanying victims and their supporters to court, helping them prepare victim impact statements, and preparing victims for court.
- Crisis-related services include responding to a victim's immediate needs after a crime occurs. Agencies provide supportive counselling, such as critical-incident stress debriefing (where a counsellor helps an individual understand the psychological and physical effects of a stressful event).
- Information is also given to victims, including descriptions about what they can expect from the criminal justice system, where they can access services, and their rights as a victim.

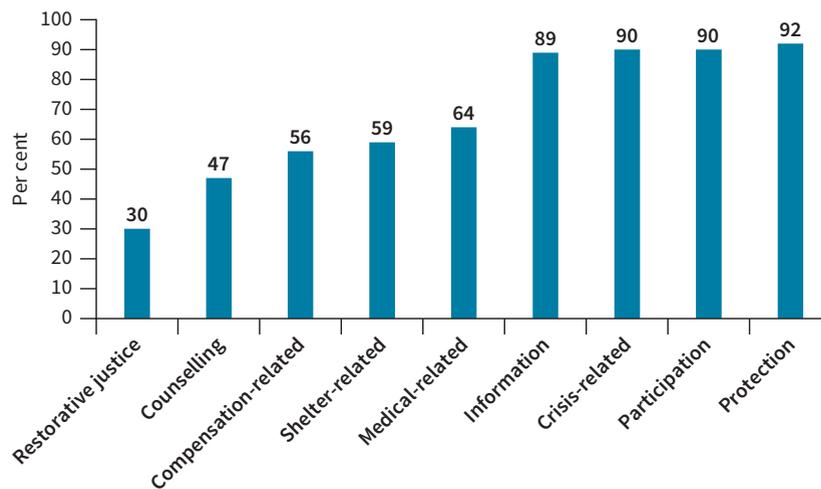


FIGURE 9 Victims' Services Provided in Canada

Allen (2014)

- Medical-related services typically involve accompanying the victim to the hospital or other health care facility.
- Shelter-related services are often provided on a short-term emergency basis, such as shelters for survivors of domestic violence, although some service providers also provide long-term housing.
- Compensation-related service providers help victims access compensation for medical expenses (e.g., ambulance or prescription fees), expenses for counselling, lost wages, funeral expenses, the costs of obtaining documents or attending hearings, and damages to property. Some provinces also provide compensation for pain and suffering.
- Counselling is intended to restore the victim's psychological well-being, but might also include occupational counselling for victims unable to return to their former jobs.
- Services related to restorative justice include delivering different types of victim-offender mediation.

In addition to directly providing services, most victim services agencies also make referrals to other organizations. For example, the staff members at a domestic violence shelter might refer one of their clients to an agency that provides counselling to crime victims.

Because providing victim services is a provincial responsibility, several different arrangements have emerged throughout the country, although the most common approach is to offer these supports through police services. Figure 10 shows seven different service delivery options, and these vary throughout the provinces. About two-thirds of these agencies serve every type of victim, and one-third only serve victims of sexual assaults. Allen's (2014, p. 8) definitions of these services are summarized as follows:

- Police services provide a diverse range of services to victims and in small towns or rural locations they may be the only agency available 24/7 to provide supports to victims; this approach is most common in the four western provinces, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.
- Court-based services provide information, assistance, and support for witnesses and victims, and attempt to make the court process less threatening to them.
- Community-based services to victims and witnesses are generally delivered by non-government and non-profit organizations.
- Sexual assault centres (also called rape crisis centres) account for about one-third of all victim services agencies and they only serve victims of sexual violence. Because of their knowledge of these cases, the staff working in these agencies are able to provide very specialized supports. Some of these agencies provide crisis lines, and these services are based in hospitals in some provinces.
- System-based approaches are independent of the police, courts, and corrections although they provide help to victims throughout their involvement in the justice system. These arrangements are funded by provincial governments in Manitoba and Atlantic Canada.
- Victim crisis assistance and referral services are unique to Ontario. These community-based non-government agencies work with the police to deliver short-term assistance and supports, often at the scene of the crime and shortly after the offence(s) have occurred. These responders generally refer victims to other community agencies for longer term services.

Figures 9 and 10 show there is variation in the types of organizations or personnel providing support to victims across the country. Moreover, the information from each province is summarized in only a few sentences, and the range of victim services throughout the nation is quite extensive. The Department of Justice (2018) lists

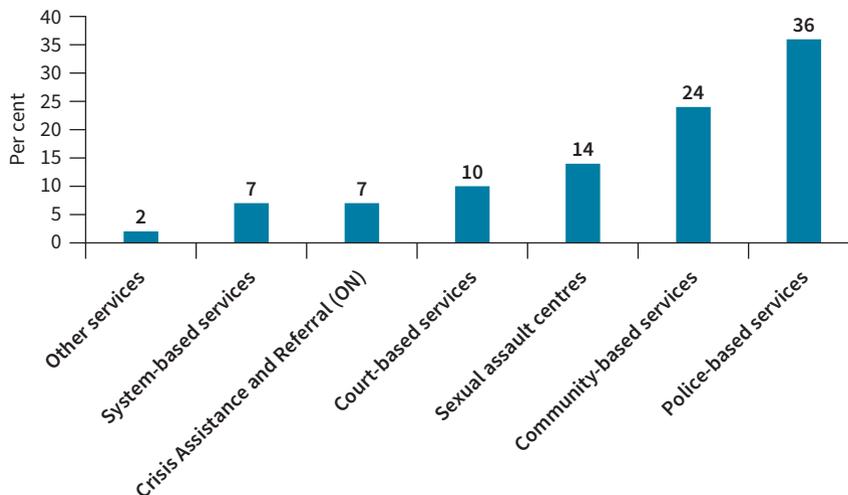


FIGURE 10 Delivery Options for Victim Services Provided in Canada

Allen (2014)

the actual types of programs and services delivered for each province, the role of the provincial and territorial governments, how these services are funded, and the service-delivery models used in each jurisdiction (e.g., police-based or community-based services). Most provinces offer a range of different victim services delivered directly by the province, and most provinces also fund various agencies to deliver these services. As a result, government agencies staffed with highly paid professionals sometimes work alongside individuals working for non-profit agencies that are staffed by well-intentioned volunteers who might have very little formal training but are nonetheless dedicated to helping individuals to overcome the effects of their victimization.

SUMMARY

Crime touches everybody's lives, and crime and victimization data shows that some individuals and members of vulnerable populations are at higher risk of victimization than others. For most of Canada's history, the individuals working within the justice systems paid very little attention to the plight of victims, and it has only been since the early 1980s that their struggles were formally

recognized. An increasing awareness about the treatment of victims by the justice system resulted in a series of reforms that were introduced in the *Canadian Victims Bill of Rights* in 2015. That law gave crime victims more rights, but victims' advocacy groups have identified the shortcomings of that legislation, including the fact that most crime victims lack knowledge of those rights, which limits their ability to pursue their interests. While the personnel working with the justice system and victim services agencies are supposed to give that information to crime victims, some victims never receive enough information, assistance, or support to access those rights.

Although there is growing acknowledgement that providing services to victims is important, there is less agreement on who should be responsible for meeting these obligations. While the federal government has developed some legislative guidelines to victim services in the *Canadian Victims Bill of Rights*, each province meets those requirements in different ways. The police are the primary method of delivering victim services in six provinces, while a blend of non-government and government organizations deliver services in the remaining provinces and the territories. This lack of consistency means that victims in some

A Closer Look

Victims and Victim Impact Statements (VISs)

Pre-sentence reports are used by judges to make decisions prior to sentencing a person convicted of committing a crime. One part of a pre-sentence report deserving of special attention is the victim impact statement. These statements are authorized by section 722 of the *Criminal Code*, which states that “the court shall consider any statement of a victim ... describing the physical or emotional harm, property damage or economic loss suffered by the victim as the result of the commission of the offence and the impact of the offence on the victim.” Although these statements are included in the written report, the *Criminal Code* also allows victims to read prepared statements to the court. When victims cannot speak for themselves—if they are deceased, ill, or incapacitated—a victim’s spouse or relative can read the statement on their behalf.

In October 1988, the *Criminal Code* was amended to enable crime victims to describe the harms they suffered and the losses they experienced as part of an offender’s sentencing. This was not a new practice, however, as these statements had been considered by judges long before this change in the law. The formal recognition of the victim’s role in sentencing came in response to a growing awareness that the plight of these individuals was not given enough attention, and that some victims were being dismissed altogether.

So what does a victim impact statement look like? These statements will vary in length and content according to the nature of the offence, the individual who was victimized, and the impact the

crime(s) had on an individual or family. The VIS of LeeEllen Carroll—whose case opened this chapter—is longer than most, and she goes into considerable detail about the effects of her husband’s death on her family.

Section 722 of the *Criminal Code* also authorizes **Community Impact Statements**, which are written statements that can be delivered on behalf of an entire community when a crime or series of crimes impacts many individuals. Like a VIS, the judge must take these statements into account when sentencing an offender. The Department of Justice (2015, p. 1) explains that:

Each community chooses someone to prepare the community impact statement. This can be any person from the community that has been harmed by an offence or who has knowledge of the harm caused to the community. For example, community organizations, cities, religious organizations, and Aboriginal bands have prepared community impact statements.

For example, a community impact statement was presented at the sentencing of Basil Borutski, whose crimes are described in the case study that starts Chapter 9 in *Exploring Criminal Justice in Canada*. Borutski killed three Ontario women in one day, and the impacts of his crimes were described by the End Violence Against Women group from Renfrew County, Ontario. This community impact statement was considered at Borutski’s sentencing in December 2017. (Renfrew Mercury, 2017)

provinces are apt to receive better services than in others. Moreover, like other issues in this book, there are fewer victim service agencies in rural Canada, and individuals living in the countryside might find it very difficult to obtain the support they need.

So, what will the future bring? Technology is changing the nature of crime, and a growing number of Canadians every year are victims

of cybercrimes such as identity theft, having to pay “ransom” to regain access to their internet accounts, and internet scams. While Canadian crime statistics show the number of internet-based crimes more than doubled between 2014 and 2018 (Statistics Canada, 2019), few of these offences are ever reported to the police. A Statistics Canada (2018b) study of businesses, for example, revealed that over one-fifth (21 per cent) of Canadian

Race, Class, and Gender

Hate Crimes

hate crimes

Offences intended to intimidate or harm a person or the group to which they belong based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, disability, or other similar factors.

Some offences are motivated by bias or hatred. There has been increased attention paid to **hate crimes** (also called bias-motivated crimes) since the mid-1990s, and this awareness reflects Canada's growing diversity—as almost one in every four Canadians is a member of a visible minority group or is an Indigenous person. Yet, hate crimes go beyond attacks on our racial or ethnic identities, and Perry (2011, p. 367) notes that offenders have also targeted individuals based on

their “religion, sexual orientation, disability, class, nationality, age, gender, gender identity, or political affiliation.” In a study of hate crimes reported to the police, Armstrong (2019) found that 2,073 of these crimes were reported in 2017; 43 per cent were based on race or ethnicity, almost the same proportion (41 per cent) was based on religion, and the remainder were based on sexual orientation (10 per cent) or factors such as mental or physical disabilities, occupation, language, or political beliefs (6 per cent).

Allen (2018, p. 3) reports that about 1.9 million offences were reported to the police in 2017, so if only 2,073 of them were considered hate crimes, that total suggests these offences are rare. On the other hand, it is also likely that hate crimes are under-reported and that a much larger number of individuals are victimized each year, but without bias being established as a motivating factor. As many survivors of hate crimes are members of ethnocultural groups that lack trust and may fear the police (see Cotter, 2015), they may be reluctant to report their victimization, suggesting that the number of police-reported crimes is lower than the true number of crimes committed. The victimization statistics shown in Figure 11 indicate that some population groups are at a higher risk of being a victim of a violent crime. Although the average violent victimization rate in Canada is 76 incidents per 1,000 people aged 15 years and older, as was noted earlier members of sexual minorities (e.g., bisexuals), people with a disability, and women have higher rates of victimization.

Armstrong's (2019, p. 3) study shows that almost two-thirds (62 per cent) of hate crimes were non-violent and most were mischief offences, such as acts of vandalism. When it came to violent crimes, most were uttering threats (14 per cent), level-1 assaults (10 per cent), and the remaining categories (harassment, assault with a weapon, aggravated assault, and others) accounted for about 14 per cent of all hate crimes, or about 100 offences in 2017 (Armstrong, 2019). Although these violent acts are classified as minor offences, one act might have a harmful impact on an entire population. When an Ottawa mosque was covered in posters containing white supremacist messages in January 2018, this act would be considered mischief in the *Criminal Code* (Gillis & Duffy, 2018). Although mischief is considered a minor crime, this one offence might inspire fear throughout an entire community, especially



Hate crimes can have a devastating effect on victims and their communities as most of these crimes are unprovoked attacks on individuals based on who they are, rather than anything specific they have done. The impacts of these offences can be felt in the future in unanticipated ways. For example, there is some evidence that the hate crime of Alexandre Bissonnette, who murdered six worshippers at a mosque in Quebec City in 2017, influenced the shooter who murdered 51 worshippers in two New Zealand mosques in March 2019 (Lau, 2019). The magazine of the alleged shooter in Christchurch, New Zealand, is shown above, covered in names of White supremacists, including Alexandre Bissonnette.

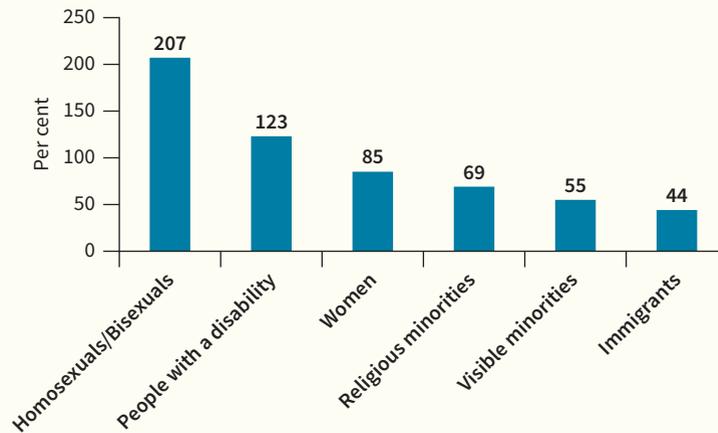


FIGURE 11 Violent Victimization Rate per 1,000 Population by Selected Groups, Canada, 2014

Adapted from Perreault (2015)

after the mosque shootings in New Zealand in 2019 that claimed 51 lives (Lau, 2019).

Figure 12 shows the motivations for hate crimes reported to the police in Canada in 2017. The highest proportion of police-reported hate crimes was for acts directed at racial or ethnic groups. Of those, the largest number of these offences was directed toward African-Canadians, which was followed by members of East and Southeast Asian, Arab, or West Asian and South Asian populations. With respect to religion, Jews had the highest victimization rate, followed by Muslims and Catholics. In terms of the “other” classification, this category included people with physical or mental disabilities and people who spoke different languages, and it also included crimes based on factors such as occupation or political beliefs.

Hate crimes have been included in the *Criminal Code* since 1970, but Section 718.2 was only amended in 1996 to allow for harsher sentences for these offences. Even though hate crimes reported to the police are rare and most are relatively minor, these acts are likely greatly under-reported. Moreover, unlike other assaults, hate crimes may have a devastating effect on victims, as many of them are unprovoked attacks on individuals based on who they are rather than anything specific they have done. Some hate-motivated assaults have resulted in serious injuries and deaths. The murders of six worshipers at a Quebec City mosque in January 2017 led to vigils across Canada on the anniversary of these killings, and the killer was sentenced to 40 years in February 2019, a sentence that he appealed (Enos, 2019).

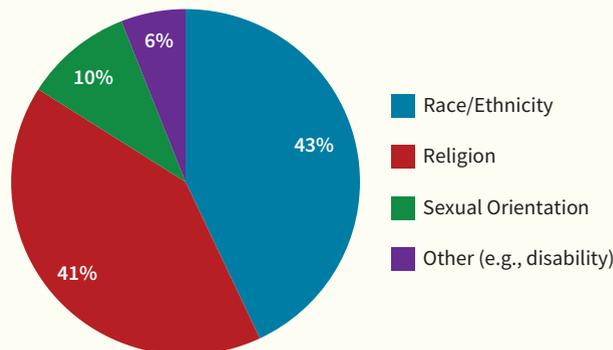


FIGURE 12 Police-Reported Hate Crimes by Motivation, Canada, 2017

Armstrong (2019)

businesses were victims of cybercrimes that impacted their operations, yet only a fraction of these incidents was reported.

Recovering from these attacks on our identities is very disruptive to a victim's life and can be very expensive in terms of the time and effort it takes to recover and restore one's information. Given our dependence on the internet, it is likely that all of us will experience some type of

cyber-victimization in the future; most of us will suffer in silence, as there is little chance the police will ever apprehend the people responsible for these crimes, many of whom are living outside Canada. Given our increasing likelihood of being victims of cybercrimes, it is likely that there will be growing demands for services that work with cybercrime victims.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What factors make individuals more vulnerable to violent victimization?
2. Identify the differences between criminology and victimology.
3. Describe the main services delivered by victims' services agencies; what types of agencies deliver these services?
4. Identify some of the strengths and limitations of the *Canadian Victims Bill of Rights* for crime victims.
5. Explain why understanding the experiences of crime victims is so important for officials in the justice system.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Provide some possible reasons why fewer than 2,100 hate crimes are reported out of 1.9 million crimes reported to the police. Why might that number of reported crimes be inaccurate?
2. How can you use your knowledge of the lifestyle exposure model to reduce your risk of becoming a crime victim?
3. How would civil libertarians explain the lengthy time it took to move Dr Natsis's impaired driving case through the justice system?
4. Crime statistics show that the number of people reporting being sexually assaulted has increased since the #MeToo movement started: discuss why these elevated reporting practices will or will not continue.
5. What steps should Canadian colleges and universities take to reduce sexual victimization on campus?

INTERNET SITE

The Office of the Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime operates a website that provides information about crime victims and their rights. Readers interested in checking out the types of victim services

delivered in their communities can access a list of programs delivered in every province and territory.

<https://victimsfirst.gc.ca/index.html>

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